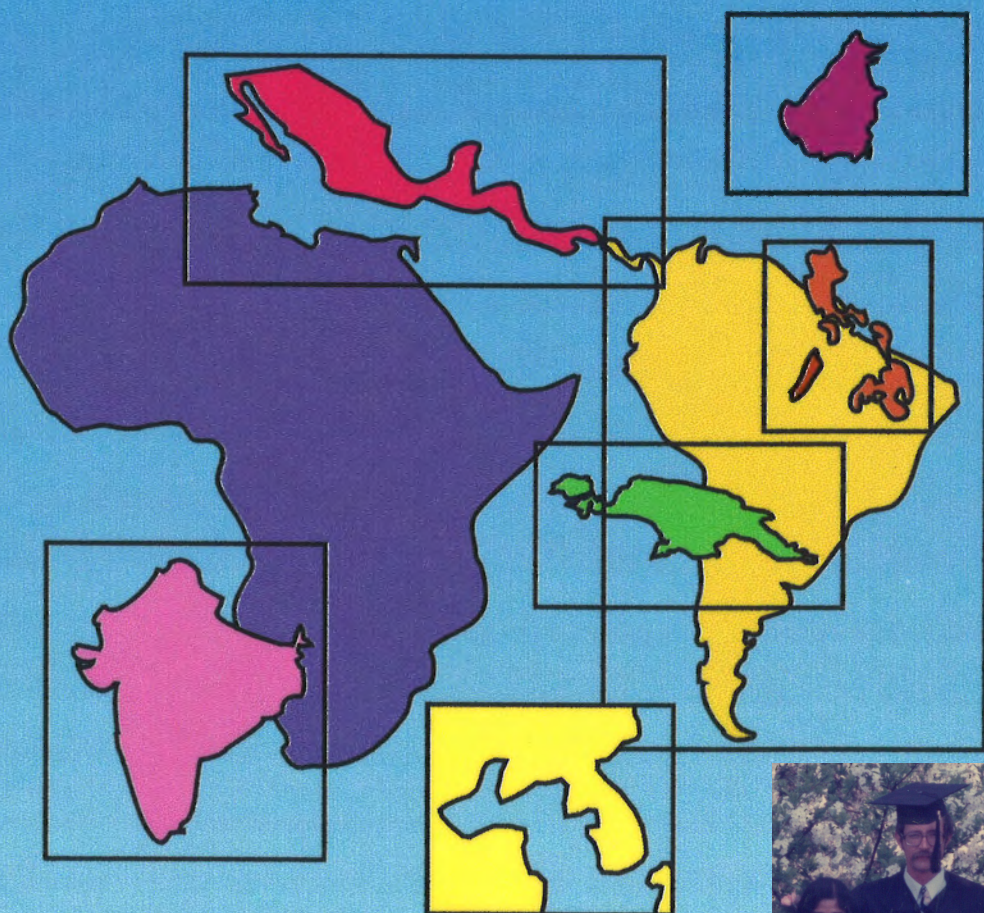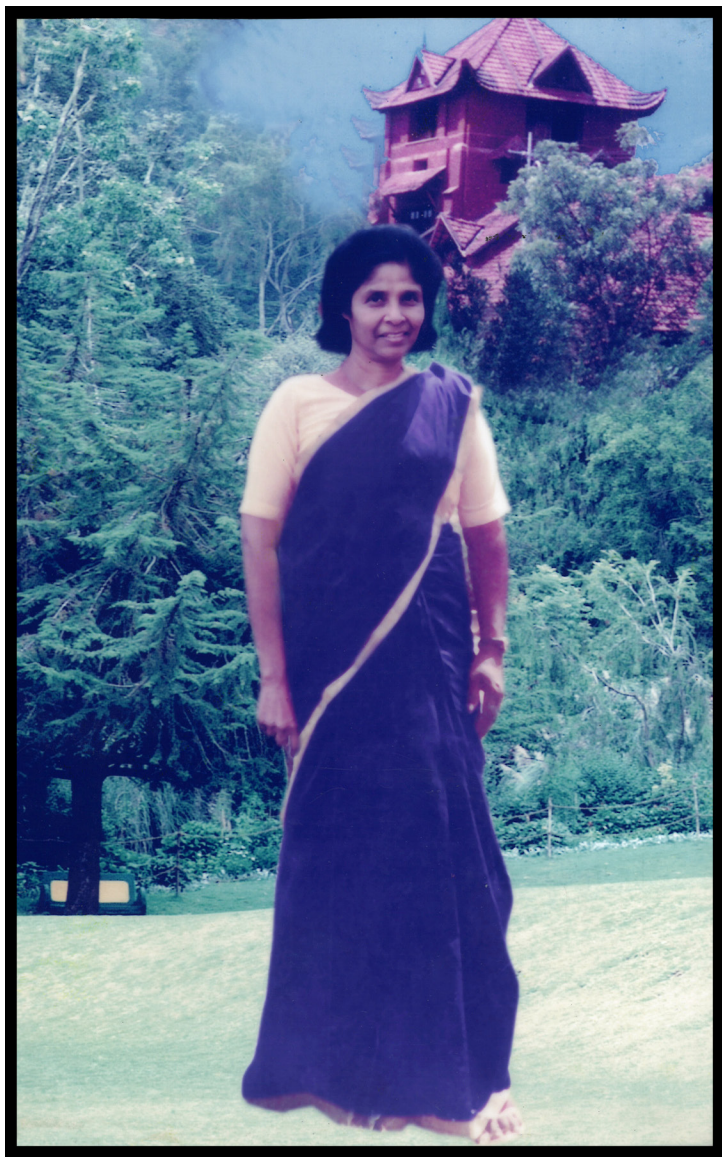# A New Christian Paradigm

The Making of Post-Protestant Christianity

Ben M. Carter, Ph.D.

In the Summer of 2017, Salma traveled to Italy and stayed in Rome, near the Vatican. She presented her scholarly husband's books and writings to the Vatican Library. In September of 2017 she received a thank you letter from Pope Francis expressing appreciation, acknowledging the gift of inscribed copies of Dr. Ben Michael Carter's writings with his personal photo with the Papal seal.

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by

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For Forrest and Ann Gearhart
and all the people who attended
the Wesleyan Community Church
at Guaynabo between the years
1978 and 1981

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Introduction

Christianity is the first religion to achieve truly global status. In part it has attained this status because it is rooted in history in a way that no other major religion is. It has inherited its historical focus from Judaism, but, unlike Judaism, it universalizes God's redemptive purposes. In this it is like Islam, but, unlike Islam, Christianity focuses those purposes not on a body of law, but on the completed work of an individual who transcended his culture. Thus Christianity is more completely transcultural than either Judaism or Islam can be. Indeed, it is a common criticism of Judaism that it must remain a faith of ethnic particularity, and a common criticism of Islam that it cannot rise above its cultural origins. Christianity, by contrast, is not the faith of any particular ethnic group or culture.

Because Christianity is transcultural, it embraces aspects that are not specific to any culture but which can be incorporated within all cultures. Hence Christianity has been incarnated into a variety of paradigms, each identifiably Christian, yet each a uniquely adapted to its specific situation. Ours is a faith that is constantly being transformed and renewed.

Three centuries ago a series of events began to inspire new forms of the church, new theologies of the Holy Spirit, and new ways of looking at history. These events, predicated on revival, evangelism, and missions, would reconstruct Protestantism. As a result we have seen the emergence of a new theological paradigm which transcends the old Protestant/Catholic paradigm as thoroughly as the Protestant/Catholic paradigm transcended the East/West paradigm that preceded it, and as surely as the East/West paradigm transcended the original catholic one. For lack of a better description, I have elected to call this new paradigm post–Protestantism. I think that is a better term than non–Western, for example, since many post–Protestant churches can be found in the West. It also avoids some of the possible cultural divisiveness inherent in the term non–Western. However, my

purpose is not to defend the term post–Protestant. Instead my purpose is to explore the origins of this paradigm to which I have attached that term, discuss its characteristics, and frame some of its potential. What the paradigm is called is of secondary importance to me. That it is identified is of primary importance.

Before something can be studied, it must be identified, and it must be identified with some accuracy. Therefore I will seek to analyze post–Protestantism in the following way: In chapter 1, I will briefly review the milieu that made the new paradigm possible. The history we will touch on in this chapter is quite complex. It is not my purpose to develop that history in any exhaustive way. That has been done in many other studies readily available to interested readers. I seek only to remind readers of what they probably already know. In chapter 2, I will describe the initial conditions out of which the new paradigm grew. In chapter 3, I will discuss the ecclesiastical structure that nurtured the new paradigm. In chapters 4, 5, and 6, I will investigate three of the theaters: India, Africa, and North America, in which the new paradigm has been established. Again my purpose in these chapters is not to relate the histories of these regions in any exhaustive detail (something that would require a series of volumes for each region). I seek only to sketch what happened as it pertains to the problem we are investigating. In chapter 7, I will show how new theological issues have transcended old institutional distinctives, and how this has fueled the ecumenical movement. In chapter 8, I will describe what I see as the primary theological characteristics which separate the post–Protestant paradigm from earlier ones. And in chapter 9, I will hazard some projections about the paradigm's future.

My goal is to assist other scholars in understanding what is perhaps the single most significant theological event of the past two hundred years: the emergence of a new theological paradigm, a new Christian way of understanding God, an event that is profoundly shaping our churches today and will contribute much toward what they will become tomorrow.

The Soil of Protestant Missions

Introduction

While walking past Speaker's Corner in Hyde Park in the late summer of 1992, I heard a young Ghanaian student proclaiming the gospel of Christ to London's white pagans. Surrounded by pale and upturned faces the black man stood on a blue plastic milk crate and spoke earnestly of London's sin, proclaimed London's need, and assured his hearers that Christ could satisfy that need. His message was one George Whitefield would have recognized, but Rev. Whitefield might have been surprised by the speaker and his venue. Protestant missions have come full circle. The seeds planted by eighteenth and nineteenth century evangelists have borne fruit that has ripened and seeded and is blowing back to their North Atlantic homelands. Nigerian missionaries have been active in the United States for decades. On July 7, 1987, *Sunday*, the *Chicago Tribune's* weekly magazine, carried a cover story by Diane Schmidt and Lee Balterman on Chicago's store front churches, many of which were the fruit of Nigerian missionaries. That same year while living in University Park, a suburb of Chicago, I visited a mixed–race Baptist Church where the assistant pastor was a student from Nigeria. On Saturday, August 30, 1997, the Religion section of *The Dallas Morning News* carried a story "Out of Africa" by Nikiru Askiru detailing how African missionaries, some from Ghana but the majority from Nigeria, are pioneer-

ing churches in the US. These examples are more than anec-
dotal. They point to a watershed moment in Christian history.

Many religions claim universality but Christianity is the
first faith to have become genuinely global.

Being global, Christianity is no longer territorial. It is not
possible today to speak of Christendom except as a memory. As
the twentieth century draws to a close we see for the first time in
history indigenous Christian communities in every country with
the possible exception of Saudi Arabia.[1] This century has wit-
nessed the fastest growth of Christianity in history. It has also
seen a massive shift of Christian churches toward the so–called
southern nations. For example, by some counts sub–Sahara
Africa boasts the largest number of people who identify them-
selves as Christians. The consequences of this shift will not be
fully appreciated for centuries but already we can suggest several
of its aspects. It means at a minimum that the theologies of the
future will be in the hands of non–Europeans. It also implies that
"third world" churches along with North American Protestant
churches have to a greater or lesser extent gone beyond tradi-
tional Protestantism. Indeed, the idea of church itself has been
transformed, as has the complexion, role, and sometimes the
message of the missionaries she sends. International missions
today are increasingly in the hands of non–Europeans. South
Korea with a financial infrastructure able to support missionaries
has become one of the leading sending nations, but, as the exam-
ples with which we began illustrated, even less prosperous coun-
tries are able to send "tentmakers," a concept being pioneered as
well by some North American missions.[2]

Nor is tentmaking the only "new" approach to missions.
Many traditional mission organizations are seeking ways to
finance local church planters and clergy.[3] Often these methods
are conceived in terms of "partnership," an approach many
believe is the model most appropriate for the internationalism of
the post–Cold War world. In 1993 the General Assembly of the
Presbyterian Church USA adopted a policy paper authored by
Clifton Kirkpatrick, the head of that church's Division of World-
wide Ministries. The position paper entitled *Mission in the 1990s*
defines, clarifies, and develops the principles of partnership in
mission as the Presbyterian Church USA now understands them.[4]

Five hundred years ago, as the modern age was being born, the picture was completely different. The Protestant church did not exist. Christianity was confined to Europe, northern Asia, and parts of eastern Africa and the Middle East, and, excepting the smaller Coptic, Afghan, and Indian churches, was by today's standards strikingly unified. There were in effect only two major traditions, the eastern and the western. The western church was under the authority of the Pope. Columbus had just completed his third of four voyages to the New World, and Europe's empires lay in the future. What has occurred in the last five centuries is a revolution in Christianity that dwarfs, incorporates, and transcends more local phenomena like the Reformation. This revolution has not only recreated the Christian faith, it has transfigured the world in which that faith is resident. Indeed, missionary faiths, and particularly Christian missionary faiths, have had an impact on the world unmatched by anything else except possibly global trade and finance. Yet it is an impact largely unappreciated by the Christian believer and all but ignored by the secular academic.

We hope in this study to suggest some of the ways in which Christian missions and particularly Protestant missions have transformed Christian theology, Christian models of the church, and Christianity's understanding of God's role in the world and God's action in history. If our faith today is substantially different from the faith of the historic church, Christian missions and particularly Protestant missions are the reason.

Like any other movement, Protestant missions emerged out of and assumed the color of a particular historical milieu. One aspect of its history, as the name Protestant itself implies, was the Reformation, but there were a host of others including the birth of science, the discovery of vast lands beyond Europe, and religious wars. To better understand what Protestant missions were and the new theology to which they gave birth, it is helpful to have some appreciation of the historical circumstances out of which they originated. Providing that historical perspective is the work of this chapter and the next.

Section A
Voyages of Discovery and Europe's
Place in the World

A cursory review of some key dates is helpful in reminding us just how sudden and unexpected the discovery of the Americas was. In 1492 Columbus made his first voyage to the new world, followed by a second voyage a year later. That same year 1493 Pope Alexander VI in his bull *Inter caetera* (known popularly as the papal bull of demarcation) divided the world between Spain and Portugal. Between 1497 and 1499 Vasco da Gama sailed around the Cape of Good Hope, becoming the first European to reach India by sea. Still believing that he was the first to reach India by sea, Columbus made a third voyage in 1498. In 1499 Amerigo Vespucci explored the mouth of the Amazon and began to realize that it was a river draining what must be an entire continent. By 1502, the same year in which Columbus made his fourth (and last) voyage and reached the coast of Honduras, Alfonso de Albuquerque of Portugal established a presence in Goa on the Arabian Sea.[5] Columbus died in debtors' prison in 1506 fourteen years after he first set sail, and Amerigo Vespucci, after whom the Americas were named, died in 1512. In 1513 after living for three years on the isthmus of Panama, Vasco Nunez de Balboa traveled in the company of friendly Amerindians, crossing the jungles of Darien, discovering the Pacific, and claiming it and all shores washed by its waters for Spain. In other words, by the time Martin Luther nailed his ninety–five theses to the door of his church in Wittenberg on October 31, 1517, the Americas had been found, named, and claimed, two of the principals in that discovery were dead, and the Iberian powers that financed their ventures were already embarking on the path of conquest. The Reformation occurred at the same time Europeans were beginning to realize that a vast world lay beyond the confines of Christendom.

But for most of the sixteenth century Europe did not know just what it had discovered. Only two years after the Reformation began, the Portuguese navigator Ferdinand Magellan, admiral of the first expedition to circumnavigate the globe, set sail with five ships and financial backing from Spain. Magellan himself was killed in the Philippines in 1521, and only one of his

original five vessels returned, reaching Spain in 1522/23, but his voyage fixed the size of the earth and proved to even the most skeptical that it was round. Yet not the earth's roundness but its size was of primary significance.

It is easy to forget just how ancient the idea of a spherical earth is. In 240 BC Eratosthenes of Cyrene, head of the Library at Alexandria, observed that at noon on June 21 when the sun was directly overhead at Syene five hundred miles to the south, it cast a shadow that fell 7.5 degrees to the vertical in Alexandria. Erathosthenes realized he could account for the difference if he assumed the earth was round. Knowing the distance between the two cities, Erathosthenes measured the length of the shadow at Alexandria and calculated that the earth was about 8000 miles in diameter and 25,000 miles in circumference. As we know today Erathosthenes was almost exactly correct, but a century and a half later Posidonius of Apamea reworked Erathosthenes' calculations and concluded the earth was only 18,000 miles in circumference. The influential Ptolemy believed the smaller figure and, due to his reputation, it became generally accepted among Medieval scholars. Hence when Columbus defended the credibility of his venture, he appealed in part to the work of Posidonius. The survivors of Magellan's voyage demonstrated that the earlier calculations of Erathosthenes had been correct,[6] yet into the eighteenth century the composition of vast areas of this larger world remained a mystery. Even as France and England were locked in a struggle for world dominion which stretched from North America to India, rumors of a great continent in the southern Pacific persisted. Not until James Cook's South Pacific expedition (1772–1775) were such rumors finally put to rest.

More importantly, however, these early explorers also showed that Augustine's predictions based on his vision of history had been wrong. In his *City of God*, written between 413 and 427, Augustine discussed the possibility that the earth is round and speculated as to whether people lived on the opposite side of it. Augustine argued that even if the earth was round and its lower part was not submerged in water, it would be unlikely that people lived there because there would not have been enough time for Noah's descendants to migrate to the antipodes.[7]

Augustine's view of history was tightly circumscribed by his understanding of the Bible. Now suddenly Europe was confronted not only with people but with whole civilizations on the other side of the world, civilizations that appeared to have nothing to do with events described in the Bible. Making sense of this discovery became one of Europe's great intellectual challenges. It is often pointed out how the rest of the world was changed by its encounter with Europe. Less appreciated is how deeply Europe itself was changed by its encounter with the rest of the world.

In part the transformation of Europe was occasioned by a radical shift in perspective. The discovery of the new world occurred after the Renaissance. The Renaissance, that intellectual awakening that reconnected Europe to much of its cultural heritage, demonstrated to Europe's intelligentsia the historical conditionedness of society, and, through philosophy nurtured in universities increasingly independent of the Church, provided an alternative to Christian truth. Subsequent to the Renaissance Europe's elite began to convert away from Christianity. While this conversion was still in embryo, European sea captains pushed back the borders of Europe's world and Europe's astronomers expanded the depth of Europe's heaven. Unguessed civilizations hove into view, and even Europe's illiterates looked into the night and wondered what beings besides angels might orbit those flaming stars. Suddenly history seemed vaster than its Lord and the universe seemed to swallow its Creator. This new and baffling world was born even as the western church redefined itself into Protestant and Catholic factions and Protestantism splintered into a host of rival camps. Traditional theology was dwarfed by a revelation of space and time and fragmented by a plethora of bickering and for the most part seemingly irreconcilable interpretations. Christianity would have to be reimagined in light of this sudden and startling reality. As we shall see Protestant missionaries would prove key agents in that reimagining.

Section B
The Reformation

Salvation by faith alone and *sola scriptura* were the battle slogans around which the Reformers rallied and which provided the foundation for their radical theologies. Their target was the Western Church with its emphasis on sacraments, institutional membership, and sacred traditions. Looking back to Augustine, the Reformation was in part a reaction against the theological synthesis between Christianity and Aristotle achieved by Thomas Aquinas. Hence it was a conservative movement. But, asserting individual responsibility against tradition, it was also a radical one and owed much to new ascendant philosophies like voluntarism, with its emphasis on will, and nominalism, with its emphasis on individual physical particulars and its denial that universals had objective existence. Finally, by freeing the Bible from the institutional church, the Reformation was revolutionary. Any literate person with a vernacular Bible was suddenly in a position to challenge the councils and the creeds. Translation coupled with reason and/or mysticism became the touchstone of the Protestant churches.

After Luther himself, perhaps the two most important theologically definitive events for the Western church in the sixteenth century were the Council of Trent (1545–1563) which created the Roman Catholic version of that church, and John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* which he developed in stages between 1536 and 1559 and which became the seed crystal of subsequent Protestant systematists as they sought to define their versions of the faith. Calvin's *Institutes* were first translated into English in 1561 and remain very influential today. Probably no one has ever done a better job systematizing Protestant doctrine.

Having found its voice, Protestantism would tend to flow in two directions, both insisting on the primacy of Scripture but one stream emphasizing reason while the other stressed experience. On its rationalistic side Protestant theology, taking its cue from Calvinism, dogmatized predestination and, basing its system on God's foreknowledge and role as creator, developed a model of God's relationship to the world that foreshadowed

many of the themes of pantheism and tended to abandon conceptions of God's personhood.[8] By the eighteenth century Particular Baptists in Northamptonshire had concluded that the gospel should not be preached indiscriminately. But Protestantism also had a pietistic, subjective side that in some measure was created by mystical traditions in Germany, traditions to which Luther himself was indebted, and in some measure was a child of religious war.

Protestantism, as it carved itself a territory out of north central Europe, plunged the continent into a series of civil wars. Prior to the Reformation wars had been fought for territory and plunder. Hence, they were in some measure self–limiting. But with the Reformation wars began to be fought over ideology. Their focus was not only over immediate gain but over the shape of the future, and this transformed them into total wars. Total war has been a defining characteristic of warfare since the fifteenth century. Putting Islam aside (there are considerations here that go beyond the scope of our study), the Reformation may be considered the beginning of the ideological wars that have devastated Europe so often in the last centuries.

Section C
Religious Wars and the Birth of Pietism

Britain

During and 1533 and 1534 Henry VIII, with the aid of a series of acts passed by parliament, broke with Rome and established a church which, though in most ways a replica of the Roman church, was English and which recognized the king himself rather than the pope as its head. Henry's confiscation of Catholic monasteries in England between 1536 and 1539 and the division of that booty among the nobles, making them accessories to the king's audacity, seemed to assure the success of his revolution, but Henry had not taken into account the possibility that the head of the Anglican church might be a Catholic. Mary Tudor, the daughter of Catherine of Aragon and Henry VIII, was, and after her ascension in 1553 she attempted to undo the work of her father. As a result some three hundred men, women, and even children were

burned in the Smithfield fires between 1555 and 1556, earning the queen the epithet "Bloody Mary." These victims included the Anglican bishops John Hooper and Hugh Latimer as well as Nicholas Ridley the bishop of London and finally the archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer who, despite having signed a series of recantations, went to the stake on March 21, 1556. Mary died on November 17, 1558, and was succeeded by her half–sister Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. Elizabeth I never married and produced no heir. She ruled until her death in March 1603 and was succeeded by James VI of Scotland, son of the fabled Mary, Queen of Scots. Upon taking the English throne, he became James I of England.

Both Elizabeth I and James I (of the King James Bible) were Protestants, but Charles I who succeeded James was a Catholic. He forged an alliance with Catholic France by marrying Henrietta Maria, the sister of Louis XIII. A struggle between Charles and Parliament resulted in the king's attempt to govern without Parliament from 1629 to 1640. Emigration to America rose as Charles's policies became increasingly oppressive. His attempt to impose an episcopacy in Scotland led to the Bishop's Wars and finally forced him to reconvene Parliament. Known as the Long Parliament, the body attempted to secure itself against dissolution, abolished the Star Chamber courts which had under Charles become a tool for chastening Puritan dissent, and put an end to arbitrary taxation, but such measures were not enough to forestall the rising fear of Charles and the Catholics. Civil war erupted and Charles's army was defeated at Marston Moor (1644) and Naseby (1645). The captured monarch was turned over to the English after he surrendered to Scottish troops in 1646. Oliver Cromwell ordered the execution Charles I and he was beheaded in 1649. Cromwell then mustered his roundheads and subdued Ireland in 1649 and the following year marched into Scotland to defeat Charles II and his royalists Scots.

No more able to work with Parliament than Charles had been, Cromwell dissolved the body and, after an unsuccessful attempt to replace it with one appointed by himself, was made lord protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland by the army in 1653. His position was made hereditary in 1657 and he was

succeeded by his son Richard Cromwell in 1658. Richard's succession sparked a power struggle between Parliament and the army. In 1659 Richard resigned and went to live abroad, the Commonwealth was reestablished, and the monarchy restored.

France

Between 1562 and 1598 France was rocked by civil war as Calvinist Huguenots backed by the *Politiques* or moderate Catholics fought for political control of the country against the militant Catholics led by the Guise family. Remembered as the Wars of Religion, they were also a contest for power between the king and his nobles and between the nobles themselves. During the first three wars (1562–63, 1567–68, 1568–70) Catherine de Medici, the queen mother who for thirty years was the real ruler of France, and her sons Charles IX and Henry III sought to establish a balance of power between the two sides. These wars were concluded in terms favorable for the Protestants. However when Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, a prominent Protestant leader and an advisor to Charles IX, declared war on Spain and used the French army to aid the Protestants there, Catherine de Medici became alarmed and ordered the admiral to be murdered. De Coligny was only wounded in the attempt and Catherine's role was suspected. When the Charles IX ordered an inquiry, Catherine commanded the army to kill de Coligny and all the Huguenots. The plot was carried out on the night of August 23–24, 1572, the eve of Saint Bartholomew's Day when many Protestant leaders were in Paris to celebrate the wedding of the Protestant Henry of Navarre to Margaret, the Catholic sister of Charles IX. De Coligny and somewhere between 5,000 and 100,000 Huguenots were murdered in Paris and other French cities as the army obeyed Catherine. Remembered as the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre, the outrage sparked the fourth War of Religion which lasted until 1573. It was followed by a fifth war (1574–76), a sixth (1577), and a seventh (1580). Finally the War of the Three Henry's brought the protracted struggle to a close and secured the throne for Henry of Navarre as Henry IV of France. Henry defeated the Catholic League which was aided by the Spanish and entered Paris in

1594. The peace was established by the Treaty of Vervins and the Edict of Nantes in 1598.

Germany

As British armies clashed with one another beneath Catholic and Protestant banners, the German states too waged internecine religious warfare. Beginning with a Bohemian revolt against the Hapsburgs in 1618 and lasting until 1648, the contest, appropriately called the Thirty Years War, was waged primarily on Germany territory but involved much of Europe. German princes pursing religious freedom or political independence forged shifting alliances with each other and with outside European powers. Protestants were backed early on by Denmark and later by Sweden, while Catholics sought the support of the Holy Roman Empire and the Hapsburgs. But by 1635 the war had become an intensely political contest between two Catholic powers: France and the Hapsburgs. The Peace of Westphalia concluded on October 24, 1648, at Osnabruck and Munster left the Holy Roman Empire a hollow shell and marked the beginning of the decline of the house of Austria while France emerged as the dominate European power. The political influence of the papacy was significantly reduced, the future of Protestantism in central Europe was assured, and the autonomy of that patchwork of three hundred German cities, principalities, and kingdoms was recognized. As Elmer Beller has noted, the Thirty Years War was the last war in Europe in which religious convictions played a part.[9] It was also one of Europe's most costly, not only in terms of property destroyed and wealth squandered but most importantly in terms of lives lost. Though precise figures are unknown, Beller notes that it is quite likely that Germany lost 40 percent of its rural population and a third of its urban during these thirty years. A half century would elapse before Germany's population reached its pre–war levels.[10]

Clearly the Reformation provoked violent upheaval in Europe that spanned two centuries, and not surprisingly such prolonged conflict had profound theological consequences. Pietism was one of those consequences. Emphasizing the written Word and its inward appropriation through the Holy Spirit, pietism first arose in Germany soon after the Thirty Years War

ended. It took its name from a tract entitled *Pia desideria* or *Pious Longings* written by Philipp Jakob Spener who, inspired in part by Puritan ideas, originally intended it only as an introduction to a book of sermons by the German Lutheran mystic Johann Arndt. Though abjuring controversy, the movement as it spread engendered much opposition, but it found fertile soil among the Puritans in Britain where, as F. Ernest Stoeffler points out, the civil war there had rendered popular piety increasingly subjective, encouraging a shift in emphasis from doing something to being something.[11] This stress on experience and transformed being was coupled with a de–emphases of orthodoxy, creating a climate which tended to relegate religious conviction to the realm of opinion and made "holy living" paramount. Pietism, as we shall see, would deeply affect the Christian message Protestant missionaries brought to the world. One of the criticisms leveled against them has been that their message was characterized by other-worldliness and hence failed to address the immediate and practical concerns of their hearers. We shall see that this criticism may be a bit over-stated but it does contain an element of truth. An otherworldly piety did characterize the message of many missionaries. It was a message incarnated into European culture by two hundred years of religious war.

Section D
The Beginnings of the Nation State

There was also a move across Europe generally to forestall further conflict by formulating the doctrine that the religion of the prince was the religion of the people. The doctrine meant that people were members of the state church by virtue of their status as subjects to the prince, and they were to support that church through their taxes, by formally affirming its doctrines, and by participating in its rituals. Many believed the emergence of the state church, first anticipated by Henry VIII, would act as surety against future religious wars. Such a role for the church found precedent in the Eastern Orthodox tradition and dovetailed neatly with another emerging European concept: nationhood.

The Reformation coincided with the emergence of the idea of the nation state. Derived from the singular form of the Latin *natio* meaning "birth tribe,"[12] nation originally referred to people who shared a common ethnic ancestry and often spoke the same language or cognate of languages. However, in the fifteenth century in western Europe a new idea of nation began to emerge, an idea that emphasized a people's identity as a geopolitical unit sharing clearly defined boundaries and a single independent government. This new concept of nation helped to forward the Reformation by complementing the Reformers' insistence on theological liberty from Rome with a powerful philosophical justification for political sovereignty. Thus Europe's scramble for empire was not a scramble for empire in any traditional sense, it was instead a scramble for extra–national territory.[13] Nations possessed empires and administered those possessions within the framework of various economic and political theories, but the nation and the empire remained distinct in a way that was never the case with earlier empires. Europe's empires became the vehicle for the spread of this new nation–state idea. Hence, when those empires began to collapse, they left in their wake a construction of nation–states conceived after the European model. While European empires opened the world to missionaries, European and later North American missions, both Catholic and Protestant, took place within the context of these new and imperial nation states.

The emergence of the nation as a political idea coupled with the appearance of the state church had two immediate consequences from the standpoint of missions. First, taken together the two ideas had anti–missionary implications. Whereas before European monarchs were seen as servants of the Western church, now the church was understood to serve the interest of the king. If kings ruled by divine right and if God's placement of sovereigns over subjects was appropriate, then an attempt to woo those subjects to another expression of faith could be seen as both an affront to God and as an act of war or treason. Hence it followed that those most faithful to God were those most faithful to the state church. Second, this concept also meant that when Protestant missionaries did go out, often following in the imperial train, the church they planted was the state church. This, as

we shall see, was particularly true of missionaries from continental Europe; but it was also true, though to a lesser extent, of missionaries from Britain and later Canada. However, it was not true at all of missionaries from the United States, because in the United States there is no state church. This different understanding of church was to have a profound impact on the missionary's awareness of his role and on the kind of church he planted.

Section E
Natural Science and Its Impact on Christian Faith

To further complicate the picture, the intellectual ferment occasioned by the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the voyages of discovery was also giving birth to a new paradigm: natural science. Natural science, like any other paradigmatic way of knowing, is based on certain culture preconditions and assumptions. Though something like it was nascent in both Chinese and Islamic cultures, what could have become natural science proved stillborn outside the context of Europe and more particularly Western Europe. What makes natural science unique, and how do we account for its appearance?

Broadly speaking philosophy deals with three basic types of questions: ontological ones, epistemological ones, and axiological ones. As reflective thought emerged out of different cultural paradigms in Eurasia, these three kinds of questions were emphasized differently. Around the Yellow River a culture appeared which stressed harmony and emphasized axiological issues. Around the Indus River a pantheistic culture developed which tended to asked ontological questions. Around the eastern Mediterranean and the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers a cultural complex evolved which stressed the distinction between God and creation and as a consequence assumed the ultimate separation of the elements in creation. Epistemological questions tended to dominate in this region. The religious consequences of these differences were profound. Where epistemological approaches to knowledge dominated, religious expressions tended to stress the cognitive over the ethical or the mystical and to rely on clear and distinct concepts. Where the ontological approach dominated, religious expressions

tended to be intuitive and mystical. Where the axiological approach dominated, religious expressions tended stress concrete relationships and ideals like loyalty and harmony. Hence the West has its creeds, India has meditation, and China has Confucianism.

When elements in nature are assumed to be ontologically distinct, the problem attaining to certain knowledge about things distinct from oneself becomes critical. For this reason such a distinction encourages epistemological and axiological questions. These questions are not so urgent where pantheism dominates since pantheism posits a common divine identity among all things, an identity that can be experienced at some mystical level. Hence pantheism is far more focused on experiencing truth than on articulating truth. Indeed, pantheists not infrequently assert that truth is ultimately inarticulatable. Epistemological and axiological concerns are secondary concerns among pantheists, so much so that pantheism can be accused of falling into the naturalistic fallacy.

Epistemology could have proved much more significant for the Chinese who had a myth of origins in which the world was created from the slain body of the giant Pan ku, but after Confucius axiological questions with an emphasis on social harmony dominated Chinese philosophy. However, epistemological questions did become paramount around the eastern Mediterranean and the Tigris Euphrates Rivers. While one could conceivably trace the roots of natural science to Babylon, for our purposes it is sufficient to begin with Greece.

Greek philosophy was born with Thales who lived sometimes between 640 and 546 BC. During the seventh and sixth centuries before Christ, people in the Middle East had become very aware of how different their creations stories were from one another and this awareness was beginning to cast doubt on the veracity of all the stories. Thales for one reasoned that while all the stories could not be true, they could all be false. Furthermore he also recognized that while one of them might be true, it was not immediately possible to determine which one it was. Therefore, he tried to answer the question of origins by seeking evidence in the world itself. He was the first of what we remember as the Ionian philosophers or the pre–Socratics.

The pre–Socratics founded diverse schools that could agree on very little. It was within this context that Socrates (ca. 469–399 BC) was able to lampoon their pretensions so effectively. While Socrates was primarily concerned with axiological issues, his most adept pupil Plato (427–347 BC) was engaged with epistemological ones. The philosophy he developed revolved around the question, "How do we know a thing is what it is?"

To answer this question Plato proposed the existence of a transcendent realm of forms, a reality that was somehow manifested into the chaotic realm of substance to create or express the material world. Plato believed that these realms of substance and form were co–eternal with God and that God created by bringing these realms together. Neo–Platonists later argued that a *logos* or rational principle was the agent integrating these realms, a proposition that was to have profound theological consequences.

Believing that these forms provided the structure or pattern for that which appears to us, Plato also believed that these forms comprised our intellectual framework and that the forms in our minds allowed us to recognize the same forms in nature. Hence his theory of knowledge was based on intuition. Also because the forms posited by Plato were believed to be universal, Plato's theory allowed for the possibility—even the certainty—that arguments having universal validity were possible. There is some evidence that by the end of his life, Plato may have begun to question the soundness of his own argument (perhaps he was moving toward conceptualism as his later followers like Abelard or Kant did). Nevertheless, Plato's solution to the West's epistemological dilemma was so important that five hundred years ago Calvin called him the most religious of all the philosophers,[14] and earlier in this century Alfred North Whitehead described Plato as standing closer to modern physical science than did Aristotle.[15] His observation is of considerable interest since the Reformation represented a rejection of Aquinas and through him of Aristotle and a return to Augustine and through him a return to Plato. Remember that Luther was an Augustinian monk. The Catholic Church for its part remained firmly committed to Aristotle.

While Plato envisioned the realm of forms as transcendent, his most important immediate student Aristotle (384–322 BC) imagined them as immanent and future. Aristotle, having

embraced Plato's epistemological solution, applied it ontologically to ask, "Why is a thing what it is?" He argued that tendency creates identity. A thing is what it tends to be. In Aristotle's philosophy Plato's formal cause became final cause and teleology was born. Aristotle developed the syllogism to disclose formal tendency. While Plato's thought lends itself to the proposition "I am saved," Aristotle's system tends to support the conclusion "I am being saved." In the distinction between formal and final cause lay one of the fundamental differences between Protestantism and Catholicism.

Through the Greeks the West inherited four theories of causality: material cause, secondary cause (or cause and effect), formal cause, and final cause (or teleology). These four causes defined Western physics and metaphysics until very recently. Coupled with this concept of multiple causality was a theological distinction based on the concept of God as creator of the universe (general revelation) and inspirer of Scripture (special revelation). As creator and inspirer God was able to speak to his people through the world he had made and through the Bible.

By the end of the Middle Ages formal cause was being re-interpreted, first by conceptualists like Abelard (1079–1142), then by their followers the nominalists, most importantly William of Occam (birth unknown, death probably around 1349). The conceptualists argued that forms were only mental categories. The nominalists argued that only particular things existed and that what we perceived as categories were nothing more than names we gave to imaginative constructs. While the conceptualists could argue that mental categories were innate, nominalism assumed a theory of knowledge which was radically conditioned by culture.

During the seventeenth century the distinction between general and special revelation began to be distorted with general revelation via reason taking precedence over special revelation. Foremost in effecting this change was Francis Bacon (1561–1626) who sought to free science from what he understood as the corrupting influence of religion. To this end he proposed to very different kinds of truth: scientific and religious, and argued that the two should remain distinct. Natural philosophers read the book of nature. Clergy read the Bible.

Next Bacon, by stressing the doctrine of creation over the doctrine of the Fall and judgment, argued that as God's creation the world was under the control of God rather than Satan. This bifurcation set the stage for the subsequent conflict between science and religion. Robert Boyle (1627–1691) followed Bacon's lead by proposing the model of universe as clock. Isaac Newton (1643–1727) who followed was able to use Christian words but with a very different meaning. Instead of traditional Christianity what instead had been formulated was a new nature religion based on rationalism and empiricism. This transformation was, as John Hutchison has pointed out, accomplished with very little public debate. But as a result, the eighteenth century deism appeared full blown, nurtured by the philosophers of the seventeenth.[16] Natural science, born with a religious twin, also laid the foundation for a different way of knowing.

The advent of natural science with its emphasis on material and secondary cause completed the attack on formal and final cause. In place of formal and final cause natural science substituted empiricism and measurement, inductive logic, and the quantification of data gathered within a universe presumed to be a continuum closed to outside influences. Natural science emerged during the sixteenth century and dominated the West into the twentieth. The rise of natural science represented a major paradigm shift that was to have tremendous impact on Christianity. This impact was reflected not only in natural science's emphasis on the universe as a closed continuum, it also made itself felt in its implicit denial of a *logos*.

In the debate between Christians and Neo–Platonists that dominated the Hellenistic world from the second to the fourth centuries, Christian philosophers had reinterpreted the Neo–Platonic *logos* as Jesus. Instead of the rational impersonal principle proposed by the Neo–Platonists, it was Jesus the person who as redeemer, creator, lover, and judge presided over the issues of history and who united the world with God. Jesus the *logos* was secured in Scripture (John 1:1), opened the universe to miracle, and transformed history into a redemptive process. But, operating from the presuppositions of natural science, Jesus the *logos* was increasingly difficult to defend. Universals were reduced to tentative hypotheses based on quantifiable observations. Miracles lost

their philosophical justification and were reinterpreted either as fortuitous natural events or as symbols of human aspiration. Fate, which had informed Greek tragedy and which Jesus overcame, was reintroduced as natural law. Natural science offered humans power over nature, but that power was part of a metaphysic that, as it was explored, was revealed as fundamentally non–human. *Homo sapiens* became a species out of millions that had evolved, a species that would exist temporarily, and which, if in need of salvation, would have to engineer its own.

This approach to the natural world would have a profound impact on biblical hermeneutics as well. Old and New Testament accounts would be reinterpreted in an effort to eliminate the miraculous elements they contained. In time a new science called archeology would begin to cast a somewhat different light on biblical sequence as relics from Israeli and surrounding cultures were exhumed and compared.[17] New theories of inspiration would be fielded, and radical critical approaches conceived which would fundamentally alter the way many Christians read and understood the Bible. Cultural anthropology and comparative religion would challenge European conceptions of the sacred. Natural science became a vortex of disciplines which upturned traditions everywhere. Ironically many of the early leaders in these fields were missionaries.

The intellectual ferment giving rise to natural science was both creative and destructive. It birthed a new paradigm, but to do that it needed to slay the old one. Its destructive side expressed what Langdon Gilkey has called a "war with the Greeks."[18] The Hellenistic conception of transcendence which had provided the integrative structure for Christian revelation was its ultimate target. Christian revelation, being based on a series of events in history, required such an interpretive structure to secure it epistemologically. Once that interpretive structure collapsed, as it eventually did under the weight of centuries of concerted attack, the ability of revelation to "speak" with a unified voice was severely compromised. What William of Occam had begun, Immanuel Kant completed. When Kant, in an effort to defend the basis of natural science from the radical skepticism of David Hume, issued his *Critique of Pure Reason* in 1781 North Atlantic culture passed a

watershed in its history, and its debate over metaphysical issues would never sound the same.

Section F
The Patronato and the Padroado

The imperial expansion of the Iberian powers would set the international stage for Protestant missions. The world, as we noted in Part I, section A, had been divided between Spain and Portugal by Pope Alexander VI in 1493. Those Iberian kingdoms had a commitment to Christianity and before it to Latin culture which had been re-enforced by almost eight centuries of Muslim occupation and which went back to the Punic Wars (264–146 BC). During the Second Punic War (218–201 BC) Roman armies drove the Carthaginians out of the Iberian peninsula. By 133 BC they had completed its conquest. For the next five and a half centuries, the peninsula was thoroughly Romanized and retained its Roman character even after 409 AD when the invasion of Germanic tribes, particularly the Visigoths (or West Goths), began.

The Visigoths had separated from the Ostrogoths (or East Goths) early in the fourth century AD and had begun to raid and then to settle along the Danube River. Here they were exposed to Arian Christianity by Ulfilas, a Gothic bishop who had been educated in Constantinople and who translated the Bible into Gothic. The Huns, moving west from their homeland in what is now Gansu Province in western China, invaded the Volga valley in 372 AD, and by 376 drove the Visigoths into Roman territory. In 378 the Visigoths defeated the Roman armies under emperor Valens at Adrianople and in 382 were ceded certain Roman provinces where they settled. From there under Alaric I and later King Ataulf they began a series of conquests, sacking Rome in 410 and moving into southern Gaul and northern Spain by 412. They pushed further into the Iberian peninsula, displacing the Vandals, and reached the height of their power under Euric who set up his capital in Toulouse. Euric established the first code of Visigothic law but that system was replaced by Aleric II, who issued the Breviary of Aleric in 506, making Roman law the code of his kingdom. The Visigoths lost their territory in Gaul when

Aleric was routed and slain by the Frankish king Clovis in 507. Under Reccard and his bishops the Visigoths finally abandoned Arianism and were led into the Western church at the third council of Toledo in 589. From this point on the *Filioque* clause which stated that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father *and the Son* became part of the Nicene–Constantinopolitan Creed. The adoption of the *Filique* clause by Rome in the eleventh century led to the split of the church into its Eastern and Western halves. The mutual excommunications that formalized the split were not lifted until December 7, 1965.

In 711 the Muslims under Tariq (after whom Gibraltar meaning "mount of Tariq" is named) invaded the peninsula and, discovering a society that was significantly weakened by internal rivalry, defeated king Roderick. The Muslim advance into Europe was stopped by the better organized Franks under Charles Martel at the Battle of Tours in 732, but they remained in Spain and would rule the peninsula until the fifteenth century.

We have seen how a German tribe, forced west by the invasion of the Huns, was able eventually to carve a territory for itself in what was the far west of the Roman empire and in the process became both Christianized and Romanized. We have seen how the integration of this people into the church was instrumental in splitting that church. And we have seen how this people became subject to an invading power under which they languished for almost eight hundred years. Their re–conquest of the Iberian peninsula began in the eleventh century in what is now Portugal but was not finalized until 1492 when the last Muslims along with the Jews were driven from Spain. In the process the identification between Christianity and Iberian culture was strengthened as was the link between the government and the church. This cultural identification and ecclesiastical link was formalized in the establishment of the Patronato (Spanish) and the Padroado (Portuguese), creating what Andrew Ross has called a "conquistador mentality."

The Padroado and the Patronato were systems of royal patronage which made the church and its ministers including missionaries directly responsible to the Portuguese and Spanish crowns. These systems were created by two papal bulls. The first of these was issued by Pope Nicolas V in 1454. Called *Romanus*

Pontifex it defined the nature of church/state relations in Portuguese holdings in the East. In 1508 Pope Julius II issued the bull *Universalis ecclesia* extending these same privileges to Spanish kings. These two bulls gave the Portuguese and Spanish thrones complete authority over the church in their respective holdings. Bishops and archbishops could not report to the pope without the consent of the king and no papal bull could be circulated in the empires without royal permission. Bishops were appointed by royal representatives, and church emissaries and missionaries had to be transported to Spanish or Portuguese holdings upon Spanish or Portuguese ships. This bull in effect made the church in the Spanish and Portuguese empires as autonomous as the church of England under Henry VIII. It also meant that conversion to Christianity in Spanish and Portuguese holdings was tantamount to conversion to Spain or Portugal or at least to Spanish or Portuguese culture. The Spanish, coming as conquerors, were able to enforce this hispanicisation, particularly in America, far more completely than were the Portuguese who, being smaller, could not maintain the necessary ground forces to act as conquerors. Where the Portuguese co–existed, the Spanish dominated.[19] They had the capability to turn the Inquisition, a power the Catholic Church had invested in a special tribunal which combated and punished heresy, into an instrument of state terror. The Spanish Inquisition, lasting from 1480 until 1834, was a tool of royal rather than papal authority. Nevertheless both the Spanish and the Portuguese shared the same privileges under terms granted by the papal bulls.

The Padroado and the Patronato were attempts by the Catholic Church to insure that the new lands coming under the authority of the Portuguese and the Spanish would be Christianized, and to a significant extent this occurred. W.H. Prescott in his *Conquest of Peru* points out that Puritans did comparatively little evangelization of the New World native population while the Spanish missionary was from the beginning keenly interested in the spiritual welfare of the natives.[20] Indeed, the great historian of Christianity Kenneth Scott Latourette has argued that Christianity expanded more between 1500 and 1750 than at any other period of history, and most of this expansion, he says, came through the efforts of the Roman Catholic Church.[21] However, as

Mark Shaw has observed, Catholic missionaries also institutonalized a system of patronage that, precisely because it linked church and state so closely, created an environment where political concerns took precedence over evangelism.[22] The imperial outreach, whether Catholic or Protestant, that made global missions possible would also taint them with an imperial temperament that often undermined the gospel message the missionaries carried.

Conclusion

Protestant missions were born in the midst of unprecedented change. Europe's vision of the world had expanded and in that expansion had cast a deep shadow over earlier Christian conceptions of history. It was as though a curtain had been thrown back, suddenly revealing vast numbers of nations and cultures which seemed to have no obvious connection to events described in the Bible or to Europe itself. Even God seemed dwarfed by the revelation. As a result, humanity's place and role in the universe were subjected to novel and probing questions. This radical shift in perspective sparked an intellectual ferment that generated not only new Christian traditions and theologies but new and increasingly persuasive non-Christian philosophies. At the same time the nation-state was beginning to emerge. Underlined by the appearance of the nation-state, the relationship between crown and church, though assuming various forms, was much closer than it had been in the past. A unique polity was being forged among Catholic and Protestant powers, one that was soon to be imposed on the rest of the world via European empires. Christendom was being shattered and scattered, and Christianity and the world would never be the same.

It was a situation that seemed unpromising to Protestant missions. There were five main reasons for this.

1. The close identification between church and state imparted a profound political dimension to missions. In such a situation missionaries could be cast as either oppressive agents of the state or as political subversives.

2. State church ecclesiology meant that people did not become converts, they were members of a par-

ticular church because they were citizens of the country where that church was recognized. Evangelism as we understand the term was unknown.

3. The word "mission" or "missionary" does not appear in the Bible. This meant that there was no obvious scriptural mandate for mission work. Missions would have to be justified not scripturally but theologically. However, such a theology was nowhere on the Protestant horizon. Instead Protestant theologians were developing systems that, by emphasizing the sovereignty and creative power of God, had pronounced anti–missionary implications. The absence of any clear scriptural mandate for missions re–enforced the idea that the Great Commission was for the apostles only and had been fulfilled with the end of the apostolic era.

4. This anti–missionary theology was compounded by the absence of any specific body in the Protestant church responsible for missions. Unlike the Catholics, Protestant churches had no "office of missions," no mission theory, and no tradition of training and ordaining missionaries.

5. This lack points to the fifth element in this bleak Protestant environment: missions appeared decidedly Catholic, and for most Protestants, Catholics, seen through the Reformation, embodied all that was wrong with Christianity. Luther had identified the pope as the anti–Christ, an identification codified in the Westminster Confession, and of course the theology and practice of the Catholic church was tainted by that identification. For Protestants, Catholic involvement in missions hung like a red flag over the enterprise.

Such was the situation at the end of the seventeenth century. The eighteenth century would witness a complete reversal in the attitude of Protestants to missions, a reversal which would substantially alter Protestant theology and ecclesiology and would prepare the way for the globalization and transformation of Protestant faith. The agent of this transformation would be revival.

The Roots of the New Paradigm

Literacy, Pietism, and the Revivals

Introduction

As we noted in the last chapter, Pope Alexander VI in 1493 divided the world between the Spanish and the Portuguese. Of course such a division could not last. It presupposed a level of obedience to the pope which simply did not exist among European sovereigns after the Reformation and probably had not existed prior to it. Furthermore, the world itself was too big to be controlled by the Iberians and too temptingly wealthy for other European powers not to try to establish a presence in it. By the beginning of the seventeenth century the Danes, the Dutch, and most importantly the French and the British were staking their own claims to distant regions, and there was little that the Spanish, the Portuguese, or even the Holy Father himself could do about it.

The Danes, the Dutch, and the British were Protestant powers. The Danes under Christian V created trade monopolies in Iceland and the Virgin Islands and were eventually to establish a small presence in India, a presence which will prove very important to our story. The Dutch through the Dutch East India Company founded in 1602 were able to establish a significant and enduring presence in Indonesia as well as South Africa

and the Caribbean. They were also active in Malaysia and Sri Lanka, and they held Taiwan between 1624 until 1661 when they were ousted by the Ming Chinese, the first time China had claimed the island. But among the Protestant powers it was the British who from the seventeenth century on were to demonstrate that they had the power to make a lasting impression on the world. Indeed, before their empire began to unravel, they would control a third of it.

The British also had a unique problem. When Henry VIII declared himself the head of the English church and enlisted his nobles in the cause by confiscating church land and distributing it among them, not all of his subjects acquiesced. The Catholic Church maintained an active underground presence in Britain, and there were many Protestants who disliked the Anglican Church almost as much as they disliked the Roman one. These Protestants were called *dissenters*.

Section A
The Dissenters

The dissenters trace their origin to the "Great Ejection" when 2000 ministers left the Anglican Church rather than conform to the Uniformity Act of 1662. This legislation, passed by the Cavalier Parliament under Charles II, required a repudiation of National Covenant which the Scottish Presbyterians (the Covenanters) had drawn up in 1638 to defend Presbyterianism. It also made Anglican assent to a revised version of the Elizabethan Prayer Book obligatory. Those who were part of the "Great Ejection" viewed the church as a company of God's elect, joined in covenant and agreed on teaching. Hence the dissenters, who established Independent, Baptist, and Presbyterian denominations, made a clear distinction between church and society. One was born into society but one joined the church.

Dissenters can be divided broadly into two streams. The first embraced the classic Christian creeds and High Scholastic Calvinist theology. A second stream within the dissenters gave up all creeds and other subscriptions and soon everything for which creeds and subscriptions stood. Within a generation they

became Arians and within two generations they had become Unitarians. They were to have a profound impact on the development of theological liberalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but are not of particular germane to this part of our story. The politics of both traditions tended to be radical. The mission movement when it emerged would draw a great deal of strength from dissenters, and their political radicalism was one of the reasons why many feared the missionary movement when it first emerged. Hence it is worth pausing for a movement to consider the roots of that radicalism.

The dissenters, whether creedal or not, denied the king had any rightful claim to be head of the church, a denial that, given Henry VIII's justification for his revolt against Rome, made them look treasonous. In the previous century the Anabaptists had faced a similar situation on the continent. Because they believed that before being baptized one should have reached the age of understanding, the Anabaptists condemned infant baptism. Since infant baptism was the central initiation rite of the state church, the Anabaptists were implicitly denying the authority of that church and, by implication, the authority of the government it represented. Their appeal to conscience would cost many of them their lives. Though the principle the English dissenters defended was different, their challenge to both governmental and ecclesiastical authorities was no less real and they suffered serious social consequences as a result. For example, refusal to join the Anglican communion meant that when one died, one could not be buried on church land. It also meant one could not marry in the church. And the act effectively closed higher education to the dissenters. There were two institutions of higher learning in England at that time: Oxford and Cambridge. To matriculate at Oxford one had to affirm the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican Church. One was not required to affirm the Articles to matriculate at Cambridge but one was required to affirm them to graduate.[1] While the government had no desire to make dissenters martyrs, and while the Toleration Act of William and Mary passed in 1689 did much to undo many of the provisions of the Uniformity Act of 1662, such restrictions meant that dissenters did suffer real discrimination. As a result many felt that the government was

their enemy and were eager to leave England. Their emigration would create a strong center of dissent outside of England.

As the British began to stake a claim in the wider world, they initially focused on three areas: the West Indies, the East Indies, and the east coast of North America. The East India Company established in 1600 did not attract large numbers of dissenters into its ranks, nor did the Caribbean with its slaves and is sugar plantations draw significantly from dissenters. Instead the West Indies tended to be the province of the Anglican Church as did the southeast coast of North America. But many dissenters did go to the northeastern coast of North America where the Puritans before them had gone. The colonies these dissenters established when they emigrated to America were commonwealths rather than theocracies. While it is true that in these commonwealths the law of God was to be the ultimate standard and only church members had the franchise, the distinction dissenters implicitly recognized between the church and the government pointed toward the kind of separation that would ultimately define church/state relations in the US. For dissenters membership in the church was not the same as loyalty to the crown. One was to honor the king, but one obeyed in compliance with the Scriptures. Caesar's prerogatives were sharply limited not only by Scripture but by distance and by the commonwealth form of government itself. Such limitations meant that Caesar could legitimately be resisted. This vision of the church as a community within the nation was to lay the groundwork for a redefinition of the church as a voluntary society, and, coupled with Enlightenment ideas which stressed the "truths" of reason over the "opinions" of religion, would ultimately result in the marginalization of the church in political life.

The United States has been called the last great bastion of the Enlightenment in the modern world. Certainly the American colonists, to justify their break from the crown, appealed to Enlightenment ideals in the Declaration of Independence. And just as certainly those ideals were foundational suppositions for the form of government outlined in the Constitution. The establishment of the United States was the Enlightenment's greatest political triumph. As Allan Bloom has pointed out, the Enlightenment, as the first philosophically inspired movement, constituted a conspiracy

with a political agenda. It had as one of its goals the creation of rulers who were reasonable and who drew their convictions from science and philosophy rather than religion. Enlightenment philosophers also sought to establish a society which secured freedom of thought as a necessary adjunct for philosophy and science, and as a group they regarded religious leaders with their commitment to revelation, ecclesiastical authority, and tradition as the enemy.[2] The Enlightenment, Bloom writes, "taking Socrates' ironies seriously,"[3] was "an attempt to give political status to what Socrates represents."[4] But the Enlightenment triumph in America was projected against the background of religious dissent and Calvinism. After all, Calvinism was the only system of Protestant thought with enough sophistication to withstand the seductive appeal of the Enlightenment, and the Puritans and to a greater or lesser degree the later dissenters were Calvinists. As Sydney E. Ahlstrom has observed, Britain's American colonies became "the most thoroughly Protestant, Reformed, and Puritan commonwealths in the world." And he points out that 75 percent of those who declared their independence from Britain claimed a Puritan heritage.[5] Hence, America from its inception embraced an admixture of Enlightenment and Calvinist thought. Both would endure with modifications, the greater modifications being found among the Calvinists, and would shape the American world view.

These two threads, one represented by English dissent, the other by the Enlightenment, comprised the warp and woof of America's social and political fabric, and were to have a profound impact on the development of the American church. Naturally this impact would reach deeply into the spirit of American missions.

Section B
John Eliot and the Amerindians

Missions and Literacy

Protestantism's initial missionary outreach was to primarily non-literate societies. One example of this kind of outreach is the significant work done by Scottish Protestants among highland Catholic clans, work we will consider in chapter 4, but the

first outreach of Protestant missions into a genuinely alien culture began among the Amerindians. John Eliot (1604–1690) is our important example. Born in Hertfordshire, England, Eliot became a Puritan minister, fled to Massachusetts in 1631, and soon began to evangelize among the Nipmucs, a subset of the Algonkian nation. Things moved slowly in the beginning but despite the absence of immediate results, Eliot's vision inspired the establishment of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in New England in 1649. Then in 1651 the conversions began and he baptized his first proselytes. Shortly thereafter he organized these disciples and those who followed them into "Praying Towns," the earliest of which was named Natick. In 1654 he published an Algonkian catechism. This was followed in 1661 by a translation of the New Testament and in 1663 by a translation of the Old. In 1666 he issued an Algonkian grammar, and finally in 1669 a translation of the Westminster larger Catechism.

The settlers called Eliot's converts "praying Indians." In the spring of 1675 one of these "praying Indians" revealed to the settlers that the Wampanoag, who had been organizing other neighboring tribes into a confederation to resist the New Englanders, were planning an uprising. That "praying Indian" was killed in retaliation. Three Amerindians were tried and hung for his murder. Though the Wampanoag's plans were now known, they nevertheless under the leadership of chief Metacom (whom the settlers dubbed King Philip) began attacking isolated towns around Plymouth in June 1675. In the year that followed many of the "praying Indians" were killed, some forty settlements were sacked, and 500 settlers and approximately 1000 of Metacom's followers died. After Metacom himself was slain in August 1676, the remainder of his confederation fled to Canada. However, King Philip's War, as it is remembered, proved only a brief interruption to Eliot's work. By 1674 he had gathered converts into fourteen self-governing communities with a total population of 3,600. By 1690, the year he died, Eliot had trained twenty-four Amerindian preachers. These communities maintained their existence into the first decades of the eighteenth century.

As is evident by the focus of his translation efforts, Eliot was profoundly committed to theology. Indeed, he produced a cate-

chism before he published a rendition of either of the Testaments, and he believed the Westminster Catechism was sufficiently important that he made it accessible to the Algonkians in their own tongue within six years of finishing the Old Testament. Clearly, since he needed to teach his converts to read if they were to be able to make use of his translations, teaching literacy was also central to his work. Many of the early Protestants were Calvinists (a designation applicable to many Protestant missionaries today) and their emphasis on literacy reflects Calvin's own. In his *Institutes*, Calvin, while discussing how humans gain knowledge of God the Creator, stressed the role of reading. Viewing icons as idols, denying on that basis that icons can be "the books of the uneducated," and stressing the importance of Scripture, Calvin argued that if the church had done its job, there would be no uneducated.[6] Because the Bible was so important to the Reformers, they conceived education as one of the primary missions of the church. This emphasis on education was manifested early among missions, as is evidenced by Eliot's work, and has continued as an overriding aspect of evangelical outreach up through today. Such an emphasis has produced many unintended consequences. In chapter 4, for example, we will trace how it bolstered Indian nationalism, and we will also note how it has played a role in movements which sought to defend traditional culture against the inroads of the West. But such consequences should not be surprising. Historically education has proved one of the most powerful keys to freedom. Once people know how to read, they have access to a vast amount of information which they will master on their own terms and apply in their own creative ways. We should also note that education has been a major thrust of Catholic missions, particularly among Jesuits. In fact, during the last five hundred years, Western missionaries whether Catholic or Protestant have been among the most influential agents of spreading literacy in the world. It is work that has attracted surprisingly little notice and has had results of incalculable magnitude.

In chapter 1 we described how the presence of people on the other side of the world represented a profound challenge to Europe's conception of history. How was one to account for these people? One common solution was to hypothesize that the Amerindians were descents of the so-called ten lost tribes of

Israel.[7] Eliot for one believed this and recognized that if the identification were true, it had profound eschatological implications since it meant that God was beginning to restore Israel by bringing Jacob's descendants into Christianity in significant numbers as predicted by Paul in the eleventh chapter of Romans. The identification of the Amerindians with the ten lost tribes is a theme that continues to reappear in North Atlantic Protestantism. The Mormon Church is perhaps the best known exponent of the conceit today but there are others including the Covenant People's Fellowship and the Branch Davidians.

Section C
The Pietists

Eliot was a missionary pioneer, but, as we noted above, he was also a Puritan. Though claiming a heritage stretching back to the reign of Elizabeth I, Puritanism, before Eliot's death in 1690, had passed into history. Hence Eliot was something of a transitional figure in a religious tradition which was embroiled over issues of its own identity and not as focused on evangelism as it might otherwise have been. Eliot then stands somewhat alone among the Puritans. But members of another Protestant movement, the continental Pietists, were also beginning to focus on outreach.

As early as 1705 Frederick IV of Denmark, urged by an advisor who had been schooled by Pietists, began to recognize his responsibility for those under his authority in Danish colonies and resolved to appoint pastors to care for them. He initially sought Danes for the work but could find none who were willing and qualified. However, two German clergymen, Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plutschau, who were had been trained at the Pietist University in Halle in Saxony, did volunteer. Over the objections of some Danish theologians, they were commissioned as missionaries in November of that year and sent to Tranquebar in south India. They arrived at the Danish holding there in July 9, 1706, and began what proved to be a seminal and successful work. This use of Germans as missionaries set a precedent for other European nations. This practice continued until World War I and assured the Pietist tradition would be

represented in missions. In 1718 Frederick sent the Norwegian Hans Egede to Greenland to minister to the Eskimos and to the descendants of Vikings who centuries before had settled along Greenland's coast. Egede arrived in 1721, learned the Eskimo tongue and began a successful campaign of evangelization. One of his sons, Paul Egede, produced a dictionary and grammar of the Eskimo language as well as a translation the New Testament.

Frederick IV is important as a sponsor of early Protestant missions in the Pietist tradition, but Pietism's most effective early missionary outlet was provided by the Moravian Brethren. The Moravian Brethren, originally known as the Bohemian Brethren, trace their roots to fifteenth century Prague where a nucleus of people began to form around the preaching of Archbishop Rokycana. In 1457 these people settled in Kunwald. Here they established a three tiered society of penitents, advanced, and perfected members. The perfected members became what in effect were priests. Separating themselves from Rome, their influence grew and after the Reformation their sympathies developed in a pro-Lutheran direction. In 1547 the Brethren, to escape growing persecution by King Ferdinand, moved to Moravia. They returned to Bohemia in 1609 and won state recognition as a religious group, but were almost destroyed at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 in the early stages of the Thirty Years War. For the next century-and-a-half the Brethren maintained themselves in a number of small bands scattered across central Europe. Then in 1722 some of these fugitives found refuge on the estates of Count von Zinzendorf in Saxony.

Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf had been raised by his maternal grandmother, a Pietist, and had studied at the Francke school in Halle where he met the Danish-Indian missionaries Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plutschau. He subsequently became well-acquainted with orthodox Lutheranism while studying law at Wittenberg between 1716 and 1719, and strove with little success to reconcile the Lutheran and the Pietist perspectives. After completing his legal studies, he spent a year traveling through western Europe and acquired some familiarity with Reformed as well as Roman Catholic thought. In 1721 he entered the civil service in Saxony, serving as the king's royal

counselor, and purchased an estate at Berthelsdorf. The estate was to become the center of the Herrnhut Christian community where the Moravians found refuge.

In 1722 von Zinzendorf retired from civil service, committed himself to the affairs of the Herrnhut colony, and eventually became its leader. During the years that followed, his religious thought grew increasingly utopian and mystical, finally leading to a break with the Halle Pietists. An ecumenist and advocate of world evangelism, von Zinzendorf, while visiting Copenhagen in 1731, met a black man from the Caribbean, an encounter which recalled to his mind his earlier meeting with Ziegenbalg and Plutschau. Urged by von Zinzendorf the Moravians sent two missionaries to St. Thomas in 1732 (von Zinzendorf visited the island himself in 1738-39). This venture made the Moravians the first Protestant church to develop a specific program for foreign missions, and ended by transforming them into what was essentially a missionary movement. They sent missionaries to Greenland in 1733, to North America in 1734 (those missionaries settled in Savannah, Georgia, under the leadership of Augustus G. Spangenberg in 1735), to Lapland and South America in 1735, to South Africa in 1736, and to Surinam (Dutch Guiana) in 1738.

The point of contact between Frederick IV and Count von Zinzendorf was Halle. Halle in Saxony was to become an important Pietist center for instructing missionaries. Much of the credit for this goes to August Hermann Francke (1663–1727). A Lutheran minister and professor of Hebrew at Leipzig, he became converted in 1687 and shared his excitement with his students during Bible classes. These classes led to a revival at the school. Jonathan Edwards refers to this revival as having lasted thirty years by the time his own *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England* came out in 1743.[8] The connection between revival and missions is important and will engage us in the next section, but we should point out here that such a connection is not necessarily a natural one. Revival implies not evangelism but revivification, restoring to life that which has become moribund. What made the connection between revival and evangelism natural was the supposition that Christian faith had to be vital to be authentic, that, as James expressed it, faith without works is dead. Dead faith, in the eye of the revivalist, is no

faith at all. Hence when Prof. Francke became converted, he became converted not to a body of doctrine to which he gave formal assent but to a living God who loved him and made demands. Relationship to deity was the vital center of this conversion, and Pietism's emphasis on the inner life gave it structure and coherence. Conversion on such terms recognized that the basic human problem is not ignorance, poverty, disease, or even sin. The basic human problem is separation from God. Without a dynamic loving relationship to God, even members of the church were deemed no better than unbelievers. This recognition that many in the church might not be saved despite their intellectual assent to Christianity's doctrines was the impetus that transformed revival into evangelism, and evangelism into mission.

Section D
The British-American Revivals

In 1720 a young Dutch Reformed pastor who had come under the influence of European pietism took over a church in the Raritan Valley of northern New Jersey and began to preach on the need for spiritual renewal among his congregation. By 1725 his message was attracting large numbers of people in the area. His name was Theodore J. Frelinghuysen and it was with him that the Great Awakening began in the American colonies.

In 1729 Jonathan Edwards became the sole preacher of the Congregational Church in Northampton, Massachusetts, and by 1734/35 was leading a similar renewal there.

Revival was also beginning across the Atlantic in Wales. In the spring of 1735 a young school teacher named Howell Harris experienced a conversion to Christianity which convinced him of his own salvation. Joined a few weeks later by Daniel Rowland, a curate at Llangeitho in Carmarthenshire, who had a similar conversion experience, Harris began to travel around South Wales proclaiming to growing audiences that they too could know with certainty that they were truly and eternally saved.

Then on May 24, 1738, John Wesley, after returning from an unsuccessful mission trip to the colony of Georgia, felt his "heart strangely warmed" as he listened to a reading from Luther's preface to Romans while attending a meeting of

Moravians on Aldersgate Street in London. He was present at the meeting in part because he had been so impressed with the spiritual demeanor of some of those missionary Moravians who had begun to settle in Georgia in 1735 and whom he had encountered on his voyage.

By April of 1738 Wesley had begun open air preaching. He was soon joined by George Whitefield who had himself returned to England briefly from a mission trip to Georgia where he had gone at the invitation of John Wesley.

The eighteenth century revival associated especially with the names of Edwards, Wesley, and Whitefield, was something genuinely new under the sun. There are no records of anything quite like it before, and, because it was so distinct, it generated a great deal of controversy. In 1743 Jonathan Edwards, in an attempt to sort through the conflicting views, published what was to become a Christian classic: *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England*. In his tract Edwards argued that despite the excesses associated with it, the revival was without question a move of God and should be encouraged. One of the ideas he proposed for encouraging it was a day of fasting and prayer during which Americans could entreat God to continue to pour out his Spirit on the churches and further his great work.

Four years later, Edwards published another tract entitled *A Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer* in which he expanded on his earlier suggestion. Inspired in part by events in Cambuslang, Scotland, where a revival had begun in 1742 as a result of bands of people praying together, and in part by a tract entitled *Pleading with the people of Scotland and elsewhere to unite in prayer for the revival of religion* which had been written and sent to him by a Scottish Presbyterian minister in Edinburgh named John Erskine, Edwards proposed creating a "concert of prayer" between Christians on both sides of the Atlantic who would join in covenant to pray for the conversion of the world. Edwards had come to believe that the world was entering its final era and that the millennium would commence around the year 2000. Edwards believed that Christians could participate in this momentous event by praying for it in concert with one another.

Edwards sent a copy of his tract to John Erskine who in turn passed it to John Sutcliffe, pastor of the Baptist church at Olney. The Great Awakening rolled on for another decade but by 1760 it was only a memory.

Desiring to rekindle the fires of revival, John Sutcliffe in 1789 arranged to have Edwards's book republished. This reprint fell into the hands of Andrew Fuller who five years before in 1784 had organizing prayer meetings among the Particular Baptists Churches in Northhamptonshire. These churches agreed to set aside the first Monday evening of every month to pray for the revival of religion. Their covenant was remarkable for two reasons. First, the Northhamptonshire Baptists were Calvinists and had concluded earlier on the basis of their Calvinist theology that the gospel should not be preached indiscriminately. Indiscriminate preaching, in their view, implied that those who had not been elected to salvation still had the ability to believe, an assertion the Particular Baptists considered at odds with the justice of God. They argued that God would be unjust to demand from his creatures actions which they had no ability to perform. Second, the idea that people should meet for this kind of prayer was radical in itself. Because such meetings were often conducted without a minister present, they were suspect, and because they involved the gathering of large numbers of citizens in private homes they were considered dangerous and under some circumstances were actually illegal. This meant that they were an idea not easily accepted by the established church.

Recognizing that these prayer meetings required theological justification, Andrew Fuller in 1785 published his *Gospel Worthy of All Acceptance*. This ground-breaking tract established duty as the theological rationale for evangelism. Fuller argued that as creatures of God humans were bound by certain duties that remained in effect regardless any ability to fulfill them. For example, one had no ability apart from God-given faith to truly worship God, yet the duty to worship continued to bind all humans, even those with no faith. In the same way, evangelism was a Christian duty that existed apart from the ability of others to respond to the message, and as such it implied nothing about their ability to respond.

The Northhamptonshire churches continued to pray for seven years. William Carey's ministry to India—the trip that is traditionally hailed as the birth of Protestant missions—was the direct result. We will explore this further in chapter 4, but the important point to stress for the moment is the close connection between prayer and revival and between revival and Protestant missions. Though, as we have seen, Protestant missions in its early stage was primarily a movement among Pietists, the Pietist element had by the nineteenth century been eclipsed by British evangelicalism, in large part because of the global reach of the British empire. America's rising interest in Asia throughout this century also assured a significant American evangelical presence on the foreign mission field, and in the twentieth century American missions were to become dominate. But the Christian message these missionaries brought with them had been saturated with revival themes and in the process had been transformed. It was no longer the Christianity of the Reformation. Instead it had undergone a radical refocusing toward the subjective. That refocusing will engage our attention for the remainder of this chapter.

Section E
The Cultural Drift toward Subjectivity

As was pointed out in the last chapter, intellectual endeavor in the West has been dominated by epistemological questions. Philosophers, assuming cognition and its object were distinct realities, sought agreement between the two. Initially in their quest for agreement they emphasized the object. Currently the subject is stressed. This shift in focus is the story of thirteen hundred years of intellectual history. We will not trace that history in any detail here, but a quick reference to three figures of central importance to Protestants can serve to illustrate the nature of the shift.

In his *Confessions*, written between 397 and 401, Augustine frequently addresses the problem of happiness and where it lies. He begins his book by noting that our hearts can find rest solely in God, and throughout his discussion Augustine returns often to this theme. True happiness, he insists, is the exclusive province of those who have been redeemed by Christ. Then in the

tenth book of the *Confessions* Augustine begins to draw out the philosophical implications of his thesis. In sections 3 and 5 of that book, Augustine, in the tradition of Socrates, addresses the issue of self knowledge and concludes that because so much of what we are is hidden from us and can only be illuminated by God, humans cannot really know themselves until they know God. Thus for Augustine subjective knowledge is inferior to objective knowledge. His concept of truth is firmly rooted in the objective, in his case the objective existence of God apart from the believer.

Writing in the middle of the sixteenth century, Calvin in his *Institutes* agrees with Augustine. In book 1, chapter 1, section 2, Calvin states that without knowledge of God there can be no knowledge of self, but he begins that chapter by asserting in section one that without knowledge of self there can be no knowledge of God. In other words, each kind of knowledge implies the other. In Calvin we see Augustinian doctrine but with greater emphasis on the subjective. True knowledge of ourselves is predicated on true knowledge of God (this from Augustine), but our ability to know God rests on our ability to know ourselves. Calvin's shift toward self-knowledge reflects developments unknown to Augustine.

While Augustine's theology was written under the shadow of Plato, Calvin's had been fertilized by two other currents: nominalism and voluntarism. Of course Calvin, too, as we saw in the last chapter, owed a profound debt to Plato. All Western philosophy and theology does. But thinkers like Duns Scotus and William of Occam contributed significantly to the intellectually milieu from which Protestantism could draw.

Gordon Leff points out that three traits dominated the intellectual life of fourteenth century Europe:

1. A reaction against rationalistic determinism and an emphasis of free will particularly when that free will was divine.

2. The development of contrary outlooks, one based on reason, the other on faith.

3. An effort among both nominalists and realists to determine how much reason could know of faith.

The most important thinker on the side of the realists was Duns Scotus. On the side of the nominalists it was William of Occam.[9]

Duns Scotus (1266–1308) rejected the analogy of being. This analogy, which characterized Platonic thought, assumed a hierarchy of goodness, beauty, and so forth, derived from a model that posited existence as an interconnected "chain of being" in which creatures, as mixtures of existence (good) and non-existence (evil), could be classified as higher and lower. Instead Duns Scotus asserted that being is univocal, that it has only one meaning: either something exists or it does not. God does not express some higher level of existence from which all other existence derives. Instead, each creature made by God exists fully and in its own right. When he created, God was not constrained by pre-existing ideas, as Platonists averred. This meant that God could have created the universe in any number of ways, but freely chose to create it in the way it is. An emphasis on God's will as the creative cause of his actions is called *voluntarism*.

William of Occam (1280–1349) also rejected the analogy of being, arguing, as did Dun Scotus, that universal ideas as imagined by the Greeks would predetermine what God could create. Although it had been asserted for theological reasons by Christian divines for many centuries, the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*, or "from nothing," did not become official church doctrine until the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. Taking his cue in part from this council, William of Occam pointed out that creation *ex nihilo* meant that God had not modeled his creation on pre-existing forms. Indeed, the doctrine meant that forms themselves were irrelevant as vehicles of creation. They had no independent reality but were names given to rational constructs. This position, known as *nominalism*, suggested that intuitive knowledge came not from one's access to universal ideas but from particular experience. Such knowledge was nothing more than one's awareness of particulars. Abstract knowledge, Occam went on to argue, was based on intuitive knowledge, and hence was an imaginative construct that had only psychological reality. William of Occam's conclusion implied that one's knowledge of God came only from revelation or from personal experience.

These propositions did not originate in the fourteenth century. Their pedigree is much older. For example,

nominalism has been traced to a third century philosopher named Porphyry who claimed to derive it from Aristotle. But in the fourteenth century we see the beginning of the breakdown of that synthesis between Christianity and Platonic philosophy achieved by Augustine and which had dominated the West for almost a thousand years. The collapse of the Augustine model with its assumption of Hellenistic substance/form dualism, left individuals confronting a universe where God was imagined as beyond the categories of human knowledge and constrained by nothing but his own purposes. As a member of the universal church, one might accept such a world in the faith that whatever happened, one belonged to a community God had chosen to bless, but when the authority of the church was compromised, as it was for those in the sixteenth century who became Protestants, one was left with uncertainties that could no longer be quieted by one's status as a baptized believer in full communion with others of the same faith. Instead one had to rely on one's own faith. That faith, in the end, would have to be secured by one's personal understanding of God, an understanding that would be founded either on theological knowledge (usually based on some combination of the Bible as God's special revelation and reason as God's general tool for understanding that revelation), or on revival experience, or on some combination of the two.

By the eighteenth century the West's shift toward the subject was complete and a theology was developed that was predicated on self-knowledge. The theologian most famous for pioneering that theology is, appropriately enough, the German Pietist Friedrich Schleiermacher.

Educated by Moravians before he entered Halle in 1787, Schleiermacher sought in *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers,* which came out in 1799, to secure feeling as the essential component in religion. For Schleiermacher, probably the most influential theologian of the nineteenth century, subjectivity was the bases of theology. Indeed, in *The Christian Faith,* published in 1821/22, he wove an entire systematic from this subjective skein.

In his systematic Schleiermacher tells his readers that he is attempting to create an empirical theology by structuring

experience through church tradition as understood histori-
cally.[10] At first glance Schleiermacher's emphasis on church his-
tory may make him look more objective than Calvin who began
his systematic by talking about the individual, but
Schleiermacher's program develops far more personal themes
than Calvin's did. Schleiermacher builds his theology on piety
which he defines as that feeling at the source of all ecclesiastical
communions, and which he describes as a form of self-con-
sciousness.[11] It is, he says, the consciousness of being abso-
lutely dependent on God.[12] This feeling of absolute
dependence is the highest of three grades of consciousness and
is the essence of piety,[13] and awareness of it is the basis of reli-
gion.[14] Indeed he reduces all doctrine to expressions of inward
experience. Those who have had the experiences belong in the
circle of belief, those who have not had them cannot enter.[15]

Schleiermacher's emphasis on empiricism and experience
fit neatly into cultural themes which, having evolved for several
centuries, were coming into focus. It resonated well with the
natural sciences and was quite at home in the post-Kantian
metaphysics of the nineteenth century West. And his concep-
tion of doctrine as dynamic and in continual need of reformula-
tion suited those evolutionary models of reality that were then
in the ascendancy. In many ways Schleiermacher pioneered a
new conception of Christianity as an incarnational faith, a con-
ception which would be very important to missionary thought,
but the reformulation he pointed to and began to systematize
was already well advanced when he wrote. The vehicle of that
advance was Pietism and the revivals. They were the early
Christian response to the larger culture's shift toward the sub-
jective and through them Christianity was already being trans-
formed. A look at John Wesley's use of the phrase "born again"
will illustrate the point.

Section F
Wesley and the Born Again Experience

The "Wesleyan Quadrilateral" is a system of four basic proofs,
Scripture, *Tradition*, *Reason*, and *Experience*, by which Wesleyanism
seeks to secure its tenets. Ideally all four of these proofs are to be

given equal weight but this is seldom possible in practice, one will inevitably give precedence to one of the four in an effort to resolve theological dilemmas. In this section we will argue that Wesley stressed Scripture over the other three proofs but we will also show that revivalism coupled with Wesley's own spiritual experience caused him and his followers to overemphasize the role of experience, an overemphasis which continues to profoundly impact much Protestant theologizing.

A little background information is necessary here. John H.S. Kent observes that Wesley had a "lifelong admiration for Christian mystical writers, especially Roman Catholic authors of the late seventeenth century."[16] But Kent lists no examples to substantiate his assertion, and the evidence is conflicting. Throughout the course of his life, Wesley was to preach thirteen sermons based on Christ's Sermon on the Mount. One he first preached on February 3, 1747, (his text was Matthew 5:13–16) was a specific condemnation of what we might call "solitary mysticism," the sort of mysticism one would associate with Roman Catholic mystics, but Edward H. Sugden points out that in 1776 "when the passing of years had mellowed him," Wesley wrote in a Preface to the life of the seventeenth century Catholic mystic Madam Guyon that she was "good to an eminent degree."[17] Wesley was certainly influenced by some of the later monastics. For example, in 1728 he read *The Imitation of Christ* written in the early fifteenth century by Thomas a' Kempis, a German mystic attached to the Augustinian Convent of Mt. Saint Agnes near Zwolle, and was much impressed by the book.[18] Leo George Cox observes that the ideal of Christian perfection comes historically and theologically from the Catholic tradition, and believes that Wesley did follow that tradition although he admits Wesley himself might have disclaimed the relationship.[19] In this context Cox notes that the Anglican Church (which thinks of itself as the Anglo-Catholic Church), once it understood Wesley's message, did not object to his teaching. The real objections came from the Calvinists and more importantly the Moravians.[20] We should note at this point that the Catholics and the Anglicans are churches which boast sophisticated and clearly articulated theologies. Both are confessional churches and gauge religious experience against the

standard provided by their confessions. We need to keep this
clearly in mind since one sometimes hears it said that Wesley
never subjected Methodism to a confessional standard. Of
course he never did, he was an Anglican.

We have used a term which, before we go on, we ought to
define. What is mysticism? Mysticism and mystery are etymo-
logically related. Both derive from the Greek word *mystes* refer-
ring to one who is initiated into the mysteries (i.e. the mystery
religions). These religions were mostly of Middle Eastern ori-
gin, although the cult of Isis came from Egypt and the cult of
Dionysus and Demeter came from Greece. They began to
spread through the Greco-Roman world during the last centu-
ries before Christ, and, according to Ronald Nash, became,
along with Judaism and Christianity, the most influential reli-
gions in the Roman world in the centuries after Christ.[21] These
new faiths were called mystery religions because they used sym-
bols and rites known only to initiates to signify that secret knowl-
edge they sought to both guard and communicate. Hence, in
the current meaning of the word, one who is a mystic is assumed
to be privy to religious knowledge not available to others.
Rather than lending itself to conceptualization, such knowl-
edge is "secret" because it is intuited through experiences culti-
vated by some form of spiritual exercise. In Christian traditions
these exercises are usually intended to culminate in a state of
spiritual ecstasy through which one acquires mystical knowl-
edge. In Buddhist traditions a state of *satori* (a Japanese word
associated with Zen) is the goal. This state, Buddhists insist, lies
beyond ecstasy and they describe it using the most mundane
terms.[22] But in either case the knowledge is intuited and must
be experienced, the mystic insists, to be understood. Hence it is
mystical or "secret".

When we say that Wesley was influenced by mysticism, we
are saying that his understanding of Christian truth was struc-
tured by experiences which he cultivated, which were deeply
personal, and which at some profound level were even incom-
municable. In other words, to admit that Wesley's theology had
a strong mystical side is to admit immediately that experience
was key for him.

While we may have to suspend judgment on just how much Wesley owed to seventeenth century Catholic mysticism, he certainly owed a huge debt to seventeenth century Protestant piety. The Anglican bishop Jeremy Taylor through such books as *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living* (1650) and *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying* (1651) had a profound influence on Wesley during Wesley's early years. And it might surprise us to learn that Wesley was also influenced by the once popular *Life of God in the Soul of Man* whose author, Henry Scougal (1650–1678; he died of consumption), was a Scottish Calvinist, but such is the case.[23] Eighteenth century piety was also important in Wesley's development. Wesley was earnest in his study of William Law's *Practical Treatise Upon Christian Perfection* (1726) and *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (1728). And of course Susannah Wesley exercised profound influence over both of her famous sons.

Wesley's father was a minister in the Church of England, holding livings at Epworth (1697–1735; Wesley was born here in 1703) and Wroot (1725–1735). Wesley himself received his BA in 1724 from Christ Church in Oxford where he showed himself to be a serious student of both logic and religion. He had a conversion experience in 1725, was ordained as an Anglican deacon the same year and was elected to a fellowship at Lincoln College in Oxford the following year. He received his MA in 1727. Between 1727 and 1729 he served as his father's curate at Wroot where he was ordained as a priest in 1728 by John Potter.[24] In October 1729 he returned to Oxford and became leader of the Holy Club, a small band of undergraduates which in 1734 George Whitefield joined. The club had been organized earlier by Wesley's younger brother Charles. Charles Wesley and Robert and William Morgan were its first members.[25] Members of the club resolved to encourage one another in their pursuit of a deeper spiritual life. They studied the Greek New Testament, prayed together, held devotionals, and did charitable work.[26] Timothy Smith tells us that "the governing impulse of [the members'] religious thought" was the renewal of God's image in their lives and that they sought this renewal "in heroic habits of devotion and self-discipline for seven years."[27]

In 1735, Wesley went to Georgia at the invitation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, intending to serve as a missionary to the Indians. He landed on February 6, 1736, but instead of leading a mission to the Indians, he ended up working as a minister for English settlers in Savannah under General James Oglethorpe. His years in Georgia were not happy ones and he apparently came to doubt the validity of his own Christian confession, but on his voyage to the colony he did meet a group of Moravians whose faith in the midst of a great storm impressed him deeply. It was a meeting which was to have profound consequences for Wesley and for England. After he returned to England, Wesley reestablished contact with the Moravians in London, and at a Moravian meeting on Aldersgate Street on May 24, 1738, as he listened to a reading from the preface to Luther's *Commentary on Romans*, felt his "heart was strangely warmed" and became convinced that he was truly saved.[28] He went on to become the greatest evangelist Britain has ever known.

There are seven points to make based on this account.

1.   The Wesley children were raised in a strong and sophisticated Christian environment. Although his grandparents on both his mother's and his father's side had been Puritan Nonconformists, that is Dissenters, Wesley's parents returned to the Church of England where his father became a minister and what Wood calls "a staunch High Churchman of the old school."[29] His mother was very careful to nurture Wesley and his eighteen siblings in that version of the faith.

2.   Wesley's formal education was also thoroughly religious. He knew the Bible well and he knew it in its original languages, and this knowledge had a strong rational component

3.   While in the midst of that education, he had a conversion experience when he was 22.

4.   His reading was heavily weighted with devotional literature, and he took such literature very seriously.

5.   For seven years he was the leader of a club whose members were committed at significant personal sacrifice to cultivating a rich and meaningful spiritual life.

6. Wesley was an Anglican priest, a man who, after he had been evaluated by the church, had been found acceptable and had committed himself to a lifetime of professional service to her and to Christ.

7. He was one of the very first Protestants to go out onto the mission field.

One would have expected such a man to have had a deeply rooted, rock solid faith. In fact, while he did not doubt the truth of Christianity, he had no assurance of his salvation until he was 35 years old, and the assurance he had, when it came, was based upon an experience. He *felt* his heart strangely warmed while listening to a reading from a commentary at a Moravian meeting.

Wesley was not unique. While a few radical intellectuals in Wesley's world were beginning to question the truth of Christianity, very few of these actually questioned the existence of God, and the vast majority of people took Christian truth for granted with a confidence that is difficult for us today to imagine. People knew Scripture and read their Bibles as literally as any contemporary fundamentalist. Theological disputes often ended in wars. People willingly died horrifying deaths rather than recant on points which seem to us to be abstruse if not trivial. Cities rioted over things like prayer books. People did not agonize over the question "is Christianity true?," or over the issue of God's existence. Instead, like Wesley, people agonized over their personal standing before God. The reason for this was the Reformation.

In the third century, Cyprian (200–258), the Bishop of Carthage, wrote *On the Unity of the Church* in which he argued that there was no salvation outside the church. The famous statement associated with Cyprian is "He cannot have God for his father who has not the church for his mother." Cyprian's concern was to guard the church against schismatics of which there were more than a few during those centuries. And he succeeded. From the third century until the Great Schism of 1054 split the church into Eastern and Western parts (the mutual excommunications were not lifted until December 7, 1965) the church remained one, and after the Great Schism the Western church continued without further disruption until the middle

of the sixteenth century. But with the Reformation everything was to change.

Prior to the Reformation, church unity provided a great deal of security for the believer. Membership in the church was citizenship in the kingdom of Heaven. The sacraments were physical signs of the heavenly grace ministered through the church. And merit in eternity was the church's stock-in-trade. One might approach spiritual things in the most casual way and have only the dimmest understanding of Christian doctrines, but as long as one was a member in good standing in Christ's church, such failings scarcely mattered, one's salvation was assured. This security was further buttressed by the doctrine of *in fides ecclesiae* or "in the faith of the church" which meant that one's faith rested not in one's own deficient understanding but in the truths affirmed by the church whether or not one grasped those truths adequately or had even heard of them. One's membership in the church was a public confession that despite what one might personally believe, one's genuine faith was defined by the theology and canons of orthodox Christianity.

The Reformation swept all such security away. Within a single generation the authority of the Western church was forever compromised and one's spiritual failings began to matter a great deal. With that shattering of the Christian community, as we noted in Section E above, one found one's self alone and confronting Christ the judge. Under such circumstances it was not really enough to say that one was saved through grace by faith. One needed assurance that one's faith was authentic, that one's life was of such a quality that one could stand before God with some confidence, that one had not ruined one's chance at eternity by having embraced false doctrines. Christendom was suddenly pluralistic, and pluralism always entails the possibility of making wrong choices. Many serious Christians discovered in the Reformation not joyous liberty but tormenting doubts. How could one know one was saved? Or, as the Calvinists put the question, how could one be sure one was a member of the elect?

Such doubts were not easily dispelled. They haunted the Western churches for more than a hundred years. Two movements would eventually help allay such uncertainties. The first, which began in Germany in the seventeenth century, was

pietism. The second, which began in Britain and America in the eighteenth century, was revivalism. Both movements emphasized experience, with revivalism growing out of pietistic concerns. One could know one was saved because one could experience one's salvation, either through the spiritual rewards of a pious life, or in a moment when one was suddenly revived or converted, or, better yet, through both. The certainty offered by membership in the medieval church was replaced by the certainty offered through Protestant mediated experience, that is, experience within the context of an assumed body of knowledge that gave the experience meaning and assured its authenticity.

Let us return now to the Wesleyan quadrilateral. R. G. Tuttle tells us that for Wesley the Bible was the supreme authority. Wesley insisted that Scripture's authority is based upon its divine origins. Because it was written by men inspired by God, the Bible is the primary authority for Christians. Next to Scripture, Wesley believed that experience was the strongest proof for Christianity. He emphatically and frequently affirmed that one cannot have assurance about something if one has not personally experienced it. However, he also believed that tradition should not be undervalued. Tradition provides coherency for Christian doctrines across the centuries and assures believers that what they profess is what Christians have always believed. Reason, too, was important to Wesley, but this was not reason in the sense of Enlightenment Rationalism, it was reason renewed, illuminated, and guided by the Holy Spirit.[30]

Timothy Smith agrees, arguing that Wesley derived his doctrines not from experience but from what he believed was "clear reasoning about the plain meanings of Scripture . . . illuminated by the Holy Spirit . . ."[31] Indeed, Smith understands experience as subordinate to both reason and Scripture in Wesley's thinking. I believe Smith somewhat overstates his case. It seems clear enough that neither reason or Scripture either separately or in combination were sufficient to secure Wesley's confidence in his own salvation while an experience as he listened to Luther's words was. But that experience did happen to a man who from his earliest years had been saturated in Christian thought, and here, I think, Smith is right. Experience to Wesley was vital but subordinate to Scripture.

John Kent also notes that Wesley in his sermons did not argue from experience but cited Scripture to support his positions, and Kent believes this is significant when one attempts to determine the relative importance of those two aspects of the quadrilateral.[32] And Leo George Cox wrote *John Wesley's Concept of Perfection* to argue that Wesley learned his perfectionism not from experience but from church traditions and from the Bible. There can be no doubt that Wesley's intense interest in perfection significantly predates any experience of it that he or his followers had.

The point is that Wesleyan scholars, however they rate the relative importance of experience in Wesley's thought, agree that for Wesley it was subordinate to Scripture. Yet Wesley's reading of Scripture was deeply influenced by his spiritual experiences and by the revival, and that was to become a problem. Wesley's understanding of the phrase "born again" will illustrate this point.

Much has been made of Jesus' words to Nicodemus, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God. . . .Ye must be born again." (John 3:3,7) The Greek word translated as "again" is *anothen* and means "from above" or "from the top" or even "from the beginning". In other words, Jesus is telling Nicodemus, "You must be born from above [i.e. from God]." The actual phrase "born again" or *anagennao* occurs only once in the New Testament. Peter uses it when he tells his readers that they have been purified, "being born again [*anagennao*], not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth forever." (I Peter 1:23) Peter is not telling his hearers that they must be born again, he is reminding them that they have been.

It has been all too common for evangelicals and the missionaries they send, because they interpret such passages through a revivalist grid, to insist that Jesus is describing a conversion experience that may be dramatic and is certainly datable. Yet nothing in Jesus' words requires that interpretation. It is just as possible—indeed, it is far more likely—that Jesus was informing Nicodemus that conversion is a spiritual birth which, as a creative act of God, is unavailable to the "natural" man. While such a creative act might occur in a dramatic moment,

these words of Jesus certainly allow for the possibility that one can be "born from above" without having a specific experience. The problem is that evangelicalism, a creature of revivals which stressed the need for immediate decision, seeks to give its position biblical authority by using the Nicodemus passage, and reads a particular experience into the passage. Wesley was certainly guilty of this.[33]

On May 29, 1743, at 5:00 o'clock in the afternoon Wesley preached his sermon "The New Birth" to "an immense congregation" which had gathered to hear him at the Great Gardens lying north of Whitechapel Road in London, about 200 yards east of St. Mary's Church. His text was John 3:7 "Ye must be born again"[34] and he specifically identifies being born again with an experience that can be felt. He says:

> [When one is born again], he feels, is inwardly sensible of, the graces which the Spirit of God works in his heart. He feels, he is conscious of, a 'peace which passeth all understanding.' He many times feels such a joy in God as is unspeakable and full of glory.' He feels 'the love of God shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Ghost which is given to him'; and all his spiritual senses are then exercised to discern spiritual good and evil.[35]

However, he does admit earlier in the sermon that the phrase "born again" was a common one among the Jews of Jesus' time. It referred to a gentile's conversion to Judaism, a conversion marked by a baptismal ritual. Being born again was symbolized by baptism and sometimes used as a synonym for the act. Hence, Nicodemus's surprise that he, a leader in Israel, would need to be born again.[36] But Jesus was telling Nicodemus that more than baptism (i.e. being born of water) is required, one must also be born of the Spirit (John 3:5). Wesley insists (in harmony with the Church of England, he reminds his hearers) that baptism is not the new birth.[37] Nor is the new birth the same as sanctification. Instead the new birth is the beginning of sanctification.[38] Hence, in Wesley's mind, baptism, the new birth, and sanctification are related but distinct moments in salvation. Of these three, baptism is the least important. Wesley defines it as "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace,"[39]

and he tells his hearers that those who sin willfully after their baptism have denied that baptism.[40] He also maintains the possibility of being born again even without having been baptized.[41] This position on baptism was nothing new for Wesley. As early as September 1739 in his sermon "The Means of Grace" he insisted, "[W]ith regard to God, there is no such thing as means; seeing He is equally able to work whatsoever pleaseth Him, by any, or by none at all."[42]

The standard practice for people in Wesley's day was to be baptized into the church shortly after they were born, often in eight days in imitation of Jewish circumcision. Wesley viewed such baptism as little more than empty ritual, or worse as a ritual exacerbating one's guilt. He says:

> [T]here is nothing under heaven which can excuse a lie; otherwise I should say to an open sinner, "If you have been baptized, do not own it. For how highly does this aggravate your guilt! How will it increase your damnation."[43]

What was needed, Wesley was convinced, was a radical and heartfelt conversion, a datable experience of which one was aware and which he called being born again. Many in the Wesleyan tradition believe the same is true of sanctification, that sanctification also occurs as a specific second work of grace and can itself be dated. They justify this position by appealing to Wesley.

Wesley had strong convictions about God's grace, convictions he explained when he became embroiled in a controversy with his erstwhile mentors the Moravians. In London in the autumn of 1739 Wesley was made aware that Moravians were teaching a doctrine they called "stillness" to some of those converted by his preaching. According to the Moravians, one could not claim to be born again—indeed, one should not even partake of the Lord's Supper—until one was entirely free of all guilt, all sin, all doubt, all fear. Moreover, this confidence was given solely at the discretion of God. One could do nothing by way of discipline, prayer, Christian service, or whatever to prevail upon God to grant that grace. All one could do was to wait for it in stillness.[44] Wesley could sympathize with the Moravians insofar as they recognized the general need for a deeper spirituality in earthly life, but he disagreed with them regarding the human

response to that need. Wesley believed that through prevenient grace, that is, universal grace given immediately subsequent to the Fall, it was possible for Christians cooperate in God's grace and to prepare the way for this second work of grace by doing good works.[45] Such a conviction had always been latent in Wesley as is evidenced by his years of devotional living, but with his awareness of the Moravians doctrine of "stillness," it became explicit.

In the autumn of 1739 Wesley, according to his *Diary* entries, became convinced that Scripture taught that conversion was to be followed by a second work of grace whereby Christ's followers were perfected in Christian love. He wrote his sermon "Christian Perfection" in November of that year and preached it immediately in Bristol. It was published early in 1741.[46] Edward H. Sugden tells us that the sermon was influenced not only by Wesley's study of the Bible but also by his study of devotional writers, particularly Taylor, Law, and Thomas a' Kempis.[47] In this sermon, which is the most complete statement Wesley makes on the subject, he says, arguing from I John 3:7–10:

> Here the point . . . is purposely settled by the last of the inspired writers, and decided in the clearest manner. In conformity, therefore, both to the doctrine of St. John, and to the whole tenor of the New Testament, we fix this conclusion,—*a Christian is so far perfect, as not to commit sin.*

> This is the glorious privilege of every Christian; yea, though he be but a babe in Christ. But it is only for those who *are strong* in the Lord . . . that it can be affirmed they are in such a sense perfect, as, secondly, to be freed from evil thoughts and evil tempers.[48] Wesley goes on to say that "every real Christian" is "free from all sinful tempers."[49] And he concludes:

> It remains, then, that Christians are saved in this world from all sin, from all unrighteousness; that they are now in such a sense perfect, as not to commit sin, and to be freed from evil thoughts and evil tempers.[50]

This was to be followed by a second experience which would sanctify the born again believer. Comparing sin to leprosy, he

said in a sermon written in Londonderry on April 24, 1767, and
published in London as a pamphlet in 1768:[51]

> By all the grace which is given at justification we cannot extir-
> pate them [sins]. Though we watch and pray ever so much, we
> cannot wholly cleanse either our hearts or hands. Most sure
> we cannot till it shall please our Lord to speak to our hearts
> again, to speak the second time 'Be clean'; and then only the
> leprosy is cleansed.[52]

Wesley never claimed to have this experience and when gathering
testimonies concerning it had to rely on the testimonies of others.[53]
He also, as we have seen, sought to root the doctrine in Scripture.

What can we conclude then about the role of experience in
Wesley's theological formulations, and what lessons can we
learn? Wesley–like everyone–drew on his own experiences
when reaching his conclusions, and much of his experience
derived from the revival in which he was so deeply immersed.
But he also knew that experience could be deceptive. Certainly
the Moravians were able to defend their doctrine of "stillness"
by appealing to their experience of it, but for Wesley such an
appeal was insufficient because he could find no evidence in
Scripture authenticating such an experience. His dispute with
the Moravians provides us with a key for understanding the rel-
ative importance of experience in Wesley's thought. Experi-
ence was vital, but was subordinate to Scripture. We might also
suggest that for Wesley experience was subordinate to or at
least informed by tradition. After all, Wesley took the time to
point out to his hearers that what he taught about baptism con-
formed to Anglican tradition, and his reliance on devotional lit-
erature from a variety of sources, including monastic and
Calvinistic ones, suggests that he had a deep appreciation for
the experience of Christians in the broader church. Indeed, as
we saw, some of his information about the second act of grace
came not from his own experience but from the testimony of
others. He himself never claimed to have reached that level of
perfection.

Nevertheless, despite Wesley's caution, he was occasionally
guilty of reading more into Scripture than the Scripture will
actually bear. For example, his belief that "born again" must

refer to a felt experience is a belief with which we can sympathize, understanding, as we do, that it is based on Wesley's personal struggles and on his intimate involvement with the Great Awakening, but surely it is wrong to insist that all professing Christians must be able to point to such an experience if they want to claim a vital faith. The error Wesley made—and so many make—rests on what would seem to be a healthy attempt to authenticate personal experiences by an appeal to Scripture, but too often such an effort ends, as it did in Wesley's case, by sacrificing the original meaning of the text even while seeking to base its authority on the text. Certainly we should test our experiences against Scripture, but we are wrong to universalize our experience on the basis of Scripture. Scripture has universal application, but experiences do not. Vern Sheridan Polythress of Westminster Theological Seminary put the point this way:

> [M]odern teaching . . . is authoritative insofar as it reexpresses Scripture. Modern circumstantial content [by which he means that which is happening around us today] is not ecclesiastically authoritative at all, no matter how truthful it may be.[54]

Furthermore experience is not naked, it is interpreted. Hence when we draw uncritically from experience, we risk using experience to smuggle in alien paradigms and to allow ourselves to be seduced by non-Christian interpretations based on those paradigms. When this happens, those interpretations may be mistaken for "the plain meaning of the text." In Wesley's case "the plain meaning" that he and his followers saw in the Johannine text was probably not its plain meaning at all. The eighteenth century was already descending into the vortex of subjectivity, a descent which would in the end transform Protestantism, and that subjectivity with its emphasis on experience had distorted the text's original meaning.

By theological standards, Wesley's error was fairly small, but as so often happens, it became the occasion for larger errors. Today many if not most conservative evangelicals continue to insist, pointing to the Nicodemus passage, that an experience (of salvation, of sanctification, or of charismatic

phenomena) is a prerequisite for claiming authentic faith. One consequence of such variety is that much of the security people found in experience is in danger of being lost, but such is the trouble with error. Even though it seems to solve an immediate problem, an error generates from itself further errors which in the end compromise the greater truth and lose whatever gains the initial mistake was believed to secure.

Section G
The Theological Paradigm

The revivals of the eighteenth century were something genuinely new under the sun. We have no record of anything like them before in the Christian church. But then Christianity had never before faced a world like the one that was emerging. It is worth noting how revivalism contextualized the Christian message and shaped that message to fit this new world. The revivalist's emphasis on a specific experience that produced a specific result mirrored the scientist's reliance on empiricism. Knowledge was secured and understood through experience. If one doubted one's salvation, those doubts could be swept away by an experience of that salvation. Stressing the personal nature of one's experience of God and the personal nature of one's commitment to God, revivalism was able to re-forge the link between doctrine and believer and make Christianity meaningful in an environment defined by growing individualism and a shift toward subjectivity. Revivalism was anti-institutional, popular, and democratic. Anyone with a Bible could be a theologian, any man (and later woman) with a voice could be a preacher. And, as Nathan Hatch has observed, the eighteenth century revivals were the beginning of a wave of revivals which swept the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century, leaving an impression still visible today.[55] Bruce Shelley has even claimed, without too much hyperbole, that in the nineteenth century, "revivalism was not a type of Christianity in America; it was Christianity in America."[56]

By stressing the importance of a transforming experience that was expected to last for the rest of one's life, revivalism

showed that it had genuinely revolutionary implications. These implications were to be worked out in three principle ways.

1. Revivalism helped to guarantee individual reform. One's salvation was expected not only to secure one's place in the world to come, but to make one a better person in this world as well. As the number of those claiming such conversion grew, they could not fail to have a beneficent impact on their society.

2. Rrevivalism became the impulse of renewed social concerns. Utopianism has always been an aspect of the American experience. Many groups came to America to escape religious persecution and, once settled, attempted to establish theocratic societies which would shine as lights to the rest of the world. Revivalism rekindled such dreams and inspired converts to improve the society in which they lived. The social gospel, as it is called, was primarily an American invention but it was to have a powerful influence on missions and the churches missionaries planted.

3. Revivalism became an agent of empowerment for oppressed peoples as Protestant missionaries carried the revival message to foreign lands, and in the process it became one a vector of cultural renewal and liberation from colonialism.

The consequences of that interface, fashioned in the fires of revival, between foreign missions and the gospel will engage our attention for the remainder of this book, but it is worth making some preliminary observations now. The discovery by Europeans of the rest of the world, and the role those Europeans played in enabling the peoples of the world to become aware of one another, occurred after the Renaissance. The Renaissance marked Europe's unearthing of much of its own cultural heritage. One of the results of the Renaissance was the birth of an acute awareness among intellectuals that things had not always been as they were. Philosophers particularly became very mindful that society was not some eternal and static thing given by God but was instead a dynamic reality created by social and economic conditions it had itself produced. Following the Renaissance, the age of discovery ushered in by Europe's navies brought that truth home even more profoundly. Explorers

reported traditions and mores that sounded strange to Europeans and yet seemed to work for those who practiced them. Explores also brought back tales of gross depravity among foreign peoples, depravity often associated with pagan religious beliefs, and these accounts encouraged the idea that European society, because of its Christian tradition, was markedly better than societies based on non-Christian norms. This perception was founded in part on the prejudice that different is deviant. If one is raised to believe that one's own way of doing the really important things is the best way, an assumption on which most moral codes are grounded, then it is natural enough to suspect that different customs are different because they lack, or are deficient in, key virtues (as is occasionally the case). Such a belief is by no means unique to Europe. It constitutes the very fabric of most societies and can make cross-cultural exchanges very threatening.

Of course Europeans had a window into such practices: their own past. They knew full well that the Christianity they professed was not indigenous but had been imported and, despite the religious wars from which they had so recently emerged, they were also aware that it formed a common bond among their various cultures. Such perspectives in the midst of revival made manifest one solution to the perceived deviance of foreign cultures: conversion. William Carey, as we shall see, made powerful use of this argument. Missions became not only a message of hope after death, they were also expected to perform a civilizing role in this world. Casting missions as an agent of civilization had three consequences:

1. Europeans began to wonder if a perfect society could be constructed in this world, or if it might already exist somewhere. Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* published in 1516, a year before the Reformation, explored the second possibility and outlined some characteristics one might reasonably expect of such a society. His book was the first of what would become an entire subsection of European literature.[57] American colonists, as we have pointed out above, explored the first possibility.

2. Europeans became more aware of the gospel as an agent for social improvement.

3.   Many people began to believe that this world was
     approaching the end of history and that America
     would have an important role to play in shaping
     the final events.[58]

These three elements together created a new theological posi-
tion known as postmillennialism. The word millennium had
been coined from two Latin words: *mil* meaning one thousand
and *biennium* meaning a period of two years. Combined, these
two words become millennium meaning a period of one thou-
sand years. The millennium in Christian theology refers to a
thousand year reign of Christ on earth. The doctrine is based
primarily on a single text: Revelation 20:1-9 in which Satan is
seized and bound for a thousand years (20:2-3). While Satan is
bound, those to whom judgment is given reign with resurrected
people who were beheaded for not worshiping the beast (2:4).
The resurrection of these beheaded people is known s the first
resurrection (20:5). At the end of the millennium, Satan shall
be loosed to summon Gog and Magog for battle (20:7-8)
"against the beloved city" but those gathered hordes will be
destroyed by fire from heaven (20:9). Because the Greek word
chilioi also means one thousand, doctrines about this thousand
year period can be called either chiliastic or millenarian
doctrines.

It is clear that the millennium is pictured as a period when
Christ reigns as contrasted to his first advent when he served,
but how are we to understand that reign? Into the eighteenth
century there were two interpretations. The early church
expected Christ to return within a few generations of his resur-
rection, and they expected that he would establish his millen-
nial kingdom upon his return. This idea, that the millennium
would follow the return of Christ, is called premillennialism,
pre- since Christ will return before the millennium. However,
as the generations passed and Christ did not return, a problem
called the delayed parousia (or second coming), another idea
was proposed. To grasp the power of this idea in the early
church, we must understand the role of allegory in ancient Hel-
lenistic society.

William James has described philosophy as a systematic
effort to think clearly. When this effort emerged in ancient
Greece, Greek society was confronted by a phenomenon that

was as threatening as it was appealing. Philosophy promised much but exacted a price. To become a philosopher one had to cut one's ties to the past. For the Greeks this was a sacred past made glorious by their poets.

Poetry was a very important part of Greek culture, but because the poets claimed to be only vessels for their poems and took no responsibility for what they proclaimed when seized by their muse, their poems and the heritage those poems represented were rejected by the philosophers. The idea of allegory allowed them to conserve their culture.

Allegory is the figurative treatment of one subject under the guise of another. It is the attempt to express abstract or spiritual realities in concrete form. By understanding their poets allegorically, the Greeks could suppose that the poets were not actually talking about the concrete events around which they wove their poems. Instead the poets were addressing the same kind of subjects in their time that the philosophers address. Indeed, Plato's system, which became the dominate one, readily lent itself to such a program. This meant one could have both Homer and Plato, or later both Moses and Plato.

Many of the early Christian theologians employed Platonic concepts to in an effort to think systematically and clearly about their faith. Origen (circa 185–254), a theologian of the Alexandrian school in Egypt where Platonic philosophy was dominate, suggested that the millennium should be understood not as a cataclysmic event breaking into history but as the birth of the kingdom of God in the soul of each believer. Augustine (354–430), building upon Origen's views, suggested that the millennium was to be understood as the reign of Christ via his Holy spirit in the church. This allegorical view of the millennium dominated for most of the church's history and is known as amillennialism meaning there will be no literal millennium (a-indicating the absence of something).[59]

Postmillennialism, the idea that the church itself will bring in the millennium as it spreads the gospel and improves society, developed during the eighteenth century and dominated much Protestant theology written during the nineteenth century. The doctrine had the advantage of extrapolating an individual sense of sanctification emerging from the revivals and applying it to all

society by wedding it to Enlightenment optimism about social progress. In this it shared elements with earlier pietism and exhibited concepts honed during the centuries when Europe was dominated by Christendom, but because it universalized that heritage through Enlightenment categories its millennial perspective was something genuinely new and not simply a reworking of traditional amillennialism. According to the postmillennial view the Christianization of society would eventually result in a Christian utopia which would greet Christ when he returns.[60] Because missions were understood as one of the ways the church would bring in the millennium, postmillennialism had a profound impact on nineteenth century missions.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have traced the emergence of a new theological paradigm which would do much to define the nature of post-Protestant Christianity. There are two key aspects of this paradigm. First, its origins in revivalism meant the new theological model stressed individual autonomy, subjectivism, and conceived of personal experience rather than membership in the church as defining one's status before God. This emphasis, born of revivals, would open the door to pneumatological themes that would give the Holy Spirit unaccustomed importance in Protestantism and, coupled with Protestant missions, would significantly redefine the nature of the church. Second, the new paradigm also re-emphasized the social dimensions of the gospel and in the process inspired efforts to reconstruct a sacred history which could account for the heretofore unknown peoples of the world. This effort to make historical sense of the world beyond Europe would reawaken eschatological themes that would take one of two forms: either the pattern provided by new postmillennialism, or in reinterpreted versions of ancient premillennialism.

We should also note that this version of Christianity was developed within the cultural complex it was to evangelize. It was developed to solve theological problems that had emerged as that cultural complex confronted a changing world. And it was spread among the population of that complex by its own

members. It was also a popular rather than an elitist faith. And it was a faith that had readjusted to the religious pluralism that characterized its environment in its earliest centuries.

The form of Christianity which has emerged at the end of the twentieth century and which, because of the missionaries, tends to dominate outside the West can no longer be classified as Protestant even though its seeds were scattered by missionaries who considered themselves heirs of the Reformation. Though tracing its roots to the Reformation whether on the Catholic or Protestant side, this form of Christianity cannot be classified as either Protestant or Catholic. It is asking its own questions from its own perspective, and the answers it gives and is giving will determine what Christianity is becoming and will become.

The Redefinition
of the Church

Introduction

The English word "church" is derived from the late Greek word *kyriakan* which designates a building: the Lord's house, *kyrious* meaning "lord." But it is used to translate another Greek word, an earlier one: *ekklesia* which is secular and signifies only "a public assembly." When Jesus in Matthew 16:18 tells his disciples, ". . . upon this rock I will build my church . . .," the word he uses is *ekklesia*. This is the same word he uses in Matthew 18:17 when he describes how believers are to enforce discipline among themselves. The idea being communicated is not the idea of a building but of a public assembly that has been called apart for a specific purpose. It suggests a group distinct from the larger society. In fact, throughout the New Testament the word rendered as church in the King James Bible is *ekklesia*. In only one passage is a building implied. In Acts 19:37 the town clerk in Ephesus absolves Paul and his companions from the charge of robbing churches. The word there is *hierosulos* which means one who robs sacred buildings. Of course the reference is clearly not to Christian buildings so the phrase has been changed to "sacrilegious" in the RSV, "robbers of temples" in the ASV, or "robbed temples" in the NIV.

In the first centuries of our faith, the *ekklesia* met anywhere: in private homes, in catacombs, in open fields, even for a limited period in synagogues. Both history and the archeological evidence suggest that *ekklesia* did not become a synonym for *kyriakan*

until after 313, when the Edict of Milan, which was proclaimed by co-emperors Licinius and Constantine, made toleration of Christians official Roman policy,[1] which is exactly what we would expect.

The polity of the first century church is a topic of much debate, but it is fairly clear that by the early second century Christianity had become an urban-centered religion administered by an episcopal form of government that secured its authority by appealing to apostolic succession.[2] This episcopal form was hierarchical and borrowed from Roman political structures. By the fourth century as orthodoxy was defined in a long running debate with gnostics and pagan philosophers, a theology had begun to develop which complemented this hierarchical arrangement. In 321 Cyprian, writing against a schismatic group called the Novatianists, produced *On the Unity of the Church*, a work in which he coupled Peter's confession that Christ is the messiah with the concept of apostolic succession to argue that outside the church there is no salvation. In 831 Paschasius Radbertus, the abbot of the monastery of Corbie near the city of Amiens in France produced a book entitled *On the Body and Blood of the Lord* in which he argued that through a miracle the substance of the bread and wine served at communion actually changed into the body and blood of Jesus. This doctrine of transubstantiation would become the official position of the Western church in 1215.

Although not all Christians affirmed the sotereological exclusiveness claimed by this theological construct, most did, and the episcopal form of government which it under-girded became definitive for the majority of Christians in both the eastern and western halves of the ancient world and throughout history. Of particular interest to us is the way this religious-political structure developed in Christendom, that geopolitical entity which defined and dominated Europe from the tenth to the twentieth century, and out of which Western missions were born.

Section A
Christendom and the Implications of Augustine

Christendom was an expression of Christianity as a territorial faith and assumed a partnership between church and state in

which the state—indeed, in which all society—was dominated by the church in a way those of us accustomed to secularized societies find difficult to appreciate. This dominance was an aspect of Christendom's hierarchical nature. Society was conceived as a system of interlocking and descending obligations over which Christ reigned as ultimate King. Not only did such a social structure encourage the development of theologies which modeled God's power in direct and immediate ways,[3] it secured ecclesiastical authority.

The church recruited a professional religious class from the lay population, and anyone who felt called might enlist in her ranks. Thus in a society where there was minimal opportunity for advancement, the church offered a genuine opening for ambitious people. She nurtured those recruits in her schools, provided them with most of the then available books, and surrounded them with an architecture that rivaled that of kings. Those among her recruits who became clergy proclaimed her truth to a population largely intolerant of dissent, and administered sacraments to those whose membership in the church was compulsory. Nor was the truth they proclaimed what we would recognized as "religious truth." The line between the sacred and the secular we somewhat artificially and with mixed results attempt to maintain is of recent origin. Hence the truth the church proclaimed and defended was holistic, covering everything from political and economic theory to natural laws. This meant that the church was omnipresent. She met one with baptism at birth. She was the matron of education and the muse of the humanities. Marriage became a sacrament performed by her ministers. One confessed one's sins to her priests and sought absolution there. One was subject to her regulations and required to acknowledge one's faith openly before her alters several times a year. One justified one's actions according to her canons. She crowned Europe's kings and emperors, and, by excommunicating them and denying their legitimacy as rulers, she had the power to instigate revolt among their subjects. As servants of Christ, rulers were required to defend the Church and her interests. When she called for war against her enemies, Europe's sovereigns listened, and under her tutelage they even washed the feet of

beggars. Throughout their lives, citizens of Christendom turned to the church as the source of meaning for all they did, and when they died, they were buried with her ceremonies on her property.

This hegemony was not always complete. Sometimes a king would revolt. Sometimes a scholar would dissent.[4] And after the rise of cities in the thirteenth century an economic base developed which allowed for the establishment of universities where scholars could gather and discuss ideas without having to give direct account to the church. But the church as a political hierarchy to which one was constrained to belong by reason of one's citizenship and one's allegiance to one's king remained the norm long after the Reformation. Not until the nineteenth century did significant cracks begin to appear in the church's religious and social authority and not until the twentieth century was the church significantly marginalized, allowing a pluralistic society to emerge.

Clearly these centuries of dominance had a profound impact on society, but they had just as powerful an impact on the church herself. Her political structure became hierarchical and exclusive not only among Roman Catholics but among some Protestant churches as well. The Anglican, Episcopalian, and Lutheran churches still maintain an epsicopal authority based on apostolic succession while the various American Methodist traditions, although they cannot claim apostolic succession, have nevertheless adopted the episcopal form. The Reformation did introduce presbyterian and congregational varieties of church government, but even here membership in the church began at birth.

We have seen that "church" is a dynamic theological concept whose content and focus has shifted significantly over the centuries. That dynamism was fueled in part by factors external to the concept itself and in part by an instability in the theological underpinnings of the term. The Reformers' application of Augustine's arguments is a case in point.

The Reformers saw themselves not as innovators but as restorers. They wanted to recapture that purity of religious faith that had, they believed, characterized Christianity in the earlier centuries. They tended to identify purity of faith with

accuracy of belief and that used Scripture as the primary vehicle for informing that faith. However, because they saw themselves as the legitimate heirs of the early church, it was not to Scripture alone that they appealed. They accepted the Trinitarian confession and the Apostolic Creed as normative and even a cursory perusal of that vast body of literature they produced will convince one that they often cited the early interpretations of passages of Scripture in order to show that their understanding of those passages was the correct one and that it was the schoolmen of the later centuries who had strayed. Yet it was to Augustine more than any other single figure that the Reformers turned. In fact, the Reformation may be seen as an Augustinian reaction against Thomism. This makes it in many respects a conservative reaction.

However, this return to Augustine was not a return to pure Augustinianism. Augustine was cited but he was cited selectively. What appealed to the Reformers was not Augustine's ecclesiology, an ecclesiology Augustine adopted from Cyprian, but his theology of grace. It was the potential of such a theology that they exploited. For their theory of the church they turned to Jan Hus and his interpretation of the Matthew 16:18. According to the Bohemian martyr who had been burned a century before, when Jesus said he would build his church upon "this rock," the rock he was referring to was not Peter but Peter's confession. The church was not intended to be tied to a series of popes who could trace their lineage back to Peter. The church was intended to be comprised of those who confessed that Jesus was the Christ, the son of the living God.

Hence there existed within Augustine's thought a tension between his doctrine of the church and his doctrine of salvation. Augustine was careful to affirm the necessity of the sacraments as instruments of grace and to defend the church as the sole steward of those sacraments, but he also asserted that salvation lay only with God and that in the final analysis God was free to chose who to save. The assumption was that those whom God saved he would bring into his church. But what if his bride became a whore? The Old Testament prophets asserted this very thing had occurred with Israel and justified God's giving Israel a certificate of divorce.[5] And of course the Reformers

claimed the same thing had happened in their day. The church of Rome was the whore of Babylon and she persecuted true believers. When John Foxe wrote of martyrs, he wrote of the early church and of Protestants.

Section B
The Role of Mission Societies

This division of the Western church into a Roman half surrounded by Protestant fragments was the precursor, as we saw in chapter 1, to the national church. But not all the Protestant fragments coalesced into national churches. The Reformation, as we noted, occurred at the time European powers were beginning to establish colonies around the world, and those colonies were natural magnets for religious dissenters. These dissenters both in North American and in Britain would become the primary agents of missions. What these missionaries offered to those who would listen was not membership in the national church but membership in the pan-national kingdom of God, a membership that was couched in the gospel of individual revival.

This tendency of early missionaries to operate outside official structures of particular churches was augmented by the establishment of mission societies. As we noted at the end of chapter 1, the churches of Protestantism (with the conspicuous exception of the Mennonites) not only had no official organs for sending missionaries, many in response to the challenge of missions even formulated an anti-missionary theology. This meant that those within the churches if they want to further missionary agendas had to organize outside the churches. They did this by establishing missionary societies. These societies were voluntary in nature and offered lay people an opportunity to become full-time religious workers regardless of their lack of formal religious training. They also would become vehicles for allowing Protestant women to become full-time church workers.

The eighteenth century was the golden era of such societies, as the following list will indicate, which suggests that a strong link exists between revival and the Protestant missionary impulse.

PROTESTANT MISSIONARY SOCIETIES

➤ 1649—Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England

> The SPGE supported John Eliot's work and, re-chartered as "The New England Company in 1660, also supported Jonathan Edwards when he worked among the Amerindians.

➤ 1699—Society for Providing Christian Knowledge

➤ 1701—Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in Foreign Parts

> Also known as the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" or SPG, it was formed by the same men who established the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

➤ 1709—Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, founded by a group of Scottish lawyers for the purpose of preaching the gospel among the Catholic clans in the "highlands and the islands"

➤ 1787—Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America

➤ 1792—Baptist Missionary Society

➤ 1795—London Missionary Society. The LMS was originally called "The Missionary Society."

➤ 1797—Netherlands Mission Society

➤ 1799—Society of Missions to Africa and the East

> This society was later renamed "The Church Missionary Society."

➤ 1815—Basel Mission

➤ 1817/18—Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society

There are several things to notice here.

1. Although the earliest of these societies were missionary in focus, the words "mission(s)" or "missionary" do not appear in their titles until the end of the eighteenth century. This ambivalence about the term reflects the general ambivalence among Protestant about missions generally.

2. When the terms "mission(s)" and "missionary" appear, they act as synonyms for propagating the

gospel (understood in terms of Christian knowledge). Protestant missionaries were understood from the beginning as agents of a particular type of information, and, as we will argue, it was information which was to be appropriated by their hearers experientially and individually.

3.   As Andrew Walls has pointed out, these societies, with the exceptions of "The Society for Providing Christian Knowledge" and "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" which held Parliamentary charters and worked closely with the Anglican Church, were voluntary societies. They were instrumental in character, and membership in them was opened to anyone interested in the societies' work. Because they demanded regular participation by those involved, they presupposed an open form of government in which citizens cooperated responsibly. And they encouraged freely associated individuals, churches, and congregations to act in concert to further a common or ecumenical interest. As such they had immense theological implications because they subverted classical forms of church government. Since their membership was not restricted to ecclesiastics, they altered the power base of traditional church structures. They were the first organizations to give laymen real significance above the parish or congregational level. They also opened the door for Protestant women to become involved in church activities.[6]

As missionaries preached the gospel, the ecclesiastical structure they spread was often modeled, not after the traditional church, but after the missionary societies that sponsored them. After all, ecumenical cooperation assumes a unifying principle, and that unifying principle had to exist beyond questions of church structure or polity.

Section C
Revivals and the Shape of the Church

In the last chapter we discussed the theological paradigm that allowed for and was created by revivals, and we referred to

Nathan Hatch and his thesis that these revivals were a key component to the democratization of Christianity in America. To understand how thoroughly the North Atlantic theological tradition and eventually the North Atlantic church was shaped by revivals it is important to have some idea of the time frame in which these revivals occurred and some of the men most closely associated with them.

The Great Awakening which we have already discussed is traditionally dated between 1725 and 1760 and is associated with Jonathan Edwards, John Wesley, and George Whitefield. Jonathan Edwards remained in North America but, as we saw, his writings had a powerful impact in Britain. John Wesley, after a brief and unhappy sojourn in Georgia, remained in Britain but through men like Francis Asbury and Thomas Coke he had a profound influence in America. George Whitefield traveled back and forth across the Atlantic preaching in both Britain and her colonies. Indeed, he died in Newburyport, Massachusetts, in 1770 during his seventh visit to the colonies.[7]

However, it would be a mistake to evaluate the Great Awakening as though it were only a revival among those who already had some knowledge of Christianity. Part to the significance of the Great Awakening is its missionary component. While John Wesley may have failed in his attempt to bring the gospel to the Amerindians, Jonathan Edwards did not, nor did his almost brother-in-law David Brainerd.

Born in Haddam, Connecticut, in 1718, David Brainerd was orphaned at the age of fourteen. He farmed the property he inherited until a profound conversion experience in 1739 in the midst of the Great Awakening led him to Yale where he studied to become a Congregational minister. At Yale Brainerd, having joined the New Light movement inspired by George Whitefield, became a revival leader at the college, but he was expelled in 1742 for making intemperate remarks about a tutor.[8] That same year the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge appointed him as a missionary to the Amerindians. In that capacity he served in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, between 1743 and 1747, and, having continued his studies privately, was ordained as a Presbyterian minister by the Presbytery in New York in 1744. In 1746 his

efforts led to a revival among small bands of the Delaware tribe near Trenton, New Jersey. He organized thirty-eight of these baptized converts into a church and recorded these events in a journal that was published in 1746.

Brainerd not only organized his converts into a church, he followed Eliot's example and organized them into town. In this way his work stands in stark contrast to the early missionary outreach of the Moravians who strove to become like the Amerindians, so much so that they were sometimes mistaken for Amerindians. Brainerd for his part resented the work of the Moravians and much of his own missionary activity was intended to counteract theirs. In Brainerd's view the Moravians taught not only a vitiated form of Christianity, they also undermined his efforts to integrate Amerindians into the European church.[9] This tension between missionaries as contextualizers of the gospel and missionaries as agents of the culture into which the gospel has been translated goes back to the beginning of the church and is evidenced by Paul's conflict with the Judaizers.

In 1747 while visiting Northampton, Massachusetts, Brainerd became seriously ill with tuberculosis and died under the care of his fiancee Jerusha, Jonathan Edwards's daughter. Edwards refashioned Brainerd's journal and published it in 1749, intending that it should challenge others to carry on the work Brainerd had begun. In Edward's hands, Brainerd's journal became in effect the first missionary biography. Its inspirational tone set the standard for the genre and served to motivate many of the earliest Protestants who became missionaries. We know, for example, that William Carey possessed a copy of it.

Edwards himself, after being ejected from his pulpit in 1750 for trying to exclude from Communion those who had not experienced conversion,[10] went to Stockbridge, Massachusetts, to work with the Amerindian missions there. It was during this period of his life that he wrote *Freedom of the Will* (1754) and *Original Sin* (1758), leading to the charge that he spent more time in study than with his parishioners. However, Edwards seems to have taken his duties as pastor quite seriously. Indeed, when he was invited to become president of the College of New Jersey in 1758 he was initially reluctant to accept. Pressed by the college, however, he finally agree to the appointment and

was inaugurated in February 1758. He died of complications from a small pox inoculation a month after he arrived.

In the story of Edwards and Brainerd, just like in the story of Eliot, we see Protestant missions struggling to be born. The difference between Eliot on the one hand and Edwards and Brainerd on the other is that while Edwards and Brainerd labored at missions the opposition to their work, while strong, was beginning to crumble. No longer did outreach to Amerindians seem as strange as it once did. But more importantly, revivalism coupled with prayer would provide missions with a powerful impetus among the general population unknown in Eliot's time. But first politics would enforce a moratorium on the church. For the Americans there was nation building to be done. For the British there was an empire to be won.

The America war for independence which lasted from 1775 until the Treaty of Paris was signed in 1783 marked a decline in the fortunes of the North Atlantic church. The crisis did much to distract and estrange the populations on both sides of the Atlantic. Nor did the signing of the Treaty of Paris resolve tensions between Britain and her thirteen breakaway colonies. Another war would need to be fought, the White House burned, and the British army humbled in a pointless conflict in New Orleans before the two countries would learn the value of cooperation. The British themselves were engaged in a global struggle with the French for world dominion. This struggle in which the American war of independence played a relatively minor role was one the British would ultimately win, but it was a struggle that diverted further their attention from religious issues. Political concerns also dominated American social discourse as the new nation attempted to define the sort of government it would have. With the adoption of the Constitution in 1788, that debate ended, but the United States had still to resolve a multitude of issues, and as the public through the organs of democratic government was very much engaged in that political discussion, theological concerns tended to remain in the background. As a result the church in both nations suffered.

Unsurprisingly, church leaders looked back to the glory days of the Great Awakening and longed for another such move

of the Holy Spirit. Their prayers were answered in what became known as the Second Great Awakening. Beginning in Britain in 1790 and ushered into America at the turn of the century by James McGready, a Presbyterian who (near the Gasper River Presbyterian Church in July 1800) organized the first camp meeting in America. Cane Ridge, Kentucky, held in August 1801, is perhaps the most famous of the Western Revival meetings. For the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the Methodists, the first thirty years of the nineteenth century were in America a time of unprecedented harvest.

This revival, although originally led by a rag tag collection of itinerant evangelists and missionaries, became associated with the converted lawyer Charles Finney who was its dominate figure from 1824 until 1832. Dramatically converted on October 10, 1821, Finney abandoned a career in law, switched to theology, and, after being ordained as a Presbyterian minister, began work as a missionary for the Female Missionary Society of the Western District in 1824. His preaching in upstate New York was the occasion of a remarkable series of revivals which grew as Finney began to perfect techniques that, by focusing on immediate individual conversion, were intended to promote revivals. Initially opposed by other evangelists, Finney met with his detractors at New Lebanon, New York, in the summer of 1827 and emerged from the meeting as revivalism's new leader. Indeed, he is remembered today as the father of modern revivalism.

Initially affirming the positions of his conservative Presbyterian pastor George W. Gale, Finney soon embraced the New Haven theology of Nathaniel W. Taylor, a theology that affirmed a person's free agency and power to avoid sin. This emphasis allowed Finney and other revivalists to stress that those who heard the message were put under obligation. Salvation was God's free gift, but God required the believer to respond. Accepting that gift became the believer's responsibility. As revivalists stressed the individual's role in conversion, they also stressed the individual's need to turn from sin. As the Holy Spirit led in conversion, so he would lead in subsequent sanctification. Human ability to avoid sin opened the door to the possibility that one could lead a morally perfect life. Such claims had been made by Wesley as we saw in the last chapter and were common coin in

nineteenth century Methodism.[11] And they were also central to the message the Finney proclaimed. When he accepted the chair of theology at Oberlin College in 1835, perfectionism became a hallmark of Oberlin doctrine.

Again political tensions marking the coming Civil War in America (1860–1865) dampened religious enthusiasm, but after the war Dwight Lyman Moody, a pacifist, launched a series of trans-Atlantic campaigns that were to substantially alter the face of the English-speaking Protestant church.

Converted in Boston while working in his uncle's shoe store, Moody moved to Chicago in 1856 where he enjoyed success both as a shoe salesman and a preacher. Joining the Plymouth Congregational Church, Moody began in 1858 to teach Sunday School to people who lived in Chicago slums. Within two years he quit his job as a shoe salesman to devote himself full-time to his evangelical and philanthropic labors. During the Civil War Moody was one of 5000 volunteers who worked with the United States Christian Commission, an interdenominational charitable organization formed in 1861 by the New York YMCA. In 1866 Moody became president of the YMCA in Chicago, but after the Chicago Fire of 1871 destroyed almost all of the city, Moody decided to travel to Britain where from 1873 to 1875 he preached to huge crowds. He returned to Britain again from 1881 to 1884.

Moody established a number of schools and seminaries, the most famous one being the Moody Bible Institute which was named for him after his death in 1899. He was also the first evangelist of importance to adopt the dispensational views of John Nelson Darby. We will discuss the importance of that in our chapter on the post-Protestant models of history.

During the last years of Moody's life, William Ashley Sunday, better known as Billy Sunday, began his rise to national prominence. A professional baseball player who was converted in 1886 and became an ordained Presbyterian minister, Sunday would be involved in over two hundred campaigns. When he died on November 6, 1935, no other evangelist could claim to have preached to more people or could be credited with more conversions.

Sunday's record was bested by Billy Graham who, when he began his first revival campaign in Los Angeles in 1949, received considerable support from the Hurst publishing empire, and who, because of vastly improved transportation and the advent of television, enjoyed a world presence earlier evangelists could not have dreamed of. Indeed, Graham has preached to more people than has any other evangelist in history.

We have seen how the Great Awakening sparked a new kind of evangelism, an evangelism of mass meetings that focused on the individual and used means to promote specific conversion experiences. Though we have looked only at the best known representatives of specific periods, this new kind of evangelism generated a host of lesser celebrities and was the vector of entire movements. Pentecostalism is an example of one such movement.

Pentecostalism is rooted in revival, three specifically. The first was the Topeka, Kansas, revival in 1901 which by October of 1903 had spread to Galena, Kansas, and by 1905 had reached Columbus, Melrose, and Baxter Springs, Kansas, as well as Joplin, Missouri. The second was the Welsh revival in 1904 which through the agency of the British empire was able to spread to churches in Africa and India. And the third was the Azusa Street revival in Los Angeles, California, that lasted from 1906 to 1909. These revivals generated a great deal of excitement among certain elements of the post-Protestant church as people who experienced glossolalia began to search the Scriptures for guidance in understanding the gift.

In 1910 David Wesley Myland published a defense of the phenomenon entitled *The Latter Rain Covenant and Pentecostal Power* in which he based the new movement on Joel 2:23 and argued that while Joel (which he dated very early) had been describing a natural cycle of rain, the former rain which came just after planting and the later rain which fell at the end of the growing season, the image had a spiritual application that could be found in other prophets as well as in the New Testament. Myland then argued that the image could also be applied to history subsequent to the New Testament and claimed that Joel's former rain was the gift of tongues at Pentecost as described in the second chapter of Acts while his later rain was the current Pentecostal revival. Myland interpreted the twentieth century

Pentecostal revival as the herald of a great evangelistic crusade which, in a recapitulation of events in the first century, would sweep many new believers into the church before the second coming of Christ. Ironically a revival within Pentecostalism beginning in 1948 at Sharon Bible College in North Battleford, Saskatchewan, claimed that it was the true latter rain and named itself the Latter-Rain Movement. This movement gave rise to the Independent Churches of the Latter-Rain Revival.

Because so many members in established denominations were uncomfortable with or hostile to glossolalia, those with the gift often left their churches and established new ones. The Apostolic Church headquartered in Wales had its origins in this sort of separation.[12] But the Pentecostal movement has not only produced relatively obscure denominations. It has also spawned giants like the Assemblies of God. Although the constitution for the Assemblies of God was not drawn up until 1927, the first organizational meeting for this church was held in Hot Springs, Arkansas, on April 6, 1914, giving us some indication of how difficult it was to organize schismatic factions into a new denomination.[13] However, as Burton Goddard notes, the foreign missionary outreach for the Assemblies of God predates the official organization of the church. By the time the General Council was operative, missionaries from many churches who would in time recognize the benefits of belonging to a larger association and would join the Assemblies had already gone out into the world.[14] As we shall see in our chapter on Brazil, many of Pentecostalism's recruits were drawn from already existing churches which, given the movement's origins, is unsurprising. By the 1960s, when a fresh wave of glossolalia was sweeping evangelical and mainline churches, most pastors had learned the wisdom of tolerance and a place was made for these believers.[15]

These revivals created and expressed a paradigm shift so profound that when it was occurring it went almost unremarked. Where the old paradigm assumed the corporate nature of society and the church, the new paradigm stressed the significance of the individual: the individual's responsibilities, the individual's importance before God, the individual's need to choose. This emphasis on the individual made the new model profoundly egalitarian. Where the covenant sealed by Christ's blood was

understood by the old paradigm to be a covenant between the church with her professional hierarchy and God, the new paradigm conceived that covenant as being between God and the individual believer. This shift from the community of worshippers to the individual also entailed a significant reinterpretation of the sacraments. Whereas the old paradigm imagined the sacraments as embodiments of God's grace to the church, the new paradigm conceive of them as symbols whose import depended on the individual's apprehension of them. Baptism was defined as "the outward sign of inward repentance," and infant baptism was replaced by believer's baptism. The Eucharist no longer signaled the peculiar and immediate presence of God, instead it was a memorial to what God had done in the past. The churches within this new paradigm began to desacralize marriage and sought ways to justify divorce and to bless the remarriage of divorced partners. And individual Bible study and private prayer became the "unofficial sacraments" of many believers, meaning that theology grew increasingly individualistic. Finally millennial expectations, whether of the pre– or post– variety, became focused not on Christ's reign in the present church but on Christ's reign in some indefinite future.

This new theological model made possible the reimagining of the church, not as an institution managed by a professional clergy and supported by the larger community, but as a voluntary society supported by her own lay members who in consequence assumed a substantial responsibility both in terms of time and money for her welfare.

No longer did the church dominate a culture intolerant of dissent. Instead she offered refuge to believers who sought to have their faith nurtured in a pluralistic environment that constantly challenged that faith.

No longer did the public require one to be a member of a church. Now most viewed the church as simply another service provider that had to constantly justify herself in an environment rich with service providers. This perception encouraged the idea that many of society's problems could have resulted from its having abandoned the church, an insight that transformed the church into social advocate and that drew on earlier

utopian visions that had hoped to establish a perfected Christendom in the newly discovered continents.

No longer could the church offer a particularly attractive career package for ambitious people. Now, though she demanded much from them, the church could, as a rule, only afford to pay and house her professionals modestly.

No longer did the church control the centers of knowledge. Instead, as Susanne Langer has observed, theology, crowded out of the larger academic world, retreated into seminaries or other private schools.[16] This movement of theology out of the mainstream was accompanied by a cultural shift that tended to emphasize the practical and contemporary character of metaphysics rather than its theoretical and traditional side. In such an environment, theology, increasingly privatized and divorced from history, began to assume the dimensions of opinion. And in the name of a spreading demand for tolerance, most religious opinions were treated as being roughly equal. What counted was strength of conviction rather than depth of knowledge. However, this was not true in academic circles, most of which remained partisan, even fiercely so. Seminaries, as we shall see, tended to divide along the fault lines of the fundamentalist/modernist debate that shaped up in the early decades of the twentieth century. While many churches, fearing schism and concerned to shore up their financial bases, grew leery of emphasizing confessional or even behavioral standards, the seminaries, eager to maintain their identities and distinctives, pursued programs which emphasized both. Biblical inerrancy, inclusive language, denomination principles, student pledges and the like became winnowing devices to eliminate prospective enrollees who might not fit well with the scholastic community nurtured at the various schools. Though many institutions pretended to wear the mantel of scholastic freedom, few in practice allowed it. Seminaries and independent Bible colleges became what were in effect trade schools, and they graduated pastors whose theological knowledge was circumscribed by the positions taken in the various schools. Hence it was not uncommon for the message proclaimed in the pulpit, often in guarded language, to be distinctly different from what

was actually believed in the pew, often in terms that remained inchoate.

This theological paradigm with its related model of the church as voluntary society had its roots and found some of is elements in pietism, dissent, and revivals, but, all of its particulars when taken together, represented something new. Created by the interaction of British dissenters on both sides of the Atlantic as they grappled with the issues raised by revival, this new model came increasingly to define the church in North America, and, under the auspices of missions with their interdenominational boards, it was the model exported by many missionaries. And it was from this new paradigm that post-Protestant Christianity would emerge.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen how with the collapse of Christendom a new concept of the church came into being. Modeled after mission societies, egalitarian, and with an individualistic focus, this model of the church was to be the one most often taken into mission fields by Protestant missionaries. No longer associated with national states, such an ecclesiastical concept fit well into the pan-national kingdom of God these missionaries offered. It also set the stage for greater inter-church cooperation. While at the local level churches remained competitive, on the global level they were often willing to share resources and insight (see chapter 7). Mission societies, many of which were interdenominational or nondenominational, encouraged such cooperation. In fact, as David Schattschneider has argued, an evangelical network was being established.[17] This network would allow for the mutual enrichment of various elements within the missions movement and in the end would pave the way toward twentieth century ecumenicalism.

Missions and Nation Building

Lessons from India

Introduction

Indi is referred to in the first verse of the book of Esther:

Now it came to pass in the days of Ahasuerus, (this is Ahasuerus which reigned, from India even unto Ethiopia, over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces:)

Ahasuerus is the Hebrew equivalent of the Persian Khsyayarsha, the ruler we remember by his Greek name Xerxes. India in the book of Esther is in Hebrew *Ho-doo* and probably comes from the Persian term Hindu or Hind which in Old Persian literally meant "the river" but which came to signify—for the Persians at least— that region between the Indus and Narabada Rivers. But for much of western history the term India had a broader meaning: it was that region beyond Arabia, even as "Ethiopia" for many centuries designated Africa south and southwest of Egypt. This was partly because the Europeans knew civilization was there but they did not know much about it. Hence when Europeans moved into the region, they were predisposed to see its extraordinary diversity as a single entity. Hinduism was more than a religion, it was a living mass of custom and coherence

which served to identify a wonderfully disparate amalgam of cultures.

For the British, the entire subcontinent from Pakistan through Burma was to become India, and its culture Hindu (again that Persian word). But in fact, Hinduism—and India—have never been homogeneous. Indeed, the conceptual unity embodied in those terms has in large measure been imposed. It expresses an outsider's perspective. One must understand this if one is to appreciate how Protestant missions impacted India.

The Indian cultural complex derives from a number of sources and has roots which go back to the fourth millennium BC. When the Aryans first invaded from northwest Asia around 1500 BC bringing Vedic (an early form of Sanskrit and the language in which the Vedas were written) with them, the Mohenjo-Dare civilization on the banks of the Indus was already ancient and could claim ties to the Sumerians. The subcontinent served as a crossroads between eastern and western Eurasia, a function cemented by the Persians in the seventh century BC and then by Alexander the Great when he conquered the area up to the Indus River by 326 BC and left a series of Greek kingdoms stationed there as outposts of western civilization. One of these, Bactria, endured until 130 BC when it fell to the nomadic Sakars.

Excluding its southernmost tip, India was first united in the third century BC by King Ashoka whose grandfather Chundragupta founded the Maurya Dynasty in 324 BC. King Ashoka died around 237 BC. By 184 BC the Maurya Dynasty had ended and Asoka's empire had fallen apart. From then until it was united again by the British, the subcontinent was home to a vast collection of cultures, kingdoms, and tribes. Some of these cultures can only be described as brilliant. Indeed, the Chinese classic *Journey to the West* tells of a Buddhist monk from China who traveled to India during China's fabled Tang Dynasty and was tremendously impressed with the splendors he found there.

But division, although it may produce culture vigor, can also produce political and military weakness. Beginning with raids by Mahmud of Ghazni in the eleventh century, Muslims entered what is now north India, exploited its divisions, and by 1206 had established the Delhi Sultanate.

The Portuguese, as we remember from chapter one, first entered Goa in 1502. At that time the Sultanate was in decline. By 1526 the Sultanate had been replaced by the Mogel Empire, but, weakened by rebellious Mahrats and Sikhs, the Mogel empire was not able to withstand further incursions by European powers, particularly the French who, under the governor Joseph Dupleix, dominated much of the subcontinent, and the British who, under Robert Clive, were eventually able to force the French out. The dominance of the British was secured by their military victory at the Battle Plassey in 1757.

The British continued to expand their control over the subcontinent, pushing east toward French Indochina. After a series of Anglo-Burmese wars (1824–26, 1852, and 1885) Burma was annexed to British India. Hence British India at its height stretched from what is now Pakistan through what is now Burma.

Until 1857 this vast expanse of territory was governed by the East India Company, but after the Sepoy Rebellion (or the First War for Indian Independence), the East India Company was dissolved and India became a crown colony.

British India was eventually divided into four countries. Burma was given quasi-dominion status in 1937 and became a republic on January 4, 1948. India and Pakistan were partitioned in 1947, but India did not gain full independence until January 26, 1950. East Pakistan broke from Pakistan in 1971 and became Bangladesh.

This very brief overview of a vibrant complex of cultures is intended to illustrate three important factors.

1. India claimed an ancient and sophisticated heritage. India boasts some of the world's oldest literary traditions. Sanskrit and its northern offspring Hindi were reduced to writing thousands of years before the Europeans came. In the south Tamil could point to a literature of comparable antiquity. Persian, too, as the administrative language used by Muslims (and for a while by the British) had been established in India for centuries. And the Indians were quite accustomed to sophisticated models of government and, as empire builders themselves, were conversant with the machinery of empire.

2. The Indians were adept metaphysicians and were fully aware of their intellectual legacy. In part this

legacy was expressed in the concept of caste, a rigid social hierarchy in which everyone, even those ostensibly outside the system, knew their place and understood it to have profound social and theological meaning.

3. The Indians were cosmopolitan people who, in their capacity as a crossroads, had "seen it all" from both ends of the Eurasian continent. Even Christianity had existed in India since at least the second century AD and according to legend it had been introduced by Thomas the Doubter before he was martyred there. It is not possible to dismiss the legend out of hand; it may well be true.

These three factors were to have a profound impact on western missions when those missions began to enter India in the sixteenth century.

Section A
Early Missionary Outreach in India

If you were to visit Madras today, you would see Mar Thoma Hill overlooking the coast and dominating the city. It is there, according to the Syrian Christians of Kerala, that Thomas the apostle was martyred in 72 AD by a priest of the Kali temple after having arrived in Crangamore twenty years before and in the interim planting seven churches. While the truth of this legend is an open question, there is no doubt that a church existed in "India" from the second century and that it was associated in people's memories with both Thomas and Bartholomew (to whom Eusebius refers). It is certainly quite possible these men could have reached the southern India since in the first century the subcontinent was accessible by both land and sea.

Whatever its origins, the Indian church was not noted for missionary zeal. Isolated, ritualistic, and inward looking, it remained little more than a church in Kerala with an outpost in Mylapore in Madras. And from the seventh century until the arrival of the Portuguese in sixteenth, its confessional stance was Nestorian: its adherents affirmed that in Jesus the divine and the human were two distinct persons rather than being united in substance. It is often noted that the Nestorianism of the Indian

church was largely traditional, that in fact Indian Christians had little interest in the kind of questions that prompted the debate in the West. While that may be true in one sense, it is also true that the Nestorian stance of the Indian church is not surprising. Nestorian monks, purged from the orthodox church, tended to travel east planting Nestorian churches along the way. Hence there were many Nestorian churches along the eastern fringes of the Christian world. Over the centuries these churches tended to die out, the victims of persecution by the Chinese emperor Wu Tsung or of forced Muslim conversion. In some cases, those that endured were eventually incorporated into the orthodox church. Such was the case with the church in India.

With the arrival of the Portuguese, the Indian church became integrated with the Western one. By 1534 there was a bishop in Goa, and the church there, if not strong spiritually, at least enjoyed significant political influence. Francis Xavier's arrival in 1542 spurred Catholic missionary outreach, particularly among the fishermen and pearl-divers around Cape Comorin. The Jesuits who followed the saint[1] did their work well and today the Catholic Church in that part of India remains strong. Walking along the coast there in the summer of 1991 I came upon several Catholic shrines, then passing through a small village shaded by a screen of palms, I stumbled across the sun-bleached ruin of a Portuguese fort. Despite the intense heat, I felt a slight chill as I explored that empty shell. It was as though in the rustling of the palms I could hear the sound of centuries falling away. The empires of Europe are a crumbling memory but their impact is fixed and it endures.

As we noted in chapter 2, Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plutschau were the first Protestant missionaries to arrive in India. Pietists in the German Lutheran tradition, they were sent by Frederick IV of Denmark to his trading territory at Tranquebar on the Coromandel Coast which runs south from False Divi Point where the Krishna River empties into the Bay of Bengal to the Palk Strait separating Tamil Nadu form Sri Lanka. The Kerala church had maintained an outpost there since at least the second century, and when the Germans arrived in 1706, Jesuits had been in the area for a century-and-a-half. However, despite such a well established Christian presence, only a few scattered believers lived along these magnificent beaches. There

was much to do and the devout Germans set about doing it. By 1714 Ziegenbalg had printed a copy of the New Testament he had translated into Tamil. This was the first rendering of the New Testament in an Indian language. By the middle of the eighteenth century there were approximately 18,000 confessing Protestants among the Indians there.

The Anglican Church, inspired by the success of the Tranquebar mission, began to give financial support to other German–staffed missions operating in South India. Initially the East India Company was supportive but soon became alarmed over mounting pressure in Britain that it too should become involved in mission work. The company feared that its direct involvement with missions would harm its commercial enterprises. It had also begun to view the missionaries as a de-stabilizing influence among the Indians. There it changed its policy and strictly prohibited missionaries from entering India on its trading ships. However, those who wanted to work in India could still enter the subcontinent aboard Danish ships. Hence when Dr. John Thomas brought William Carey and his family to India, they came aboard the Danish Indiaman the *Kron Princessa Maria*. After all, the East India Company, powerful as it was, was hardly in a position to tell the king of Denmark who could and could not travel on his ships.

Arriving in Calcutta in 1793 as undesirable, illegal immigrants Dr. Thomas and the Careys hardly seemed like the first shock troops of an invasion that would transform that part of the world, but William Carey was to become one of the most famous Protestant missionaries of any era. Certainly he is the most famous of the period we are discussing.

Section B
William Carey

William Carey was born in Paulerspury in the midland county of Northamptonshire, England, in 1761, during that period when the county, though still rural and agricultural, was becoming a center for the leather industry. The son of Edmund Carey, a worsted weaver who later became the schoolmaster in the town of Paulerspury, William, when he was sixteen years old, was

apprenticed to Clarke Nichols, a cordwainer or shoemaker who lived in Hackleton. John Warr, a fellow apprentice, invited Carey one February night in 1779 to the Hackleton Meeting House to hear the dissenter Thomas Chater. Accepting the invitation, Carey had an evangelical conversion. He was eighteen at the time. Because of his conversion, Carey left the Anglican Church to become a Baptist when the doctrines of the Baptist church were still defined by High Scholastic Calvinism.

On June 10, 1781, Carey, soon to be twenty, married Dorothy Plackett who was twenty-five. Since there was no public school where she lived, Dorothy was illiterate and signed the marriage register with a mark. Carey was not and signed his own name. After their marriage, he taught Dorothy to read and write. He also taught himself Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Dutch while he labored over his shoes, and he read as widely as he could. Of special interest to him were the accounts of newly discovered lands that were being published at the time, particularly the *Journal of Captain James Cook's Last Voyage* which had been serialized in the *Northampton Mercury*.

Carey started a village school at Moulton when he was twenty–four. On August 1, 1787, at the age of twenty–six he was ordained as pastor there although he had already been acting as the church's unofficial minister for almost two years. At twenty–eight he was called to a town pastorate in Harvey Lane at Lester. There he was paid from the London Fund which provided five pounds a month for any church that could not afford to pay its pastor forty pounds. While at Harvey Lane Carey became a member of the Lester Philosophical society. He was a republican who deplored the slave trade, supported the American revolution, and thought the French revolution was an act of God.

In 1813 the Baptist Mission Society published a pamphlet entitled *Brief Narrative of the Baptist Mission in India*. On the fifth page of the first section of that pamphlet it is recorded that:

> At an association of ministers and churches held at Nottingham in 1784, it was resolved to set apart an hour on the first Monday evening in every month for extraordinary prayer for the revival of religion, and for the extending of Christ's kingdom in the world. This resolution was attended to for about seven years with some degree of zeal.

From this resolution to pray, *The Particular* (or Calvinistic) *Baptist Society for propagating the gospel among the heathen* was born. Andrew Fuller, author of *The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptance* which justified evangelical outreach from within the theological framework of High Scholastic Calvinism, was active in this society and played no insignificant role in providing the intellectual stimulus which would transform those evenings of prayer into a program of action. William Carey was also a member of that concert of prayer and a friend of Fuller's. Indeed, both John Sutcliffe of the Baptist church at Olney to which Carey belonged and Andrew Fuller attended his ordination at Moulton.

In 1792 Carey published *An Enquiry into the Obligation of Christians to use means for the Conversion of the Heathen.* In this tract Carey sought to acquaint his readers with the religious state of the world and their obligation to witness to the unconverted. It was the first time that a Protestant in either Britain or America had made such an argument. The book would attract a great deal of attention and ushered in the era of Protestant missions. Carey's *Enquiry* was published by the same people who published Thomas Paine's works—and who went to jail for publishing them. It was advertised in the *Leicester Herald* whose publisher only eight months before had been tried for circulating Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man.* And it was sold in book shops which also specialized in antislavery tracts. Again we see the connection with political radicalism that made Protestant missions suspect to many.

Carey made his case by applying Fuller's thought to a wider circle. If the minister should offer Christ from the pulpit, then the church should offer Christ to the world. One hears echoes of Wesley's remark that "the world is my parish." Carey had strong views on election and these led him to have strong views on providence. He argued forcibly that providence had opened the doors to worldwide evangelism and that the time to begin that task was now. Prophecy in this context became very important to Carey. He understood that there was an obligation to obedience to God within an historical line where present Christians stood between the preaching of the apostles and the last events, where there would be challenges, but where success was already

assured. The word "obligation" in the title of his tract reflects the influence of Fuller. But the operative world for Carey was "means." His work was an inquiry into the *means* of getting the gospel message into the wider world.

The Particular Baptist Society for propagating the gospel was largely a creation of William Carey and he was to be its first missionary. A committee which acted as an agent of the society and of which Carey was a member invited Dr. John Thomas to speak to them about his missionary labors in Bengal. Dr. Thomas, who had just returned to London from Bengal, made his address on November 23, 1792, and described how, working with a newly converted Bengali man named Rama Rama Vasu, he had already been able to translate Matthew, Mark, James, and some parts of Genesis, the Psalms and the Prophets into Bengali. John Thomas was the first Protestant to attempt to render the Scriptures into Bengali. Carey was profoundly moved and resolved to accompany Dr. Thomas on his return to Bengal. Dorothy Carey declined to go at first and William Carey went without her, taking only his eight–year–old son Felix. It was decided that Dorothy and the rest of the family would move to Hackleton. William Carey bid farewell to Dorothy on March 26, 1793, and he and Felix left with Dr. Thomas on April 4. There is no evidence that before this Carey had ever seen the sea or traveled more than sixty miles. He was a self–educated cordwainer and a provincial man.

Their ship the *Earl of Oxford* was delayed and the three of them eventually lost their berths due to a letter signed by one "Verax" warning the captain that an undesirable was on board. The captain understood that Dr. Thomas (who was leaving behind unpaid debts in Britain) was meant and refused to give him passage. Naturally William Carey and his son Felix refused to board without John Thomas. The three of them were eventually to get passage on a Danish Indiaman the *Kron Princessa Maria*. In the interim John Thomas was able to convince Dorothy Carey to accompany her husband. Dorothy's sister Kitty who had just turned thirty also agreed to go with them and was among the small company of missionaries who took a shuttle boat to the Danish ship at 5:00 AM Thursday, June 14, 1793. They arrived in Calcutta on November 11, taking a harbor boat

to shore rather than disembarking directly from the *Princessa Maria* in a successful effort to avoid officials.

Life in India was not easy. The Carey family was destitute and lived an unsettled existence for their first half year there. During this period, Carey even tried homesteading in the Sunderbunds in the delta region of the Ganges which at the end of the eighteenth century was a vast jungle tract. Dorothy and Felix contracted dysentery soon after they arrived in India and were plagued by the disease for a year. By mid–June of 1794 Carey received a position as a manager in an indigo factory and on August 4th settled into his new home at Mudnabatti. He held this position until the plant closed in November of 1799. Then on October 11th their son Peter died after a two weeks illness. Pregnant, ill, and shaken by grief, Dorothy Carey went insane in the first months of 1795. She was thirty–eight years old. Believing her husband was habitually unfaithful to her, she made at least two attempts on his life early in her illness. Although she lived for twelve more years she never recovered, dying on the evening of December 8, 1807.[2]

In 1800 Carey established a mission compound at the Danish colony of Serampore. Serampore, which later passed to the British, was to be his base of operations for the remainder of his life, and it was there later that year where Carey baptized his first Indian convert, a Hindu named Krishna Pal. As the missionaries sang a hymn in Bengali, Mrs. Carey and John Thomas who had gone mad the week before raved from their respective rooms. Like Dorothy Carey, John Thomas was never to recover. He was transferred to an asylum in Calcutta on January 1, 1801. Released on January 24, he went to Dingapore where he soon relapsed. He died at Dingapore on October 13, 1801, after contracting a fever.

On May 8, 1808, few months after Dorothy Carey died, William Carey married a German woman named Charlotte Rumohr. He would marry Grace Hughes after Charlotte died on May 30, 1821. Carey died on June 9, 1834, and Grace died the following year.

During his years in Serampore, Carey worked unstintingly translating and publishing Scripture and was ultimately to supervise the translation of the Bible into thirty–six languages.

He was also involved in evangelism, social reform, medical work, botany (he founded the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India), education, and church planting. Eventually he became professor of Sanskrit, Bengali, and Marathi at the College of Fort William. His work became the model and the stimulus for many other missionary outreaches in Asia. As early as 1806 Carey suggested in a letter to his old friend Andrew Fuller that missionaries might find it helpful to meet together periodically for mutual enrichment and encouragement. Though Carey never lived to see the fruition of his idea, his dream was eventually realized at the Edinburgh missionary conference in 1910, the conference that initiated a ecumenical movement that eventually led to the establishment of the World Council of Churches. It is not for nothing that this self–educated cobbler with a gift for languages and a heart for missions is hailed as "the Father of Modern Missions."

Section C
Thomas Chalmers and Alexander Duff

On April 25, 1806, the same year that William Carey was writing to Andrew Fuller about the need for periodic meetings among missionaries, Alexander Duff was born in Perthshire, Scotland. In 1829 he was to become the first Church of Scotland missionary to India.

Alexander Duff enrolled at St. Andrews University in 1822 and he earned highest honors in Greek, Latin, and Natural Philosophy, as well as distinctives in Hebrew and theology. But more importantly, St. Andrews was where Duff heard the ideas of Thomas Chalmers.

An evangelical, Thomas Chalmers held the chair of moral philosophy at St. Andrews between 1823 and 1828 when he left to assume the chair of divinity at New College in Edinburgh, but his background was pastoral as well as academic. In 1815 he had accepted an appointment to the parish of Tron in Glasgow and while there his faith was to develop a keen social edge.

In the early nineteenth century Britain experienced a protracted period of economic and social crisis. This crisis, which was to inspire international Communism, also contributed to the

development of the social gospel. The connection between the crisis and international Communism is direct. In 1845 Friedrich Engels published *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*. However, despite the 1844 date, Engels based his argument on data drawn primarily from the 1820s and 1830s and in some cases used information that went back to the turn of the century. When Karl Marx published his first volume of *Das Kapital* in 1867 (volumes two and three were edited by Engels and published in 1885 and 1894 respectively after Marx himself died in 1883), he drew heavily on Engels's work. Hence the picture drawn by Engels and later copied by Marx was a picture not of England as it was in the mid– to late nineteenth century, it was instead a depiction, and only a partial depiction, of England as it was during the crisis of the early nineteenth century.

Timothy Smith in his classic *Revivalism and Social Reform* has explored the American contribution to the social gospel, but that gospel expression also had its British champions, one of whom was Thomas Chalmers. There was much poverty at Tron when Thomas Chalmers ministered there, and much of this poverty could be found among a population that was highly mobile and had no strong links to the local community. Many pastors might have been daunted by such an assignment but Chalmers, then 35, seems to have been invigorated. Soon people from all over Glasgow were flocking to hear the inspired minister who preached twice each Sunday. As most of these people came from outside his parish and had their own ministers, Chalmers did not visit them during the week, but he did visit those in his own parish and became familiar with their problems.

Thomas Chalmers believed that if they lacked Christian convictions, people could be more readily enticed to embrace a dissolute lifestyle and that such a lifestyle contributed to poverty. However, like John Wesley, he also suspected that the roots of poverty were systemic and not necessarily due to moral failings among the poor. Because of the time he spent visiting his parishioners, he was aware that poor relief not only encouraged dependency but was often inefficiently administered. Hence in lieu of poor relief he developed what became known as the St. John's Scheme.

Chalmers in 1817 defended his approach in a pamphlet entitled *The Influence of Bible Societies on the Temporal Necessities of the Poor* in which he argued that knowledge of religion (by which he meant evangelical Christianity) is more important than food, clothing, medicine or other necessities. Using Scotland as his example, he argued that emphasizing the Bible had not "annihilated pauperism" (he believed that to try to extinguish poverty was to embark on a hopeless crusade) but had "restrained it to a degree that is almost incredible to our neigbbours of the south" (p. 14), and, warning that charity might encourage sloth and have as its unintended consequence the formation of "a depraved and beggarly population," he wrote:

> It is quite in vain to think that positive relief will ever do away the wretchedness of poverty. Carry the relief beyond a certain limit, and you foster the diseased principle which gives birth to poverty. (p. 17)

> The certain effect of an established provision for the poor is, a relaxation of their economical habits, and an increased number of improvident marriages. [T]he effect of the benevolent institution is just to create a population more wretched and more clamorous than ever. (p. 20)

Poor relief, he was convinced, should not be an impersonal right. Instead those in poverty should be expected to take steps to ameliorate their condition. Chalmers believed that one of the ways they could do this was through charitable giving. He reasoned that if those in poverty were able to give even small amounts to charitable causes, they would be less likely to squander their money in the pursuit of vices.[3]

He also believed that education, particularly education that had a strong biblical component, was the most certain way of avoid the trap of poverty.

In 1820 Chalmers, in order to implement his plan, persuaded the Glasgow town council to build St. John's, a church he was to run like a rural parish. He revived the old order of deacons and put them in charge of poor relief. And he divided his parish into sections, putting each one of his elders over a specific section. Each section was equipped with its own schools, Sunday

schools, and teachers. Because of the popularity of Chalmers's sermons, few of those who actually lived in his parish could get into St. John's on Sunday, so each section of the parish, in addition to the other services provided, also conducted its own religious meetings during the week. Chalmers was able to finance this vast undertaking by appealing for funds from the huge middle class congregation that came to hear him on Sundays.

Chalmers sought to do away with the levied tax for raising poor relief and insisted instead that grants for poverty should be voluntary. These voluntary grants, he believed, by encouraging the growth of Christian charity among the wealthy, would be of spiritual benefit to them. And because it would be administered by his deacons, Chalmers expected his scheme could be more efficiently run than was the government program. He also thought it could be implemented in such a way as to encourage independence among its beneficiaries. In this way Chalmers, again like Wesley, became aware of Christianity's social dimensions. While, unlike some of his contemporaries, he did not equate Christianity and civilization, he did believe the two worked in tandem and that the church could transform society, not simply rescue individuals. For him the gospel was part of a total world view.

While at St. Andrews, Alexander Duff had been very impressed by Thomas Chalmers's ideas and sought to apply them in modified form in India. Licensed to preach by the Presbytery of St. Andrews in the spring of 1829, Duff left for India, arriving in Calcutta in 1830 after two shipwrecks. Though he lost everything on the trip including his library, Duff was eager to begin his experiment. He wanted to use education as a bomb to destroy the citadel of Hinduism. He described his plan this way:

> We shall, with the blessing of God, devote out time and strength to the preparation of a mine, and the setting of a train which shall one day explode and tear up the whole from its lowest depths.[4]

Though the British East India Company maintained administrative hubs in Madras (established in 1640) and Bombay (established in 1674), its headquarters were in Calcutta. Here despite missionary and Hindu opposition but, with the support

of the British governor general and a Hindu reformer named
Ram Mohun Roy, Duff opened his Scottish Church College in
1830. In order to give his "bomb" maximum impact, he tar-
geted upper class Hindus. He taught in English and sought to
present a unified, Bible–centered system of knowledge. This
approach, based on the assumption that progress and Chris-
tianity went together, became known as the Scottish model.

Donald Meek of the University of Aberdeen has suggested
that Duff when he went to India modeled his school in Calcutta
on the example pioneered earlier by the Society in Scotland for
Propagating Christian Knowledge, the same society, as we saw in
chapter 3, that appointed Brainerd as a missionary to the
Amerindians. The SSPCK, operating primarily through inter-
denominational schools that emphasized Bible reading, was
charted originally as an auxiliary of the church and was charged
with evangelizing the Catholic highlands and islands of Scot-
land. In its early years it opposed the use of Gaelic and sought to
apply the gospel partly as a tool to integrate Scottish Catholics
into wider British culture, but by the mid–eighteenth century,
inspired by evangelical revivals, particularly the Cambuslang
Revival of 1742, it abandoned this policy and, emphasizing the
gospel message over cultural concerns, began to use language as
a vehicle for evangelism. It insisted that all its missionaries to the
Gaelic areas speak Gaelic and where possible it used native born
Gaelic missionaries. It oversaw the translation of both the Old
and New Testaments into Gaelic. (The New Testament came out
in 1767, the Old in 1801.) Stressing flexibility, the SSPCK, as it
honed its strategy, initiated and refined the model of lay mis-
sionary as a person with many roles who was free to move over a
wide area without regard to parish boundaries.[5] Obviously Duff
had not embraced the SSPCK's cultural tolerance. He clearly
viewed Hinduism as a far greater obstacle to evangelical Chris-
tianity than Catholicism was. But his emphasis on education as a
evangelistic tool, particularly education coupled with Bible
study, retains the SSPCK impress.

Duff's was not the first school to be established by the
British. In 1781 in a conciliatory gesture to Muslims, Warren
Hastings had founded the *Madrasa* College in Calcutta to pre-
pare Muslim sons to be court officials and to teach them the

whole range of Islam. In 1794 Jonathan Duncan did the same thing for Hindus by establishing the Benares Sanskrit College in what is now the city of Varanasi. In 1813 legislation was passed setting aside a *lakh* of rupees annually to encourage North Indians to learn science. The passage of this bill set the direction for government sponsored education. It was to be "useful learning" and after 1835 it was to be in English. In 1814 Jeynarain Ghosal, "a Hindu who was almost a Christian," left 20,000 rupees to found a college in Benares which was run by the Church Missionary Society, and in the same year one Mr. May, an agent for the London Missionary Society, also opened a high school in Chinsurah. Finally there was the Hindu College or *Vidyala*, a private school founded in Calcutta in 1816 by the Scottish watchmaker David Hare, the Hindu reformer Ram Mohun Roy and others with the support of H.H. Wilson and under the patronage of Lord Hastings himself. Contrary to its name, this school was the first institution of Western higher education in India. Through this school young men usually from India's upper castes were introduced to French and English rationalists. However, the school's most brilliant instructor in its early years, a young Anglo–Indian poet named Henry Louis Derozio, was a Christian. The theme of his teaching revolved around four words: truth, justice, patriotism, and philanthropy. These were the values he tried to inculcate in his students. By 1831, the year he died, the mostly high caste young men who came under his influence began to denounce caste and breaking caste rules by cutting their hair and joining "beef–eating clubs." One such young man was Krishna Mohun Banerjea who would become Alexander Duff's first convert. These rebellious young Indian men delved deeply into Western learning, including radical authors considered questionable in Britain. This movement, though it faded out after 1840, left an enduring impress on Indian society.

When Duff arrived in Calcutta the city had been an overseas bishopric of the Anglican Church since 1813 when the East India charter was renewed. This meant that Calcutta was now considered a province of the Church of England.[6] Its first bishop, Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, disembarked in 1814. His correspondence suggests that he was not quite sure how he should

deal with missionaries who had preceded him. Protestant missionaries representing four missionary societies: the Baptist, the Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, and the Orissa General Baptist Missionary Society, had been at work in Calcutta for ten years, yet there were only nine Baptist and six Anglican converts in the entire city. Between August 1832 and April 1833 four young men sent to Duff's school were baptized. This was unprecedented and the reaction which followed threatened to close the school but it weathered the storm and went on to prosper. Due to poor health, Duff returned to Scotland in 1834 but the school he established continued to prosper. Indeed, it became the focal point for what is remembered as the Indian Renaissance.

In 1995 while invited to give the Alexander Duff lectures held at Edinburgh, Jyoti Sahi, an Indian artist who is also a Catholic, explained that "Indian art" of the kind expressed in the Indian Renaissance is in large measure a colonial creation. Indeed, he argued that even art produced prior to that Renaissance when classified as Indian or as done in the Indian style is art tagged with a colonial appellation. Culture, Sahi argued, was valued as part of the wealth of the colony and was studied and classified in that context. Indians during the Renaissance who produced art in this style were striving to produce something authentically Indian but were in fact aping a style that had no existence as such prior to colonization. Not surprisingly, he concluded, this style ended with independence and Indian art became modern. Understanding India as a British creation will help us understand how Indian art as a style could also be a British creation, and it will help us understand how Hinduism though imposed from the outside provided a focus for nationalists who sought to throw off British colonial rule. The Indian Renaissance did more than produce a style of art, it spawned a movement by which the Indians attempted to evaluate and revitalize their past. In this way the missionaries contributed to India's awakening to itself as a political entity.[7]

Alexander Duff visited India twice more. He was there between 1840 and 1849, and again between 1856 and 1864. In 1844 during his second stint in India, he helped to found the *Calcutta Review* on which he served as editor from 1845 until he

returned to Scotland. During his final sojourn in India he help found the University of Calcutta. A year after Duff arrived for this final tour India was convulsed by the Sepoy Mutiny (sepoy refers to native soldiers, most often Indians, trained by and serving in the British army). Also known as the First War of Indian Independence, the rebellion began in May of 1857, crystallized developments in social, political, and religious spheres, and changed everything. Because ours is a post–colonial age, it is not difficult for us to understand the lure political independence has for colonized people, but to understand the way the revolt appeared to the British and to the missionaries, it will be helpful to summarize some of what both these groups, often working against one another, had been able to accomplish in India prior to 1857.

Section D
The Sepoy Mutiny and the British Empire

Originally the British came to India not to build an empire but to make their personal fortunes. However, after 1818 and the Napoleonic Wars, the British through the East India Company began to dominate the subcontinent. And almost inevitably the East India Company in its expanded role became more concerned with government and social engineering and less concerned with trade. Princes ruling from their provinces became more dependent on the British while the Mongol emperor on the throne of Akbar kept in the background and accepted a British pension. Meanwhile back in Britain the government was under increasing pressure from evangelicals to encourage the East India Company to become proactive in infusing western, Christian, and humanitarian values into India. To this end schools in India run by Westerners increased. Land tenure was altered in favor of peasants, and the French and the British began to build a web of railroads, roads, and telegraphs across India. In other words, colonialism brought an infrastructure that would help to bring India into the modern world. British rule was generally viewed by Indians as benevolent and efficient. Indeed, even today many Indians remember the British in a very favorable light. One young man once told me, only in partial jest,

that what he regretted most about British rule in India was that it ended twenty years too soon.

Given all this, the British found the Sepoy Mutiny impossible to understand. They believed their intentions were honorable. They had come for loot (a word of Hindi origin), but they saw early that they could be brokers of constructive change, and, as conscious agents of history, they had tried to discharge the responsibilities of empire fairly and honestly. One hundred and fifteen years before Indian independence, the English historian Lord Thomas Macaulay had forecast that the impact of the West on the subcontinent would lead to its unification and independence, and he predicted that when that day came, it would be the proudest in British history. Naturally the British had been aware of some discontent among their charges, but they had no indication that trouble of this magnitude was brewing. Yet ironically British good intentions were in some measure at the root of the problem. Up to the Napoleonic Wars the British in India had been accepted as the successors to the Mongols. However, increasing British efforts at social engineering between 1818 and 1857 created fear among Indians that their ago–old faiths were under attack. This fear was especially pronounced among the Brahman element in the Army.

The rebellion broke out over the rumor that the army used animal grease to oil its cartridges.[8] Once roused, military detachments at Murut and Delhi slaughtered their officers and took command of those cities. Over the next twelve months most Indian soldiers followed suit. Hundreds of British citizens were killed. When the British were finally able to re–impose their rule, reprisals were savage. The British executed entire battalions. Men were tied across the mouths of canons and the canons were fired. Even the missionaries talked about the need for a show of force before mercy was offered. These brutal acts did not overly dismay the Indians. They understood how empires worked. They had even ruled empires themselves. As Sir Percival Spear observed, it was not that the Indians after the Mutiny believed the British to be worse than other rulers, it was rather that the Indians now believed that the British when they were provoked had shown themselves to be no better.

Although Muslims were generally blamed for the revolt, both Muslims and Hindus participated. That the landlords who had suffered under British land reform joined in the revolt surprised no one, but the British were surprised that the peasants who benefited from the reforms, and hence were expected to view the British as liberators, joined the oppressive landlords. The Mahrats who had always been vigorously independent supported the revolt, but the Sikhs who had along with the Mahrats struggled against the Mogel Empire joined the British. As the Punjab had recently been annexed by the evangelical lord Lawrence, Sikh loyalty was thought to be significant. The princes, many of whom benefited from British rule, also supported the British as did the Westernized English–speaking Indian elite.

After the revolt, the East India Company lost its charter and India became a crown colony. The army was rebuilt and the colonial government stepped back from social innovation. Not until the child marriage act was passed in 1929 was a measure introduced to change Indian customs. This story of company successes followed by miscues and a revolt that ended with the company losing its charter and the territory it controlled falling under the authority of the British Crown was to be repeated in Kenya in the 1890s. Founded in 1888, the Imperial East African Company made an attempt to defuse an explosive situation that had developed around a series of towns established by missionaries to which runaway slaves could flee. Following the advice of its chief administrator G.S. Mackenzie, the company purchased and freed almost 1,500 runaway slaves at a cost of 3,500 pounds sterling on January 1, 1889,. However, after such an auspicious beginning, the East African Company became involved in Muslim clan politics, mishandled those politics, and provoked an uprising along the coast known as the Mazrui rebellion. British troops were called in but took nine months to subdue the revolt. This along with a war between the Company and the inland Nandi tribe resulted in the Company losing its charter in 1894. In 1895 Kenya became a protectorate of the British Crown. These examples are part of a pattern that played itself out in a variety of ways. Trade followed discovery. Colonialism followed trade. And nationalism followed colonialism. Much has been written about commerce being the handmaid of

Christianity under the British flag, but it was not Christianity alone that flowed out of Europe along the trade routes of Europe's merchants. It was an entire cultural complex involving ideas that reached across the spectrum of what it means to be human and to be human in community. Through commerce Europe would transform the world not only with Christianity but with science, medicine, universal schooling as an ideal to be achieved, social, political and economic theories, and so much more.

Section D
The Sepoy Mutiny and the Missionaries

For the missionaries the revolt was a watershed as well. Most missionary activity in India up to that time had been directed toward low caste or outcast groups. Where the Scottish model had been used and outreach had been toward upper caste young men, the results had been mixed. Although this educated elite tended to support the British during the crisis, most had not become Christians. Instead, many had become secular while others, after imbibing from Western schools, sought to respond to the missionary challenge not by embracing Christianity but by reforming Hinduism. Indeed, this movement to reform Hinduism gathered impetus after the rebellion.

In 1858 the London Missionary Society, the Baptist Missionary Society, the Methodist–Wesleyan Missionary Society, and the Church of Scotland held a meeting in Devonshire's Exeter Hall. The Anglican Lord Shaftesbury who chaired the meeting and was one of several Anglican lay people present, observed that the revolt had not occurred in Madras or Bombay, two of the centers from which the British East India Company ruled. Instead it had centered in Bengal where the colonial structures had been most obstructive to Christianity and most sympathetic to the Hindus.

Two resolutions were passed at the Exeter Hall meeting. First, the attendees thanked the government for quelling the revolt. Next, they petitioned the government to end all support for idolatry or social evils based on caste. The government for its part did not launch a direct assault on Indian society but did

open the door wider for the missionaries. These Christian missionaries were more sympathetic to the colonial government since they now viewed it as their protector. Not surprisingly, they became identified in the Indian mind more closely with the colonial government. The Indians were also keenly aware that the missionaries were intensifying their ideological attack on India. In response the Hindu reform movement grew stronger and those western educated Indians who had supported the British during the Mutiny began to identify more closely with their Indian heritage and to see the choice between Hinduism and progress, the kind of choice advocated by Alexander Duff, as a false one. Conversions among high caste educated Indians, never very high,[9] dropped off, and anger that had once been directed against old Hinduism was now being channeled against the British.

The education system set up by the missionaries found itself in a bind. On the one hand, the education they offered was working not to further Christianity or undermine Hinduism, instead it was fostering national feeling that of course was anti–Western. One the other hand, the missionaries feared that if they worked to counteract this and tried to win converts, then parents would pull their children out of the schools.

It is perhaps not too much of an exaggeration to say that for the next century the machinery for independent government being constructed in India was Western. As was so often the case, colonialism severed societies from their past and forced them to confront a future defined primarily in Western terms. To resurrect their pre–colonial traditions was to embrace a fading memory. The post–colonial world was a world of nations and commerce and centralized government, a world of technology and science, a Western world. The ideas that defined the Indian state when it emerged, ideas like parliamentary democracy and Fabian socialism, were ideas conceived and nurtured in the West. Such ideas appealed to the Hindu reformers and through them began to filter into the vast population of India. These ideas began to affect social attitudes among Indians in ways that would eventually weaken the caste system and lead the newly independent Indian government to declare caste illegal in modern India. Ironically, Alexander Duff's plan to use education to set a mine

to blow up old Hinduism bore fruit, though not the kind of fruit he had anticipated.

Section E
The Emergence of India Christian Theology

Indians who converted to Christianity began writing theology early. Hence, Indian theology has developed one of the oldest traditions among the post–colonial nations. However, most Indian Christian theology has not been written by professional theologians or even ministers. It emerged instead from a reflective laity who, though they brought intellectual acumen to the task, had little formal training for it. Also from the nineteenth through the first half of the twentieth century most Indian theology was written by members of the upper caste. Hence, it has tended to assume a high caste, Sanskrit form. K.M. Banerjea (1813–1885) provides an early example of this.

Krishna Mohun Banerjea, Alexander Duff's first convert, had attended the Hindu College in Calcutta where he had drunk deeply of secular radicalism. By the age of sixteen he had become an atheist who was bitterly anti–Hindu. By his own testimony the austerities Hinduism forced on Indian women had driven him to embrace atheism. He became involved in social reform and edited a weekly paper called *The Enquirer*. It was in his capacity as editor and social reformer that Alexander Duff sought him out. Duff challenged Banerjea by telling him that his dislike for Christianity was unfounded since he had never looked into the faith. As a result Banerjea began attending Duff's lectures and eventually had an evangelical conversion. He was baptized by Duff in October 1832 and joined the Anglican Church. However, though anti–Hindu, Banerjea was not anti–nationalist and wanted to be both a Christian and a patriot. He eventually left the Church of St. Paul in Calcutta where he had been named as one of the first Indian canons when a European who was his junior was appointed at a higher salary. After his departure he founded the significantly named society "The Bengal Christian Association for Promotion of Christian Knowledge and Holiness and to Protect the Rights of Indian Christians." Indeed, his patriotism eventually led him to adopt a more positive view of

Hinduism and he began to understand Christianity as the fulfill-
ment of that ancient faith. For him Hinduism was the Old Testa-
ment of the Indians, an idea he developed in a book entitled *The
Aryan Witness* which he wrote at the end of his life. However, Hin-
duism, as one might imagine, introduced theological concepts
very different from the ones encountered in the Old Testament.
Let us pause for a moment to reflect on some of those concepts
and examine how non–Christian theism fared when imposed
over Hindu philosophy.

As we saw in chapter 1, Indian philosophy, because of its
pantheism, has always been dominated by ontological ques-
tions. Indeed, Mircea Eliade has observed that "India is preoc-
cupied with Being."[10] Vedanta thought based on the Vedas is
non–dualistic and deals with the relation of the individual soul
(*atman*) to the world spirit (*brahman*). Conceived so, existence
has three levels: the level of illusion, a higher level of practical
or qualified reality, and *brahman* or the highest level. Indian
religious leaders, attempting to achieve this highest level, have
turned inward, believing that, since all is a self–manifestation of
the divine, the divine is most directly accessible through the
self. Such a perspective inspired a variety of meditative schools
intended to open the self to its divine essence. This tendency in
India was intensified by the doctrine of karma which taught that
anything that happened to the self was a result of what the self
itself had done. Karmic doctrine meant that one could only
reap what one sowed, no more and no less. Human beings are
the ultimate causes of their own suffering and deliverance from
that suffering lies entirely with them. Hence, karma made it
impossible for one being to spiritually benefit another.[11] While
temporal blessing might be "purchased" from a deity by mak-
ing an appropriate offering at the shrine or temple of that
deity, in the end one's spiritual pilgrimage toward release from
karma was very much one's own.[12]

During the middle of the twentieth century, M. M. Thomas, a
trained chemist, dominated the Indian theological scene. His
most important work, *The Acknowledged Christ in the Indian Renais-
sance,* discusses and evaluates the theological conclusions of the
various figures identified with that movement. In this study,
Thomas attempts to demonstrate how theology is forged as one

reflects on received Christian doctrine in the light of one's own culture. Thomas presupposes that theology, because it is rooted in both scripture and culture, is born of dialogue. Yet in such dialogue the underlying question is: how much of what each of the participants contribute should be preserved in the ongoing reformulations? Thomas believed that Christian doctrine could not be evaporated into some kind of vague mysticism and must remain grounded in scripture, especially the New Testament. He is highly critical of the failure of Indians as they reflect on the Christian tradition to adequately appreciate how different from Hinduism Christianity is, and is especially harsh on Gandhi for his "incapacity to see the sources of evil present in spiritual self-righteousness."[13] For Thomas the spirituality of the moral man seeking his righteousness through his works is the essence of sin. Divine forgiveness, not moral principles, is the answer to such sin.

Indian theology, as the title of Thomas's book suggests, was one of the fruits of the Indian Renaissance, a Renaissance that, as we have observed, was born of an interaction between European and Indian cultures. The European contribution involved things like science, political theory, and models of commerce, as well as new kinds of Christianity, things that presupposed a fundamental distinction between creation and the creator, between one object and another, between the knower and what is known, things that encouraged personal devotion to a saving deity. On the Hindu side such distinctions were dismissed as illusions to be overcome by enlightenment, and personal devotion to a saving deity made little sense. However, Hinduism, precisely because it is in part the synthesis of an outsider's perspective, embraces many principles. Some of these derived from the pre–Upanisadic period when good was understood as a gift from the gods and evil as an expression of divine judgment. Because they have their roots in this earlier period, the Vaishnavite tradition of Vishnu and the Saivite tradition of Shiva retained elements of devotion to those respective gods. For our discussion the Vaishnavite tradition is the most important.

Vishnu "the Preserver" is the second member of the Hindu Trimurti, the other two being Brahma "the Creator" and Shiva "the Destroyer." Vishnu is a Sanskrit name which means "the

everywhere present one." In the ancient Vedic pantheon he was a minor deity, but gradually, in part because he became identified with sacrifice, his importance grew until he became supreme.[14] Though he was believed to have had many incarnations, his most important was as the Krishna of the Bhagavad-Gita, a text of non-Brahminic origin that appeared long before the advent of Buddhism.[15] The Vaishnavite tradition, particularly as it related to Krishna, stressed *bhakti* or emotional personal attachment to deity. Many Indians were impressed by the level of devotion Christians showed Christ, and these Indians began to search their own heritage for a figure who could inspire similar consecration. For these Indians, Krishna was the answer. The Hare Krishna movement was in fact inspired in India's reaction to Christian missionaries.[16] However the emphasis on personal devotion in the Vaishnavite tradition also enabled Indians who became Christians to better grasp personal devotion to Christ. After all, that tradition rooted the custom of personal piety firmly in Indian soil. The Vaishnavite tradition meant that such devotion to a deity was familiar to Indians and did not have to be imported. It had merely to be refocused.

Ram Mohun Roy (1772–1833) is an early example of one who attempted to revitalize these devotional elements in Hinduism. Though he had an early flirtation with Unitarianism, in the end he was unable to break with Hinduism. However, thought he upheld the centrality of the Upanishads, he interpreted them in a monotheistic rather than a pantheistic way. In this he was influenced by his study of Islam and Christian Unitarianism (to aid him in his knowledge of the Bible he had learned both Hebrew and Greek and helped to translate the New Testament into Bengali). He opposed polygamy, idolatry, and suttee,[17] and believed women should be able to inherit. As we have seen, he was willing to cooperate with the missionaries and had a role in starting the Hindu College, wrote several important theological works in Persian, Arabic, Bengali, and English, and is remembered as one of the earliest and most profound of the Hindu reformers. However, Roy's most important and lasting accomplishment was his establishment of a religious society known as Brahmo Samaj (the Divine Society or the

Society of Brahma),[18] which he founded on August 20, 1828. It is still in existence today.

Though organized for the purpose of worship, Roy did not understand his Brahmo Samaj to be a church. There were no rules of worship though readings from the Upanishads with an exposition of the passage were conducted and there was singing (an idea he borrowed from Christian hymnody). The purpose of this was to encourage devotees to contemplate the attributes of the divine. Such contemplation, however, though it was devotional was not to include prayer since Roy did not believe in prayer. Otherwise there were no rules of worship, participants were required to affirm no creed, and no membership lists were kept. By 1830 Roy's society was meeting in a special building which he had built. He left that year for England where he died at Bristol on September 22, 1833, after a short illness.

He was succeeded by Keshav Chunder Sen, who in reaction to ritualism that was beginning to creep into the Brahmo Samaj started his own group and called it Brahma Samaj of India. He reaffirmed the centrality of worship and instead of using only the Upanishads, incorporated the scriptures of all major religions, a practice intended to emphasize that truth was to be found in all faiths. In 1878 he formed another group and named it the Church of the New Dispensation. This third dispensation, he said, was the final dispensation.

He believed that Christ was an emanation of Brahma and used the language of Christ as *logos* and Christ as the Son of God to describe that relationship. He used a triangle with Brahma at its apex and humanity at the base to symbolize the relation between Christ, Brahma, and the world. He imagined Christ as one arm of this triangle and the Holy Spirit as the other. He also divided religious history into three dispensations. Brahma, he believed, was the chief of the first dispensation, a record of which was found in the Old Testament. Christ, completely surrendered to Brahma was the chief of the second. And he, Keshav Chunder Sen, completely surrendered to Christ, was chief of the third. As the divinely appointed leader of this third dispensation, his purpose, he believed, was to bring all religions together.

We see in these developments two problems that have plagued not only Christianity but other missionary faiths that have entered India. Because it is pantheistic, Hinduism is infinitely absorbent. It refuses to make clear distinctions, one of the reasons many Hindu reformers saw caste as a fundamental betrayal of the pure Hindu vision, and it assumes a divine essence to all reality. These two problems come to the fore in Keshav Chunder Sen's movement. For him all the major religious traditions contained valuable spiritual truth that should be celebrated. This conceit made his movement syncretistic. Language and symbol, as important as they are, are of themselves insufficient to secure Christian orthodoxy. Christianity is a fundamentally historical faith, something Christians must keep in mind whenever Christianity's truth is challenged. Words and symbols take meaning from their context, and that context is what syncretism so often fails to appreciate. His failure to appreciate the full uniqueness of Christ betrayed Keshav Chunder Sen into a kind of gnosticism where the primary significance of the *logos* lay in the knowledge it conveyed and where the kingdom of God became associated with an inner life that collapsed into a kingdom of the self. It is against such powerful forces of syncretism and subjectivity that Christianity in India has had to struggle. But that struggle is not an Indian struggle only. It is a struggle the church must face wherever it is planted.

As we saw above, the Mar Thoma Church embraced Western orthodoxy with the arrival of the Portuguese in the first decades of the sixteenth century. These early colonialists were to open India to both Catholic and Protestant missionaries. Of course the Christianity brought to India by these missionaries was orthodox and the Indian churches they founded affirmed orthodox positions. But orthodoxy had come under the auspicious of colonialism, and colonialism inevitably kindled the fires of nationalism. The question raised by converts like Banerjea or associations like the Brahma Samaj society was whether Christianity in India could be both orthodox and nationalistic.

Nehemiah Goreh took up that challenge. A Brahman raised in the Saivite tradition of Hinduism, Goreh as a young man studied Sanskrit and, because of his studies, embraced the Vaishnavite tradition. Of all the Hindus converts to Christianity

he was probably the most deeply learned in Hindu scriptures and theology. Initially antagonistic to the missionaries, he began to read the New Testament in an effort to understand and better refute their faith, but instead of fueling his rejection of their religion, he found that his studies drew him toward it. He was powerfully impressed by the New Testament, particularly Christ's Sermon on the Mount, and began to attend services conducted by the Church Missionary Society. In 1849 he was baptized and in 1870 was ordained as an Anglican priest. Prior to his ordination he worked among educated Indians. After ordination he worked among the untouchables, but his theology always had a philosophical cast and was strongly influenced by his study of patristic writers, his commitment to the doctrine of creation from nothing, and his dialogue with Hinduism.

He understood Hinduism as an authentic preparation for the gospel but did not believe that any contemporary version of Hinduism was genuinely theistic. Indeed, in his view, Hinduism's monism and its understanding of sin as ignorance rather than moral evil were interrelated and together undermined the Hindu's efforts to achieve salvation through *bhakti* or devotion. Such devotion was inadequate because not only was it unable to deal with the true depths of moral evil, it was also directed toward the wrong deity. He further argued that the path pursued by those in Brahma Samaj society was doomed by its refusal to identify the object of devotion, a refusal which in effect made their aim devotion itself. Because of this, Goreh insisted that Hinduism could not, as Banerjea had hoped, be the Old Testament for the Indians. Hinduism was a rationalistic monism. Goreh believed that theology must begin not with reason but with revelation, and, he argued, the Old Testament was a written expression of such revelation. This view of Hinduism as preparation for the gospel was explored as well by missionaries, most famously by J.N. Farquhar who argued in *The Crown of Hinduism* published by Oxford press in 1913 that Hinduism is an authentic but inadequate religious expression and can be fulfilled only by conversion to the Christian faith. The crown of Hinduism is Christianity.

In an essay appearing in the winter 1967 issue of *Thought,* Shusaku Endo, the Japanese novelist whose work reflects his

own grappling with his Catholic faith, referred to Japan as a mud swamp which absorbs all ideologies into itself, perverting them and preventing believers from fully incorporating a Christian world view.[19] The same thing could be said of India. Hinduism is infinitely absorptive and can in this capacity undermine even those reforming faiths which it spawned from itself. Though Buddhism was born as a reform movement in India, its has practically disappeared there and the Buddha himself has been claimed as a divinity by the Hindu pantheon. Hindus would seek to do the same to Christ.

Since the first missionaries stepped off Portuguese, Danish and British ships, Christianity has grown to become the third largest religious faith in India. Much of that growth has occurred in the last two centuries. This means that in spite of its ancient roots in the country, Christianity remains something of a newcomer on Indian soil. And in many ways this soil could prove to be Christianity's greatest challenge. This challenge, which is the challenge of Christianity everywhere, is to be at once a faithful witness and a converting witness. But faithfulness to the message is the most important of these two ventures. Apart from a true witness, conversion means nothing. The Christianity brought to India by the Protestants was not only planted there recently, it was also a faith that was deeply inspired by revivals. And it is to its revivalist side that we now turn.

Section F
Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Revivals in India

Gary McGee has pointed out that two Indian revival movements, one beginning around 1860 at Tinnevelly and lasting until 1881, and the other beginning in March 1905 in the Khassia Hills of northeast India and lasting until 1907, emerged as part of a global charismatic phenomenon and contributed significantly to the development of an indigenous Indian leadership in the missionary church.[20] The such leadership was much needed is of little doubt. The Roman Catholic Church is illustrative here. The Padroado, that is the ecclesiastical jurisdiction exercised by the Portuguese crown over its territories, had allowed the Catholic Church in India to languish from the later part of the eighteenth

century and into the nineteenth. Cranganore was without a bishop from 1777 to 1838. Cochin had none from 1778 to 1818. There was no bishop in Mylapore from 1807 to 1838. And even Goa, the administrative hub of the Portuguese holdings, was without a bishop from 1831 to 1843. In 1838, in an effort to reconstruct the Catholic Church in India, Pope Gregory XVI issued his *Multa Praeclare*, a papal letter in which he suppressed the sees of Cranganore, Cochin, and Mylapore, restricted the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa, and placed the rest of India under his own vicars apostolic. However, because Portugal and the Vatican enjoyed no diplomatic relations at the time, neither the Portuguese officials in India or Maria II who ruled Portugal from 1826 to 1853 were officially informed of what the Pope had done. Consequently the Portuguese clergy felt safe in treating the Brief as a forgery.

Since 1845 Rome had been admonishing the Indian church to develop an indigenous clergy, but its admonitions had fallen on deaf ears. The Portuguese seemed convinced that the future of Catholicism in India was safer if its leadership remained European. In Portugal, as in Spain, racial purity after centuries of Muslim occupation mattered. Furthermore, Portugal's experience with Indian priests in the Mar Thoma church had not been an altogether happy one. Portuguese contempt for darker complexioned people was also fed by her and her colonies' long involvement with the slave trade.[21] Indeed, Portuguese missionaries who went to Kongo at the invitation of Alfonso I[22] after he ascended to the throne in 1506 quickly became deeply involved in that trade, much to the distress of the new African converts. Portuguese prejudice meant that when Pope Leo XIII in 1886 created a regular ecclesiastical hierarchy in India, every one of the twenty bishops then in India was European. More than half a century would pass before the number of Indian priests equaled and then exceeded the number of foreign ones.

Among the Protestants the situation, though it left much to be desired, was not as bad. The relationship between the Indians, especially the educated reformers, and the Protestant missionaries was, as we saw, often quite good. Many Indians, especially in the early nineteenth century, accepted Duff's equation that Christianity and progress went together, and if they later modi-

fied that equation to read Westernization and progress, it was a modification with which most missionaries felt they could still cooperate. Working to get translations of the Scriptures into local hands and focusing on education, Protestant missionaries trained evangelists and ministers to read the Bible for themselves and to plant and pastor Indian churches. In this effort they were aided by a concept of church indigenization pioneered by an Anglican clergyman named Henry Venn (1796–1873) and an American missionary theorist named Andrew Rufus (1796–1880). The idea, called the Three-Self church, envisioned missionary efforts as being directed toward planting a church that was self–governing, self-supported, and self-propagated. Basing his argument on Matthew 28:19–20, Henry Venn reasoned that the aim of missions should be their own demise. While secretary of the Church Mission Society from 1841 until shortly before his death, he strove to encourage CMS missionaries everywhere to indigenize the episcopate and increase the number of local clergy. Anderson for his part was influenced by a voyage he took to India in 1855. What he saw there convinced him that mission resources would be better used if they were administered by local leaders, and he became a strong advocate for decentralization and ordination of national pastors. Missionaries, he argued, should work toward strengthening the indigenous churches.[23] Though this policy was often resisted by missionaries in the field for a variety of reasons, usually involving their particular circumstances, these factors when taken together meant that when revival came to India, there was a base of native leadership in place that would be fully capable of taking those released energies and using them to set their own itineraries even without missionary support. In other words, revivals would cultivate indigenous leadership not from the top down, where it met with resistance from both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, but from the bottom up.

Missionaries working in India were quite aware of the revivals that were transforming Christian faith in the West and many of them longed to see such powerful movements in India itself. After almost two centuries of witness and efforts that were imaginative to the point of daring and characterized by heroic self–sacrifice, the harvest of Indian souls, significant as it was, seemed depressingly small. Christians, though they had become the

third largest religious group in India, comprised something less than three percent of the population and most of these were in the south where the Mar Thoma church had been since almost the beginning of the faith. Stirred by reports of paranormal phenomena accompanying revivals in the West, missionaries in India, particularly among the more radical fringes of evangelicalism, began to read their Bibles with a eye on prophetic passages that stressed the ministry of the Holy Spirit. Effective evangelism in India, they believed, required a Pentecostal outpouring from God. Two such missionaries were the Prussian Karl Rhenius who had worked the Church Missionary Society in India since 1814, and an English independent missionary named Norris Groves who had come in 1833. Rhenius was committed to the Three–self ideal, while Groves taught the dispensational eschatology of the Plymouth Brethren. Both of these men taught their ideas to John Christian Aroolappen.

In 1860 revival complete with preternatural occurrences broke out among the Shanars, a low caste in the state of Tinnevelly (now part of Tamil Nadu) among whom Aroolappen worked. Describing the beginning of the revival in his diary, Aroolappen wrote:

> In the month of June some of our people praised the Lord by unknown tongues,with their interpretations . . . My son and a daughter and three others went to visit their own relations, in three villages, who are under the Church Missionary Society, they also received the Holy Ghost. Some prophesy, some speak by unknown tongues with their interpretations.[24]

This revival was notable in several ways. First, it developed with very little input from Western missionaries. Second, it produced a wave of native evangelists who, setting their own itineraries, traveled widely without salary or pledge support to spread the gospel to other Indians. Their work produced conversions in numbers which amazed the missionaries.[25] Third, British soldiers began to experience some of these phenomena. Fourth, women became active participants in this movement of the Spirit.[26]

This revival spread from Tinnevelly to nearby Tranvancore where it also produced similar results. Though

the movement had died out in Tinnevelly by 1865, it endured in Tranvancore into the twentieth century.

Such success tended to legitimize Pentecostal imagery among missionary groups that emphasized the work of the Holy Spirit. Hence when late in 1897 leaders of these mission agencies issued a call for prayer that the power of the Holy Spirit should be manifest in a special way, it was not only embraced but became an annual event. When news of the 1904 Welsh Revival reached India it was received with great excitement. As early as January 1905 a booklet entitled *The Great Revival* was published in English, Tamil, and Telugu by the Methodist Press in Madras. This was the first of a multitude of pamphlets and articles that appeared in missionary journals and secular newspapers reporting on and analyzing events in Wales and other parts of the world where revival burned.

Then in 1905 in the Khassia Hills in what is today called Meghalaya in the northeast corner of India, revival began among stations staffed by Welsh missionaries. The mission had been introduced by Thomas Jones in 1841 and was the single largest mission of the Welsh Presbyterian Church.[27] Unlike the 1860 revival in Tinnevelly led by Aroolappen, this one had no preeminent leader. Nevertheless in the weeks that followed Madras, Bombay, Kerala, the Punjab, Gugarat, and Bengal all reported that revival was breaking out, and, like the earlier one, these outbreaks included things like dancing, intense prayer, and confession of sins as well as paranormal events like visions, prophetic dreams, people collapsing under the power of the Holy Spirit, the appearance of supernatural lights, and miraculous provisions of food. Interestingly glossolalia did not manifest until April.[28] A particularly striking example of tongues occurred at the Mukti Mission, founded by Pandita Ramabai in Kedgaon near Poona in southern India. Revival reached the mission in June 1905 when widows and young Indian girls, though they did not know the language, began praising God in English. This phenomenon occurred in waves during revival meetings there until 1907 when the revival began to die down across India.[29]

McGee concludes that preparation of an indigenous leadership in the Indian church was one of the consequences of these two revivals and that the revival itself pointed to the

maturation of that church.[30] When the Church of South India was formed in 1947[31] and the Church of North India in 1970, a strong national leadership, educated in missionary schools in India as well as in Europe itself and prepared by revival, was firmly in place and ready to take the reigns.

Sadly evangelism in India has slowed as churches have refocused their efforts toward issues of social justice and as theologies minimizing the uniqueness of Christ have gained a greater audience. Furthermore, opposition to religious diversity in India has grown stronger. In the late 1960s two states, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, passed laws making conversion difficult. The Rashtriva Swayamsevak Sangh (the National Volunteers Organization), founded in 1926 around the principle that India should be a Hindu nation,[32] commands increasing allegiance among the populace. Its political arm, the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), won control of the government in 1998 under the leadership of Atal Behari Vajpayee and almost immediately instigated a regional arms race by testing five nuclear devices, a move that was met with widespread support among Indians. And the national government itself now forbids foreigners to come to India as missionaries. To complicate the picture, caste distinctions, though officially illegal, have begun to reemerge in the Indian church. Nominalism, too, has become a problem in a nation where approximately 2.3 percent of a population numbering 930 million is Christian. Nevertheless India is a nation undergoing extraordinary social and economic change, and traditionally such has been a boon to church growth. Christians have a strong presence in south India and in the northeast arm of the country are a majority in some areas. A respected part of the international Christian community, Indians have shown themselves to be astute and sophisticated in their responses to the gospel. The witness of men like Carey and Duff furthered not only the cause of Christ in India, but the cause of nationalism and literacy as well. Indian education and even the nation itself has been fundamentally shaped by their obedience to the great commission.

Conclusion

Vasu was adamant that I should accompany him so I climbed onto the back of his motorcycle and we began winding our way toward the beach through the traffic snarls of Madras. Reaching the sea, we took a road running through an oceanfront neighborhood and in a short time came upon what appeared to be a Hindu shrine, unremarkable except that the display it housed was built around a cross and a statue of Jesus. This, Vasu told me, was a Christian shrine, and it made him very anxious. He saw in it the infinite absorptive potential of India and was worried that in a few generations the work of two hundred years would be undone and Jesus, like Buddha, would have become for most of his followers just another god in the Hindu pantheon.

Vasu is a businessman and a charismatic Christian, part of a movement that has since the 1960s been stripping members from the Church of South India. His concern was well grounded and gratifying. Despite what struck me as the odd qualities of charismatic worship in India, Vasu and many charismatics like him are keenly aware of Jesus' uniqueness and jealous to protect it. Christianity in India as it confronts the future will depend ever more heavily on the convictions of people like Vasu. Syncretism is always a danger to the church, but in India the pressures toward syncretism are enormous, more powerful perhaps than in any other cultural complex in the world. The Vasus of India have a very difficult task. They must guard and preserve the truth that has been passed to them and at the same time spread its life–giving message among the Hindus with whom they live. They are, however, quite confident that with the Holy Spirit as their counselor and guide they will be able to do this.

Holy Spirit churches with their emphasis on inwardness and devotion have a tremendous appeal in India. Ecstatic prayer, spiritual gifts, and intense religious experience is very much a part of India's heritage. Cessationist theology with its denials that God works in these ways today rings strangely in Indian ears. India sees the miraculous constantly. This is both her strength and a great danger. If Japan is a swamp, India is an ocean of treacherous currents. Spiritual discernment is paramount for all Christians, but in India this is doubly true.

We have seen in this chapter that the Indian cultural complex created in large measure by the perspectives of outsiders is home to a sophisticated and cosmopolitan people. We have seen that Christianity, rather than being a newcomer to the subcontinent, has claimed a home there almost since the beginning of the faith. We have seen how the Protestantism introduced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was deeply tinctured by revival and emphasized personal appropriation of the gospel through a specific experience. This appropriation of the gospel was to be nurtured by the individual through Bible study and education and was expected to produce a witness geared toward converting others to the faith. Evangelicalism in India also inherited an interest in social concerns. Though such concerns were undermined by the Sepoy Rebellion in the mid– nineteenth century, they surfaced again in the early twentieth century and have continued to characterize the Indian church. And we have seen how Christian missions' emphasis on education not only contributed to national aspirations but had the unintended consequence of revitalizing Hinduism itself.

What constitutes adequate indigenization of the gospel? This is the fundamental controversy confronting the Indian church today. To what extent can Hinduism be affirmed as a preparation for Christianity and to what extent must it be rejected as a foil for Christian truth? How comfortable can Christianity be with Hindu perspectives? Is Hinduism an edifice to be blown up by a Christian mine or crowned by the Christian message? These question, like all questions involving indigenization, will entail a reassessment of Jesus by Indians. Who is this first century Jew, what does he have to say in India, and how can his words and deeds be best understood? Such issues, particularly when addressed against the intellectual background created over the last two centuries by secularism and its new theories of origin, raise questions about the role of the Bible in the church of India and elsewhere. They also impact future interpretations of evangelical spiritual experience as embraced by the Indian church. Biblical criticism has done much to undermine the authority of Scripture. Radical theologies have done much to undermine the traditions of the church. A growing emphasis on experience has done much to

dethrone reason. Missions themselves have contributed signifi-
cantly, if unwittingly, to the contemporary pluralism that, by
the very choices it offers, encourages a "pick and mix"
approach to truth and faith. The ways that Christians resolve
these issues will determine what kind of church emerges in
India. It should not surprise us if it is a thoroughly modern
church. Even as "Indian art" made the leap to modernity after
independence, so Indian Christianity will find its home not in
India's past but in India's future. Yet the churches planted in
India by Protestant missionaries have transcended not only
India's ancient traditions, they have transcended Protestantism
as well. Under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, one expects the
church in India to be both Indian and Christian, but being
Indian will assure that it will no longer be Protestant. The issues
that defined Protestantism are not central issues in India. The
contribution India makes to Christian tradition will be distinc-
tively its own.

Africa

Ancient Churches, Modern Missions, New Revivals

Introduction

According to a scenario proposed by geophysicists, Africa, the second largest continent in the world, and South America, the second smallest, were created from the same primeval land mass as tectonic plates deep beneath the earth's surface cracked apart a hundred million years ago. The scientists' reasoning is easy to understand. Africa and South America fit together like two pieces of an enormous puzzle. But the continents share more in common than a peculiar configuration of their eastern and western coasts. There is the striking matter of their positioning. While Eurasia and North America tend to spread east and west, Africa and South America, beginning above the equator and plunging toward the Antarctic, stretch north and south. Both are connected to larger land masses by an isthmus, and both have been isolated from those land masses by canals dug across those isthmuses. Indeed, the same man, Ferdinand de Lesseps, was involved in the construction of both canals, the Suez Canal which he completed between 1859 and 1869, followed by a failed attempt across the isthmus of Panama toward the end of the nineteenth century. Major bodies of water, the Gulf of Mexico in the case of South

America and the Mediterranean Sea in the case of Africa, contribute significantly to the isolation of both continents. The two continents also suffer a dearth of good harbors. And both continents share a strange mirror image of rainfall. While South America boasts the largest jungle in the world, Africa boasts the largest desert: the Sahara. This desert, sweeping across the entire northern third of Africa, in tandem with poor anchorage on Africa's Atlantic and Indian Ocean coasts, compounds Africa's isolation. It is much more difficult to cross the Sahara than it is to cross the Mediterranean and for the last five thousand years at least the Sahara has been expanding.

Not surprisingly the Sahara's impact on African civilization has been profound. While north Africa is part of the Mediterranean cultural matrix, sub-Saharan Africa is not. South of that vast desert lies another world, a world of huge lakes, great rivers, a mighty jungle in the west, and grasslands and another desert in the east and south. In this region of contrasts, snow-capped mountains loom above tropical forests where animals, long extinct in other parts of the world, still abound. In this splendid isolation another history has unfolded, a history in which the Eurasian world played little part until recently. Shielded by the Sahara, African peoples developed and conserved traditions that expressed their own unique grasp of common human themes.

Through the eastern edge of this vast desert runs the Nile. Splitting into its White and Blue halves at Khartoum, that river, one of the world's longest, drains the mountains of Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, and the eastern rim of the Congo basin. Its waters nourished one of the world's most ancient civilizations, and along its banks Christianity first marched into the heart of Africa.

As the title of this chapter indicates, the history of Christianity in Africa can be divided into three parts: its ancient witness beginning in the first century and lasting in modified form into the present, its modern missions witness beginning in the sixteenth century and lasting until the present, and its revivalist side beginning in the nineteenth century and growing ever stronger. Though we will discuss each of these periods, our primary focus will be on the third for it is here that the post-Protestant church is most vigorous.

Section A
The Ancient Church

Africa's influence on the development of doctrine in the ancient church is hard to overstate. Jesus' family sought refuge in Egypt shortly after his birth and the faith he founded had entered Africa via the witness of the Jerusalem church by the mid-first century. One of the two great theological centers in which that church developed its doctrine was Alexandria at the mouth of the Nile. Here in the second and early third centuries Clement, an African and the first Christian scholar, debated the Gnostics and through that debate began to explore the idea that Christ the Logos was the source of true knowledge. Here, too, Origen, also African and one of the early church's most prolific writers, was developing Christianity's first systematic theology. During those same years Tertullian, another African and probably early Christianity's finest apologist, was penning the homilies in which he coined much of the terminology used in classic christological and Trinitarian formulations. Africa witnessed the birth of Christian monasticism as Anthony, in the later part of the third century, gave away his possessions and went into the desert to struggle and pray. Athanasius (c. 296–373), the indomitable champion of the Trinitarian confession which still bears his name, was African. Augustine (354–430), the greatest of the Four Doctors of the Church and the one to whom Protestants are most likely to appeal, was African. Indeed one could argue that orthodox Christianity emerged from Africans steeped in the categories of Hellenistic thought. Modern theology's struggle against the Greeks, to which Langdon Gilkey referred (see chapter 1), is in many ways a struggle against these Africans.

If Christian theology was crafted by academics and monastics in north Africa, one might ask why the church is so weak in this region today. The answer, in a word, is Islam. After Mohammed's death in 632 his followers moved from their theocratic center at Medina to Mecca, unifying the tribes of Arabia and then going forth to conquer the world. In 635 Damascus fell to their armies, followed by Antioch in 636. In 638 they captured Jerusalem and by 640 Caesarea was theirs. Two years later in 642

they seized Alexandria. By 650 the eastern half of the Roman empire had been reduced to what is now Greece, Crete and Turkey.[1] From their new base on the eastern Mediterranean Muslim armies moved in two directions, marching east into the Punjab and central Asia, and west across north Africa. In 698 Muslim forces captured and virtually destroyed Carthage on the bay of Tunis. In 711, as we saw in chapter 1, Tariq, a Muslim general, invaded Spain and subdued the tottering Visigothic state of King Roderick. By 715 the greater part of the Iberian peninsula was under Muslim control. In 732, in one of history's decisive battles, Muslim troops crossed the Pyrenees and were defeated by the army of Charles Martel, uniter of all Merovingian kingdoms, on the plains between Tours and Poitiers. Thus in the west the "idol kings" of the Merovingians using Carolingian leadership, and in the east the Byzantine empire, though reduced to a shadow of its former self, had saved Europe for Christendom. But, despite an incursion into Spain by Charlemagne, north Africa remained firmly in Muslim hands. This meant that the Christian world had been split asunder by the Islamic one. Christianity in the north stretched from Ireland into central Asia while Christianity in the south languished for the most part under Muslim bondage. There were, however, two Christian kingdoms in the south which resisted the Muslim advance, and both were in eastern Africa. One was the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia, the other was the Christian kingdom of Nubia.

Europe's history for the next one thousand years was circumscribed and defined by its conflict with Islam. Not only did the empires of Islam serve to isolate Europe from the wider world, they also filtered classic learning to Europe by way of Spain. There had been two major theological centers for the early church, one in Alexandria and one in Antioch. While the one in Alexandria was dominated by Platonic philosophy, the one in Antioch attempted to develop a theological model using Aristotle. Islamic scholars, building on the work of earlier Christian scholars, developed Islamic thought using Aristotelian categories. When Thomas Aquinas in thirteenth century Paris began his own adaptation of Aristotle based on texts he had received from Islamic Spain, he was following in the steps

of those earlier Christian theologians who had labored in Antioch centuries before.

The Crusades, though much maligned, were inspired in part by the mistreatment of Christian pilgrims in the Holy Land and represented a concerted effort by Europe to break Islam's stranglehold. There were nine crusades between the end of the eleventh and the later part of the fourteenth century, not all of them laudable and some of them tragic, but the success of the First Crusade with the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, a city Christians held until Saladin, the sultan of Egypt, recaptured it in 1187, proved Europe's growing capacity, even at this early date, to establish and maintain military outposts on hostile soil. The crusader castles that dot the hills of Israel were early exercises of an ability that Europe would perfect during its colonial period.

The histories of Ethiopia and Nubia were also defined by their relationship to Islam. After capturing Egypt in 642, Muslim armies attacked Nubia where Egyptian missionaries had established the church centuries before, but were successfully repulsed. By 710 Nubia had negotiated a treaty with Egypt that required Nubia to pay a tribute, or *baqt*, of about four hundred slaves a year to Egypt in exchange for a variety of goods. During the centuries when the *baqt* was in effect, Nubian culture and the Christian faith flowered, but beginning in the thirteenth century increasing pressure by the Muslim Mameluks plunged Nubia into a long decline. In 1315 the Mameluks installed a Nubian prince recently converted to Islam on the throne and by the sixteenth century Nubia Christianity had died out. Though Nubian Christianity had prospered for centuries alongside Islam, in the end it was strangled by its rival.

Not so Ethiopia, despite intense Islamic pressure which at first seriously threatened the future of that Christian kingdom. In fact, Craig Keener and Glenn Usry suggest that Ethiopia may have been more hospitable to the Christian faith than any other culture in history.[2]

Though the Ethiopian church traditionally traces its origins to the eunuch baptized by Philip (Acts 8:26–38), it actually was founded in the fourth century by two Phoenician brothers, Frumentius and Aedesius. Sailing from Tyre with their teacher

Meropus, the three were taken captive by the Ethiopians them-selves after they arrived at Adoulis. Meropus was killed, and Frumentius and Aedesius were carried to the imperial court at Axumis (now known as Aksum) south of the Mareb River. There Frumentius was made the royal secretary while Aedesius, after the fashion of Nehemiah, became the royal cupbearer. After the king's death the queen mother prevailed upon the brothers to remain in court to help with government. Frumentius was made tutor to the royal sons. Their faithful service gained favor and when Emperor Ezana reached his majority, he freed them and allowed them to evangelize. Frumentius, who traveled to Alexandria to report on events, was consecrated bishop of Axumis by Athanasius sometime around 340 or 346, and returned to Ethiopia to continue the work.

The church the brothers planted was not well organized, had no dioceses, and was not self-governing. It remained in what Philip Caraman calls "a state of evangelization."[3] It was syncretis-tic, like so many missionary churches, an amalgam of pagan and Christian ideas. And it was, as Jill Kamil notes, "an offshoot of the Coptic church."[4] This meant it was a Monophysite church, that against the position asserted by the Council of Chalcedon[5] in 451, it affirmed that Christ had one nature not two. Finally, it had this distinction: cherishing its supposed ties to King David, it clung jealously to many Jewish practices.[6]

During the sixth century a hospice for Ethiopian pilgrims was organized in Jerusalem. Not only did this hospice witness to a people eager to establish stronger ties to their new religious legacy, it also was the occasion for introducing a community of Ethiopian monks who, after the crusaders withdrew in the thir-teenth century, became the guardians of Christian holy sites in Jerusalem. The only contact between Ethiopia and the church in Europe, these monks probably inspired stories of Prester John,[7] a powerful Christian potentate believed to rule somewhere in Asia or Africa. Such legends arose in the twelfth century and impelled the church to send envoys in search of this ruler.

During the sixth century as well, the Ethiopian church extended its territory to the eastern shore of the Red Sea, fol-lowing in the train of Ethiopia's military conquests. But then things began to go badly. From the seventh through the ninth

centuries Islamic raids weakened Ethiopia, and forced the empire to retreat away from the Red Sea coast and into the mountains of the Ethiopian Plateau, a move that not only made communication between Ethiopia and the church in Rome next to impossible but also brought the declining realm into conflict with the Agau nation who lived along the Blue Nile. This conflict with the Agau, who had recently become more assertive under leadership of a strong queen, lasted into the eleventh century and further debilitated Ethiopia's strength. The leadership of the Ethiopian church blamed this decline on Ethiopia's kings who had broken with the patriarch in Alexandria, a disruption that left Ethiopia without a presiding bishop for seventy years, and they predicted that unless this breach was healed, conditions in Ethiopia would only get worse.

This longing for restoration was answered in the twelfth century by none other than the Agau themselves. A group of Agau chiefs who had converted to Christianity seized power in 1137 and began the Zagwe Dynasty. Though they ushered in a cultural revival, their reign sparked opposition in the northern part of the empire Tigrean leaders opposed these usurpers. But with the ascension of Lalibela, even the Tigrean antagonists were placated. Lalibela, claiming to be helped by angels from God who acted as his masons and laborers, a claim reminiscent of traditions associated with the building of the temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, constructed a new capital near Adefu in the mountains. He named the heights of this new Jerusalem Calvary and christened its river Jordan.

Two events ended Zagwe rule. First, after Lalibela's death, around 1200, his sons struggled for power, bringing the empire to the brink of civil war. Second, around 1225, a book entitled *Kebra-Nagast* (History of the Kings) appeared that directly challenged the legitimacy of the Zagwe dynasty. During this protracted crisis, a new political contender rose. His name was Yekunno-Amlak and he claimed to be a descendent of the Axum kings, that is, a descendent of Solomon. His military victories brought him to the throne and he resolved, once there, to re-conquer territory lost to the Muslims. It also ushered in a new style of ruler. Ethiopia's kings became warriors. They ruled from tents and roved constantly through their expanding

territories. This militancy was coupled with a religious renewal led by a monk named Tekla-Haymanot. His confrontation with pagans at Damot ended in the triumph of the church and inspired a new aggressiveness in his followers. Into the fourteenth century Ethiopia's military kings and Tekla-Haymanot's new order missionary monks worked together to spread the empire and the church.

This aggressiveness resulted in a significant expansion of Ethiopian territory but it also created tensions between the monks, who grew more critical of royal prerogatives like polygamy, and the emperor who accepted polygamy as a traditional right.

At the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century a second and more legalistic community of monks under the leadership of Abba Ewostatewos rose to challenge the authority of Tekla-Haymanot's customs. Like the Seventh-Day Adventists, this new community stressed observance of Saturday rather than Sunday as the church's holy day. In a effort to unify these rival communities, emperor Zara-Yaqob, crowned in 1434, called a church council in 1450. As a result, Ethiopia recognized both Saturday and Sunday as holy days. This devout emperor not only succeeded in unifying the Ethiopian church, he raised Ethiopia to heights of glory recognized as far away as Europe. At the Council of Florence in 1438 letters were received from "John, the Emperor of the Ethiopia," and in late September 1441 Ethiopian monks from Jerusalem arrived in Florence and met with representatives of the Roman Church. As a result the Pope issued a bull, *Cantate Domino*, which united the Roman and Ethiopian churches. The bull had little practical effect at first, but a resurgent Islam in the beginning of the sixteenth century made contact between Rome and Ethiopia increasingly important for both parties. What is more, Europe's new global reach made such contact possible.

1515 was an important year for the Portuguese, the Ottomans, and the Ethiopians. The Ottoman Turks in the fourteenth century began to forge a state out of the ruins of the collapsed Seljuk empire. Early triumphs, though checked briefly by Tamerlane's victory at Angora in 1402, culminated in 1453 when Mohammed II conquered Constantinople and subjugated the

Byzantine empire. But it was under Selim I that the Ottoman empire reached its height in the sixteenth century. Deposing his father Bajazet II and murdering his brothers, Selim I became sultan in 1512. The following year he defeated Shah Ismail of Persia and annexed Kurdistan. Then in 1515 his armies conquered Egypt, overran Yemen (using firearms provided by Muslim merchants), and attacked Ethiopia. The campaign against Ethiopia was foiled when Lebna-Dengel, Ethiopia's young emperor, annihilated the Muslim troops by trapping them in a gorge. But the Ethiopians were very concerned about future attacks and requested help from the Portuguese who had recently arrived in the region. In response the Portuguese sent an embassy under Dom Rodrigo da Lima which arrived in Ethiopia in 1520. The embassy withdrew after six years, unable to reach an agreement with Ethiopia. Then in 1529 Ahmad bin Ibrahim, having seized power in Adel, struck at Ethiopia and in the battle of Shimbra-Kure defeated it. His victory, due in large measure to some two hundred Turkish musketeers, was followed by a campaign of terror that left Ethiopia devastated. This was accompanied by a general renunciation of the Christian faith among Ethiopians. The Ethiopian Chronicle indicates that ninety percent of Ethiopian men renounced Christianity during these years.[9]

Desperate, Lebna-Dengel retreated into the mountains. From there he commanded a guerrilla campaign against Ibrahim and appealed to Portugal for help. The Portuguese responded, sending Cristovao da Gama, the son of Vasco da Gama, the famed navigator, as head of a military contingent of four hundred Portuguese, one hundred and thirty slaves, armed with enough guns to off-set Ibrahim's advantage in musketry, to aid the beleaguered emperor. By the time they arrived at Massawa on July 9, 1541, Lebna-Dengel was dead and his eighteen year old son Galawdewos was leading the resistance. In 1543, after a series of victories, Cristovao da Gama's forces crushed the main army of Ahmad bin Ibrahim at Woina-Dega. Ibrahim himself was killed in this encounter and the Muslims fled.

The Portuguese, including an influential party of Jesuits, remained in Ethiopia and sought to bring the African kingdom under the umbrella of Rome. In 1642 Emperor Susenyos,

impressed with the Jesuit virtues that included celibacy and critical of the relaxed sexual mores of the Ethiopian clergy, converted to the Roman Catholic Church. He died on September 7, 1632, and was succeeded by his son Fasilidas. Fasilidas, like many other Ethiopians, had grown fearful of the Portuguese presence and Jesuit influence. A Portuguese naval assault on Mombassa in September 1634 convinced him that Portugal was mounting an invasion of Ethiopia. Fasilidas responded by ordering the Jesuits out of the country, reestablished the Coptic Church, and breaking off relations with Portugal. This was followed by a persecution of the Roman faith.

While Fasilidas did allow Portuguese settlers to remain in the country, his policies when taken together, served to isolate his realm even as they allowed rulers in the provinces to act with growing autonomy. For the next two centuries Ethiopia and the Ethiopian church remained isolated and divided. Not until Tewodros II assumed the Ethiopian throne in 1818 did Ethiopian rulers attempt to unify their empire. But this belated attempt was complicated by the presence of Europeans. Emperor Tewodros II, a devout man with inflated imperial ambitions who, during the course of his long reign, became increasingly unstable, committed suicide after being defeated by the British in a military engagement on Good Friday 1868. Tewodros II was succeeded by Yohannes IV who in turn was succeeded by Menelik II. While Yohannes had faced a threat from Sudan in the form of a jihad led by Muhammad 'Ahmad, the same Muhammad 'Ahmad whose army defeated C.G. Gordon in 1885 at Khartoum, Menelik II was confronted by the Italians.

In 1885 the Italians, well aware of the ease with which the British had defeated Tewodros, installed themselves in Eritrea. Initially quite willing to assist Menelik II as he strove to unite his people, the Italians invaded Ethiopia in 1896 after Menelik denounced a treaty he had signed in 1889, the same year he became emperor. In this treaty he had agreed to make Ethiopia an Italian protectorate. Eight thousand Italians were massacred when their army met the forces of Menelik at Adowa just south of the Eritrea border.[10] This resounding Ethiopian victory forced the Italians to recognize the empire's independence, but it also

set the stage for Italian revenge. At 5:00 AM on October 3, 1935, the Italians, whose Fascist leader Benito Mussolini would, in May of the following year, use the victory to announce the birth of the Second Roman Empire, crossed the Belesa River into Ethiopia and by nightfall had seized two thousand square miles of territory.[11] In 1936 Emperor Haile Selassie, Menelik II's grandson who had ascended to the throne in 1930 and who had led his troops against the Italian invasion, fled to England on a British warship leaving a dominion splintered between warring chieftains. The Italians incorporated Ethiopia into Italian East Africa, but their rule was short-lived. Haile Selassie returned in early 1941 after the Italians were ousted by the British. Although he was able to achieve full union with Eritrea in 1962 (federation between Ethiopia and Eritrea had been accomplished ten years earlier), and instituted many social reforms, his reign was troubled. In 1960 he crushed a rebellion led by the Crown Prince Asfa Wassan, executing the leaders but forgiving and sparing his son. Finally, in 1974 Haile Selassie was overthrown by the military. In 1977 Colonel Mengistu Halie Mariam seized power and the nation was plunged into a civil war which lasted until 1991 when Mengistu was overthrown. Amazingly the church grew during these years of turmoil.

Biblical Archaeology Review in their January/February 1989 issue ran an advertisement for a Nefertiti doll which depicted the queen as white. In a letter to the editor published in *BAR's* May/June 1989 issue, Mrs. Joan P. Wilson insisted that Nefertiti was black. That letter provoked a spirited and very informative exchange between Afrocentrist and more mainline scholars in subsequent issues. The Afrocentrists, which at the time were a new voice in American universities, insist that Western civilization for the most part derives from Africa, specifically Egypt.[12] While Mary Lefkowitz in *Not Out of Africa* (BasicBooks, 1996) has done much to correct such a view, this section has argued that at least as concerns Christianity, not only can a strong case be made for the impact of Africa on the fundamental doctrines of the faith, a walk through African history will demonstrate Christianity's early and enduring impact on civilizations in East Africa. In some places, as in the case of Nubia, the faith eventually died out. But in other places, most especially Egypt and

Ethiopia, it endured, maintaining an alternative tradition reaching down to today.

Mark Shaw points out how Africans' awareness of the Ethiopian story produced a movement called "Ethiopianism" which in this century has played a major role in African cultural, political, and religious renewal.[13] Seeking its scriptural justification in Psalm 68:31 ("Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God."), this celebration of Ethiopian culture and history has become a way for Africans to assert their own cultural identity against pervasive European influences. Ethiopianism inspired the formation of African independent churches and eventually became a movement that sought to establish a Christian theocracy that would embrace all Africa. For this reason we have gone into Ethiopian history in some detail. An acquaintance of that history will help the reader understand elements of what follows.

Section B
Modern Missions

It should not surprise the reader to learn that the earliest European missionaries to Africa in the modern era were Portuguese. As we saw in chapter 1, Pope Alexander VI in 1493 divided the world outside Europe into two theaters, one assigned to the Spanish crown and the other to the Portuguese. Both nations were not slow to establish their presence in their respective arenas. The Spanish reached across the Atlantic, conquered Mexico and Peru, discovered the Pacific and eventually established themselves in the Philippines and the Marianna Islands. Because of their military power they were able to dominate in these regions. They became landholders and assumed responsibility for their new subjects under regimes that were often repressively brutal. The new territories they controlled were organized under a parish system where education was conducted by priests who generally instructed the indigenous population in Castilian Spanish.

It should be remembered here that while there had been a fair amount of cultural exchange either directly or indirectly between Asia, Africa and Europe over the centuries, there had

been none between these continents and the Americas. This meant that the thought-forms the Spanish discovered in Latin America were less recognizable than were those encountered by the Portuguese in either Asia or Africa. While this meant that cultural repression was more extreme in Latin America, it also meant that such repression could in some ways be more easily subverted. And it also meant that Latin was not an effective method of communicating. While in Europe the Catholics were condemning vernacular translations as Protestant innovations, in Latin America the missionary priests were discovering that translations into the vernacular were precisely what they needed. Copies of the Scriptures in the vernacular multiplied but since they were written in long hand and not printed, the missionaries could claim not to have violated the Council of Trent's prohibition against printing vernacular Bibles. By 1580 in the Third Council of Lima it was agreed that no Amerindians need learn the prayers or recite the creeds in Latin.

If the Spanish, despite their preeminence, had to compromise, the Portuguese, who never had more than ten thousand men under arms and who had established outposts in Brazil, Africa, India, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, South China, Taiwan, and Japan, needed even more to learn the art of adjusting to local conditions. Hence in a very real way missionaries as we understand them, that is as agents willing to live on someone else's terms and to rely on dialogue and persuasion, first emerged among the Portuguese and were born of frustrated colonialism. However, the Portuguese were not able to conduct evangelism on a large scale. Unlike the Spanish they seldom went inland, contenting themselves with coastal forts and concentrating more on trade than on church planting. Many of these coastal settlements went for long periods without priests and when priests did arrive, appointed and supported by the Portuguese crown under the terms of the Padroado, they were looked upon more as employees of the trading company than as deputies of the church and were expected to care for the Europeans, not evangelize the natives.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Spanish and Portuguese were pioneers in a situation unlike any Christianity had faced before. What is more, the ecclesiastical form they

exported under the aegis of the Patronato or the Padroado, a form that, as Mark Shaw has said, guaranteed that the gospel would take a back seat to politics,[14] was itself unlike any that preceded it. In some cases these pioneers responded to the challenge in ways that inspire us today. Bishop Bartolome de las Casas gave up his slaves and became a champion of the Amerindians. The Italian Jesuit Alessandro Valignano who worked in Japan and his protégé Matteo Ricci, who spent most of his life in China, developed into mission theorists who were centuries ahead of their time. But in other cases, as happened in the Congo in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, priests sent to nurture an initially successful work became involved in immorality and the slave trade and jeopardized much of what had been accomplished. Sometimes papal decrees destroyed years of missionary labor. And frequently cultural arrogance nurtured within the confines of Christendom hampered the cause of Christ. After two hundred years Rome, looking back on a mixed legacy, was beginning to lose some of its fire for missions. This cooling set the stage for the second great cycle of missions, this one dominated by the Protestants, that began in the eighteenth century.

The first Protestant church established in sub-Saharan Africa was not founded by white missionaries. It was instead planted by blacks from Nova Scotia.

In 1783 there were about fourteen thousand blacks living in England, many of whom were ex-slaves. A strong abolitionist-evangelical movement centered in Clapham, a semi-rural district immediately southwest of London, wanted to free all slaves in Britain, but there was much concern among the English generally that the freed blacks would not be able to fend for themselves in English society. In 1783 in an effort to solve the problem leaders among the blacks proposed that the black population be settled in a free colony in Africa. The English abolitionists were attracted to the idea for two reasons. First, if the colony proved successful, it would demonstrate the ability of blacks to govern themselves, an ability that some in European society had come to doubt, partly because European perceptions of Africans had been distorted by the institution of slavery, and partly because Europe, isolated from Africa by a wall of Islamic kingdoms, had grown increasingly ignorant

about the continent. Second, the idea appealed to the utopians among the Abolitionists who saw the founding of a colony as an opportunity for a grand social experiment. For some of these utopians, including Granville Sharp, the possibility of a "Province of Freedom" on the west coast of Africa with a code of laws deeply influenced by the Old Testament and a commitment to trade in something other than human lives appeared like a divine intervention in an otherwise sordid history. If nothing else supporting such a work might help the British compensate the Africans for what the British and others had done to them.[15] Therefore, a quarter of a million acres were acquired from a West African chief and the colony of Sierra Leone was born.

On April 8, 1787, four hundred destitute Africans and East Indian sailors known as Lascars along with sixty Europeans (most of them London prostitutes) sailed from England for Sierra Leone. They reached the colony and came ashore during the rainy season. Having no way to purchase livestock and other necessities from the neighboring tribes and with no weapons to defend themselves against marauders, they were ill prepared for the hardships they encountered. Many were weakened by alcohol abuse on the voyage. Fever and dysentery ravaged the settlers. Within the first year half the colonists died or deserted. Worse, a good number of the deserters, many of whom were themselves ex-slaves, went to work with the slave traders. Sporadic hostilities also took a toll. In the winter of 1789 a chieftain burned the settlement in retaliation for an outrage committed by an English warship. In 1790 St. George's Bay Company under the direction of Granville Sharp was formed in England to reorganize the remnants of the colony.[16] The colonists were resettled at Granville Town (named for Granville Sharp), and were provided with weapons. Granville Town would later be renamed Freetown.

In 1792 the colonists were joined by one hundred whites and later that same year by 1,131 blacks from Nova Scotia. These Nova Scotian blacks were part of a contingent which supported the British during the American War for Independence. After that war about four thousand of these British loyalists were settled in Nova Scotia. Freed and promised land by the British government, a promise predicated on the assumption that Britain

would win the war, they were never given the acreage pledged to them and instead languished in the harsh Nova Scotian climate, creating an increasingly embarrassing situation for the British government. Finally, on hearing of the colony in Sierra Leone, members among these Nova Scotian expatriates sent a representative to London with a petition that they be allowed to join the colonists in Sierra Leone. In response to their request, John Clarkson, a brother of Thomas Clarkson, a leading English abolitionist, went to Nova Scotia to choose perspective immigrants for the Sierra Leone. In 1792 they marched ashore singing "Awake and sing the song of Moses and the Lamb." These were the sons and daughters of the evangelical revival. As Andrew Walls has observed, they knew the evangelical experience and spoke the evangelical language.[17] And they would build the first Protestant Church in sub-Saharan Africa.

Three church traditions were represented among the settlers. About two thirds of the Nova Scotians were Methodists. The other third was divided between Baptists and an independent congregation known as Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion after their patron.[18] The Baptists and Independents had a long tradition of political radicalism. The Nova Scotia Methodists had never really been inside the Anglican Church. So there was a great deal of tension between these groups and the colonial government. This friction did not make things any easier when the first European missionaries began to arrive in the early decades of nineteenth century. In part these European missionaries faced difficulties that were created by the fact that in 1808 Sierra Leone had become a colony of the crown. This meant that the European missionaries were often viewed as agents of the colonial government, a charge that was particularly effective against the Methodist missionaries, most of whom were loyal to the Church of England and very sensitive to suggestions by the colonial rulers that they might be politically subversive. But not all the problems faced by the Europeans were political. Often their difficulties were of their own making.

The first Methodists landed in 1811, three years after Sierra Leone had become a crown colony. They intended to establish an agricultural mission but never got beyond the borders of the colony. The first two Baptists who came fared as

poorly. One was soon sent home because of ill health, the other for political activity. Several who came with the London and Glasgow Missionary Societies died within the first few months. Of the others, one became an atheist, one became a slave trader, and one proved immoral. Like the Baptists, the Edinburgh Missionary Society sent two men. Both worked in Sierra Leone for several years before one of them was murdered and robbed. The other stayed longer but eventually left for the Russian Empire to work among the Tartar tribes. However, he began a work that was to endure and would be taken over by the Church Missionary Society.[19]

Because Sierra Leone lay on the edge of Muslim lands, many among the natives were Muslim. There was also a fugitive slave population called Maroons (from the Spanish-American word "marron" meaning wild). The Nova Scotians themselves had made only sporadic attempts to evangelize either of these populations. Among the Muslims they could claim only slight success. Among the Maroons they had enjoyed a little more.

In 1807 Parliament passed a law making the slave trade illegal. Of course the British navy as the dominate maritime power was required to enforce that law. Since Freetown boasts one of the two best harbors in Africa, the British navy in 1808 stationed a squadron there and began to intercept slave ships. The slaves on these ships had been captured up and down the west African coast. Because most of them had no idea where they were or where their original homes were, it was impossible to return them to those homes. As a result these recaptives were released in Freetown where they quickly became the largest segment of that settlement's population. And many of them began to convert to Methodism.

By 1844 the Methodist Church in Sierra Leone had split into factions that reflected the cleavages in Freetown society. There was a West African Methodist Church that had established itself as a distinct entity from the Anglican Church. The Maroons had also set up their own Methodist Church. And the re-captives, never really welcomed by either the Nova Scotian settlers or the Maroons, also founded their own separate Methodist congregation. One might have expected a Methodist Church so fragmented and quarrelsome to have had little

missionary impact. In fact, Sierra Leone became in William Wilberforce's words "the Morning Star of Africa." The re-captives, uprooted from their own traditions, became involved in the first mass movement to Christianity in modern Africa, and had in a generation become a highly mobile missionary force, exercising a powerful influence on Nigeria. By 1880 there were two Sierra Leone missionaries working as far away as Kenya. And attempts were made to penetrate the Congo region.

This is not to say that the Europeans had no positive influence. After all, there was no knowledge of Christ until the Europeans came, and by establishing the colony and resettling the ex-slaves there, the Europeans created a base of operations from which the African evangelists could operate. And they established an enduring link between African churches and their Methodist or Anglican counterparts. But it is to say that a great deal of the effective evangelical work was done by the Africans themselves. There are two classic examples of such evangelical work: Samuel Adjai Crowther and James Johnson. Let us look briefly at the careers of both men for insights into how British missions and African evangelists worked together during these early days.

In 1827 the Church Missionary Society founded Fourah Bay College (originally named the African Institute) in Sierra Leone to provide higher education for Africans. Its first student was Samuel Adjai Crowther. Samuel Crowther, enslaved in 1821, was taken to Freetown after being liberated by the British navy. There he lived among the recaptives, and there he was baptized in 1825. He became a tutor at the school in 1834. In 1842 he was invited to the Islington Training Institution where he was ordained in 1843. In 1844 he accompanied Henry Townsend as the Church Missionary Society's representative on Townsend's second trip to Abeokutu in Nigeria to minister among the Yoruba.[20] In 1845 a CMS Grammar School was opened at Lagos. In the next few years Fourah Bay College was revitalize and in 1848 its new building was opened.

Crowther's report to the CMS describing this trip so impressed them that in 1864 he was invited to London where he was consecrated Bishop of West Africa, the first non-European bishop in the Anglican communion. In this capacity he returned

to Nigeria to lead the first all African mission, the Niger Mission which he had initiated in 1857. The Niger Mission was to be entirely reliant on help from Christians in Sierra Leone. There was to be no European assistance or support. Henry Venn, eager to implement his three-self concept, had urged the new bishop to accept this assignment. The excitement among CMS personnel was great when Bishop Crowther set off.

Once in Nigeria, Crowther established a mission station at Onitsha on the Niger River, the first among the Igbo people, and, after putting together a Yoruba dictionary, translated part of the Bible and the Anglican prayer book into both Yoruba and Igbo. Bishop Crowther evangelized among both Muslims and traditionalists.

The area along the Niger where Crowther worked was one of the few places in the world where Christians and Muslims were actually talking. However, Islam had not penetrated deeply here and the Arab clerics who introduced it were themselves immigrants. They counseled the kings and sold charms to the people, and it was at the level of these charms where the natives met Islam. Despite its unformed quality, Crowther discovered that Islam, however poorly understood, rendered the people impervious to Christianity. The sticking point was the doctrine of the Trinity. Indeed Crowther came to believe that it was easier to convert traditionalists who had no basis beyond custom for their belief than it was to reach the Muslims. But the Muslims were there and Crowther witnessed to them. To this end he found it was best to start with what the Qur'an admits: that Christ was a great prophet, that his birth was miraculous, that Gabriel is a messenger of God. He would then start with Gabriel, move to the messianic prophecies in Isaiah chapters seven and nine, then present the gospel. He found in this regard that the average Christian knew the Bible better than the average Muslim knew the Qur'an, so Crowther encouraged his colleagues to know their Bibles, have their texts marshaled, stick to them, and let Scripture do its work. Yet despite his best and most sincere efforts, results were frustratingly meager.

To complicate matters, the policy that all support for the mission had to come from Sierra Leone itself assured that the Crowther and his staff were constantly short of funds. The team

members were often poorly trained, and communication and supervision was difficult. By the time Henry Venn died in 1873 serious problems in the Niger Mission were beginning to appear. Several of the members of the Niger team were accused of misappropriating funds, and one of the missionaries was convicted of manslaughter after beating his young female assistant to death. In 1879 J.B. Wood, one of the younger CMS missionaries, argued in a very critical report on the Niger Mission that the Africans should be replaced by European missionaries. Wood followed his report with further criticisms while at a conference in Madeira in 1881. As a result, a number of Bishop Crowther's colleagues were replaced by Europeans and Europeans assumed financial control of the Niger Mission. By 1883 the once independent Niger Mission had become an appendage of the Church Missionary Society and work along the Niger River had stopped. Bishop Crowther soldiered on, though his authority was further restricted. By 1889 he was forced to resign as leader of the mission, and when he died in 1891 he was replaced by a European bishop. This event led to the formation of the United Native African Church in Lagos the following year and the African Church Bethel in 1901. Not until 1952 when Akinyele was appointed to the Ibadan Diocese did another African hold the office of bishop in the Anglican Church.

In 1894 the CMS created the bishopric of Lagos to oversee the Yoruba Mission and the Niger Mission. The bishopric was to be filled by Europeans nominated by the CMS. African nominees were to be their assistant bishops.[21]

From the beginning of Crowther's elevation many European missionaries had been reluctant to accept his authority so while he was called Bishop of West Africa, his actual control never extended much beyond the Niger River. A gentle, humble man of great personal integrity, his administration of his responsibilities was nevertheless lacking and many saw his failure as discrediting Henry Venn's three-self ideal.

Crowther's work in Eastern Nigeria was inherited by his son Dandeson who would become archdeacon. From his station at Bonny on an island in the Niger delta where the Niger mission had enjoyed its greatest success Dandeson Crowther laid the foundations for the Niger Delta diocese of the Church of

England. However, it is not to Dandeson Crowther but to James Johnson that we must now turn.

While Bishop Crowther had been a recaptive, James Johnson was the child of recaptives. Born as into a nominally Christian Yoruba family in Sierra Leone near the village of Waterloo in 1839/40, James Johnson was one of a pair of twins. Many in that area, though confessing Christ, preserved their pre-Christian customs, one of which required them to put twins to death. James Johnson was able to avoid that fate, protected to a significant degree by the British colonists' active opposition to infanticide. He entered Fourah Bay College on June 1, 1854, having been educated in schools run by the Church Missionary Society. He graduating from Fourah Bay in December 1858 and went to work at a church in Kent, a village twenty-five miles south of Freetown on the Sierra Leone Peninsula. There he taught the rudiments of Christianity to the Anglican congregation. This was an important task since, as we have seen, many church members professed a very syncretistic version of Christianity. By all accounts the young catechist took his duties very seriously, so seriously in fact that while preparing a lesson on the third and fourth chapters of Zechariah, he had a conversion experience that gave him a pietistic zeal for Christ that bordered on fanaticism, and a faithfulness to doctrine that was stubbornly dogmatic.[22]

In March 1863 he was ordained as deacon and became a curate at Pademba Road Church. There he labored for eleven years under the supervision of a European missionary. Non-Christian practices were rife in the district and Johnson (who because of his piety was nicknamed "the Bishop" and "Holy" Johnson) began a campaign to stamp out those practices. His reputation grew with his success and he became known as the most unflagging if unconventional native minister in Sierra Leone. In 1866 he ordained as a priest.[23]

The following year, as we have seen, Samuel Crowther was made a bishop, and Henry Venn embarked on his experiment to create a three-self church in Sierra Leone. Venn's project was launched at the same time that Ethiopianism was finding its own champions. James Johnson was to become one of those champions. Rev. Johnson began to promote the establishment of an

African church with its own canon and its own liturgy, a church that would reflect and express the distinctive qualities that made Africans unique. Over time this ideal transformed Ethiopianism into a synonym for Black control, and inspired a nationalism that became increasingly anti-European. Ethiopianism, as it infused Ethiopia's history with the qualities of myth and legend, served to assure Africans that some of their ancestors had not only been Christians but maintained the faith for centuries building the new Jerusalem in isolation from Europe. Toward the end of the nineteenth century the movement, encouraged not only by Africans like the Liberian Secretary of State Edward W. Blyden who were becoming increasingly restive under European authority, but by Europeans themselves, some of whom intentionally encouraged it but many of whom re-enforced it by their own opposition to the establishment of a native clergy, began to come to a head, first in South Africa, then in Nigeria, then in other parts of west Africa.

The Tembu National Church of Nehemiah Tile was founded in 1884, making it the earliest independent church in South Africa. In Nigeria in 1888 an ex-Anglican named D.B. Vincent and a group of laity who felt estranged from the European leadership at the Baptist church in Lagos to which they all belonged broke away and founded the Native Baptist Church. In 1890 the Congregationalists were sundered by a nationalist movement. Back in South Africa, Mangena Mokone, once a Wesleyan pastor, established the Ethiopian Church of South Africa in 1892. Two years later he joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church while on a visit to the United States. By 1916 the African Methodist Episcopal Church in South Africa had grown to 18,000 members. In 1894, the same year Mangena Mokone joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church, D.B. Vincent changed his name to Mojola Agbebi and began to dress in the traditional African style. By 1902 he was preaching against the use of harmoniums, hymn books, surplices and a host of other non-essentials that he believed hampered the coming of age of African Christians. Other churches began to follow his example. In 1896 the Congregationalists suffered another rupture as more independent churches broke away. The same thing occurred to the Presbyterian church in 1898. In

1913 these new congregations organized the African Communion of Independent Churches and named Mojola Agbebi their first president.[24]

James Johnson did not become part of this movement. He remained within the Anglican communion and eventually rose to the position of assistant Bishop of Western Equatorial Africa, but he applauded many of the movement's goals and after being transferred to Lagos in June of 1874 to take control of the Breadfruit Church, the most important as well as the wealthiest church in the city, he used his growing influence to whip up support for the cause of Ethiopianism. In 1876 he was made superintendent of all the Church Missionary Society's stations in the interior of Yorubaland only to be removed four years later after his aggressive evangelism and unwavering opposition to polygamy and slavery generated a storm of controversy. Autocratic and dogmatic he ended up offending not only the rich and powerful but also many of his own converts. In the end he returned to Lagos and the Breadfruit Church.

In 1892 Europeans, as we saw above, increasingly concerned by the criticisms of the Niger Mission level by J.B. Wood, moved to take more control over its operations. As a result a separatist reaction that understood the reassertion of European control in purely racial terms broke away and in April 1892 created the Niger Delta Pastorate. James Johnson did all he could from within the Anglican Church to encourage these separatists and for awhile it appeared as if the pastorate might succeed but by 1898 it had returned to the Church Missionary Society's fold. That return devastated Johnson's dreams of an African controlled church. In 1900 when offered the position he became assistant bishop of the Niger Delta. He staunchly opposed the United Native African Church which was formed following the appointment of a European bishop to take Bishop Crowther's place, and when in October 1901 two-thirds of his Breadfruit congregation broke away to set up their own Bethel African Church, he refused to become their pastor. He died on May 18, 1917. The last years of his life were dedicated to evangelistic outreach.[25]

Clearly Ethiopianism was inspired by the aspirations of a people who longed to be independent of their colonizers.

Clearly its advocates struggled, succeeded, failed, and grew disillusioned. Clearly it expressed something of the contradiction that lay at the heart of a Christian witness that had taken hold in new soil and was becoming incarnate there. Clearly its vision was both flawed and irresistible. The Protestant churches simply lacked the theological resources to dispute Ethiopianism's claims and lacked the political resources to contest them for very long. The Reformation had championed an ecclesiology that sought to wrest from the pope control of the local congregation. When the sons and daughters of the Reformers stepped into the wider world, they discovered that, if they were to be true to their seminal insight, Henry Venn's vision in some form would eventually have to implemented. If the ecclesiastical institutions these missionaries brought resisted the inevitable, then revival would once again do its marvelous work.

Section C
New Revivals

Since its inception in the eighteenth century, revivalism has been the agent of church renewal and church division. From the beginning genuine revivals have almost always engendered controversy, produced extravagant behavior, provided the basis for inflated claims, and furthered the Holy Spirit's work in radical and unexpected ways. In Europe and North America revivalism awakened the Protestants to their global evangelical responsibilities, and galvanized them to carry their version of the gospel into the world during the century Catholic missionary endeavor had begun to flag. Protestant missions would in turn recharge the Catholics who by the beginning of the 1840s embarking on new missions of their own. While this mutually re-enforced competition between Catholics and Protestants, rooted in the Reformation and solidly grounded in North Atlantic culture, plays a central role in the unfolding of modern missions, the engine of modern missions is revivalism, and in this capacity revivalism has fundamentally impacted the nature of the church Protestant missionaries planted. Revivalism, as we saw in the last chapter, signaled the coming of age of the Indian church. And in Africa it was able to subvert the ethnocentrism of both European and

African Christians, transform the hybrid culture spawned in their encounter, and spur evangelists into greater labors.

Throughout the twentieth century there have been a multitude of small interlocking revivals in the United States, Canada, and Britain. But the growing secularism of North Atlantic culture has meant that these revivals have remained insulated within particular evangelical or Pentecostal subcultures. The last great revival in North Atlantic culture was the Welsh revival of 1904. But outside the North Atlantic matrix the twentieth century has witnessed regional revivals that swept across Korea, East Africa, and other parts of the world.[26] In sub-Saharan Africa revivalism was intermixed with the rise of prophet churches and after 1910 with an Ethiopianism that, insisting on racial justice, took on more explicitly political overtones.

In the early twentieth century something new began stirring across sub-Saharan Africa from the foothills of the chilly Abedares in Kenya to the sunburned west African beaches in Liberia, the Ivory Coast, and Ghana. Beginning around 1912 and lasting into the 1920s a series of charismatic prophets, both men and women, began to proclaim the Christian God's power to heal. These healers who were in no way agents of the established church attracted followers, many of whom eventually organized their own churches. These prophet churches proliferated, especially after World War I. Part of this multiplication of prophet churches was cause by the global influenza epidemic of 1918 that swept through Africa and left some twenty-one million dead worldwide.

One of the most extraordinary of these leaders was a Glebo of the Cape Palmas tribe, William Wade Harris, who would become known as "Prophet Harris." Born sometime around 1865 in Liberia, William Wade Harris was converted in the Harper Methodist Church 1881. He preached there, becoming a lay minister in the Episcopal Church in 1888. He married Rose Fair and they had six children.

Early in his life treaty disputes between the Glebo and the Liberian government created a level of antagonism between the two parties that on several occasions actually led to armed conflict. In his capacity as Anglican catechist William Harris was asked to mediate between the Glebo factions but instead of

playing the part of peacemaker, he used his position to protest against the American-supported Liberian regime. Dismissed by the Liberian government in 1909, he rejected Christianity and turned instead to the traditional religion of his people. In 1910 he was sentenced to prison (it was his second incarceration for political activity) charged with political agitation that included the use of occult powers, violence, and threats to murder those who opposed him. In 1910 while he was in prison his wife died, leaving his children destitute. Desperate and disillusioned, Harris returned to the Bible and before the year was out was visited while he was at prayer by the angel Gabriel. Harris counted this visit as his second conversion. It was what one of Harris's biographers David Shank called a conversion "to the Christ for Africans and to a Christ-commanded mission to Africans as an African Christian."[27] Thus at the age of fifty Harris was transformed from a rebel to a prophet of the millennium, an era of peace he believed to be at hand.[28]

Believing he was chief of a group of prophets from all over the world who would be sent by Christ to convert the nations and bring in Christ's kingdom, Prophet Harris saw himself as an eschatological figure. He compared his role in Africa to the role played by Moses except that unlike Moses Harris believed his mission was to be definitive and final.[29] Part of his role as prophet, he said, was to make God's law explicit.[30] He believed he was the last Elijah, fulfilling the role of the prophet as described in Deut 18:15–22.[31] He called himself Christ's carpet, Christ's horse. Indeed, he came to believe that he was *the* white horse of the Apocalypse (see Revelation 6:2). In this capacity he began to wear the white robe and white turban that became his trademark. Recruiting two women to travel with him, he journeyed throughout the Ivory Coast and Ghana seeking out areas missionaries had not been. Holding a wooden cross in one hand and a calabash in the other, he baptized his hearers, and frequently left a King James Bible with them as a sign that they would be instructed in their new faith when the "White preacher" arrived. Some one hundred thousand people heard his message and believed.[32]

Harris expected the millennium to arrive in 1921. When the year ended without Christ's return, Harris and representatives

among the believers decided that the delay was occasioned by disobedience. Some of the converts, they said, had not kept the conditions of their baptism. Such transgressions hindered the return of Christ. Harris eventually faded from the scene but the converts he left remained, waiting for their "White preacher."

In 1916 a young Methodist missionary named W.J. Platt arrived in Dahomey to take charge of the Methodist work there. He was very successful and by 1920 had assumed authority over all the Methodist mission work in Dahomey and Togo. By 1921 Platt, working closely with the French Methodists, was trying to set up a West African District which would be independent of the Lagos Synod. He had not planned to become involved with the Ivory Coast but in 1922 he was approached by Harry Webster who requested Platt's advice and assistance in satisfying the conditions laid down by a decree from Paris issued in March 1922. According to the decree no church in the Ivory Coast could be established and no collections could be taken unless permission was granted by the colonial government. What was more, only Latin, French, or a local tongue might be used in a church service.[33]

Platt responded to Webster's request by visiting the Ivory Coast. While he was there, a Protestant official who feared that Harris's converts would be gulled by unscrupulous political agitators told Platt about Harris's converts. Platt confirmed their existence, and when writing to London in October 1923, asked for missionaries to instruct these converts. The Wesley Methodist Missionary Society, in view of an income shortfall that year, was reluctant to send the help Platt needed, but in early 1924 the Lagos Synod approved his plan to set up the West African District, a decision which was confirmed at Nottingham in July. Therefore when Platt returned to the Ivory Coast in April 1924, he had the authority necessary to begin to organize Harris's converts into Methodist Churches,[34] and the missionaries began to come in search for these waiting Africans. Missionaries who followed Harris's footsteps years—sometimes many years later—were amazed to discover whole villages who were expecting them. Word of this remarkable phenomenon spread to Britain and a search was begun for "Prophet Harris."

Harris was eventually located and agreed to work with the Methodists who in turn hoped to work with him, but his polygamy, which he refused to renounced, proved a barrier, and eventually Harris and the Methodists broke with one another. Many of his converts remained in the Methodist Church but some left to form their own Harrist churches. These churches still dot the west African coast today.

Prophet Harris is one of the better known of these new prophet-healers, but he was by no means the only one. Isaiah Shemben (1870–1935), one of the founders of Zulu Zionism, imported the radical ideas of the American Pentecostal preacher J. Alexander Dowie, founder of Zion City, Illinois. Simon Kimbangu (1889–1951) of the Congo, supported by the Baptists throughout his long imprisonment, founded a church which would eventually join the World Council of Churches. John Swatson, who was probably baptized by Harris, established fifty "Christ Churches" in Ghana, churches he eventually turned over to the Anglican communion. Samson Oppong, an ex-convict, brought 20,000 Ashanti into the care of the Methodist Church between 1917 and 1922. In Nigeria two large independent churches, the Apostolic Church and the Christ Apostolic Church, had their origins in the preaching of Joseph Babaloa, a steamroller driver who recognized his call to preach in 1920 when his steamroller became stuck.

And so it went. Once the missionaries introduced the gospel, it swept beyond their control. Africans were eager converts to Protestant Christianity, but they accepted it on their own terms. It has been said that Africans became Christians because they saw the faith as a means of accessing European power, but such an observation, and the criticism it implies, expresses concerns that are more Western and secular than they are African. For Africans religion has traditionally been a means of acquiring power. For them to profess Christianity, even if they understood it as no more than a new and better source of power, required a reorganization of their relationship with God (the source of power), a break with the past, the abandonment of ancient intermediaries between this world and a spiritual world of power, and the adoption of new forms of worship. And once

Christianity had taken hold, Africans began to understand it better, often through the medium of revival.

Rwanda, despite the tragedy of its recent history, provides an excellent illustration of how revival helped the Africans come to terms with their faith. In 1916 at the Mengo hospital in Uganda L.E.S. Sharp and Algernon C. Stanley Smith, two friends who met in Cambridge where they had gone in 1908 to study medicine, read an account of the small kingdoms of Ruanda-Urundi in the Duke of Mecklenburg's *The Heart of Africa* and began to dream of sending a medical mission there. That same year they were able to conduct a survey of the land and became even more convinced that God was calling them to its people. In 1919, having returned to England, the two young men petitioned the Church Missionary Society to support a mission to Rwanda. In 1920 the CMS agreed with the stipulation that the young men would have to raise their own support for the first four years.

Rwanda had been administered by the Germans, but the Germans had just lost World War I and with it all their overseas holdings, so Rwanda was turned over to the Belgians. The Belgians initially agreed to allow Drs. Sharp and Smith into the colony to work, then withdrew their permission. Therefore the two men went to Kigezi in southwest Uganda near the Rwanda border and began to build a hospital in Kabale, using Christian volunteers. By May 1921 the doctors and their wives had been joined by Constance Watney from Mengo hospital. The mission attracted over a hundred African evangelists and teachers, and by February 1924 could claim that it had thirty thousand people under daily instruction and had conducted over two thousand baptisms. These were certainly impressive figures, but as Robin Anker-Petersen points out, what was as impressive as the numbers was the fact the Africans themselves were doing the bulk of the evangelistic and teaching work.[35]

Finally in 1925 the mission was able to move into Rwanda, approving a site at Gahini in July. By 1931 it had become a separate mission, except for the training of its clergy and senior teachers for which it relied on the Church Missionary Society in Uganda. By 1942 it had become a separate and self-governing diocese.[36]

In 1928 through 1929 the specter of famine fell across the land as the seasonal rains failed. In June 1928 when Dr. J.E. Church arrived at Gahini to join Capt. Geoffrey Holmes and a Mutusi named Kosiya Shalita,[37] he faced a flood of refugees who passed by the mission station on their way to Uganda in search of food. Dr. Church responded by launching a famine relief fund in March 1929, a fund which the Belgian government offered to support.[38]

When Dr. Church was eligible for leave in September 1929, he traveled to Kampala where he met Simeoni Nsibambi who worked in the heath service. The two men studied and prayed together and as a result of the experience came away changed. Simeoni Nsibambi, a wealthy man, quit his job to evangelize while Dr. Church on his return to the mission resolved to share Christ with at least one person a day. By the beginning of 1930 he was reporting conversions.[39]

In February 1931 staff at the mission began to have experiences which, they claimed, transformed their Christian faith and made them more spiritual persons. By April and May staff members were leaving to preach and plant churches in other locations.[40] Excitement was beginning to build, but it was not until Christmas 1933 that the real breakthrough came. A convention which produced disappointing results was held over for a day of prayer. That prayer session culminated in an upwelling of public confession lasting two-and-a-half hours as sometimes as many as three people at the same time leaped to their feet and tried to speak. Not only did the session produce an increased sense of unity between the Europeans and the Africans, it also inspired a total of forty evangelists to go abroad to spread the gospel.[41] In this way the revival by May 1935 the revival had spread to Uganda.[42] There a convention had a Kabale in September became a prototype of other conventions in the revival,[42] conventions which were evangelistic in focus and which became known as Crusades. By 1936 African evangelists had moved into Burundi where revival broke out in December and into Tanganyika. Charismatic phenomena including glossolalia, hysterical weeping, laughter, and singing began to manifest. However, Dr. Church and his assistants strove to keep the

attention of the revivalists off such signs. The model they were interested in was the model provided by Keswick conventions.[43]

This revival, commemorated in holiness classics like Roy Hession's *The Calvary Road* and Norman Grubb's *Continuous Revival*, lasted into the 1980s, surviving the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya and the murderous regime of Idi Amin in Uganda, and sent ripples as far away as Britain and India. With its roots in the Cambridge Christian Union (CICCU) and the Keswick Convention, the revival embodied a theological position that put it at odds with the Church Missionary Society and in 1941 almost split the mission. The problem arose at the Bishop Tucker Theological College at Mukono when forty students out of 120 began to meet in public, often before 6:00 AM, and pray about the sins they saw around them. This caused resentment among the other students as well as the faculty. John Jones the college warden, using the excuse that thieves were about, prohibited the meetings. The student leader of the meetings, William Nagenda, refused to be bound by the new regulation and was expelled along with twenty-eight other students and the chaplain. Because Bishop Stuart was in England at the time, the students expected to be accepted back into the school when he returned, but when briefed about the incident the bishop sided with the warden. Suddenly the mission was in the balance, but the influence of Charles Finney's writings on Dr. Church, who labored long to overcome the rift, and the willingness of the revivalists to heed those words enabled the church to pass the crisis unbroken. By 1943 the *balokole* or "saved ones" and the rest of the church had accepted Bishop Stuart's fourteen point guide for unity. This solution was published and called *The New Way*.

Hence, this revival marked the coming of age of the East African mission. Through the revival, participants, as they reflected on their experiences, began to develop their own theological approach, validate that approach, and become sufficiently comfortable with it that they were not afraid to maintain it within an organization which itself discovered in this particular case that tolerance was a better approach than discipline. Through the revival, many hundreds of native evangelists moved out into that part of Africa bearing their message about the Holy Spirit's transforming power. And because of the

revival the financial basis of the East African church became more firmly rooted locally. In other words the revival helped to forward the three-self ideal championed by Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson. Uniting Europeans and Africans in a spiritual fellowship marked by renewal and joy even as it threatened the unity of the institutional body, the revival furthered the incarnation of the Christian faith in African culture in a way that demonstrated a powerful alternative to Ethiopianism.

Section D
African Theology

John Parratt has argued that Christian theology in Africa is built on the Bible and Christian tradition, on traditional African religions and cultures, and on contemporary social, economic, and political realities.[44] But he notes that African theologians have been little influenced by liberation theology or by American black theology.[45] Instead they have wrestled with issues of culture and how the Christian message and culture impact one another. In this way Africans are striving toward an authentic *theologia africana* though such a development may still be a long way off.[46]

As early as 1955 Protestants met in Ghana to discuss the impact Christianity and African culture were having on one another, but the first conference to have a lasting impact was organized under the auspices of the All African Council of Churches and held in Ibadan, north of Lagos in southwestern Nigeria in 1965. The participants in this conference represented a theological approach known as "adaptionism." Though characteristic of Catholic mission theory in Asia as formulated by men like Matthew Ricci and Alessandro Valignano, the idea as applied in the African context has been traced to a collection of Catholic essays first published in 1956 under the title *Des Pretres Noirs s'interrogent*. The adaptionist approach affirms the value of culture as a vehicle for expressing the gospel message. Hence, so the argument runs, the gospel itself should to some degree embrace and affirm the culture in which it was proclaimed. The assumption is that God works in all cultures, that local cultures (in this case African ones) have genuine value because of that work, and that aspects of the

gospel can be provincialized in order to make the whole message more comprehensible in the local context. However, as was made clear at Ibadan, adaptionism should not to be understood as a solid methodological school, but rather as a tendency that appears in the work of some theologians as they construct their various systems.

As European colonies in Africa began to gain their independence in the 1960s, African intellectuals, caught up in the excitement of African nationalism, began to grow more critical of European ideological systems. Unsurprisingly their criticism spilled over into the theological realm. A colloquium held in Kinshasa (old Leopoldville) in Zaire in 1968, for example, concluded that there could be no universal theology, that Christian theology in Africa or anywhere needed to take traditional culture very seriously if it was to be authentic. By 1974 the All African Council of Churches was calling for a moratorium on foreign personnel being sent to minister to Africa congregations. And by 1976 when Africans gathered on the coast of Tanzania for the Dar-es-Salaam conference, they welcomed non- African Third World theologians but excluded all whites. At this conference culture was again assumed to have genuine religious worth and to play a central role in God's universal plan of salvation. Theologians in attendance expressed a wide range of opinion on how this could be imagined. Some affirmed the relatively moderate position that the Holy Spirit worked in cultures to prepare them for the gospel. Others took the more extreme position that the traditional religions Christian missionaries sought to supplant might themselves have salvific power.

In 1977 the Pan-African Conference of Third World Theologians held in Accra on the Ghana coast again affirmed the essential value of culture but also stressed the importance of the Bible, calling it "the basic source of African theology" and "the primary witness to God's revelation in Jesus Christ." "No theology," these African scholars affirmed, 'can retain its Christian identity apart from Scripture."[47] This was an important affirmation for, like the Indians, the Africans, too, were debating the role of the Old Testament and the importance of the scriptural witness vis-à-vis the cultural one. Several ideas, some more

extreme, some less so, were being debated. Let us briefly consider several of them.

Bolaji Idowu has argued that God through creation reveals himself to all peoples, that God's essence is to some extent unknowable, and that Western theology itself acknowledges that unknowablity.[48] This causes him to deprecate the role of Christ and hence to obscure the uniqueness of Christianity.[49]

John Kibicho, basing his argument on the concept of God found in the Kikuyu tradition, claims that the Kikuyu knew the true God who they called Ngai before the missionaries came. Hence it was a great mistake for the missionaries to insist that the Kikuyu break from their past. Instead the missionaries should have recognized and emphasized the continuity that existed between Christianity and the Kikuyu faith. For the missionaries to insist that the Kikuyu abandon Ngai meant that the missionaries, whatever their intent, in fact sided with the colonial oppressors and in so doing abandoned the true gospel. Indeed Kibicho claims that Kikuyu when they converted to Christianity did not convert to the God of the missionaries since the missionaries and the Kikuyu were talking about the same God whatever his name. Instead they converted to features of Christianity like the Bible, the creeds, baptism, communion, and so on, but the Kikuyu knew God as fully as the missionaries did before the missionaries came. Kibicho believes that to accept the proposition that other religions beside Christianity have adequate or even full knowledge of God can only enrich the Christian tradition and make it genuinely universal.[50]

Gabriel Setiloane has endorsed and built upon Kibicho's argument concluding that many African faiths in fact had a higher concept of God than Christians did. What Africans need to do is to "Africanize" the God of the missionaries and raise that God to the level of traditional African deities.[51]

Here then are African theologians on one end of the Christian theological spectrum. Further toward the center, one would find theologians who affirm the Holy Spirit's role in culture, not in any salvific way but only in the more acceptable *praeparatio evangelica*. Charles Nyamiti and John Mbiti are examples of theologians who take this position. Charles Nyamiti sees Christian truth as an "unchangeable kernel of revelation" expressed

in a cultural shell. This cultural shell, because it is secondary can be modified by but cannot itself modify the dogmatic kernel.[52] And Nyamiti would readily admit that some elements of traditional are incompatible with Christian truth and must be abandoned in light of it.[53] John Mbiti would agree, but would also argue that in many ways traditional African culture is closer to the Bible than is contemporary Western culture, a quality which can make cultural preservation easier or might serve to legitimize elements of African cultural that are not really essential.[54]

Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at both the impact Africa has had on Christianity and the impact Christianity has had on Africa. We saw how the earliest formulations of Christian doctrine traced their origins to northern Africa, how monasticism was rooted in Africa, how three of the earliest churches: the churches in Egypt, Ethiopia, and Nubia, rooted, flowered, and in the case of Nubia faded away. We saw how Islam drove a wedge between Europe and Africa and how the coming of the Prophet's conquering armies heralded centuries of separation between those continents, a separation during which Europe and Africa slowly forgot one another. We saw how Western missionaries brought the gospel to West Africa in the wake of ex-slaves who were the original bearers of the good news. We saw how this missionary gospel was shaped by revival. We saw how revival itself was an agent for spreading and shaping the faith in its African environment, how African churches began to form from missionary ones, and how revival, as it so often is, was a catalyst for church division as well as an agent for church unity. And we saw how the Christian story in Africa over the last five hundred years was played out against a background of the slave trade, then a brief colonial period, and finally the advent of nation states. Our final conclusions can wait until the last chapter, but we can make some preliminary points now.

1. Christianity was no stranger in Africa. It had a presence there from the beginning of the faith. Indeed, the infant Jesus sought refuge in Africa when the

king of Israel attempted to kill him. Christianity
has maintained a witness in Africa from the first
century. Christianity is an African faith as surely as
it is a European or Middle Eastern one. The church
is ancient in Egypt and Ethiopia.

2.   The Africans have been enthusiastic converts. They
     saw something they wanted in Christianity, and
     they embraced it eagerly and for reasons that were
     their own. Once missionaries introduced the faith,
     they could not control what paths it took, and
     remarkable things often happened apart from the
     missionaries, although the Africans were fre-
     quently quite happy to work with the missionaries.
     It has been said that Africans became Christians
     because they saw the faith as a means of accessing
     European power (a factor which was significant in
     Melanesia also), but such a concern and the criti-
     cism it implies is a referent more Western and sec-
     ular than African and religious. For Africans
     religion has always been a means of acquiring
     power. For them to profess Christianity required a
     reorganization of their relationship with God (the
     source of power), a break with the past, the aban-
     donment of ancient intermediaries between this
     world and the spiritual world of power, and the
     adoption of new patterns of worship. It is next to
     impossible for the third generation to revive the
     traditions the first generation abandoned. Conver-
     sion meant profound and lasting change.

3.   Missionaries are often criticized—even con-
     demned—as agents of this change. But it should be
     remembered that the religious effects of a dam, a
     house built over the site where the water spirit was
     thought to live, young men leaving the village to
     work for cash, the introduction of a virus or of
     modern medicine, along with a host of other
     things, are also profound. In fact, Christianity has
     often been adopted by people seeking to cope with
     conditions created by such changes. In stable soci-
     eties the elders have the answers for any situation
     that may arise. When they can no longer provide
     answers, society is in danger of disintegration
     unless it can contain or integrate the new phenom-
     enon. Indeed, it is a sociological truism that mis-
     sionary faiths are most successful in societies which

are in crisis, which no longer have the answers to
deal with those crises, and which are willing to seek
for new answers outside themselves. There is a cor-
ollary here that is worth pondering. Evangelism is
most fruitful among agnostics. True believers are
not seeking new answers, they are content with the
answers they have. Hence evangelizing among true
believers can be counterproductive, reassuring
non-believers that their own faith is in fact suffi-
cient. But if people are no longer confident in their
traditional faith, missionary witnessing can capital-
ize on that lack of confidence and encourage the
hearers to consider the alternative offered by the
missionary. Furthermore, this need for new answers
can help the missionary understand the tendency
of new believers to embrace Christian faith as
though it were an alternative legal code. No longer
sure what to do, new converts look to Christianity
to provide the new models for behavior. Such legal-
ism threatens the essence of the Christian message
and can also draw new converts into cul-de-sacs
that hamper genuine spiritual growth. It can also
create problems for the missionaries themselves as
the converts begin to perceive that the missionaries
are not living up to the new standards the converts
have come to expect of themselves.

We can illustrate this last point by referring briefly to the
aladura (the word means "praying people") churches. These
were a group of independent churches which began to appear
in Nigeria during the influenza epidemic of 1918. In August of
that year what had been a fairly garden variety virus that had
first appeared in March in Kansas and had spread around the
globe primarily by ship and railroad suddenly mutated. Over
night in Europe, West Africa, and the United States[55] people,
especially those in the prime of their lives, began to die, drown-
ing in the bloody fluid that filled their lungs. Nothing could be
done to stop the spread or the ravages of the disease. Not even
the white man's medicine was effective. Worse, the churches,
because they were possible sites of infection, were closed. To
African Christians this made little sense. They began to ask
themselves what good the churches were if when they were
needed most they were inaccessible. Fear of the epidemic and
confusion over the missionary response to it sparked a faith

healing movement whose members refused medicine and criticized the European missionaries for using it. Between 1920 and the early 1940s this movement split missionary churches across the west coast of Africa as "the praying people" left to form their own congregations.

4. As the adaptionist theologians have pointed out, prior to the coming of the Europeans, many African cultures already believed in a creator god with moral attributes. What is more, many African cultures had a doctrine of the fall, a story of how god had once been close to them but had withdrawn because of some human folly. One never met this supreme god, only lesser gods, a distinction that eliminated any possibly rivalry between gods. Therefore, when the African were introduced to Christianity, it was natural for many of them to keep versions their own traditions but to substitute the name Jehovah or Yahweh for the name they had used for the supreme god. In this way their god of creation became the God of the Bible.

5. We should also point out that, despite Western fears to the contrary, Africans have not been put off by denominationalism. In fact, not only have they embraced the idea, they have added to the number of denominations.

6. Finally, despite the tremendous variety of their origin, African churches do share some broad similarities—an emphasis on power and healing, an emphasis on God's presence before the missionaries came—that suggest that an African theology is beginning to emerge. Such similarities have appeared as missionary churches have become more African and as African churches have become more accepted, and they reflect the common experience all Africans share.

African Christians have been doubling their numbers every twelve years or so for over a century. It has probably been the greatest Christian expansion since the Christianization of Europe in the Middle Ages. And this has been something the Africans have accomplished themselves. By far the greatest part of African Christian expansion has gone on and is still going one without the presence, let alone the supervision, of European missionaries.

The North Atlantic Culture and Its Impact on Missions

Introduction

Protestant missions from the nineteenth century to the present bear the impress of the North Atlantic Culture, a cultural complex comprising three nations: Britain, the United States, and Canada. As we have seen, the form of Christianity these missionaries took into the world was profoundly shaped by revivalism with its emphasis on immediate autonomous decision based on a particular kind of experience and resulting in noticeable changes in one's life. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Protestant missions were dominated by the British who had both the financial resources and the global reach to make the missionary work of voluntary societies feasible. After World War I, however, a shift occurred. British missionary involvement began to decline as the British prepared their colonial charges for independence, as the Depression dried up funds for mission work, and as Europe generally became increasingly distracted by cultural and political issues that tore at its very heart. In place of the British, the North Americans, primarily from the United States but also from Canada, began to play a dominate role. However, the cultural hegemony of missions was preserved. Indeed, as the numbers of Germans in the field never recovered their pre-war levels, one could argue that the North Atlantic hegemony of Protestant missions was accentuated.

This form of Christianity was not only revivalistic, it also, as we saw in chapter 3, assumed a particular church polity modeled after the voluntary societies that did the work. And it was ideologically split into camps that became known as modernist and fundamentalist. The outlines of the modernist/fundamentalist debate began to emerge in the late nineteenth century but became increasingly pronounced and divisive during the first decades of the twentieth. The issues occasioning the debate have never been resolved and were to leave Protestantism sundered. And they were to have a profound impact on the missionary movement.

The Cold War witnessed an explosive growth of missionary activity around the world, much of it conducted by the heirs of the fundamentalists. Writing in the second edition of the *World Christian Handbook* in 1952 E.J. Bingle wrote:

> A spur to evangelism has undoubtedly been the arrival of many new, largely fundamentalist groups whose purpose is evangelistic and often nothing more.[1]

However he also gives mainline churches due credit, noting that in Brazil Presbyterian churches are among the fastest growing in Latin America.[2] This was because as Dr. Elmer Homrighausen pointed out in the same volume, there was "a resurgence of concern for evangelism everywhere," a recognition among churches generally that "evangelism is the very essence of the Church."[3]

Coupled with this growing emphasis on evangelism was a huge rise in the number of North American missionaries on the field. By 1957 over two-thirds of the missionaries hailed from either the United States or Canada.[4] In 1955 these missionaries received over $130,000,000 (in 1955 dollars) for their work, much of this money provided by missions that were "strongly conservative and traditionally fundamentalist."[5]

In 1968 Sir Kenneth Grubb wrote about "The considerable progress made by the 'conservative evangelical groups'. . . bodies which often do not fit any denominational pattern,"[6] while Max Warren expressed concern about a drop in the number of missionaries coming out of the denominations. Warren wrote:

> It is perhaps no accident that at this moment there is reported from almost every Church a serious drop in the numbers of

those who are preparing to commit themselves to any kind of missionary vocation . . . Commitment of this kind is uncongenial to the temper of the age and to much of the climate of Christian opinion.[7]

Hence the increase in the number of conservatives in the mission field was to have long-term impact not only theologically but also in terms of how missionary work was organized and administrated.

Samuel H. Moffett wrote in 1989:

In 1953, 56% of North America's Protestant career missionaries were connected to national councils of churches (USA and Canada), while 44 percent were more independently related. But in 1985 the figures had been startlingly reversed. Only about 12 percent were denominational mission boards represented on the national councils, whereas the percentage of independents had doubled from 44 percent to 88 percent. If the emerging "tentmaking missionary" movement is factored in, the momentum toward individualism is quickening yet faster.[8]

In this chapter we are going to look at the origins of the modernist/fundamentalist split, note their different approaches to both missions and larger theological issues, and describe how those differences have impacted the global church. We will be looking at four specific theological issues: origins, Christology, eschatology, and pneumatology, but we will begin with a brief historical overview of the dispute.

Section A
An Overview of the Modernist/Fundamentalist Controversy

Subsection 1

Fundamentalism

Today fundamentalism has become an umbrella term covering almost any form of religious militancy that pits itself against the

secularism, rationality, and relativism characteristic of contemporary cultures around the world,[9] and modernism itself has been eclipsed by the emergence of post-modern themes that stress immediate experience over reason, interpretive communities over self-evident universal truths. However, the earliest tremors heralding the death of modernism were felt a century ago when Christians who became aware of the anti-Christian biases embedded within Enlightenment suppositions began to protest what they saw happening in their churches. Not that the fundamentalist reaction was itself a precursor to postmodernism, but it served in its protest to highlight what postmodernism would later term the imperialistic dimensions of modern thought.

The terms *fundamentalist* and *fundamentalism* were coined in 1920 by Curtis Lee Laws of the Northern Baptist *Watchman-Examiner* as names to describe the conservative side of a growing religious debate between two factions of the Protestant church in Britain, the United States, and Canada. The fundamentalist side of that debate defended traditional Christian doctrines against a redefinition of those doctrines advocated by *modernists*, theologians who, influenced by various streams of German scholarship, had been challenging historic Christian beliefs. At issue specifically were interpretations and definitions of Jesus Christ as well as questions concerning the inspiration of the Bible, its reliability, and its origin. Those who were dismayed by the effects of such challenges became increasingly aware of themselves as a distinct movement. In Philadelphia in 1919 the first conference of the World's Christian Fundamentals Association was convened. It attracted six thousand people. These were the people Curtis Lee Laws the following year was to call *fundamentalists*.

Between 1910 and 1915 Lyman and Milton Stewart, two oilmen who as members of the Presbyterian Church had become increasingly concerned about the rise of theological modernism, financed the printing and distribution of a twelve volume collection of essays entitled *The Fundamentals*. Three million of these paperback volumes were mailed to Protestant pastors and workers all over the English-speaking world. Although the impact of the volumes was not immediate, they

did prepare the movement in its nascent attempts to define itself intellectually and helped to insure that Laws' term would come into common use.

The fundamentalists formulated their position in a series of statements which defined those "fundamentals" that were being questioned and which they believed were central to maintain an orthodox understanding of Christianity. Five Point fundamentalism which was defended in *The Fundamentals* included:

> ➢ The belief that the Bible was divinely inspired and inerrant (that is without error) in its original autographs.
>
> ➢ The belief in Christ's virgin birth and deity.[10]
>
> ➢ The belief in Christ's substitutionary atonement (that is that Jesus, when he was crucified, died as a substitute for the sinner).
>
> ➢ The belief in Jesus' resurrection.
>
> ➢ The belief in his "personal, premillennial and imminent second coming."

The Northern Presbyterian church had a list of fundamentals very like these except that instead of affirming Chris's "personal, premillennial and imminent second coming" they affirmed the historicity of his miracles. Membership in the Northern Presbyterian Church required assent to those five fundamentals from the time they were proposed in 1916 until 1927 when the church voted that they were no longer binding. After 1927 one could be a Presbyterian in good standing and deny all five points. It is easy to see why the Stewart brothers were concerned.

In his excellent study of the evolution debate *Controversy in the Twenties*, Willard B. Gatewood mentions seven point fundamentalism. This variation of fundamentalism defended:

1. Belief that the Bible was inspired by God.
2. Belief in the fall of man.
3. Belief in the reality of sin.
4. Belief in the deity and virgin birth of Christ.
5. Belief in he atonement and substitution provided by Christ.
6. Belief in the regeneration of the believer.
7. Belief in the holiness of God.[11]

William Bell Riley was an important fundamentalist leader, pastor of the First Baptist Church in Minneapolis, and head of the Northwestern Bible and Missionary Training School. This school was one of the "Bible Institutes" for training missionaries, clergy, and the laity which conservatives began to establish in the late nineteenth century to counteract the influence of modernism in the established seminaries. At the end of the 1920s, Riley issued a nine-point fundamentalist credo. I quote it in full:

> ➤ We believe in the scriptures of the Old and New testaments as verbally inspired by God, and inerrant in the original writings, and that they are of supreme and final authority in faith and life.

> ➤ We believe in one God, eternally existing in three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

> ➤ We believe that Jesus Christ was begotten by the Holy Spirit, and born of the Virgin Mary,

> ➤ We believe that man was created in the image of God, that he sinned and thereby incurred not only physical death, but also that spiritual death which is from God; and that all human beings are born with a sinful nature, and, in the case of those who reach moral responsibility, become sinners in thought, word, and deed.

> ➤ We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures as a representative and substitutionary sacrifice; and that believers in him are justified on the the ground of his shed blood.

> ➤ We believe in the resurrection of the crucified body of our Lord, in his ascension into Heaven, and in his present life there for us, as High Priest and Advocate.

> ➤ We believe in "that blessed hope," the personal, premillennial, and imminent return of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

> ➤ We believe that all who receive by faith the Lord Jesus Christ are born again of the Holy Spirit and thereby become children of God.

> ➤ We believe in the bodily resurrection of the just and the unjust, the everlasting felicity of the saved, and the everlasting conscious suffering of the lost.

There is nothing particularly radical about any of these fundamentals. Most Christians throughout history have affirmed most of these points with the exception of the premillennial return of

Christ, and many Christians have affirmed that. Indeed, on the first page of the introduction to his three volume *Systemic Theology* (University of Chicago Press, 1951), Paul Tillich equates European theological orthodoxy with American fundamentalism. And American fundamentalism, as Walter Unger has pointed out, owed much to Canada as well. Its doctrines were born in the doctrines and strategies of the Niagara Bible Conference which met in Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, between 1883 and 1897. Unger specifically shows how fundamentalism borrowed heavily from the fourteen-point Niagara Creed with its emphasis on the inspiration and inerrancy of the Scriptures adopted in 1878.[12]

Yet despite the ecumenicity of the fundamentals, many modernists like Charles Clayton Morrison writing for *The Christian Century* in June 1957 dismissed them as "a discredited and disavowed version of Christianity." Paul Tillich would go further, insisting that fundamentalism, because it "elevates something finite and transitory to infinite and eternal validity," had "demonic traits."[13] However, fundamentalists were not the "yokels," "morons," and "apes" that H.L. Mencken described during the Scopes trial of 1925. Nor were they the fanatics Tillich warned of. They were instead serious people engaged in a campaign for the historic Christian faith and who owed a major debt to Princeton University. For example, the respected Pauline scholar J. Gersham Machen who taught at Princeton was one of fundamentalism's early intellectual leaders. Resigning from Princeton in 1929, he became one of the founders of Westminster Seminary in Philadelphia. He also helped to set up the Presbyterian Church of America (its name was later changed to the orthodox Presbyterian Church) after he was forced out of the Northern Presbyterian church in 1936. Indeed, the fundamentalist doctrine most often attacked, their doctrine of scriptural inerrancy, was developed at Princeton University between 1812 and 1921 under theologians like Archibald Alexander, Charles Hodge, Archibald Alexander Hodge, and B.B. Warfield.

Fundamentalists did not fade away. Instead they regrouped, started publishing companies, theological societies, churches, schools, journals, mission organizations, even their own television network. By the late 1940s fundamentalism was beginning

to attract adherents among a new generation of scholars, and by the mid-1970s a somewhat modified version of fundamentalism calling itself evangelicalism was back as a major socio-political force, especially in the United States but also in Canada and, to a lesser degree, in Britain.

<div align="center">Subsection 2</div>

Modernism

Unlike fundamentalism, modernism's adherents formulated no general creed (though movements within modernism sometimes did). Nor did modernism as such establish societies and networks (though again movements within modernism did). Modernism did not lend itself to creeds because it was not intent on preserving propositional truths. It was concerned with particular debates primarily because it sought to set the agenda for all future debates. It championed a method in inquiry that accepted change as a given and took with absolute seriousness humanity's immersion in history. Modernism was secularism, and its methods were the methods of contemporary science. Modernist theologians not only accepted secularism, they saw secularism as the culmination of biblical faith and believed that the task of Christians was to support and nourish it.[14]

In the second chapter of *Naming the Whirlwind*, Langdon Gilkey delineates four basic concepts underlying contemporary secularism: the concepts of contingency, relativity, temporality or transience, and autonomy. By contingency Gilkey means the idea that laws or patterns are arbitrary, that things could have been different than they are. By relativity he means that authority is not normative but instead expresses a viewpoint of history. By temporality or transience he means that history is process, that things are always becoming. By autonomy Gilkey means that humans in this process are free to become what they themselves choose. For Gilkey this idea of choosing to become transforms passive fate into active destiny and is central to our definition as a species.

Such is the perspective of modernism and the concepts with which it seeks to deal. And that being the case, it is not difficult to

understand why modernists, as they sought some metanarrative by which to integrate this perspective with these concepts, chose the metanarrative (or metafiction) of evolution.[15] Of course like any good story, evolution was freighted with philosophical and theological ramifications. It was metanarrative that was profoundly metaphysical. And thus it became the symbol and the battlefield of the modernist/fundamentalist dispute.

Consider for a moment the issue of temporality or transience as identified by Langdon Gilkey. If everything is becoming, then what is any particular thing and what is it becoming? Is the doctrine of temporality no more than Aristotelian teleology claiming that a thing is what it tends to be? Or does it mean something quite different? Most Catholics opt for teleology and are on that basis quite comfortable with modernity's transience, but teleology ultimately means design, and, as Charles Hodge noted early on, design with its implications of a designer is precisely what most Darwinian evolutionists want to deny. The vision of evolution championed by Richard Dawkins or Daniel Dennett is a vision that seeks to explain the appearance of "design" in the absence of a designer. It is difficult to overstate the philosophical consequences of such a conceit. Not only is it as profoundly destructive of traditional metaphysics as Immanuel Kant's critique of reason was, it subverts post-Kantian metaphysics as well. One might call it corrosive, and indeed, Dennett illustrates the philosophical repercussions of Darwinism by referring to a boyhood fantasy of a universal acid so corrosive that it would dissolve just about anything. In the same way Darwinism, he says, eats through just about any traditional concept, leaving behind a world that, though still recognizable, is fundamentally transformed.[16] But how does Darwinism transform the world? By eliminating the concept of formal reality.

Dennett is particularly clear about this. Lines between living things, he argues, are not to be drawn in any essentialist way.[17] The distinctions lines are intended to identify only become apparent long after they have developed.[18] And this is true not only of life in all its varieties but also of properties like mind, meaning, truth and error, function and reason. These properties in the Darwinist universe have no formal existence but came into being incrementally through unclassifiable intermediates.[19] This

is not only a huge claim, it is an ancient one going back to the pre-Socratics, particularly Democritus (c. 460—c. 370 BC). A cosmic vortex in everlasting motion produces substance and all that comes from it in a purely mechanical way. Darwinism not only made this very plausible, it also made the idea popularly accessible. And that accessibility transformed it into an acid that began to consume the foundations of Christian faith. Christians responded in two ways. Either as modernists they tried to baptize the new idea, or as fundamentalists they excommunicated it.

In the next four sections we will briefly describe the implications of this dispute for various Christian doctrines.

Section B
The Question of Origins

The two world views described above are distinguished in large part by how they imagine the universe in relation to something outside itself. In the fundamentalist view the universe is an a semi-permeable continuum, identifiable as itself but opened to the actions of One who exists beyond it. The fundamentalist universe allows for miracle. The Darwinist universe is a closed continuum. Nothing outside of it affects events within it. There is no room for miracle. As the French mathematician Jules Henri Poincare (1854–1912) claimed, the greatest miracle is that miracles do not happen. Such a universe allows for atheism or even deism but not for most other forms of theism.

This distinction between a controlled continuum and a closed continuum means that other theistic traditions may side with the fundamentalists in supporting the idea of the universe as semi-permeable but reject what they see as fundamentalism's anti-intellectual tendencies. They argue that all science has done is help us better understand the process of origin, but that the process is guided by That which may be intimately engaged with the universe but is also in some sense outside the universe. This intermediate position allows for "theistic evolution," a model that accepts the eons, the fossils, the concept of descent with modification, but with the caveat that such data only indicate "how God did it." This world view also sanctions miracle but seldom asserts the prerogative because miracle is "

unscientific," and of course it is science that theistic evolution seeks to baptize. Most fundamentalists and most Darwinists are critical of theistic evolution because in their view it fails to take the issues raised by either camp seriously enough. The fundamentalists object that if we admit miracle, there is no need for evolution and that evolution as a story of origins plainly contradicts the scriptural account and is therefore theologically deficient. The Darwinist insists that if one affirms evolution, an appeal to a miracle working Creator is ultimately unnecessary.

To illustrate the differences, let us considered how the three groups would understand the origin of the book of Isaiah. For the fundamentalist, Isaiah is a prophet who lived in the Southern Kingdom of Judah during the eighth century BC when the kings Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah ruled. The Old Testament book bearing his name is an accurate record of his words and deeds made by his own hand and/or the hands of his immediate disciples, and its divine nature is fully attested to by the obvious fact that much of what the prophet predicted came to pass centuries later. This is exactly what we should expect from a God who created everything, controls the course of creation down to its details,[20] and knows the end from the beginning. The Darwinist would probably not be much interested in the book of Isaiah save as an example of a particular kind of ancient literature. From this perspective, the Darwinist would see Isaiah, as Isaac Asimov puts it, as a confused book, a collection of somewhat disparate accounts composed by Isaiah's disciples that was later amended with other material and massively edited. It may not have been put in its final form until the mid-fourth century BC.[21] The Darwinist might also point out that Isaiah obviously served an important political function for the Jews during the exile and is best understood as political literature, rather like *The Kojiki*, the Japanese record of ancient things which was intended to secure the divine origin of the emperor and was until 1945 officially accepted as fact. Those who believe in theistic evolution tend to accept the critique of Isaiah as posited by Darwinists but they would insist that this in no way compromises the divine origins of the book since God oversaw the entire process. Hence they would be less inclined to see the book as confused. They would understand prophecy not primarily as foretelling but as

"forth-telling," that is, a revelation of God's purposes possibly
before but more likely after the fact, and in consequence, though
they would accept the political nature of the book, would also
defend its continuing relevance as a revelation of the Messiah.
Fundamentalists would find this last assertion by modernists
somewhat peculiar since the significance of the book from a
Christian perspective lies primarily in its foretelling the advent
of Christ.

Plainly the question of origins in the dispute between the
three groups goes far beyond issues like the age of the earth
and missing links. In fact, such tangential issues, while they may
be convenient ways of conceiving the terms of the debate, usu-
ally obscure the more fundamental divisions. The real issue lies
in how we are to imagine God and God's relationship to cre-
ation. We can illustrate the differences in the following
diagram.

Fundamentalism	Darwinism	Modernist theologians
God exists	God does not exist	God exists
God creates directly and indirectly	God does not create	God creates primarily indirectly
The Bible is reliable history	The Bible is not reliable	The Bible is unreliable history but can claim inspired symbolic content

Fundamentalism is a form of theism. Darwinism is a form of
atheistic materialism. Modernist theologies attempt to forge a
synthesis between the two, preserving the core faith of the fun-
damentalists within the scientific model of the Darwinists. But
the modernist effort challenges the reliability of Scripture and
undermines orthodoxy since it rejects a literal reading of the
Genesis account and calls into question the power of God, the
reality of miracle, and the hope of cosmic restoration.

Section C
Christology

Christology refers to that branch of theology dealing with doctrines about Jesus Christ, especially his person, nature, and deeds. It is highly interpretive in nature as is much theology, and, especially in its earliest expressions, is formulaic. Examples of early Christological statements are: Jesus is the Christ or Messiah, Jesus is the Son of God, Jesus died for the sins of the world, through Jesus believing sinners are reconciled to God, and so forth. Such statements come from Scripture and as such are clearly first century doctrines that distinguished Christianity from other forms of Judaism. However, after the fall of the temple in 70 AD, Christianity was severed from its Jewish moorings and embarked on its course to convert Hellenistic culture. During that process of conversion Christian philosophers began a centuries long dialogue with pagan philosophers that was to prove particularly fruitful. It was a dialogue in which the Christians ultimately triumphed, but it the process of that triumph they appropriated much from the pagans, particularly the neo-Platonists, and much of what they appropriated they employed to interpret the ontological nature of Christ. The philosophical question at issue was: how can the universal become particular?

During the second and third centuries Christ's humanity as genuine, ideal, and normative had been affirmed against the Gnostics and docetists who denied Jesus' corporal nature. The Nicean and Constantinoplian creeds were hammered out in the fourth century dispute over the teachings of Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria who argued based on John 3:16 that if Jesus was "the only begotten son," then the pre-incarnate logos must have had a beginning, that there was a time when he was not. To bolster his argument, Arius also appealed to the Wisdom section of Proverbs. As the logos doctrine implied that wisdom was to be identified with Christ, and as the writer of Proverbs stated clearly that wisdom was brought forth before creation (Proverbs 8:22–31) and that the Lord by wisdom founded the earth (Proverbs 3:19–20), and as these passages called to mind New Testament passages like Colossians 1:15–17, Arius

believed his case was made. However, many in the early church recognized that Arius' doctrine compromised the divinity of Christ. If Christ was a creation of God, Christ could not be fully God. At best he was greatest of the "little gods," or angels (who are also designated as sons of God, see Job 2:1; 38:7). In other words, the Christ of Arius became an intermediate being very like the Manichean demi-urge or even on a par with Satan, a sort of good son, bad son scenario.[22] How could such a Christ be worshipped? How could such a Christ save? These were the obvious theological questions. The creeds of Nicea (325) and Constantinople (381) expressed the church's theological answer within the philosophical construct of neo-Platonism. Christ's divinity was affirmed against Arius, and in the creeds of Nicea and Constantinople this affirmation was united with the earlier affirmation of his humanity. The symbol of Chalcedon (451) affirmed the unity of those two natures. In this way the full and perfect humanity and full divinity of Christ and the unity of those two natures became the orthodox Christian confession.

Christ's perfect and full humanity in union with his full deity defines Christian orthodoxy. However, cultural and historical developments, as we saw above, generate questions and answers involving an emphasis and de-emphasis of passages and traditions. Such developments have profound theological consequences. For example, one result of the Arian dispute was the abandonment in the West of a theological motif that was important to the Jews and to the early church. That motif was a Christology based on Jesus as "firstborn."

In Hebrew tradition the first born son enjoyed both priority and supremacy, and was to receive a double portion of his father's estate (Deuteronomy 21:16–17).[23] And as we are reminded in story of Jacob and Esau, the birthright and the blessing belonged to the firstborn. In Romans 8:29 Paul talks of Christ as the firstborn among many brethern, and in Colossians he says that Jesus is the firstborn of every creature (1:15) and the firstborn from the dead (1:18). The author of Hebrews refers to "the church of the firstborn" (12:23), suggesting with the phrase that Christ's status as first born was important to the first century church. Nevertheless by the late third and early forth century the word had become the source of some

cônfusion. Arias argued that "firstborn" underlined Christ's status as a creature, but Paul, who seems to use the word as a way to emphasize the love the Father has for the Son (Colossians 1:13), says that by and for Christ all things were created (Colossians 1:16), and that all things exist in Christ even as Christ existed before all things (Colossians 1:17). Clearly Paul did not mean by the word to portray Christ as himself a creation of God. Instead, the New Testament writers sought to express something of the importance of Christ by stressing his status as firstborn. In part because of the Arian debate but also because we in the West have no such tradition regarding the first born, we have lost this nuance in our theology.

Recent cultural developments have had similar results of question and answer, emphasis and de-emphasis, and have helped to define the differences between the fundamentalists and modernists. Where fundamentalists either explicitly or implicitly have rallied around the traditional creeds, modernists have attempted to address "new questions" either outside or within the framework provided by those creeds with results that have been disquieting to the traditionalists. To illustrate the point we will look at two recent Christological theories: kenotic Christology and the neo-orthodox idea of Christ as symbol. We will borrow or neo-orthodox Christology from Paul Tillich, the German theologian whose opposition to Hitler led him to America in 1933.

Kenotic Christology

This version of Christology takes its name from Philippians 2:7 where we read in the RSV and ASV that Christ "emptied himself, taking the form of a servant." The NIV renders the passage "made himself nothing, taking the very nature of a servant." The KJV reads "made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant." The Greek word used in the passage is *kenosis* which means emptied. It is this passage Charles Wesley had in mind when he wrote in his hymn "Amazing Love" that Christ "emptied himself of all but love," but the theological model is usually traced to the German Lutheran Gottfried Thomasius (1802–1875) who gave the passage an ontological focus.[24] The idea has been particularly influential in Germany

and Britain where it has fostered several interpretive schools. The kenotic theologians' main concern is to explain the incarnation in a way that allows Christ's humanity to be amply expressed. The assumption is that if Jesus was fully God, he could not be fully man. The Godhead so conceived is comprised of a set of attributes, some of which could be set aside during the incarnation, and reassumed at the ascension. The issue kenotic theologians have attempted to deal with lies at the very heart of the mystery of the incarnation. Incarnation of itself is limiting. As Steven Pinker when discussing the engineering specifications that would enable an data processor to acquire data has pointed out, incarnation would necessarily restrict an intelligent agent's access to information.[25]

Sometimes kenotic theologians see themselves as defenders of the Chalcedonian Definition. An example here is Charles Gore, an Anglican, who in his Bampton Lectures *The Incarnation of the Son of God* (1891) defended Chalcedonian orthodoxy. Sometimes they see themselves as challenging the Chalcedonian model. An example here is P.T. Forsyth who in his *Person and Place of Jesus Christ* (1909) wanted to free Christian theology from adherence to what he understood as a static and outmoded confession and devise in its stead a more biblically based formula.

Christ as Symbol

Perhaps the best known of the theologians addressing Christology from this perspective is Paul Tillich. Tillich in the tradition of neo-orthodoxy assumes a radical distinction between symbol and reality. Taking his cue from Thomas Aquinas,[26] Tillich argues that knowledge about God only reveals God by analogy. But unlike Aquinas who believed that through grace symbols could reveal the very essence of God, Tillich argues that because symbols are borrowed from finite reality, they cannot express the truth about God but can only help us think about God. Nevertheless he cautions that it is wrong to dismiss such religious symbols as nothing more than symbols. Analogy, precisely because it is analogy, is more revelatory than nonsymbolic knowledge.[27] When concepts are used to describe God's act of self-revelation, the theologian must emphasize that the concepts are symbolic,[28] not because as symbols they are less revelatory but precisely

because as symbols they are more revelatory. There are, Tillich observes, tensions within reason itself. Here he takes a page from Kant though he is not describing the logical antinomies that Kant addressed. Instead Tillich sees within the very structures of reason a tendency toward autonomy and heteronomy. On the one hand reason rejects all authority but its own. On the other, reason possesses within itself a certain depth which expresses itself in myth and cult.[29] Revelation overcomes this conflict by providing the symbols which reestablish the essential unity between reason's conflicting elements,[30] in a way that is liberating. It assures this liberation by denying that a finite being can act in the name of the infinite. Tillich appeals to Scripture here quoting John 12:44, "He who believes in me, believes not in me . . ."[31] The consequence of this understanding of finite symbol and infinite knowledge (based on the perception that between the finite and the infinite there is no proportion) has profound consequences on Tillich's Christology.

Tillich makes a radical distinction between Jesus of Nazareth the finite man and Jesus the Christ the symbol through which the Ground of Being was most fully and finally manifest. The Logos doctrine means that Jesus as the Christ points to a revelatory reality that not only goes beyond but absolutely prevents a theology of the spoken or written word.[32] There are, he tells us, six meanings assigned to the phrase "the word of God." It can refer to:

➢ The self-revelation of the Ground of Being
➢ The medium of creation
➢ The divine life in the history of revelation
➢ The divine life in the final revelation
➢ The Bible [though he says that calling the Bible the word of God creates almost unavoidable theological confusion]
➢ The message of the church. All of these meanings taken together ultimately refer to "God manifest." This, he says, is the real meaning of the phrase "the Word of God."[33]

Tillich makes a sharp distinction between the more abstract essential and the more concrete existential. When that which is essential is manifest existentially, that is concretely, distortion results. In the case of human beings estrangement is an aspect of that distortion, and estrangement, says Tillich, results in

personal guilt and universal tragedy. This is because concrete existence inevitability means estrangement from one's true or essential being.[34] Yet sin involves more than estrangement, it also involves turning away from one's essential being.[35] Yet estrangement is a prerequisite for this turning away. Hence, Tillich argues in opposition to traditional Christian dogma that sin was universal before it became particular.[36]

In order to overcome this universal sin, existence had to be conquered at one point, in one personal life which can represent the whole.[37] Jesus of Nazareth became Jesus the Christ when his followers recognized him as the Christ.[38] Historically this creates a problem since our reports about Jesus of Nazareth are reports of him as Jesus the Christ which means that any attempt to construct a biography of Jesus of Nazareth is doomed to failure. Jesus of Nazareth in the Bible is Jesus the Christ.[39] But, Tillich reminds us, it is not the man Jesus of Nazareth upon which Christianity is based, it is Jesus the Christ.[40] In other words, theology is not much interested in the historical Jesus but in the "symbolic" one, the Jesus created by his disciples as they wrestled with what they understood as his significance. Did Jesus actually say the words ascribed to him. It doesn't matter if he did or didn't.[41] Did he act in the ways described? Again it doesn't matter. Was Jesus good? Only in so far as he participated in the goodness of God. As a man he was finite which means that he participated in our estrangement, tragedy, and guilt.[42] Descriptions of him as sinless are only rationalizations of the biblical picture.[43] Instead Jesus the Christ accepts the negatives of existence which as a finite being he had to experience but he transcends them because of his unity with God.[44]

Such a Christ saves us, Tillich says, by healing us of our estrangement.[45] Tillich delineates six steps by which this occurs:

➤ Atoning processes are created by God alone

➤ There is not conflict between God's reconciling love and God's retributive justice

➤ Removing guilt and punishment does not involve overlooking the reality of estrangement

➤ In fact, God atones by participating in our estrangement

> The extent to which God participates with us in our estrangement is manifest in the Cross of Christ; indeed in Christ God might be said to suffer on the Cross

> We are transformed as we participate in the New Being manifest in this atoning act of God[46]

In both the above examples epistemological issues provided the justification for changing traditional ontological conclusions. In both cases the underlying issue was the incompatibility of human and divine essence. Theologians who championed kenotic Christology sought to resolve that issue by "emptying" the divinity of Jesus. Tillich, our neo-orthodox representative, also sought to resolve it by denying the full presence of the divine in Christ. The Ground of Being in some way was uniquely manifested through Christ but we have no reliable record of the particulars of that manifestation because in the final analysis finitude cannot encompass the infinite. It is not the divinity of Jesus that has been emptied, it is the Scriptural account of him. Whatever the weaknesses of the old creeds, it is not clear that modern attempts to improve on them have been successful, nor is it difficult to understand why fundamentalists like J. Gresham Machen in *Christianity and Liberalism* (1923) could argue that whatever else liberalism was, it was not the historic Christian faith.

Section D
Eschatology

Jesus and Israel

One of the major divisions within Protestantism today revolves around issues of eschatology. Eschatology, based on the word *eschaton* meaning "the last thing," is generally defined as that system of doctrine that has to do with final things like death, Christ's Second Coming, the resurrection of the dead and the final judgment, and the new creation. As Christians we are creatures of the eschaton, representatives of that new world that began to come into being with the ministry, suffering, and triumph of Jesus. We are in this fallen world but we are not longer one with it. We have been called out of this world by Christ to

witness to and to participate in the second creation. Such motifs reach back to the prophets of the Old Testament but over the last three centuries, our understanding of the world they saw and of our role in it have been radically reinterpreted. Much of that reinterpretation revolves around concepts of the millennium, an idea we discussed in Chapter Two. Missions were central in creating postmillennialism and in redefining the church. Postmillennialism became associated with the social gospel and later with modernism and Christian liberalism.

But British and North American postmillennialists were not the only ones reinterpreting eschatological concepts. Modernist reinterpretations were in vogue among the Germans, while among the British and North American fundamentalists a new premillennial theory of Christian history called dispensationalism was born. We will look at two key figures in these reinterpretations. On the modernist side was Albert Schweitzer. On the fundamentalist side was John Nelson Darby.

Albert Schweitzer

In his study *The Quest for the Historical Jesus* (1906, translated into English in 1909) this German theologian depicted a man for whom Jewish eschatology was central. Jesus, Schweitzer argued, not only expected the imminent end of the world, he expected to bring it to pass when he sent his twelve apostles out to preach the news of the kingdom. The radical demands of Christ, Schweitzer opined, are best understood as an "interim ethic" predicated on Jesus' mistaken assumption. Schweitzer went on the argue, that when the mission of the twelve failed, Jesus was forced to reconsider his beliefs. Subsequently he began to focus on himself as the one who would usher in the new age by offering himself as a sacrifice to God, though Schweitzer suspected that Jesus' cry on the cross meant that in the end Jesus failed to maintain this belief. Thus Schweitzer understood Jesus as a tragic and deluded figure whose life and beliefs were crushed by history but who remains significant partly because his death helped to discredit the very eschatology that was the chief concern of his life. Though he painted a portrait of Jesus quite at odds with the portrait painted by nineteenth century liberals, Schweitzer was within that tradition. Yet his study of Jesus traditionally marks

the culmination of scholarly efforts to reach the Jesus of history. That Jesus, as Tillich later pointed out, was simply too embedded in the gospels to be resurrected.

John Nelson Darby

A leader of the Plymouth Brethren, this lawyer turned Anglican priest developed and systematized dispensational thought after leaving the Anglican Church in 1828 and joining the Brethren. Dispensationalism[47] imagines world history as divided into a series of dispensations (the exact number varies according to the fancies of the dispensationalists). Each of these dispensations or stages is characterized by a divine command and a corresponding human responsibility of obedience. The cumulative purpose of these dispensations expresses the outworking of God's mercy and judgment. Common dispensations are those of Innocence, Law, and Grace, but dispensational schemes usually embrace others so that history can be divided into five, six, seven, or more dispensations.

Not all theologians who use the term dispensation are dispensationalists. The key doctrine that distinguishes dispensationalism from other Protestant eschatologies is the fundamental and enduring distinction dispensationalists posit between Israel and the church. Traditionally Christians have understood the church as the fulfillment of Israel. Dispensationalists see Israel and the church as essentially different. Most of the history found in the Bible is the history of Israel. The history of the church does not begin until the early chapters of Acts and ends around the time of the rapture. According to dispensationalists, the tribulation described in the book of Revelation is something the Jews only will endure.

Dispensationalists had long predicted the restoration of Israel, so when the nation state named Israel came into existence in 1948 after Palestine was divided by the United Nations in 1947, most dispensationalists interpreted the event as the restoration of the ancient Israeli kingdom and as a sign that the end of the world was nigh. Their believe has had profound political and foreign policy consequences for the United States as well as (though to a less extent) for Canada and Britain.

Section E
Pneumatology and the Charismata

Based on Peter's sermon as recorded in Acts 2:16–31, the early church understood the signs and wonders that followed the spread of the gospel in the first century to be the fulfillment of Joel's prophecy. Thanks to the recent outstanding work of scholars like Gary Steven Shogren, we now know that prophecy at least lasted until well into the third century before it began to fade away.[48] While there were Holy Spirit movements in the larger church throughout history, such movements were generally considered to have been fringe movements at best and heretical at worst. The Montanists of the late second and early third centuries with their millenarianism and their emphasis on asceticism and prophecy are perhaps the best remembered of such movements, but there were others. Examples include the Cathari or "the pure" who emerged in the Balkans sometime around the tenth century and spread westward until succumbing to the Inquisition in the fourteenth century, and the Waldenses who, following the example of Peter Waldo, were particularly influential from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, and who can still be found in parts of Italy today. Not finding such movements to be particularly impressive, cessationists like B.B. Warfield have argued that the charismatic gifts, their usefulness at an end, were withdrawn from the church at the close of the apostolic period or perhaps a couple of centuries later. However, during this century all that has changed. Revivalism with its stress on experience has created an environment that encourages participants to expect manifestations of divine power, and this in turn has resulted in a psychology of expectation that "covets earnestly the best gifts."[49]

The current emphasis on the Holy Spirit emerged during late nineteenth century and was closely associated with holiness themes. Unlike the second and third centuries where prophecy was the central element associated with the activity of the Holy Spirit, during this century the Holy Spirit movement has become identified with glossolalia or speaking in tongues.[50] Glossolalia began to appear in revivals with greater frequency from the 1870s on. The incidents, though widespread, were apparently

spontaneous and unrelated.[51] However, such occurrences first coalesced into a single movement at the turn of the century, one hundred years after the Second Great Awakening began. The catalyst was Agnes Ozman, a thirty-year-old holiness preacher who had come to Bethel Bible College in Topeka, Kansas, to study and was attending a New Year's Day service there in 1901. According to accounts, she began to speak in Chinese while Charles Fox Parham, the school's founder, prayed over her, asking that she receive the Pentecostal gift. Once she began speaking in Chinese, she could not speak in English for three days.[52] Eddie Hyatt points out that the event was significant because the students at the school interpreted it as the biblical evidence that one had been set apart by the Holy Spirit in the way the first century Christians had been set apart, that the Pentecostal gift was not confined to the first century church.[53]

From Topeka events spread rapidly. On the evening of January 3, 1901, twelve others in Bethel, both faculty and students, began to speak and sing in tongues.[54] Newspapers from Kansas City and St. Louis began to take note.[55] By October of 1903 the revival had spread to Galena, Kansas,[56] and by 1905 had reached Columbus, Melrose, and Baxter Springs, Kansas, as well as Joplin, Missouri.[57] It eventually moved to Houston, Texas. Meanwhile in 1904 a revival that through the agency of the British empire was to have a global impact erupted in Wales.

Neeley Terry was filled with the Holy Spirit in Houston, traveled to Los Angeles, then invited William Seymour, a revival pastor she met in Houston but who was not yet Pentecostal, to come to her church as an associate pastor. Pastor Seymour complied and began to preach but was eventually locked out of the church by the senior pastor. Seymour and his little group of followers then moved to 216 Bonnie Brae Street. There on April 9, 1906, the Holy Spirit fell upon the worshipers causing all of them to fall from their chairs and seven of them to speak in tongues. On April 12 Seymour himself began to speak in tongues. Subsequently the group moved to 312 Azusa Street. The Azusa Street revival as it came to be called lasted until 1909,[58] and attracted the attention of Los Angeles ministers like Joseph Smale who had been to Wales during the early stages of the revival there. Through such contacts participants in the two revivals learned of one another, and the

revival in Wales became entwined with the charismatic revival in Los Angeles, providing an agency for the globalization of what before had been isolated phenomena.

In 1910 David Wesley Myland published *The Latter Rain Covenant and Pentecostal Power*, an attempt to defend the phenomenon biblically. Basing his thesis on Joel 2:23, Myland argued that the prophet had been describing a natural cycle of rain, the former rain which came just after planting, and the later rain which fell at the end of the growing season. But he also argued that the image had a spiritual application that could be found in other prophets as well as in the New Testament. Myland then claimed that the image could also be applied to history subsequent to the New Testament and that Joel's former rain was the gift of tongues at Pentecost as described in the second chapter of Acts while his later rain was the current Pentecostal revival. From this analysis, Myland interpreted the twentieth century Pentecostal revival as the herald of a great evangelistic crusade which, in a recapitulation of events in the first century, would sweep many new believers into the church before the second coming of Christ.

It is important to note that those involved in the movement consistently sought theological justification for what was happening. It was not enough for them to identify tongues with an action of God. They sought to justify their interpretation by appealing to Scripture. Events to be significant had to be interpreted through a scriptural grid.

Pentecostalism initially disrupted churches as those who had the experience became embroiled in disputes with those who had not. The result was the creation of a new denomination: the Assemblies of God. The first organizational meeting for the new denomination was held in Hot Springs, Arkansas, on April 6, 1914, but the constitution was not drawn up until 1927.[59] However, the foreign missionary outreach for the Assemblies of God predates the official organization of the church. By the time the General Council was operative, missionaries from many churches which would in time join the Assemblies had already gone out into the world. Hence when the Assemblies were born they had an outreach that speckled the globe.[60]

By the 1960s when the charismatic movement began to shake mainline Protestant denominations from United

Methodists to the Presbyterian Church, as well as the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches, the lesson had been learned and room was made for it. Few wanted the kind of church splits that had been occasioned by Pentecostalism. Instead of mainline denominations, it was certain conservative traditions like the Wesleyan Church as well as the dispensationalists who rejected the charismata.[61]

While the Pentecostal and charismatic movements stressed glossolalia, the Third Wave movement which began around 1980 did not. This movement emphasized signs and wonders and the exercise of spiritual gifts but understands tongues as only one of the gifts, not the definitive gift. And unlike the Pentecostal and charismatic movements, Third Wavers do not teach the need of a crisis experience. Vinson Synan has suggested that the Third Wave movement may be traced to John Wimber's classes at Fuller Seminary in California.[62] In Chapter Eight we will examine some of the theological themes used to explain and evaluate this movement and discuss their significance for our thesis.

Section F
Fundamentalism Globalized

The Making of an Enemy

As we observed above, fundamentalism did not die away as it was expected to. In one of history's many ironical twists, it was liberalism that passed from the scene. World War I was the death knell of classical Protestant liberalism. Out of a Europe so convulsed emerged crisis theology of neo-orthodoxy while out of World War II and the Cold War came Marxist liberation theology. And process philosophy, especially in North America, enriched the theological discussion. Of course modernism was bigger than liberalism and embraced elements of neo-orthodoxy, liberation theology, and process thought, but so did fundamentalism, especially in its reformulated version known as evangelicalism. In a strategy reminiscent of Augustine's plundering the Egyptians, evangelicals were happy to borrow insights not only from kenotic theologians, but from neo-orthodoxy, liberationists, and process thinkers. The issues that engaged

evangelicals, after all, had more to do with theology based on Scripture as history than with theological approaches per se. As long as one was willing to affirm an inerrant Bible (generally interpreted to mean a Bible that recorded history accurately), one was free to affirm whatever theological approach one chose.

But the larger North Atlantic culture was unable to appreciate such niceties. To secular pundits evangelicals and fundamentalists were variations on the same embarrassment. The movement was judged ill-suited to the modern world and a threat to the future secularists planned. Hence a campaign began to discredit fundamentalism. To achieve their goal they engineered a three-pronged attack.

> First, they attempted to equate religion with spirituality and to give spirituality a purely private focus. Isolated in atomized units, religious faith assumed all the trappings of personal eccentricity. As such it contributed color to the cultural scene in a way that was compartmentalized, entertaining, and safe. It assumed all the significance of a newspaper horoscope. One might dismiss this New Age-ism as nonsense or ridicule the pretensions of its advocates, but one could feel comfortable knowing how unlikely it was such designer faiths would ever rise above the level of carnival noise. If Christianity wanted to play such a game, the contemporary world would welcome it.

> Second, they worked to subvert mainline denominations which they belatedly realized harbored many who, despite the purging of those denominations, still maintained undisguised fundamentalist sympathies. Appealing to the work of Karl Rahner, a Roman Catholic theologian who in the fifth volume of his *Theological Investigations* (Darton, Longman and Todd, 1966) argued that non-Christian religions contain germs of both a natural and supernatural knowledge of God and that for this reason the adherents of those faith could be considered "anonymous Christians," of Joseph Campbell, a mythologist who saw the same mystical reality behind all religions, and other like-minded intellectuals, secularists and modernists sought to neutralize the mainline denominations by pleading for tolerance while at the same time using homosexuals and feminists to attempt to introduce radical agendas into these denominations.[63] Syncretism, the elite insisted, is morally superior to exclusivity since syncretism celebrates the contributions of

> all people everywhere and recognizes that everyone, whatever their personal beliefs and practices, has something important and valid to say about "god."

➤ Third, they attacked fundamentalists as intolerant, reactionary, and totalitarian. Indeed, as part of this attack they significantly changed the meaning of the word fundamentalist. Prior to the 1960s the word fundamentalist was used exclusively to describe a conservative movement within Protestantism, but during the 1960s it began to take on additional baggage. The neo-orthodox theologian Karl Barth would occasionally be dismissed by his detractors as "that fundamentalist." During Vatican II the world was used by Catholic progressives to disparage Catholic conservatives. And during a constitutional dispute within the Labour Party in Britain during that decade, one side referred to the other as "fundamentalists." Clearly the word so used was intended to be pejorative. However, there is nothing unusual in this. It is common for words to take on additional nuances of significance as they are applied to changing situations.

But two events conspired in 1978–1979 to transform fundamentalism into an umbrella term of all kinds of religious militancy. The first event was the rise of the Religious Right in the United States. This was marked by the formation of the Moral majority in 1979, a development that helped to put Ronald Reagan in the White House and outraged cultural liberals. The second was the Iranian revolution which placed Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in power and overnight turned an American ally into an arch-enemy. American pundits floated several words: militants, extremists, fanatics, puritans, reformers, revivalists, and Islamicists, to describe these new adversaries before hitting on fundamentalists. By the early 1980s fundamentalists was the word of choice to describe Islamic militants.

By the end of the 1980s the American Academy of Arts and Sciences funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur foundation sponsored the Fundamentalism Project through the University of Chicago. The first volume of essays consequent to that project came out in 1991. Entitled *Fundamentalisms Observed*, the volume contained fourteen essays discussing so-called fundamentalist movements in Christianity (both Protestant and Roman Catholic—interestingly the orthodox Churches were not in-

cluded), in Judaism and Islam, in Hinduism, in Sikhism, in Theravada Buddhism, in Confucianism, and in nationalist religious movements in Japan. Clearly in less than a decade fundamentalism had taken on an entirely new meaning.

What did fundamentalism in its new garb signify? We are told that fundamentalism is not traditional orthodoxy;[64] that it is instead a form of religious extremism which appeals to the past selectively;[65] that it tends to depict truth as whole, unified, and undifferentiated,[66] as well as understanding truth as something objective which one apprehends directly through passive senses;[67] that it stresses some kind of "litmus test" in order to separate believers from outsiders,[68] set boundaries, protect the group from contamination, and preserve purity;[69] that it arises in times of crisis actual or perceived;[70] that it seeks to replace existing structures with a comprehensive system emanating from religious principles;[71] and that it evidences missionary zeal.[72] As Robert Wuthnow observed in the second part of his review of the book that appeared in the April 29, 1992, issue of *the Christian Century*, fundamentalism is largely a phenomenon of the twentieth century and defines itself in opposition of modernity.[73] In other words, fundamentalism has been globalized into a sinister, extremist, reactionary movement seeking to impose its own social agenda, intolerant of dissent and having little to do with traditional orthodoxy.

Conclusion

As George Marsden argued in *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (Oxford University Press, 1980), the split between the modernists and fundamentalists was partly cultural. The alienation fundamentalists felt toward the civilization that emerged from the ruins of what had been their Protestant empire fed the coalition that between 1870s and the 1920s produced their movement. But fundamentalism was not only reactionary. It became a force in Canada though that nation went through no comparable cultural crisis, and Britain also produced its share of influential fundamentalist thinkers. While the cultural clash in the United States may have raised the volume of the disputants, it did not lie at the root of their dispute.

We can better understand the modernist/fundamentalist debate if we recognize that the issues the fundamentalists addressed went far beyond their sense of cultural disenfranchisement. If their impression that they were being marginalized was the sum of their grievance, then clearly the fundamentalists' concern was misplaced. If we take the long view, classical liberalism failed and fundamentalism prevailed. But the debate was not primarily a dispute between those who inherited the future and those who inherited the wind. It was instead a debate over ideas that would shape of the future. It was a debate between moderns. This meant that as the disputants articulated and refined their positions, they forged theologies of some sophistication. On the preceding pages we have touched however briefly on a very few of the ideas explored by theologians who proved particularly influential in the North Atlantic theater over the past in the last century-and-a-half. The point of the exercise was to illustrate the depth and number of the differences that define theology today. Ours has been an era of almost unprecedented theological fecundity, particularly among the nations that sent missionaries into the world. And this means that when those missionaries went, they took theologies with them.

For example, the most widely used Bible among Protestant missionaries in the twentieth century has been the Scofield Reference Bible. And it has been particularly popular among those independents who, as we saw in the introduction to this chapter, made up the lion's share of missionaries after World War II. In the text's extensive footnotes Dr. Scofield does not simply seek to clarify historical points or to illuminate obscure passages by providing their appropriate cultural context. His notes, though they occasionally do such things, have a theological purpose. They are primarily an apologetic for his own brand of dispensationalism. Unsurprisingly those missionaries who consult his reference Bible can become agents (either wittingly or unwittingly) for Dr. Scofield's beliefs.

But Scofield's Reference Bible is far from the only example of such missionary dispensed theology. Almost any reference Bible, study Bible, commentary, or Bible survey will have a theological agenda to defend. Indeed, Bible translations themselves sometimes render difficult passages in accordance to

theological prescriptions, and the tendency is even more pronounced in Bible paraphrases.

Theology is a creative and dynamic activity. It is the result of people's efforts to understand and apply the Bible message (or indeed any divine message) in a contemporary context. Theology arises as people ask questions about the sacred text, their own religious experience and perceptions, and their hallowed traditions. But such questions, because they arise from circumstances peculiar to each person and culture, are often different from questions asked within other contexts. These differences account for variations in theological perspectives. The questions we ask lead us to the conclusions we draw.

The thesis of this book rests precisely on that truth. The faith that missionaries within the North Atlantic cultural complex brought into the world derived from Protestantism but had been modified to deal with new issues. It was a faith that was shaped by revivalism, a faith that planted a different kind of church, a faith that wrestled with a new understanding of the cosmos. It was a faith that had survived a challenge to its origins as profound as any faith has ever endured. It was a faith that had been splintered by an explosion of new and often hostile philosophies and had responded with penetrating, novel, and sometimes startling insights. It was a faith that was flourishing in new environments even as it languished in the lands from which it came. It was a faith that would be further modified as it took root in those new environments. It was a faith that, because it was asking new questions, was leaving its Protestant heritage behind.

Roman Catholicism, Missions, and the Ecumenical Movement

Introduction

The ecumenical movement is a product of modern missions. Vatican II has fundamentally reshaped the relationship between the Roman Catholic and other Christian churches. Indeed, the transformation has been so sweeping that it is sometimes difficult to remember the level of hostility that existed between the Roman Catholic Church and her Protestant and Orthodox rivals. I can still recall my surprise on picking up *Foxe's Book of Martyrs* and discovering that in the main it was a book about Protestants killed by Catholics. The debates and then the wars sparked by the Reformation solidified the positions of the opposing camps for centuries. Even after World War II when the Cold War was redrawing the political map, the old dichotomy between the Roman and the non-Roman churches continued to define the thinking of many Christians.

Writing in 1949 about the religious situation in the United States, Kenneth Scott Latourette observed that the increasing wealth and influence of the Roman Catholic Church was creating apprehension in the Protestant community, an apprehension that had been exacerbated by Catholic opposition to Protestant missions in Latin America.[1] 1949 was also the year when Paul Blanshard's *American Freedom and Catholic Power* was published. The book was a warning to Protestants that the Catholic Church

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was beginning to dominate America and that such domination put democracy at risk. Robert Wuthnow points out that among many Protestants democracy and freedom were viewed as distinctive characteristics of Protestant polity and that the genuine devotion to God that such political conditions encouraged was therefore a more generally Protestant than Catholic virtue. He says that on the popular level Protestants saw the Catholic Church with its emphasis on papal infallibility as an expression of totalitarianism "not unlike the Nazi or Soviet regimes."[2]

E.J. Bingle, as he surveyed the world mission of the church in 1952, noted that the Roman Catholic Church was closely aligned with the economic and political status quo in places like the Philippines, thus making that church part of the reactionary, repressive, and entrenched social order.[3] In 1957 Sir Kenneth Grubb (he had been knighted in the interim) asserted in his preface to the third edition of the *World Christian Handbook* that despite the many problems created for the church by the Cold War, "a kind of paralysis of power had been achieved."[4] Consequently, though China and the Soviet Union presented real problems, those in Catholic dominated Latin America also loomed large. He argued:

> Some of the most serious hindrances to religious freedom are those encountered by evangelical churches in the lands of Roman Catholic predominance. Recent years have been years of intense difficulty for the small evangelical community in Spain . . . In Columbia there has been much violence, often in remote towns and valleys [reflecting to a significant degree] the combative prejudices and illiberal outlook of the dominant church. Even in Argentina . . . the evangelical community has found itself under certain disabilities in its witness and work.[5]

Concerning such "illiberal and combative prejudices," David Howard in *The Costly Harvest* writes that in the two decades between 1948 and 1968 when the book first came out, 120 evangelicals in Columbia were shot to death, were hacked to death by machetes, were beaten to death, or were killed in other ways as they witnessed to their faith. Howard traces the origins of this persecution to a relationship that developed in the latter part of

the nineteenth century between the Roman Catholic Church and the Conservative Party.[6] This made the situation unique to Columbia. Not all of Latin America was uniformly antagonistic to Protestant missionaries. Samuel Escobar notes the general openness of Latin American liberals to the presence of Protestant missionaries, sees that openness as a reaction to oppressive elements in Catholicism, and traces its roots to the nineteenth century.[7] And Brazil, despite its Catholic heritage, has remained generally tolerant of religious pluralism and in the main has been quite opened to Protestant missionary activity.

However, even as late as the years immediately following World War II, a deep-seated prejudice and animosity existed among Protestants toward Catholics. In the Philippines, in Spain, across much of Central and South America, and even in the United States, Roman Catholicism was associated with intolerance and oppression. Such associations reached deep into European history, reflected local realities, and had doubtless been inflamed by Rome's cooperation with the Axis powers. Whether or not they were justified, anti-Catholic sentiments were pervasive and could claim a respectable heritage.

The animosity that was created by the Reformation was mutual and something for which both Protestants and Catholics were responsible, but the hardening of the Catholic position had political consequences that went far beyond anything found in Protestant countries. We have seen evidence of this in the birth of the Padroado and the Patronato and in the way those institutions structured events wherever Spanish and Portuguese culture became pervasive. This tendency on the part of the Catholic Church to align itself with right wing governments was intensified by events in Europe in 1848 as we shall see below, and was complicated by the creation of the Italian nation and the consequent annexation of Rome by Italian troops in 1870. For this reason, the Catholic Church found itself increasingly out of step with the twentieth century. In the end it was the Catholics who would have to adjust. Vatican II institutionalized that adjustment and was a watershed for the church. So significant was that council that it is worth describing it and sketching briefly the two councils that went before it.

Taken together these three councils: the Council of Trent and Vatican I and II, define the Roman Catholic Church.

Section A
Roman Catholicism

Subsection 1

The Council of Trent

It is common for both Catholics and Protestants to identify the pre-Reformation with the Roman Catholic Church. That is a misnomer. After all, several western churches claiming apostolic succession derive directly from the pre-Reformation church. It is more accurate to trace the Roman Catholic Church to the sixteenth century when the Council of Trent which, when it met from 1545 to 1563, decided questions that define the Roman Catholic Church to the present. Prior to the Reformation, the Christian world was split into eastern and western halves although there were smaller traditions in the far east and far south.[8]

The Roman Catholic Church counts the Council of Trent as the nineteenth ecumenical council. It is certainly one of the most significant of the church councils and had much work to accomplish when it convened in the German city of Trent on the Baltic Sea. However, the purpose for calling a church council in the sixteenth century was initially unclear. Was its goal to contain the Protestants or to reconcile with them? The papacy seemed more interested in containment while Charles V who was both Holy Roman emperor and king of Spain and who was concerned about the divisions sundering his German holdings was keen to effect a reconciliation.

Protestants have co-opted the term reformers for themselves, but Pope Paul III (1534–1549) was a significant reformer in his own right. Several of the bishops whom he elevated to cardinals were dedicated to the task of remedying abuses in the church, and he named a nine man team to draft a report on reforms needed in the church. Their report *Concilium de emendenda ecclesia* issued in 1538 became the basis for the Council of Trent. Hence when Pope Paul III tried to summon a council to

meet in Mantua in northern Italy in 1537, he saw it not only as a way to counter the Protestant Movement but also as an opportunity to renew the western church. However, to his disappointment no one came. Pope Paul next attempted to restart the council by transferring it to Vicenza in northeast Italy in 1538 but Charles V and the Protestants remained indifferent and only a handful of churchmen arrived. Meanwhile Charles V called a series of colloquies in an attempt to seek rapprochement between the quarreling theologians. The last of these met in 1541 in Ratisbon (now called Regensburg) in the Donau River in southern Germany. Though those attending were able to establish agreement among themselves about things like Original Sin, the state of humanity before the Fall, the nature of sin, and free will, they were unable to find common ground on other issues and the colloquy ended in failure.

In light of Charles V's failure, Paul III attempted to call another council but was frustrated by the outbreak of war between Charles and Francis. After the peace of Crepy was signed, Pope Paul III on November 1, 1544, issued the bull *Laetare Hierusalem* in which he proclaimed that a council would meet in Trent on March 15, 1545. These meetings continued after the death of Paul III through the reign of Pope Julius III (1550–1555), Marcellus II (1555), Paul IV (1555–1559), and into the reign of Pope Pius IV. There were three meetings embracing twenty-five sessions held at Trent between 1545 and 1563, the last called by Pope Pius IV in 1561 after Paul IV had allowed the meetings to lapse and after all hope of reconciliation with the Protestants was gone. During these meetings the participants affirmed the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed as the basis for the faith, asserted that tradition and Scripture were to be considered equal sources of doctrine, included most of the Apocrypha in the canon of Scripture,[9] affirmed that sanctifying grace made people capable of doing good works, reiterated the importance of saying confession, and reaffirmed the doctrine of transubstantiation but withheld the cup of communion for the laity. These results were confirmed in 1564 by Pope Pius IV in a papal bull *Benedictus Deus* and summarized later in the Tridentine Creed. In other words, Trent created Roman Catholicism.

Vatican I

The First Vatican Council convened, as the name suggests, in the Vatican, the chief residence of the popes in the heart of what is now called Vatican City (established by the Lateran Treaty in 1929).[10] Summoned by Pius IX in his bull *Aeterni Patris* issued on June 29, 1868,[11] its participants under the protection of France met from December 8, 1869, until July 18, 1870, when the French, in a war with Prussia, withdrew from Rome, leaving the city to be occupied by Italian troops. How did a man who was sympathetic to liberalism and Italian nationalism when he initially occupied the papal chair in 1846 become the champion of conservatism and grow so fearful of the Italians and so dependent on the French? The answer lies in "the revolution that failed," the revolution of 1848.

That revolution began in February of 1848 in the streets of Paris. Between February 22 and February 24 the workers of Paris rose up against Louis Philippe and made themselves masters of the city. On February 24 in the midst of the riots Louis Philippe abdicated in favor of his son but the French Chamber, taking no notice, created a provisional government which guaranteed "the right to work for the laboring man," and declared France, for the second time in its history, to be a republic. These events would shake the house of Habsburg.

In the south Italy flared into revolt. February and March saw constitutions granted to Naples, Rome, Turin and Florence. On March 12 in Vienna students clashed with imperial troops leading to a Viennese declaration of independence and the city's proclamation of itself as a republic. During its famous "Five Days in March" Milan expelled the Austrians and appealed to King Charles Albert of Sardinia for help. Urged on by his own radicals, the king on March 22 declared war on Austria, inspiring enthusiastic Italians to rush to support his forces. The papacy even sent a contingent in support of King Charles, though Pope Pius quickly withdrew his soldiers when confronted by Austrian protests and repudiated any desire to chose sides in a conflict between Catholics.

In the east from Prague to Budapest the liberals and the nationalists, also inspired by events in Paris, began to raise their collective voices. The Emperor responded to this cascade of events by granting his Austrian subjects a constitution and the Hungarian liberals virtual independence for their country. Then, having surrendered so much, he retired to Innsbruck in Tyrol in west Austria. Prince Metternich, seventy-five years old and fearful that his reforms (which required the army to maintain the status quo) were lost, fled into exile.

The tide of events would turn against the revolutionaries, but its turning was effected by powers outside the Metternichian system. First, France, sent an army into the Alps to assist King Charles of Sardinia, but the king, concerned about French radicalism, was not eager to embrace French aid, though the French themselves had grown more moderate after the April elections.[12] Britain, though not objecting to Italian independence, did not want to see that independence won through French assistance, nor did the British want to see the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapse. After all, they viewed it as a counterweight to Russia. Tsar Nicholas for his part had no sympathy for revolution.

June and July saw the bombardment of Prague and Austria's defeat of Venice and re-capture of Lombardy on August 9. Then in the autumn Austria (with Croatian help) moved against Hungry. Hungry would be defeated by a pincher movement of Austria's army and a Russian incursion in Transylvania. Meanwhile Austria, albeit reluctantly, had accepted an offer of British and French mediation to help resolve the crisis in Italy. French troops marched into Rome. In November Rome revolted and Pope Pius fled to Gaeta. Louis Napoleon, presenting himself as a champion of law and order, was elected president of the French republic in December 1848. Rome declared itself a republic in February 1849 and in March Charles rejected the armistice he had signed with Austria and took up the fight again only to be crushed at Navara before the month was ended. Order was restored to Rome by the French army in June 1849. Peace between Charles and Austria became official in August. The pope returned to Rome in April 1850.

Pius IX, whose prime minister Count Pellegrino Rossi had been assassinated within the very walls of the Vatican during the

upheaval in 1848, was profoundly shocked by these events. Gone was the liberal sympathizer. In his place was a man who had learned the value of tradition. He became thoroughly reactionary, a dependable advocate and supporter of Metternichian ideas, and a staunch defender of the Catholic heritage. It was this heritage he hoped to secure using the very authority of the papacy itself, and this was his goal when he called the Vatican council.

He prepared the ground in several ways. In 1854 he issued the bull *Ineffabilis Deus* which stated that "from the first moment of her conception, the Blessed Virgin Mary was, by the singular grace and privilege of Almighty God, and in view of the merits of Jesus Christ, Savior of Mankind, kept free from all stain of Original Sin." As early as the seventh century monastics in Palestine had celebrated the Feast of the Conception of Mary and it was adopted for the Roman church by Sixtus IV in 1476 and imposed upon the Western Church by Clement XI in 1708. It is also true that some of the Fathers, among them Irenaeus and Justin Martyr, had referred to her as the "new Eve." But the Immaculate Conception as proclaimed by Pius was a new dogma and was rejected by both the Eastern Orthodox and the Protestant churches.

Then on December 8, 1864 he issued the *Syllabus Errorum* or Syllabus of Errors. Begun in 1852 and twelve years in preparation the syllabus in eighty propositions attacked the doctrines of liberalism. Roman Catholic leaders clearly were concerned by the intellectual environment of the nineteenth century and sought to put its beliefs on one side of a great chasm and the faith of the Church on the other. Having taken two such momentous steps, the pope then moved to secure papal authority for himself and his successors.

By 1867 many in the Roman Catholic Church already accepted the dogma of papal infallibility, but there was a sizable minority who did not or who wanted the dogma clearly defined. Two views of Church authority were in opposition at Vatican I:

➤ Gallicanism which asserted the ultimate authority of a general council against the authority of the pope, and Ultramontanism which placed supreme authority firmly in the hands of the pope himself.

➤ In a somewhat unequal struggle, the Ultramontanists prevailed and on July 13, 1870, passed the constitution *Pastor*

Aeternus by a vote of 533 to 2. When the council first met on December 8, there were 749 cardinals, bishops, abbots, and generals of religious present, almost three fourth of the Roman Catholic episcopate. While more attended Vatican II, and while Vatican II boasted representatives from all over the world (approximately 2,500 participants from 135 countries), in terms of percentage of the church leaders involved, Vatican I was the largest council ever held. The participants eventually rose to 764 though not all were present all the time and not all voted on the issues in question. Many in opposition, knowing they were to be outvoted abstained rather than cast their ballots against the pope.

Pastor Aeternus affirmed that the pope's authority came directly from Saint Peter and was not mediated through any commission. This authority was divinely instituted and was the pope's alone. The pope was declared to have immediate jurisdiction over all churches, to be in fact the actual bishop over every see. The other bishops and curates were simply his proxies. This meant that the pope had authority not only over questions of faith and morals but also over issues of discipline and government. Consequently the constitution also affirmed that to appeal a pope's decision to a council was unlawful since there was no higher authority than the pope. Finally, the constitution also affirmed that when the pope spoke *ex cathedra* or "from the chair" on questions of faith and morals, his pronouncements carried all the weight of apostolic doctrine: they were without error. They were not subject to the consent of the church and they could not be reformed.

Vatican I set the course of the Roman Catholic Church for the next century. That course would not be conservative so much as reactionary. Pius IX might claim to be tradition,[13] but he took his church in a radically new direction. This can be illustrated in three ways.

> ➤ Mary was elevated to a new status. Not only was she a perpetual virgin, she had also been conceived without Original Sin and, as Pius XII revealed in 1950, had never died but had been assumed into Heaven.

> ➤ The Roman Catholic Church put its tremendous authority in direct opposition to the "spirit of the age," a move that much later would provide common ground between Roman Catholicism and Protestant fundamentalists.

> ➢ The papacy from 1870 on could command a power that undermined the authority of its own bishops, that could find no justification in either the Bible or church history, and that potentially subverted all future councils: the power of papal infallibility.

The revolution that convulsed Europe in 1848 was wider than any that had gone before it, and, though it failed, it represents a great divide in European history. If the "worm-eaten structure" that Metternich spent his life propping up survived, it survived in significantly modified form. Because of it the monarchy in France was abandoned forever. Protection of labor, the "right to work" around which Parisian workers rallied, began its political ascent. Meanwhile the inherent instability within the Habsburg empire had been not only revealed but underlined. Subject peoples like the Czechs, Slovaks, Yugoslavs, Ruthenians, and Romanians had made it clear that, though they preferred to have their own nations, they also preferred the rule of the non-national Habsburgs to that of dominate groups like the Germans, Poles, Magyars, or Italians. The dominate groups for their part continued to resist Habsburg rule, a stance that put them at odds more often that not with the subject peoples. Such volatility which the events of 1848 had only exacerbated would eventually to lead to the First World War. And 1848 also exercised a profound impact on Roman Catholicism. Because of it that church, by far the largest of the Christian denominations, was set on a new and reactionary path, a path another council a century later would have to correct.

Subsection 3

Vatican II

The Roman Catholic Church considers Vatican II, which was held at Vatican City between 1962 and 1965, to be the twenty-first ecumenical council. As if to underline that ecumenicity, it was the first Roman Catholic council opened to non-Roman observers. Furthermore, because the council generated a huge amount of publicity, the public at large was able to keep abreast of events in the meetings, a circumstance which increased the sense that something involving all Christians was taking place. But it was a unique

council in at least three other ways as well. First, in stark contrast to Vatican I, theological experts played a significant role as advisors to the participants. Second, the council was not convened to condemn heresy or define dogma. Instead, its purpose was to reassess the role of the Roman Catholic Church in the modern world. Finally, the pope himself, John XXIII during the first session and Paul VI during subsequent sessions, participated directly in the proceedings.

Vatican II was called by Pope John XXIII. In fact, there were two Popes so named. The first, Baldassare Cossa, was elected to the papacy in 1410 during a time when the Western Church was racked with divisions and popes commanded armies. He was deposed in 1415 by the Council of Constance. The second John XXIII was a more congenial figure, and after he ascended to the throne in 1958 Cossa was no longer numbered among the popes.

Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, a cardinal and the patriarch of Venice, was seventy-seven years old when he was elected pope on the eleventh ballot after a three day conference. The name John by which he chose to be known had not been used for well over five centuries. Because of his age, his rule was not expected to be either long or significant. In fact, the first expectation was correct. He died in 1963. But the second expectation was completely incorrect. Pope John XXIII proved to be one of the most significant popes in the history of Roman Catholicism.

On January 25, 1959, Pope John XXIII revealed to seventeen cardinals who were in Rome that he had plans that went far beyond those one might expect from a interim pope. John announced that he would call a synod in Rome, convene an ecumenical council, and encourage the reformation of canon law. This was radical. No synod had met since the medieval period and there had been no council since Vatican I. Indeed, by Roman reckoning there had been only twenty councils in the entire history of the church. Also a reformation of canon law risked bringing to a boil many of the theological issues that simmered beneath the church's surface. But John believed that in the face of the profound challenges the Church faced in the post-World War II world, particularly the challenge presented by

militant Communism, that these risks were not only necessary but could yield rich rewards.

He was able to play a role in the first session which met from October 11 until December 8, 1962, and on March 26, 1963, did establish the Commission of Cardinals that would overhaul the Code of Canon Law, but he died on June 3, 1963, before the beginning of the second session. His place was taken by Paul VI on June 30. The second session of Vatican II began that same year on September 29. It lasted until December 4. It was followed by a third session which lasted from September 14 to November 21, 1964, and a final session which ran from September 14 until December 8, 1965.

As a result of these four sessions the Roman Catholic Church fundamentally shifted its posture toward other Christian traditions. Significant work was done in all sessions, but for our discussion the third session is the most important. Although the *Lumen Gentium* ("light of the nations"), presented on November 21, 1964, on the last day of the third session, maintains the traditional Roman Catholic view that the church is the continuing incarnation of Christ and the true church is the Roman Catholic one, it also admits that other Christian Communities have marks of holiness. This is because the *Lumen* uses the word "church" as a synonym for "the people of God" and stresses its hidden spiritual nature instead of its judicial structures. *Unitatis redintegratio*, the Decree on Ecumenism, issued at the same time as the *Lumen*, although calling Protestants and Anglicans, "separated brethren," declares for the first time that they are Christians and deems their baptism valid. Indeed, the validity of that baptism is to be the basis on which a reunion with the Catholic Church can be effected. More significantly, *Orientalium ecclesiarum*, the Decree on the Eastern Catholic Churches, Eastern Orthodoxy was included with Roman Catholicism as a church tradition directly descended from the apostles. In consequence on December 7, 1965, the penultimate day of the final session, the mutual excommunications between the Eastern and Western Churches, were lifted.[14]

At the close of Vatican II there was some uncertainty as to how the counsel should be interpreted. Was it merely a restatement of Vatican I conservatism? Was it an incomplete and ultimately unworkable attempt at compromise between reactionary and pro-

gressive elements within a church that simply tried to incorporate too much diversity? Or did it mark the beginning of a radical new direction for Roman Catholicism? Those who asked such questions expected the answers to come in the course of time, and the following decades have resulted in some clarification, particularly with encyclical letters like Pope John Paul II's *Ut Unum Sint* ("That They May Be One") issued on May 30, 1995. But in another sense the perceptions that gave rise to the questions still exist. Many who were dissatisfied with Vatican II, either because they believed it went too far or did not go far enough, remain so. And those who believed that some of its compromises lacked sufficient clarity still wrestle over the ambiguities. However, the results of councils have never satisfied everyone. Vatican II effected sweeping reforms that not only redefined the Catholic Church's relationship with other Christian denominations but did so in a way that preserved continuity with the church's past and enabled it to reorient itself in the contemporary world. This was of course a primary reason the council was called, and from that perspective it must be judged a remarkable success.

Section B
Protestant Ecumenism

As we have already noted, the early missionary movement established itself not through specific churches but through a series of organizations that set up inter-church bureaucracies which pursued a specific agenda. Bureaucracy itself is not necessarily a bad thing. It provides a framework which will endure long after the original founder of an organization has passed away. In the case of missions, cooperation between missionaries proved important, and having a bureaucratic structure in place could facilitate that cooperation. Bureaucracies can also make the work of independent organizations more efficient and can provide resources and long range planning that may well be beyond the scope of smaller autonomous groups. Finally, there is a tendency among like-minded people to organize, and this tendency itself encourages the formation of a bureaucratic edifice. Unrestrained and uncalculating enthusiasm has its place, but a bureaucracy can help to insure that the vision which provoked that enthusiasm

will continue to direct people's actions long after it and the enthusiasm have faded.

It was this last factor, the tendency among like-minded people to organize, that was the impetus for what would eventually become the ecumenical movement. As we saw in chapter 4, William Carey, as early as May 1806, wrote to Andrew Fuller suggesting that missionaries might find it helpful to meet together periodically to share their insights and to encourage one another, and proposed South Africa as a possible venue. At the time most people considered the suggestion impractical but as the decades moved on, conferences on a smaller scale than the one dreamed of by Carey were held and began to do their ecumenical work. By 1819 the London Secretaries' Association comprised of secretaries from four mission boards headquartered in London began meeting informally. These meetings expanded and continued, forming the basis for the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland which was organized in 1912. By the 1850s the Evangelical Alliance was organizing conferences in Britain. Scandinavian Lutherans followed in 1863. Continental Missions Conferences began meeting in Bremen in northwest Germany in 1866. Held every four years, they became the model for similar organizations: the Standing Committee of the German Protestant Missionary Societies first organized in 1885, the US Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions in 1886 that was to prove so central to the organization of the Edinburgh Missionary Conference, the General Dutch Protestant Missionary Societies in 1887, and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America in 1893.[15]

Similar things were going on outside the sending nations as well. William Richey Hogg points out that conferences among missionaries in North India had by the end of 1862 created a desire among both missionaries and their converts for the eventual establishment of a united Church of India.[16] Because denominational divisions that had been created in a European or American context often seemed out of place on the mission field, a reaction to such divisions similar to the one expressed in North India was voiced in Japan in 1874.[17] Indeed, reactions against denominational divisions became a common theme among late nineteenth-century missions.[18]

However, although many missionaries in the field (like the representative of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel who had, during the first South India Conference held in Ootacamund in 1858) condemned denominationalism on the field as a source of "nothing but evil,"[19] might vigorously deplore those divisions, mission administrators based in the sending countries were more sanguine about denominational distinctives. The General Conference on Foreign Missions which met in London in 1878, while approving of the emerging sense of unity among Protestant missionaries, also affirmed denominational variety as a source of richness since it did allow for diversity.[20]

It was up to the World's Student Christian Federation found- ed in Vadestena Castle, Sweden, in 1895 to resolve this inevitable tension between the forces of unity and those of diversity. Seeing itself as the servant of all and the master of none, this organization sought to encourage national and racial variety within the context of spiritual partnership.[21] Such an affirmation of creative tension within the overall framework of Christian fellowship was at the heart of the World Missionary Conference when it held its first meeting in Edinburgh in 1910, a meeting the Student Christian Movement had been most instrumental in bringing about. Calling the Student Christian Movement the most important of the four developments that made the conference at Edinburgh possible,[22] Hogg notes that the planners of the Edinburgh conference specifically sought to bring together people who disagreed with one another in an effort to help them establish a basis for cooperation that would not compromise their own fundamental beliefs.[23] Hogg argues that this designed tolerance coupled with a shared worship at Edinburgh created "a desire for an inclusive togetherness unknown before."[24] This desire did not fade as the Edinburgh conference came to an end but grew stronger and was key among the elements that made Edinburgh such a pivotal moment in the transformation of Protestant missions into a nascent global fellowship.[25]

The administrative vehicle which made such cooperation possible was the working conference. Pioneered by field conferences like those in Madras in 1900 and 1902 or in Shanghai from 1877 until 1907, working conferences were able to maintain an atmosphere of theological inclusiveness by restricting the partici-

pants' attention to common problems and common goals and by excluding questions involving matters of faith and ecclesiastical polity over which participants might disagree.[26] However, while such inclusiveness inspired some participants like Charles H. Brent, the originator of the Faith and Order Movement, to become apostles of Christian unity,[27] it also frightened others away. Some "faith" missions and some strongly individualistic societies had not become involved in the field conferences,[28] and many nondenominational societies which had attended found themselves theologically alienated from the spirit of Edinburgh, believing that the World Missionary Conference of 1910 evidenced too pronounced a commitment to denominational inclusiveness as well as to liberalism, modernism, and the social gospel.[30]

Consequently two types of associations emerged out of Edinburgh. The one, represented by the Continuation Committee, would eventually give rise to the World Council of Churches. The other, which lacked a central umbrella organization, was nevertheless able to secure a degree of cooperation among its various elements by founding several associations which, although distinct from one another, were able to find common ground sufficiently broad to allow significant cooperation. Ecumenism was simply too strong a force to be denied. Let us look briefly at these two streams.

On September 15, 1909, Dr. Theodore Oehler at Basel, chairman of the German missionary society *Ausschuss*, sent a memorandum to the Edinburgh preparation committee suggesting, as one speaking for the missionary societies of Continental Europe, that an International Committee to deal with international missionary issues be formed at the Edinburgh conference.[31] This proposal was the seed for what became the Continuation Committee. While not the international agency some of the Continentals had hoped for, the Continuation Committee as an advisory body[32] was expected to further the goodwill and cooperation among missions presaged at Edinburgh.[33] The World Missionary Conference ended on June 23, 1910. The first meeting of the Continuation Committee was held from June 24–25. During that meeting Dr. John R. Mott was elected chairman and Eugene Stock and Dr. Julius Richer were elected

vice-chairmen. At the request of the Continentals and the Anglo-Catholics, J.H. Oldman was appointed as its secretary. The positions of chairman and vice-chairman were held on a voluntary basis but Oldham's post was full-time and salaried.[34]

Although the Continuation Committee officially lasted until the International Missionary Council was formed in 1921,[35] its last meeting was held on the week of November 14, 1913 at the Hague. World War I effectively killed it.[36] However, during the four years of its active existence under Oldham, who worked out of offices at 100 Princes Street in Edinburgh, the Continuation Committee did its intended job well. Oldham edited and published the Edinburgh commission reports in nine volumes,[37] began to publish *The International Review of Missions* (the first number came out in January 1912), and sponsored a series of twenty-one regional and national meetings in Asia to encourage further cooperation among missionaries.[38] The conferences were themselves the stimulus which inspired national bodies across Asia to develop their own continuation committees. The National Christian Councils which were to be so instrumental in creating the International Missionary Council were almost with exception born from these continuation committees.[39]

Two parallel programs of significance to our story were also born out of the Edinburgh Conference of 1910: the Life and Work Movement which held its first meeting in Stockholm in 1925, and the Faith and Order Movement, associated as we saw above with Charles H. Brent, which convened in Lausanne in 1927.[40] These two movements attracted keen interests among the churches and over the years became increasingly ecclesiastical as those who were directly involved with the work of the movements tended to be delegates sent by the churches. The two bodies in 1937 proposed that a World Council of Churches be formed and that it be an organization in which only churches, not independent missionary societies, could be members. The International Missionary Council approved of the idea although under the provisions of its constitution it could not take a direct role in the plans which would create the WCC.[41] However, from the beginning the IMC did enjoy close cooperation with the WCC, and after the World Council of Churches became a reality in 1948 initiated negotiations with WCC representatives which

eventually opened the way for the International Missionary Council to become incorporated into the WCC as its Division of World Mission and Evangelism. This was accomplished at the New Delhi conference of 1961.[42]

In this way, through men like Mott, Oldham, and Brent, the Edinburgh Conference in 1910 led directly to the establishment of the World Council of Churches. Through them the cooperative spirit of Edinburgh, as uncalculated and enthusiastic as it was, had been incarnated as a bureaucracy and reborn as an international organization. But as we observed earlier there was a second stream which flowed from Edinburgh and which generated results that, though less well known, were to prove very significant. The second stream expressed the interests of missions that for whatever reason did not feel at home in the environment nurtured by the Continuation Committee, the International Missionary Council, and the Life and Work and the Faith and Order Committee.

Of particular interest here is the Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association (IFMA) of North America which as the first association of mission societies in North America would provide a vehicle which would allow cooperation among nondenominational missions.[43] As this is precisely what the Continuation Committee intended to do, it is worth pausing a moment to consider the rational behind this move.

According to Frizen, the organizers of the IFMA saw two principal justifications for their decision. First, during the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, the work of the nondenominational societies was slowly being assumed by denominational ones,[44] a development which led to a sense among nondenominational leaders that their work was being denigrated by the denominational missions.[45] This perspective was heightened when in 1898 and again in 1911 the Foreign Missions Conference of North America adopted constitutional provisions which had the effect of limiting membership in the FMCNA to denominational missions officers and reducing nondenominational representatives to the category of "corresponding members."[46] Second, many of the nondenominational societies had concerns about the theological direction being assumed by many of the denominations. After all, as we saw in

chapter 6, these were the decades that are now remembered for the growing rancor that was beginning to characterize the fundamentalist/modernist controversy in larger numbers of North American and British churches. According to Frizen many of these nondenominational societies were especially concerned to defend biblical inerrancy and premillennialism.[47]

In response to such concerns the Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association was formed in 1917. Growing out of a meeting held at the Philadelphia School of the Bible in Philadelphia on March 31 of that year, a meeting that had been called by a Wall Street stock broker named Paul H. Graef who, as a Presbyterian layman was a member of the board of the South Africa General Mission, the IFMA was created on September 29 in the prayer-room of the First Presbyterian Church of Princeton, New Jersey.[48] The doctrinal basis of the new organization as described in its Articles of Agreement was as follows:

> ➤ The plenary inspiration and divine authority of the Scriptures

> ➤ The Trinity, including the Deity of Christ

> ➤ The fall of man, his moral depravity and his need of regeneration

> ➤ The atonement, through the substitutionary death of Christ

> ➤ Justification, apart from works and by faith in Christ

> ➤ The bodily resurrection of Christ, and also of the saved and unsaved

> ➤ The unending life of the saved and the unending conscious punishment of the lost

> ➤ The personal premillennial coming of Christ[49]

How much less detailed was the basis of membership in the World Council of Churches as described in W.A. Visser't Hooft and as formulated at Utrecht in 1938! Churches could become members provide they accepted "our Lord Jesus Christ as God, and Savior." This basis was adopted from the Faith and Order Movement of Charles H. Brent[50] which was intentionally as broadly inclusive as possible. In 1961 at the third Assembly which met in New Delhi, that basis was somewhat refined to read:

...churches which confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God and
Savior according to the Scriptures and therefore seek to fulfill
together their common calling to the glory of the one God,
Father, Son and Holy Spirit.[51]

Apparently circumstances had vindicated, if only in a limited
way, some of the theological concerns of the nondenomina-
tional missions.

The African Inland Mission, the China Inland Mission, the
Inland South American Missionary Union, the South Africa Gen-
eral Mission, the Sudan Interior Mission, and the Woman's Union
Missionary Society were all represented at the IFMA's first organi-
zational meeting.[52] These were joined in the confirmation meet-
ing in 1918 by the Central American Mission,[53] and by the
Bolivian Indian Mission and the Evangelical Union of South
America in 1919 at the third annual meeting.[54] However,
although the Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association
saw itself as the champion of "faith" missions, and although it has
over the decades played its role well, it had two important limita-
tions. First, it did not allow Pentecostal or charismatic missions to
join. Second, although some of its founders were leaders in
denominational churches, the IFMA was primarily rooted among
independent churches. This meant that its theological posture
tended to be dominated by dispensationalism. Indeed, though
this was not the case in the beginning, the IFMA currently has no
societies with denominational sponsorship among its members.[55]

Such limitations meant that evangelical missionaries needed
a more inclusive organization than the IFMA. The Evangelical
Foreign Mission Association (EFMA) founded in 1945 answered
that need. For two years prior to 1945 the EFMA had functioned
as a commission of the National Association of Evangelicals, with
which it is still affiliated, and its headquarters in Washington, DC,
were opened by Clyde W, Taylor in 1944. The EFMA's statement
of faith which emphasizes the deity of Jesus Christ, the inspiration
of the Bible, the work of the Holy Spirit in the regeneration and
sanctification of the believer, and the spiritual unity of believers in
Jesus Christ, is identical to the statement of faith of the national
Association of Evangelicals (formed in 1942 by con- servative
denominations). Its origins among conservative denominations
means that the EFMA attracts denominationally sponsored mis-

sions. It also welcomes missions which are Pentecostal and charismatic. It welcomes noncharismatic missions, too, which means that some noncharismatic missions belong to both the IFMA and the EFMA. Such dual membership has encouraged cooperation between the two organizations, and even led in 1962 to the opening of a jointly sponsored office in Africa.[56]

The IFMA and the EFMA are not the only two associations of missions in the United States. In addition to those two there is the Division of Foreign Missions of the National Council of Churches of Christ, USA, which is the direct descendent of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America which first met in January 1893 and which became the NCCUSA's division of foreign missions in 1950. There is also the International Council of Christian Churches formed in 1948 under Dr. Cal McIntire whose Mission Commission in 1952 became known as The Associated Mission. The ICCC/TAM, which is intended to serve fundamentalist churches, has had a history marked by much internal discord. This discord in 1972 produced the Fellowship of Missions, which is a breakaway movement from The Associated Mission. The FOM membership is dispensational and largely Baptist. Finally, there is the Association of International Mission Services which was founded in 1985 and which hopes to provide services to independent churches which have emerged in America since the end of the 1950s.

However, a large number of evangelical missions do not belong to any of these organizations. Such missions include denominations like the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod and the Southern Baptist Convention, organizations like Wycliffe Translators International and the Summer Institute of Linguistics which were formed in 1942 and which, though initially associated with the IFMA, eventually withdrew, and Youth With A Mission which though it showed some interest in the late 1980s in joining the EFMA chose not to do so. Nor has Christian Missions in Many Lands, formed in 1921 and associated with the Plymouth Brethern, joined any of the six.

Plainly with few exceptions Protestant churches have discovered the benefits of cooperation. Nor, as we saw in chapter 3, is this a new discovery. Early on in the Protestant missionary endeavor a network among missionaries began to form, a network

from which not only the World Council of Churches would come, but also a host of other associations whose members, though they competed on one level, were happy to cooperate on another. Clearly the angry divisions which had been characteristic of Reformation denominations had died down and the churches left among those cooling fires recognized one another as Christian and were willing to work together for the furtherance of the gospel around the world.

Conclusion

In one sense all the churches created by the Reformation were Protestant churches. All were new, each was reacting to all the others, and none could genuinely claim universality or exclusive rights to the past. We saw in chapters 2 and 3 how the concept of a national church was embraced by several Protestant denominations as they sought to preserve their own territories within a larger and now fragmented Christendom, and how other churches and movements, e.g. the Catholic Church, the Moravians, or mission societies, scorned territorial Christianity and insisted that the great commission, which they argued applied to all the world, had yet to be fulfilled. We have seen how these various denominations gradually overcame the hard line distinctions by which they defined themselves and over the centuries primarily within the context of missionary work created a cooperative environment through which they sought to further the commission of Christ. We have seen how each element within the Western Church adapted itself to express this rising ecumenism. We have seen how even centuries old divisions like the ones between Roman Catholicism and the other churches, whether Eastern Orthodox or Western Protestant, have begun to dissipate. We have also seen in this chapter how during the twentieth century missions have produced ecumenism and how ecumenism has done much to breakdown the old barriers and reawaken an awareness in believers of what Robert Webber has called our common roots.

When Catholics and Protestants lived as rivals, it was easy for them to forget just how much their belief systems had in common. Both were Christian which meant they were not only

theists but theists who were Trinitarian. Both shared the same beliefs about Jesus: that he is the Messiah, the Son of God, the Second Person of the Trinity, the Redeemer of humankind (both believe that human beings need salvation and that Jesus has provided it), the Incarnation of God, and so forth. Both believe that the universe was created by God, that history is best modeled as a line with a beginning and an end, that because of Christ good has triumphed over evil and that good's triumph will result in the restoration of all things. And in the Old and New Testaments both share the same sacred narrative. This is not to say that significant differences do not remain. They do. But as Christian missionaries of all stripes have entered into fields to witness among faiths that are radically different from Christianity, they have discovered how much they agree upon.

One charming story of how missions serves to breakdown even barriers between Roman Catholics and Protestants was recorded in the June 1986 issue of *Life and Work*, published by the Church of Scotland. According to the account, Dr. Kenneth Stewart, an obstetrician from Stirling and a recently ordained elder, petitioned the General Assembly to disassociate itself from sections of the Westminster Confession which identified the Pope as "Anti-Christ—a man of sin and son of perdition" and that admonished Protestants against marrying Catholics. Dr. Stewart's concern was born partly of his having worked with a Roman Catholic mission in Zimbabwe. The Assembly approved Dr. Stewart's petition by an overwhelming majority. As far as the Church of Scotland is concerned, the Pope is no longer Anti-Christ.[57]

Toward a Theology of the Spirit

Introduction

But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is none of his. (Romans 8:9)

. . . for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life . . . Now the Lord is that Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. (II Corinthians 3:6b, 17)

For I know that this shall turn to my salvation through your prayer; and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ . . . (Philippians 1:19)

In these passages and many others Paul assumes that the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ are one Spirit, that the Holy Spirit[1] is the Spirit of Christ. Although there are only two direct references to the Holy Spirit (*ruah qodesh*) in the Old Testament (Psalm 51:11; Isaiah 63:10–11),[2] there are more that fifty direct references to the Spirit of God in the Old Testament, and many more than that in the New. In the Old Testament the Spirit of God, which, as George Smeaton has pointed out, "is always introduced as the Personal Creative Spirit of God,"[3] is associated with creation, inspiration and prophetic activity, and renewing power. In the New Testament, particularly in the fourteenth through the sixteenth chapters of the gospel of John, Jesus reaffirms all these roles that the Comforter (whom he specifically

identifies with the Holy Spirit (John 14:26) will perform, and
Jesus makes it clear that the revelatory focus of the Holy Spirit is
Jesus himself (John 15:26). It is clear that Jesus in these chapters
understand the Holy Spirit in terms of personality.

Plainly the Spirit of God, that is the Holy Spirit, is of pri-
mary importance in the pages of Scripture and in the life of
believers and non-believers alike. Therefore it seems odd that
until recently the Holy Spirit played so small a role in Chris-
tian theology. The Nicean Creed formulated in 325 is per-
haps the central creed of the Church. Let us look at what it
says about the Holy Spirit.

> I believe in one God: the Father Almighty, maker
> of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and
> invisible; And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only
> begotten Son of God: begotten of the Father be-
> fore all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, very
> God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one
> substance (homoousia) with the Father, through
> whom all things were made; who for us men and
> for our salvation came down from heaven, and was
> incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary,
> and was made man, and was crucified also for us
> under Pontius Pilate, he suffered and was buried,
> and the third day he rose again according to the
> Scriptures, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth
> on the right hand of the Father; and he shall come
> again with glory, to judge both the quick and the
> dead; whose kingdom shall have no end. And I
> believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, the giver of
> life, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son
> (Filioque), who with the Father and the Son to-
> gether is worshipped and glorified, who spake by
> the prophets. And I believe in one holy catholic
> and apostolic Church. I acknowledge one baptism
> for the remission of sins. And I look for the resur-
> rection of the dead and the life of the world to
> come. Amen.

The Holy Spirit is confessed as the agent of the incarnation. He is to be believed in as the Lord who gives life and he is to be worshipped. His relationship to the other Persons of the Trinity is elucidated and, we are told that it was by him the prophets spoke. The Apostles' Creed which took its final form in the eighth century merely asserts that the Holy Ghost is to be believed in.[4] And in fact, for much of the history of the Church little more has been said.

During the patristic period one finds a recognition that the Holy Spirit inspired the apostles and empowers the church, and during the Reformation one finds an emphasis on the Holy Spirit as teacher of each individual, partly because the Reformers were reacting to the Roman Catholic emphasis on church tradition, and partly because of the influence of nominalism. I will cite two examples to illustrate my point. The first is the desert fathers. The second is John Calvin.

Christian monasticism grew out of the experience of the desert fathers, the first of whom was St. Anthony the Great, a Copt who, sometime around 260, after hearing a sermon based on Christ's command to "sell all you have and follow me" did just that, retiring to the desert to pursue silence, solitude, and austerity. He had many followers and imitators. These desert fathers established isolated communities throughout Egypt, until eventually the movement spread beyond Egypt and into Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor. St. Anthony died around 356 at the age of 105. Sometime around the year 360 John Cassian was born. Though the writings of Jerome, Rufinus, and Palladius were also influential, the writings of John Cassian were the most important in spreading the monastic ideal to the West.

One might expect that the meditations of the desert fathers would be a rich source of insight into the Holy Spirit, but it is not so. Even though St. Anthony was acknowledged as being "spirit borne," a designation that meant he was graced with supernatural knowledge about both the present and the future, we are told that he would never speak with others about this.[5] We read of another desert father Abba Arsenius that he was a good man and filled with the Holy Spirit.[6] We read that Abba Ephrem spoke by the Holy Spirit.[7] We read

that the Holy Spirit would descend upon Abba Zacharias or rest above him while he prayed.[8] We read that Abba John said that the Holy Spirit renews men when he descends into their hearts.[9] We read that Abba Longinus told Abba Acacius that when the Holy Spirit is conceived in the soul, the soul ceases to release sinful passions.[10] Abba Orsisius warns his hearers the soul neglects spiritual things for too long, the Holy Spirit will slowly withdraw his presence.[11] Abba Poemen once told the other fathers that the Holy Spirit spoke through one of the psalms.[12] And we read that the Holy Spirit aids one in having spiritual discernment.[13] And that is all. Though (or perhaps because) these men understood themselves to be warriors in a spiritual battle, they had not developed a theology of the Holy Spirit that went much beyond what one reads in Scripture.

Calvin in his *Institutes* tells us that the Holy Spirit and Scripture agree with one another, that fanatics wrongly appeal to the Holy Spirit instead of to Scripture,[14] that the Spirit demonstrates his eternal divinity by his works,[15] that the Holy Spirit is the bond that unites us to Christ,[16] that Jesus himself was endowed by the Holy Spirit,[17] that the Holy Spirit's principle work is faith but that he also acts as our teacher,[18] and aids us in our prayers,[19] that the Holy Spirit in the sacraments enables them to properly fulfill their office, that office being to increase and confirm our faith,[20] and that the Holy Spirit, not the waters of baptism, is the living water that renews us and prepares us for the Kingdom.[21] This demonstrates some theological development particularly as the Bible, and the sacraments are related to the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, it represents little progress over fifteen hundred years.

And that is the point. During the first fifteen hundred years of the church, the primary focus of Christian theology was the Son, the Father, the human condition, the nature of salvation, and the church. The Holy Spirit played a secondary role as the third and neglected member of the Trinity. But starting with the pietists in the seventeen century that began to change. From the seventeenth century to the present the Holy Spirit has been emphasized, sometimes in ways that are unusual and that many find disturbing. We will argue in Section A of this

chapter that the origins of this emphasis can be traced to three sources, each of which builds upon the other: pietism and revivals, missions, and the Pentecostal/charismatic movement. We will also argue that the Spirit's role in this developing theology is seen as preparatory, unifying, and empowering. Then in Section B we will argue that the Holy Spirit has been central in the development of post-Protestant churches, the very churches, we will contend, that will shape Christianity in the future.

Section A
Pneumatological Roots, Charismatic Fruits

As we saw in chapter 2, the pietist movement was the original inspiration for the revivals. The pietists, recognizing the need for a life experience more attuned to God, separated themselves into communities where they could seek closer fellowship with God often through following certain spiritual exercises. In this they were not unlike the earlier monastics except that the communities established by the pietists did not enjoin their members to chastity. These spiritual exercises were published and distributed to those outside the communities and became the occasion for other publications intended to provided guidelines to help people establish a higher level of life within the larger community. These texts inspired preachers like Theodore J. Frelinghuysen and John Wesley, who in turn presented the pietist vision to their congregations. And those congregations, recognizing their own failures and needs, responded. Thus the revivals were born. Behind these closely related movements was the idea of the Holy Spirit in his role as the one who reproves the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment (John 16:8–11), and who, having reproved the world, shows the convicted hearer the crucified savior. There is also the expectation that the Holy Spirit will empower that hearer to live in a way that conforms more closely the ethic of love held up by Christ in his role as teacher. These ideas were linked with two equally powerful ideas: the idea that mass conversions would have a positive impact on the larger society, and the idea that the Holy Spirit brooded over the processes of

history to accomplish his purposes. Taken together these various concepts expressed a new millennial vision: post-millennialism. Post- millennialism was pietism applied to society. In this vision the Holy Spirit had a central role to play: he was the source of righteous creative power.

He was also the source of missions. When the Moravian pioneers carried the gospel into the world, they went with the conviction that the Holy Spirit was the only true missionary, and that if he had not prepared the way, they could expect no response among those they sought to reach.[22] When Jonathan Edwards in 1747 published his call for united and extraordinary prayer, he argued that although the Spirit was withheld at the time he was writing, much earnest prayer would release the Spirit in preparation for God's final works in history.[23] When Andrew Fuller in 1785 argued that even sinners have a duty to believe in Jesus Christ, he nevertheless insisted that everyone needed to be regenerated by the Holy Spirit for "there is nothing available done by the word without the enlightening of the Holy Spirit."[24] Indeed, he stressed that it "requires *the exceeding greatness of divine power* to enable a sinner to believe."[25] William Carey, relying on Fuller's insights in his own *Enquiry* (1792), sought to justify missions not through an appeal to the duty of Christians to obey Christ's commands, but also on the expectation that, in response to fervent prayer, the Holy Spirit would cleanse God's servants for the work at hand even has he opened the world to them through the medium of navigation and commerce.[26] From the beginning, the Holy Spirit was understood to be the key empowering agent of the Protestant missionary enterprise.

And of course, as we saw in chapter 6, the Holy Spirit has been the key focus of the Pentecostal/charismatic revivals of this century. The literature generated by the movement is rife with references to "the gifts of the Spirit" or to "signs and wonders" done through believers who act as agents for the Holy Spirit, so much so that a mere recitation of references to establish the point is unnecessary and, if attempted, would be overwhelming and tedious. Instead I will refer to one book by William A.C. Rowe who was a minister in the Apostolic Church for thirty-eight years before dying unexpectedly at the age of 58 in 1960.

His book, entitled *One Lord, One Faith* is, I think, representative of much of what one will find in the general literature.

Rowe begins unsurprisingly with a discussion of the Godhead. What is surprising is the way he orders his priorities in that discussion. Chapter 1 "The Glory of the Godhead" establishes God's existence, God's qualities, God's abilities, God's triune nature, and the equality of the three persons within the Godhead. Chapters 2 and 3 are about the Holy Spirit. Chapter 2 is entitled "The Holy Spirit—Deity and Personality." Chapter 3 is entitled "The Work of the Holy Spirit." That ends the discussion of the Godhead. From there Rowe takes us into a discussion of human nature, a discussion that comprises the second section of the book. He does not discuss Christ until Section Three. However, the discussion on Christ is preliminary to a discussion of salvation, and the purpose of salvation is empowerment by the Holy Spirit. The baptism of the Holy Spirit (section five) makes possible the giving of his gifts (section six). There follows a discussion of the sacraments (section seven), the Scriptures (section eight), church government (section nine), the possibility of falling from grace (section ten), tithes and offerings (section eleven), and divine healing (section twelve). The book then closes with a supplementary section that briefly covers four topics: the history of the church, the missionary movement, membership in the church, and the importance of Christian fellowship.

The Apostolic Church is securely within the parameters of orthodox Christianity. The Church is Trinitarian, affirms a sound Christology within a fundamentalist understanding of the Bible, and sees its own history against the background of a much larger church. Its members are comfortable with all aspects of the Apostles' Creed. While it believes that in establishing the Apostolic office, it has rediscovered an important element in church government, it nevertheless affirms the true church as "the mystical Body of Christ, which overruns all boundaries of all Christian companies and fellowships . . ." Even though in the outward sense there may be many Churches, there is, Rowe asserts firmly, only one Body.[27] What is genuinely distinctive here is not the specific content of Rowe's teaching but his emphasis. Most churches believe that

tithing is important, but few address an entire section to the question when they formulate their theology. And most Christian traditions would understand the salvation secured for us by Jesus Christ as the definitive triumph of good over evil in God's plan to restore creation, to guarantee or eternal fellowship with him, and to glorify himself, and not as a prelude to his giving us spiritual power.

Indeed the Pentecostal shift has been away from redemption and Jesus and toward the Holy Spirit and power. Jesus came to loose the Holy Spirit. Redemption was a preliminary requirement to power. Initially such power was manifested in victory over sin. Our eschatological triumph in Christ had specific and current moral consequences. As Donald Dayton has described it, Wesleyan soteriology was a form of "realized eschatology."[28] But as revival excitement swept from one generation to the next, ecstatic experiences became accepted and then expected. When the Spirit descended he brought rapturous prayer, prophecies, healing, supernatural insight, and so forth. Indeed, such manifestations were understood as tokens that assured his presence. In the process Pentecostal fervor superseded pietism's emphasis. The Holy Spirit came not only or even primarily to apply Christ's victory in our lives but to bestow his gifts. In the process the message of the missionaries changed. It is the charismatic church with its stress on spiritual power that dominates throughout much of the world.

Section B
Holy Spirit Churches and the
Christianity of Tomorrow

The spread of Pentecostalism has been one of the extraordinary religious phenomena of the twentieth century. David Martin has noted that although Puritanism and Methodism acquired cultural influence in Latin America, they did not easily adapt to Latin America's cultural milieu and remained small while Pentecostalism adapted easily and has enjoyed massive numerical growth.[29] David Stoll notes that by the 1960s three quarters of all Latin American Protestants were Pentecostal.[30] Martin points out that this emerging church tradition that

has been planted by major missionary movements emanating from Dallas, Texas, and the Old South,[31] and argues that it has been made possible by the breakdown of the unity between religion and national identity forged in Spain's 800 year struggle against Islam as well as by the general deregulation on religion.[32] However, David Stoll, though he would not disagree with Martin's historical analysis, argues that by the end of the 1980s most Pentecostals in Latin America were no longer dominated by missionaries. He notes that that between the 1960s and the 1980s most Pentecostals had become members of churches that had separated from missionary dominated churches.[33] For this and a host of other reasons, Stoll understands Pentecostalism as empowering the powerless.

It is much the same, as we have seen, in Africa. The most Christianized continent in the world, Africa is also the most charismatic. To be Christian in Africa today is almost inevitably to be Pentecostal. And there, too, Pentecostalism expresses itself as people power. While Pentecostalism is not so pronounced in India, its advent, as we argued in chapter 4, was an important step in the maturity of the Indian church, and the constant challenge Pentecostal churches pose to non-Pentecostal ones (a challenge often describe in terms of "sheep stealing") helps keep non-Pentecostal leaders alert to the spiritual state of their flock. And India serves as a microcosm of much of Asia. Pentecostalism also shapes significant numbers of churches in Oceania. And of course it is a major factor in North American churches. Nor is the charismatic/Pentecostal movement unique to Protestantism. It has emerged among Catholics and Eastern Orthodox churches as well. And there are even reports of Mormons experiencing glossolalia and ecstatic worship. In fact, there seems little reason to doubt that Pentecostalism will define in an even greater way the shape of the church in the next century.

There are at least four causes that can help us account for Pentecostalism's extraordinary success.

> ➤ Pentecostalism, by encouraging congregational freedom, stressing local spontaneity, and emphasizing experience and participation, fits well into both pre-modern and post-modern contexts.

➤ Pentecostalism assumes a world view that makes it very compatible with the world views its missionaries encounter in many regions of the globe.

➤ Pentecostals assume what Elizabeth Tyson has called an Augustinian model of conversion, a model which assumes the innate cultural relevance of the gospel.

➤ Pentecostals tend to be more nearly on a level with those they seek to evangelize. Let us discuss each of these factors in turn.

Subsection 1

Pentecostalism as a Post-Modernist and Pre-Modernist Phenomenon

Post-modernism, by stressing the local over the universal and emphasizing the multiplicity of intellectual options, the provisional and interpretative nature of truth statements, and the potential to distortion inherent in any systematization of knowledge, has created an environment conducive to the spread of charismatic faiths. Pentecostalism relies on the subjective, the particular, the ecstatic, and the intuitive. For this reason it is comfortable with pluralism which is one of the reasons Pentecostalism has had such a profound ecumenical impact. The same Spirit inspires but inspires in various contexts and with prayers and messages appropriate to those contexts. Hence in Pentecostalism the local predominates over the universal. While as a Christian phenomenon Pentecostalism affirms a metanarrative, it also allows significant freedom for interpreting that metanarrative. Nor has the movement over the last century generated much in the way of systematic theology.

Evangelicalism's ambiguous response to postmodernism is worth noting here. On the one hand evangelicals have been critical of postmodernism's rejection of metanarrative and its denial of objective truth. Such elements within post-modernism set it squarely at odds not only with evangelicalism but with Christianity in general. On the other hand, evangelicals have been very appreciative of postmodernism's critique of modernity and have applauded postmodernism's analysis of those presuppositions that lie at the heart of modernism's interpretation of the world. Many evangelicals are delighted with the

postmodernist's assertion that even natural science is no more than a very successful culturally constructed way of knowing. And the postmodern insistence that no autonomous human epistemology can hope to attain universality is a position that resonates well with Christian theological assumptions. My own assessment is based on the belief that postmodernism is more friendly to Christianity than not. Postmodernism, it seems to me, works best as an explanation of the conditioned nature of interpretations that may be provisionally true but which also are distinct from, though dependent on, the "really real." Christianity after all is an incarnational faith with almost unlimited cultural adaptability.[34]

Premodernist societies share certain characteristics with post-modernist ones.[35] Their metaphysical focus is local, and, if they are often intolerant of dissent within that local group, they are fully aware that other groups conceive the world in ways different from their own. Hence they recognize at least implicitly intellectual variety. Their ways are appropriate to them, but the ways of others are appropriate to others. They conceptualize relations in terms of their own traditions and preserve those traditions using stories that, though for mnemonic reasons are highly stylized and ritualistic (that is to say stories as rule-bound as any philosophical system), remain flexible enough to allow for interpretive variety. And many such societies, because they accept the existence of the sacred language of power, have an implicit awareness of the world structuring capacity of speech. Again, Pentecostalism has enjoyed a favorable response in such societies. It has served as a vehicle for empowering and revitalizing local communities at the same time it establishes links between those communities and the rest of the world. Its use of choruses complements traditional mnemonic devices while introducing new ideas that are general enough to be interpreted flexibly. And glossolalia along with ecstatic prayer enables traditional concepts of sacred language to be integrated into the new paradigm.

In short, as we move past the Enlightenment assumptions that laid the groundwork of modernism, we are entering a world that seems peculiarly hospitable to Pentecostal/charis-

matic movements. We should expect then that such move-
ments will predominate in the future.

Pentecostalism's Worldview

While not all Pentecostals would identify themselves as funda-
mentalists, especially given the pejorative connotations re-
cently attached to that word by media mavens, all would
embrace a world view indistinguishable from the world view of
fundamentalism. The world view of the Pentecostal, like the
world view of other conservative Christians, is a world view
informed primarily by the Bible. The universe as modeled by
Pentecostals is opened to God's direct intervention and inhab-
ited by all manner of spirits. For the Pentecostal the world is an
arena for spiritual forces that have personalities. These spirits
can be beseeched or commanded and are allied to or opposed
to various human groups. Some of these spirits, the Holy Spirit
or demonic ones, are able to possess human beings and control
them.[36] Most seem able at least on occasion to communicate
with human beings. And they are the ultimate agents behind
events as well as the decisive factors effecting temporal bless-
ings and temporal evils.

   The Bible is a collection of texts going back between two
to three thousand years when such a world view was common
to all humanity. The inspired writers accepted that world
view. While their use of such assumptions need not be the
basis of affirming that God thereby confirmed their ontologi-
cal validity (they could be interpreted as another example of
God's gracious condescension), it is nevertheless true that the
most natural way to read the Bible is to assume the reality of
such a world. By accepting the Bible on that level Pentecostals
accept a world view that dovetails at many points with the one
assumed by pre-modernists. This shared world view simplifies
gospel presentation considerably.

   The world view emphasizes spiritual power as an immedi-
ately experienced reality. Such power is evidenced in miracu-
lous and often sudden healing, in demonic possession and
exorcism, in a strong sense of divine providence and guidance

often through omens or signs, in prophetic words and dreams, in angelic visitations and so on. The very things modernists viewed as relics of a dying past have reemerged as part of a thriving and compelling paradigm. Within such a paradigm the Holy Spirit enjoys immense credibility. At the same time modern physics' demonstration that energy and matter are different modes of the same underlying quality of being has rendered moot the puzzle of how spirit and matter interact. When matter was viewed as passive substance upon which energy worked, Gilbert Ryles's dismissive phrase "the ghost in the machine," intended as a gibe at Decartes, had some persuasive force, but now that the conception of passive matter has itself been superseded, the sneer has lost its power. If matter and energy are expressions of the same thing, why assume that the world is closed to spiritual entities or that spirits, even if they did visit the material world, would be unable to act in it? One of the great intellectual shifts that characterizes the last decades of the twentieth century has been the shift away from material interpretations of the cosmos and toward spiritual ones. Against this backdrop Pentecostalism has flourished.

Subsection 3

Pentecostalism's Model of Conversion

Pentecostal missions assume what Elizabeth Tyson calls an Augustine model of contextualisation or enculturation, words Dr. Tyson uses as synonyms. Building on Augustine's assertion that all souls are restless until they find their rest in God, such a model of contextualisation assumes that only the God of the Christians is the universal remedy for such universal restlessness. This makes the "simple gospel" innately culturally relevant for "its timeless message of saving power" is perennially appropriate.[37] If the gospel is explained in the hearer's own language, the hearer will understand and be able to respond to it.

The adjective indigenous is used to indicate that something originates in or is characteristic of a particular region or country, that the item in question is innate or natural to an area. For something to be indigenized means that it has become so much like an original part of the environment that it can no longer be

easily distinguished from that which is native. Missionaries, because they are involved in a cross-cultural enterprise where ideas are to be communicated from one people to another, often speak of the importance of indigenizing the gospel in order to facilitate evangelism. To indigenize the gospel is to translate its message not just into the local language but into the local thought-forms so that local people can more readily grasp its meaning and importance and so that it will seem less alien and less threatening to local culture and customs. Indigenization occurs naturally as people reflect upon and appropriate concepts or practices from other cultures, but the process can also be advanced by missionaries themselves as they learn about local ways of thinking and begin to tailor the gospel to fit those ways. Successful indigenization occurs when the essence of the gospel has been translated from one culture to another and yet no part of the essential gospel message has been lost or compromised.

This makes the Augustinian model as described by Dr. Tyson seem inadequate as a universal missionary formula. There are simply too many issues it fails to address. Primary among such issues is the matter of relevancy. The Augustinian model simple asserts that the gospel is innately culturally relevant, but it is not. Before the gospel can be relevant to people, those people must be asking the kinds of questions that the gospel can answer. Such questions are themselves shaped by a host of factors including culture and life experience. They are also often engendered by an incipient or even fully formed agnosticism. After all, if one is entirely satisfied with one's religious beliefs, one seldom questions them deeply, and to one who is not in the process of questioning, the missionary has little to say. That is why missionary faiths have a tendency to spread during times of cultural disruption. During such times old answers lose their credibility and people seek new solutions.

We might expect such a model of evangelization to be successful where events had prepared the way for it, in Christianized regions like North and South America, for example, where Christian concepts are part of the culture, or in India where subjectivity dominates, or in Africa where traditions of spirit possession are well established, and that is exactly what we find. Recall, too, the charge of "sheep stealing" often leveled

against Pentecostal churches. That allegation makes sense if Pentecostal missionaries build on the work of other Christians. The Holy Spirit, we might suggest, comes with power upon those who are already believers and who have been prepared by the Spirit to receive his blessings. One may suggest that Pentecostal missions may be missions not in Paul's sense of preaching the gospel where the name of Christ is yet unknown (Romans 15:20), but is more akin to a mission where one plants and another waters (I Corinthians 3:6). It has tended to revive rather than convert. Again this would suggest that Pentecostalism expresses an important element of the church of the future. In the end the Christianity spread by eighteenth and nineteenth century Protestant missions was not Protestantism. The issues that defined Protestantism were too reactive and historically conditioned to make it an enduring Christian expression. Instead those missionaries were preparing the way for the Pentecostal church.

Subsection 4

The Egalitarian Faith

On Monday evening, June 20, 1910, the Indian pastor V.S. Azariah rose to speak before the Assembly Hall in Edinburgh where the first World Mission Conference was drawing to a close. His address, though filling less than ten printed pages, is remembered until today. He began by observing:

> The problem of race relationships is one of the most serious problems confronting the Church to-day. The bridging of the gulf between the East and the West, and the attainment of a greater unity and common ground in Christ as the great Unifier of mankind, is one of the deepest needs of our time. Cooperation between the foreign and native workers can only result from proper relationship. Co-operation is ensured when the personal, official, and spiritual relationships are right, and is hindered when these relationships are wrong.[38]

And he closed with these words:

> Through all the ages to come the Indian Church will rise up in gratitude to attest the heroism and self-denying labours of the missionary body. You have given your goods to feed the poor. You have given your bodies to be burned. We also ask for *love*. Give us FRIENDS![39]

It seems a strange request. Surely the heroism Rev. Azariah commended and the sacrificial acts that so impressed him could only be explicable if they were understood as expressions of love. But it is not a strange request, for Rev. Azariah based his remarks on the thirteenth chapter of I Corinthians. There Paul says that even if one does all things but has not love, what one does is empty. Too often missionaries have evidenced great faith, shown great wisdom, endured great hardships, and gained great knowledge, but have failed to evidence love for those to whom they brought the gospel. While true of all missions, and of all Christians in general, it has perhaps been less true of Spirit-filled Christians. Levels of friendliness are next to impossible to quantify, but the striking success of Pentecostal missions suggests that one of the factors to take into account is the sheer excitement and good will charismatic Christians convey. Evidence for such a conclusion is primarily anecdotal but there is at least one study that points in that direction. We will refer to it but let us begin first with a preliminary note about education.

In a world that demands ever more education, generally of a very specialized sort, Pentecostal missionaries stand out. Though many, especially recently, claim advanced degrees, numerous of the most successful ones earlier this century could boast little in the way of advanced education. Interestingly this lack does not seem to have hampered their outreach. Why this should be is unclear but we can suggest a couple of reasons that might help to explain it. First, Pentecostals, believing that the Holy Spirit had prepared the way for them, were not theory bound. They went out with a message they considered exciting and one they assumed would excite their hearers. That kind of enthusiasm is contagious. Second, Pentecostalism is a people's movement. This means that it may move more easily among the common people of all regions than a more elitist form of Christian faith would.

Interestingly both possibilities have been investigated by John Kayser. After an exhaustive examination of criteria that may result in missionary success, he notes:

> [C]ourses in church planting and cross-cultural evangelism tend to be theory-bound and inadequate for the realities of the field. Once on the field, missionaries may find that parameters of knowledge, assumptions, and experience change so that what was understood as acceptable ministry knowledge and skill no longer fits.[40]

And describing "a certain tentativeness" toward cross-cultural projects that is "likely to occur" among missionaries who have acquired a high level of identification with national cultural values, Kayser concludes:

> [A missionary's] very sensitivity to nationals can cause enough internal pressures to hinder making close national friends . . . [N]ationals did not seem to mind frankness, as long as there was genuine interpersonal enjoyment. Apparently too much sensitivity to personal, interpersonal, and cultural values can be a hindrance to effective, competent ministry.[41]

Whatever else it is, Pentecostalism is joyful. It is a movement that not only sings but also dances as it celebrates new life in the Holy Spirit. And it is a movement that expresses this joy within a faith context that experiences the basic equality among all people. It is one thing to assert that all are equal before God. It is another thing to experience that equality as the Holy Spirit fills first one vessel, then another, without regard to social standing, sex, or race. The Holy Spirit breaks down such barriers, and reunites his people into an organic aggregate of praise. This means that Pentecostalism more than other expressions of Christian faith incarnates the egalitarian assumptions that seem to have taken roots in both the post-modern and the post-colonial worlds.

Conclusion

We have argued in this chapter that the contemporary emphasis on the Holy Spirit is something new. We have argued that such an emphasis has its roots in revivalism and, prior to revivalism, in pietism. We have argued that when Protestant missionaries went into the world to share their understanding of the gospel, their way was prepared by the Holy Spirit and the churches they planted assumed the power of the Holy Spirit as a living immediate reality. We have argued that in the process there was a shift away for themes that emphasized redemption in Christ and toward themes that emphasized empowerment by the Holy Spirit. We have argued that such themes, predicated on the assumption that the age to come could be experienced at least in part by the believer now, found comprehending listeners in both pre-modern and post-modern contexts. We have argued that to a significant degree this was because Pentecostalism emerged with the birth of the post-modern world and shared a world view similar to the world view of pre-modern societies, a factor that made it more relevant in the late twentieth century than modernism, itself an attempt to adapt the Christian faith to modernist assumptions, has been. We have argued that Pentecostalism, emphasizing both spiritual power and joy was born from within an already established Christian context, thus it tended to revive rather than convert. We have argued that the Holy Spirit's ministry issued in experiences of spiritual power and expressions of rapture and joy. And we have contended that its influence in the contemporary church will only increase in the next century. Pentecostalism is post-Protestant Christianity.

The Shape of
Post-Protestant Faiths

Introduction

Protestant missions were born in the midst of unprecedented change. They were closely associated with political and religious dissent and would be central in reshaping the tradition in which they were rooted. Protestant missions became one of the most successful movements in history, so successful in fact that it transcended itself. It is because of the success of that movement that we can speak of a post-Protestant Christianity.

In the preceding chapters we have looked at the origins of Protestant missions and have examined the impact of that missionary movement in three regions of the globe: India, sub-Sahara west Africa, and North America. We have seen how the faith was shaped as it spread through the cultural complexes defining those regions. And we have observed that the church and the faith that has so far emerged in the course of that interaction is different from the church and the faith that began the process. Now it is time to bring together these various strands and evaluate the significance of what we have seen.

From the beginning Christianity was an urban religion. The faith as related in the book of Acts was carried from city to city, and the first congregations were urban. Only much later did the faith make significant inroads among the rural population. Thus it should not surprise us to find that changes in Europe's urban centers were among the earliest heralds of this

new shift in the faith. The initial transformation was intellec-
tual. Developing urban centers provided an economic basis for
universities increasingly independent of the Church. These
universities became centers through which the new learning
buttressed by the Renaissance spread. Subsequent to the
Renaissance there was a shift away from Christianity among
Europe's elite. This shift was encouraged in part by the Renais-
sance's rediscovery of classical learning with all its paganism,
and in part by speculations made possible by those independ-
ent universities. Such speculations were fed as Europe's vision
of the world had expanded. A deep shadow fell over earlier
Christian conceptions of history. Over time Europe's upper
classes became increasingly pagan and post-Christian. The reli-
gious justification for the Reformation became less meaningful
to them and its political arguments could be bolstered from
sources other than the Bible or Church tradition. Nor were the
lower classes immune from such influences.

However, Renaissance humanism was not secular human-
ism. The Renaissance exercised a profound and even purifying
impact on Europe's Christian faith. The Renaissance's empha-
sis on original languages sparked a movement to replace the
Latin Vulgate of Jerome with vernacular Bibles that relied on
earlier Greek and Hebrew texts. Many among the artisans and
the commercial classes were learning to read, a phenomenon
that with the advent of the printing press and vernacular Bibles
resulted in a more personalized Christian faith. As this hap-
pened new ideas about the cosmos as well as the Christian faith
itself were being spread abroad. This intellectual and theologi-
cal fecundity is a long term trend that has continued until
today. That fecundity was complimented by the emergence of
the nation state. Christendom was fracturing and would soon
plant its fragments abroad. In the process Christianity and the
world would be changed forever. International trade was one of
the two most significant factors in facilitating that change. Mis-
sions, both Protestant and Catholic, was the other.

In this study we have focused on one aspect of that change,
what we have called post-Protestantism. Post-Protestant ver-
sions of Christianity began to emerge at the end of the eigh-
teenth century. Such faiths have several characteristics that set

them apart from traditional Protestantism. They view the church as a voluntary society. They are strongly motivated by evangelical and missionary concerns. They emphasize the work of the Holy Spirit. They have a powerful eschatological vision. They are keenly aware of the way culture influences hermeneutics and as such tend to think of their own traditions as definitive for a proper understand of the Bible though for the most part they recognize the subordinate validity of divergent views. In other words, they have embraced a Catholic approach to tradition and a Protestant acceptance of variety. Post-Protestant traditions, though viewing their own formulations as the most authentic, have grown more tolerant of their rivals. Indeed, it is far from uncommon for people in the various traditions to move among the traditions and to admit that adherents of the various traditions can have a salvific relationship with God. It is not doctrine that saves but Jesus. Doctrine, though important, is the way we understand what Jesus does. While these two tendencies would seem to be at odds with one another, in practice they seem to cause little friction. Two things make this possible: the recognition among more and more people of how culture conditions our thoughts, and the near universal insistence that faith must be experienced to be authentic. True believers may understand their faith differently, but they share the same faith.

It is now time to examine briefly some of those characteristics that when taken together identify post-Protestant faiths.

Characteristic I
Millennialism

Eschatology has had a powerful influence on the shape of post-Protestant faiths. It inherited this emphasis from Protestantism. Early Protestantism conceived of itself as an end times movement and interpreted events in which it was involved as harbingers of the culmination of history. The Catholic Church was the whore of Babylon. The Pope was the anti-Christ. And the new Jerusalem would be built on earth itself. This eschatological immediacy was something new. It ran counter to the amillennial position Protestantism had inherited from the historical church. After all, amillennialism was intended to obviate

the urgency of biblical eschatological symbols, but Protestants, keenly aware of the cosmic and revolutionary enterprise in which they were engaged, were inevitably drawn to such symbols. Postmillennialism was the result. Against the interpretive background of postmillennialism were the newly discovered regions of the globe, particularly North America with its large and growing British presence and its revivals. Out of this matrix, as we have seen, came Protestant missions.

Missionaries as they went into the world believed they were taking not just the gospel of God, but a culture that because of its long exposure to the gospel was "Christianized" and hence superior. They anticipated that as the gospel took hold in other cultures, those cultures, too, would become "Christianized." Christ's commission of his church at the end of the gospel of Matthew was a favorite passage. In that verse, they argued, Christ was not speaking of individual believers but of whole nations. Nations themselves were to be brought under gospel rule. Many of these missionaries were inspired by the "social gospel" that originated in the United States. This new version of the gospel, reflecting American utopianism, expressed perfectly postmillennial expectations. The church, they believed, was the divinely appointed agent to perfect human society and in the process to bring in the millennium in preparation of Christ. This eschatological optimism dominated nineteenth century Protestantism. It has not dominated twentieth century faith.

As the Protestant empire in North America faded and postmillennialism died in the First World War, a new national entity began to assume preeminence. If North America had a key role to play in eighteenth and nineteenth century post-millennialism, Israel had a momentous one to play in twentieth century premillennialism. Premillennialism went back to the first century church but through most subsequent history it had been eclipsed by its amillennial alternative. Though through the course of that history premillennialism occasionally attracted fringe groups, it had by the end of the nineteenth century become resurgent. In North America and Britain the dispensational framework for interpreting biblical prophecy was so dominant that in the minds of many adherents dispensationalism and premillennialism became synonyms.

These millennial expectations have not remained in North America. Instead missionaries have exported them over the world. The forms they have taken in other cultures have not always been the same as the forms they took in the sending nations. Occasionally indigenous prophet figures, as we saw in Africa, have claimed significant millennial roles for themselves and their people. But the millennial focus, always drawing its ultimate authority from prophetic Bible texts, remains recognizable.

We suggest then that millennialism is a characteristic of post-Protestant faiths. Those who embrace such faiths live in the expectation of the immanent culmination of history and often see themselves as having a special—even central—purpose that will be revealed and/or actualized by end time events. Whether they conceive themselves to be agents of a global social reformation as the United Methodist Church does,[1] or as an ark of refuge in an ever darkening and chaotic world as many Baptist churches do, post-Protestant faiths are generally millenarian faiths.

Characteristic II
Church as Voluntary Society

As we saw in chapter 3, the missionary church has re-imagined itself not as the center of human society (it will take the eschaton to change that) but as one society within the larger community. The church is a society to which one chooses to belong. This factor of choice means that the church must provide real and immediate benefits. Like any service provider, it must meet the needs of its members if it is to survive. To do this the church must provide both stability and flexibility, assurance and versatility, refuge and challenge, and it must maintain these various stances simultaneously while providing for its own financial support. Consequently, As Roger Fink and Rodney Stark have pointed out in *The Churching of America 1776–1990*, successful churches in a religious free market incorporate, compete, and sell themselves. This means paradoxically that some of the most successful churches are the ones that impose the highest costs. People who are willing to pay such costs value what they pay for. Hence the high costs imposed by such churches both express

and create contentment. The more demanding churches tend to thrive. Religious competition creates religious vigor.

One of Christianity's greatest and most enduring temptations is to become too comfortable in the culture in which it finds itself. The Christian message is so radical, as Kenneth Scott Latourette has pointed out, that it is never at home anywhere.[2] Yet that message must be presented in a credible way, it must be explained, its relevance must be demonstrated. During that process the gospel must be crafted to make sense within new cultural forms but in such a way that it does not become identified with those cultural forms, for cultural structures will change and leave the culturalized gospel behind. Religious competition helps to keep the churches pure. Such competition tends to spawn sects,[3] which, because of their tension with the larger society, help to keep the gospel message separate from its contemporary social context. We saw examples of this in Ethiopia with the monastic movements that formed around Tekla-Haymanot and Abba Ewostatewos or in the proliferation of fundamentalist churches in North America and Britain.

This concept of church as voluntary society was embedded in the ecclesiology of Christianity during the centuries up to Constantine and continued to describe it in mission for centuries later. When the church is entering a culture, it must recruit its members. The first generation of Christians anywhere is always in some sense a volunteer generation. Churches that conceive themselves as evangelistic seek the first generation believers. Revivalist churches campaign for volunteers. This characteristic was lost when Christendom dominated the church and it had little initial impact on Protestantism. Indeed, as we saw, the dynamics of Protestantism as it matured tended to mitigate against the voluntaristic ideal. But as the church rediscovered its missionary legacy, it re-embraced with strikingly little reflection its original character. What else could it do? It was again seeking converts. We would argue than that the concept of church as voluntary society is an important characteristic of post-Protestant Christianity.

Characteristic III
A Holy Spirit Emphasis

Stressing the Holy Spirit has interjected a dynamic quality to static concepts of faith. Among some Protestant groups one sometimes hears the claim that, because God, who is beyond categories like time, always hears the first confession of the believer as something ever fresh, one can rest assured that having believed once one is saved forever. Called by its detractors "easy believe-ism," that claim transfers God's focus from the one time sacrifice of Christ to the one time confession of the believer. While the blood of Christ may enable God to hear confessions of belief, those confessions rather than the blood secure salvation. By emphasizing the role of the Holy Spirit, charismatic, Holiness, and Pentecostal churches revitalize the life of the believer. Confession does more than secure one's eternal destiny, it has a real impact on one's life now. Faith is creative. The old man is crucified, the new man, an eschatological being, begins to be born. Holy Spirit Christians and the churches to which they belong are keenly aware that they live through the life of the Holy Spirit. The gifts, the witness, the worship, the prayers, all come from him. He who inspired the passages the minister reads also inspired the minister to read them and inspires the individuals who hear them read. This new life and not the doctrines by which one attempts to express it, is the important thing. Hence the subjective takes precedence over the objective. It is an emphasis which recalls Augustine's observation that belief precedes understanding.

Therefore it is also an emphasis with a strong stress on obedience. In Holy Spirit churches there has been a movement away from a New Testament stress on faith as belief and a return to an Old Testament emphasis on faith as obedience. The Pauline assurance that the just shall live by faith (Rom 1:17; 3:22, 26, 28; 5:1; 10:4; Gal 2:16; 3:24–26; Eph 2:8; Phil 3:9; Heb 4:10; 10:38) where faith is plainly understood as belief has shifted back toward concepts of faithful obedience as found in Hab 2:4 which Paul quotes and reinterprets. Of course the Holy Spirit is the one who empowers believers to be obedient. Such churches, borrowing either consciously or unconsciously from Wesley's doctrine of

prevenient grace, often assert that the individual has the power to choose to believe, but once the individual has become a believer, all the versions assert that future of the believer is secured by the transforming power of the Holy Spirit.[4] As we concluded in chapter 8, post-Protestant Christianity is Holy Spirit Christianity.

Characteristic IV
Arminianism

Instead of a uniform community organized around a church to which one belonged by dint of one's birth into that community, this new version of Christianity most often found itself as one of a variety of alternatives within a host culture and often separate to some significant degree from its host culture. Voluntary societies stress individual autonomy. One must decide whether or not to belong to a group. If one chooses to belong to a group, one must decide to which group one will belong. Among post- Protestant churches such choices are not usually based on a rational evaluation of the doctrines of the competing churches, although doctrinal considerations do play a role. Instead potential recruits make their decision because of their impressions and experiences. Instead of stressing the importance of membership in Christ's church, this new version of Christianity emphasizes the importance of an experience of Christ as savior. One is invited and feels welcomed. One grows excited, knows conviction, responds in the moment and, if the event is authentic, one is truly changed. The Holy Spirit is given credit for this process and for subsequent ethical or spiritual growth in the individual, and in the church itself the Holy Spirit is given credit as well. Such churches, although they are often structured as hierarchies, have such a strong egalitarian dimension. Everyone in the church is expected to have a close relationship with and be ultimately answerable to God. This kind of expectation can create a level of instability which undermines the hierarchy and reinforces individual choice. Such a concept of church mitigates against large organizations. While big churches based on this pattern exist, they are very much the exception.

All of this was made possible by the triumph in the nineteenth century of Arminianism. Jacobus Arminius (1560–1609)

was a Dutch theologian who began to question aspects of Calvin's system, particularly those elements which derived from Calvin's concept of predestination. Calvinism seemed tailormade for the world as imagined by the emerging scientific paradigm. It was a total system that conceived of everything as interrelated and predetermined by previous events. Entities within the cosmos were relatively passive agents acted upon by laws. There were physical laws that affected humans, rocks, and clouds, and there were spiritual laws applied to individuals by a Creator who did so for his own inscrutable purposes. Against this position Arminius and his followers argued that Christ had died not for the elect but for all, that all who confess and persevere are saved, but that God's saving grace can be resisted and that sincere believers can fall from grace. The agent to which the Arminians appealed was not the inscrutable will of God but the Holy Spirit, and what underlay the Arminian argument was the idea that human beings had some effective power to choose.

The theological issues raised in the disputes between the Calvinists and the Arminians have never been resolved and may in principle be unresolvable. But for purely practical reasons, Arminianism triumphed over Calvinism during the late eighteenth and into the nineteenth century. The agent of its triumph was revival. Revival preachers, where they professed a Calvinist system, as did Edwards or Whitefield, or an Arminian system, as did Wesley, had to preach as though their hearers could choose and choose immediately. During the nineteenth century the imperative that one must choose now became more immediate. Revival, as Finney taught, could be engineered. This emphasis on choice assured that regardless of the theological system that underlay the language, it was the language of Arminius that prevailed, and where the language prevailed, the concepts followed. Revivalism was shaped in democratic societies which presupposed some element of human freedom, and the Christianity forged in those fires presupposed that too. Human beings were not passive agents upon whom laws (whether gracious or impersonal) operated. They were themselves creative agents who had a real part to play in the drama of their own salvation.

Characteristic V
Their Evangelical Imperative and Missionary Focus

Because they were born out of missions, because they must recruit their membership from a surrounding society that offers many alternatives, and because they assume that people, having the ability to choose, must be wooed and won, post-Protestant churches have a strong evangelical imperative, and with it a clear missionary focus. As we saw earlier, missionary work came late to Protestantism and faced some theological resistance. Missions were considered politically destabilizing. There was no clear admonition in Scripture supporting them, nor was there an established office for evangelism and outreach in the church. And finally, missions smacked of popery: it was something Catholics did. Though Protestant clergy have occasionally been drawn to missions, such theological questions meant that for the most part missions among Protestants have tended to be the province of the laity, and local outreach has been something church members are encouraged to do by their pastors and by one another. The church prospers as it offers opportunities for members to serve and witness, and departments have developed around such ministrations. Such activity is now considered not only very natural but a sign of a vigorous church. And this heritage from Protestantism has remained quite strong in post-Protestant churches.

Not all mainline Protestant churches have maintained a strong interest in missions, and those that have often redefined the term until it loses its evangelical dimension and becomes just another expression of social ministry. But the more conservative among the post-Protestants remain active, and this activity characterizes not only post-Protestantism in the Europe and North America but around the world. South Korea has become a major sending nation. Missionaries from Brazil work in the United States. Christians from all over southeast Asia come to Singapore to be trained. Converts from Islam move quietly through their communities witnessing to the gospel. Paul Marshall has pointed out that two-thirds of the world's Christians live in non-Western countries, and that when one counts only those active in their churches on a regular basis, the figure is

closer to eighty percent.[5] These are the Christians that will define the shape of the church tomorrow, and their enthusiasm seems to assure that it will be a missionary church.

Characteristic VI
Ecumenism

Missions, as we saw in chapter 7, created the ecumenical movement, and that ecumenism has to a significant degree continued to inform the theology of the churches the missionaries planted. One might argue that among fundamentalists ecumenical ideals are lacking, and that would be true in some cases, but in many more the conservative/liberal split which has defined post-Protestantism during the twentieth century has created a sense of kinship between denominations. Robert Wuthnow argues that a growing cleavage between liberal and conservative believers within denominations is creating a situation in which adherents of either faction are discovering that they have more in common with related factions in other denominations than they do with opposing factions within their own.[6] Such a division, in part through the agency of missions, has been translated into trans-denominational international alliances that exist in fact if not yet in name.

The Pentecostal/charismatic movement has also contributed to this ecumenical awareness. During the twentieth century, particularly during the last half of it, charismatic phenomena have manifest across vast swaths of the Christian Church. Its very breadth is one of the reason some Christians have condemned it. But for those who celebrate the charismatic tradition, that breadth witnesses to the presence of believers in all denominations, a witness that has tended to reduce the significance of denominational distinctives. It is not that people no longer affirm their traditions, it is instead that the traditions have become secularized. Those who affirm them are more able to see that they are traditions, that they have a limited historical focus and that they lack ultimacy. The Pentecostal movement enables people to see beyond the limited human and glimpse the unifying divine.

Another way of looking at this is to compare it to negative and positive concepts of freedom as described by Isaiah Berlin. Critical of philosophical monists who demand final solutions, Prof. Berlin argues that freedom should be conceived not as rational self-direction or self-mastery (what he classifies as a positive concept of freedom) but as the absence of obstacles to possible choices and activities (what he classifies as a negative concept of freedom). He argues that the notion of self-direction or self-control which lies at the heart of the rationalist metaphysic when applied to society justifies coercion, that this happens because of the belief that there is a best solution to every problem, that all such solutions must ultimately agree with one another, that reason can in principle discover these solutions, and that no rational person can wish to embrace inferior solutions.[7] Pentecostalism, by tacitly recognizing the provisional nature of denominational distinctives and the individual responsibility each believer has to God conceived as loving person rather than impersonal reason, implicitly if not explicitly accepts Prof. Berlin's negative definition of freedom.[8] We may expect that as people through education and economic emancipation enjoy greater power over their lives, as governments grow less representative and more arbitrary, and as changing social realities underline the provisional nature of legislation, Prof. Berlin's concept of "negative freedom" will become dominate. This secular development will further secure the importance of Pentecostalism.

Characteristic VII
Scripture and Tradition

Finally we come to the question of the role of Scripture and tradition in post-Protestant faiths. This is a particularly important point since Scripture was of such central importance to classical Protestantism. While it is true that early Protestant thinkers were creedal and stressed their continuity with the early church, it is also true that the banner around which they rallied in their defiance of Rome was *Sola Scriptura* and that the Bible was pivotal in their theological deliberations. This is no longer true. Two things have dethroned Scripture. The first is a heightened awareness of how and to what extent the hermeneutic we choose

structures our understanding of what we read. The second is a growing appreciation of the role of tradition in defining who we are.

Post-Protestant faiths insist that the Bible must be read and understood against the background of their own traditions. The assumption, often unspoken but more often explicit, is that one's own tradition has somehow authentically recapitulated the beliefs of the early church. Centuries of theological dispute based on so many plausible and conflicting interpretations of the Bible have underlined the central role interpretation and hermeneutics play in shaping our understanding of what read, and have shaken people's confidence in the sufficiency of Scripture to explain itself adequately.[9]

Within the proliferation of faiths that characterize this era, post-Protestant traditions nurture their distinctives and insist upon their own understandings. But paradoxically this narrow focus is generally accompanied by an often unspoken but more often explicit recognition of that underlying unity that defines the various traditions as Christian. Post-Protestant traditions, though viewing themselves as the most authentic, have grown more tolerant of their rivals. Indeed, it is common for people to switch traditions several times in the course of their lives, a practice that emphasizes the perception that adherents of the various traditions can have a salvific relations with God. It is not doctrine or denomination that saves, but it is Jesus. While the tendencies to defend the authenticity of one's own tradition while admitting the value of another would seem to be at odds, in practice they cause little friction. Two things makes this possible, the recognition of how cultural conditions our thoughts, and the near universal insistence that faith to be authentic must be experienced. True believers may understand their faith differently, but they share the same faith based on an experience of the same God. Hence the Bible is important but its importance lies primarily in its ability to bolster one's own tradition, while tradition is important for its ability to enable one to adequately understand the Bible. It is fair to say that this perception of Scripture has far more in common with traditional Catholicism or with Eastern Orthodoxy than it does with the Protestantism that gave it birth.

These, then, are the seven characteristics that define post-Protestant faiths. The faiths are millenarian. Their eschatology has a central role in defining their place in history. They also conceive of the church as a voluntary society called together in the last days. They have a strong emphasis on the Holy Spirit who they understand as gifting and empowering them for their end time roles. Their theology of salvation tends to be Arminian and their Arminianism is vigorous in its search for recruits. At the same time the churches have a marked ecumenism. They recognize that other expressions of the same faith have significant validity. Nevertheless it is their own tradition which is paramount and within which the Scriptures are best understood.

Conclusion

In this study we have examined how a branch of Christianity has grown and changed over a period of five hundred years from its origins in the early sixteenth century to its current state at the end of the twentieth. We have seen how that faith was shaped by factors in its original culture and how it shaped and was shaped by cultural factors in regions where its adherents took it. We have seen how people from regions as far apart as Liberia in the twentieth century, Calcutta in the nineteenth, or the east coast of what would be the United States in the eighteenth heard the gospel of Christ, understood it in their own ways, applied it to their particular circumstances, and in the end enriched and changed the faith that had been called Protestantism. That faith, we have argued, is far the most part gone. It died in the revivals of the eighteenth century, the missionary movement of the nineteenth century, and the ecumenical movement of the twentieth century. It children, non-Western churches which today nurture the bulk of the global Christian community, owe much to it but have transcended it. Protestantism where it still exists survives as a relic. The future belongs to churches in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. We have had a glimpse at how these churches might develop. They are millennial Holy Ghost churches in the revivalist tradition, churches always on the look out for new members, churches with an Arminian theology and a vision for outreach. I have

worshipped in such churches from northern Luzon to southern Brazil, clapped while the parishioners sang in languages I could not understand, sweated while the sun glittered over the rice fields, prayed while the night wind trembled in the bougainvillea outside the opened windows. Here the Good Shepherd leads his flocks into tomorrow, faithful to the end of the age.

Notes

Chapter 1 — The Soil of Protestant Missions

1   I say possible exception because one does hear stories of indigenous Christian communities taking root even in this hostile environment.

2   J. Christy Wilson defines "tentmakers" as "modern missionaries striving to imitate the Apostle Paul, who made tents for a living while preaching the gospel through the Roman world." ["Tentmakers Today," p. 31, in the fourteenth edition of the *Mission Handbook, USA/Canada Protestant Ministries Overseas*, 1989. MARC (Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center)] He points out that by the end of the 1980s 73 North American mission agencies had tentmaking departments (p. 31).

3   K. P. Yohannan's *Revolution in World Missions* (Creation House, 1986) details one method for financing local evangelists. Organizations like Bethany Fellowship in Minneapolis, Minnesota, are exploring others.

4   For a cogent criticism of the position adopted by the Presbyterian Church USA see Stanley H. Skreslet's article "The Empty Basket of Presbyterian Mission: Limits and Possibilities of Partnership," the lead article in the July 1995 issue of the *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*.

5   Portugal maintained this colony until it was forcibly annexed by India in 1961.

6   Asimov, Isaac, *The New Intelligent Man's Guide to Science* (Basic Books, Inc., News York, 1965), part 1 "The Physical Sciences," chapter 2 "The Universe," pp. 18–19.

7   Augustine, *City of God* (Penguin Books, Ltd., Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1981, David Knowles, editor), book 16, chapter 9, pp. 664–665.

8   Carter, Ben M., *The Depersonalization of God* (University Press of America, Lantham, 1989).

9   Beller, Elmer A., "Thirty Years War," *Encyclopedia Americana* (Americana Corp., 1973), vol. 26, p. 687.

10 Ibid.

11 Stoeffler, F. Ernest, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1965), "Chapter Pietism Among the English Puritans," pp. 78–79.

12 *Natio* itself shares the root *nat* meaning born with our English word natal.

13 This is not to say that colonists were only passive subjects. They often had charters that guaranteed their rights and defined their privileges, and they could sometimes participate in home government. Iberian colonies, for example, could became provinces of the mother country, a status the Spanish colony of Puerto Rico achieved in 1869 and which the Philippines coveted but were never granted. Brazil even became an alternative seat for Portugal's government after the invasion of Napoleon. Nevertheless even in such cases a distinction between colony and mother country was maintained. Colonies were possessions of the mother country, not identical with it.

14 Calvin, John, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, book 1, chapter 5, section 11.

15 Or more accurately Pythagoras as refined and revised by Plato. See Whitehead's *Science and the Modern World* (The Free Press, New York, 1925), chapter 2 "Mathematics as an Element in the History of Thought," p. 28.

16 *The Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* (March 1998, volume 41, no. 1), "The Design Argument in Scientific Discourse: Historical-Theological Perspective from the Seventeenth Century" by John C. Hutchison, p. 100.

17 Archeology is a prime example of how the rise of the naturalistic paradigm compromised or converted the truth claims of the more theistic one it superseded. Originating in the early nineteenth century among explorers who were looking for ancient biblical sites and who for the most part assumed the truth of the biblical accounts, archeology was transformed from "hobby" into a scholarly discipline with the discovery and translation of Babylonian cuneiform tablets and Egyptian hieroglyphics. Such epigraphic testimony allowed people who were contemporary with the ancient Hebrews to tell their side of the story and in telling it to confirm, refute, diverge from, or be silent about the details related in Israel's history. Along with the epigraphic evidence, stratigraphic excavation techniques, first developed in the late nineteenth century, assisted archeologists and other scholars in their efforts to establish precise dates for biblical events. These efforts were followed in the 1920s and 1930s by the elaboration of pottery

chronologies, especially under the masterful hand of the American scholar William Foxwell Albright (1891- 1971) whose ceramic typologies, based on his excavation of the Tell Beit Mirsim, set a new standard. His study of archeology had by 1932 led Albright to reject the Julius Wellhausen thesis that the Bible, and particularly the Pentateuch, contained no real historical material. During these years the rabbi Nelson Glueck, much influenced by Albright, pioneered field surveys, a new approach that he used to examine early settlement patterns in Canaan. After World War I governments as well as private foundations began to finance and supervise the work of the archeologists, first the British government under the British Mandate, and later the Israeli and the Jordanian governments. In the 1970s this Biblical archeology was challenged by Americans who, calling themselves Syro-Palestinian archaeologists, insisted on further secularizing the field. Their move was complimented by the development in American universities of an archeological approach which, seeking to identify processes of cultural change, integrated the physical sciences with archaeological methodology. The advent of the computer made the interpretation of the voluminous data generated by this New Archeology more manageable and was complemented by use of satellite technology that made it easier to accurately locate archeological sites. Recently investigators have started using controlled explosives to identify underground structures which they can model on computer screens. Nevertheless, despite these attempts to bolster archeology's objective side, the discipline retains a pronounced subjective element, making it more nearly akin to art than to science. Because archeological data can be interpreted in so many ways, claims that archeology verifies or contradicts the Bible are inflated. It is more accurate to say that archeologists have over the last two centuries proposed multiple scenarios which, with varying degrees of plausibility, can be integrated into the biblical witness or asserted against it. The information gained over the last two centuries has fundamentally reshaped our understanding of the origin of the Bible and the accounts it contains, and have emphasized Scripture's profoundly cultural quality. In retrospect such a result should have been anticipated, but it does have its ironies. Our hypotheses revolve around incomplete information and provisional assumptions. Thus, in many ways the past remains a story we tell ourselves.

18   *Christian Theology* (Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1982), Peter G. Hodgson and Robert H. King, editors, chapter 3 "God" by Langdon Gilkey, p. 79.

19   This story is somewhat different in Portuguese Africa where Portuguese holdings were secured in part by the British who used the Portuguese as a foil against the French.

20   Prescott, W. H., *Conquest of Peru* (Hurst & Company, New York, 1847), book 2, chapter 9, p. 4.

21   Latourette, Kenneth Scott, *The Unquenchable Light* (Eyre & Scottiswoode, London, 1945), chapter 5 "The Third Great Age of Advance," p. 57.

22   Shaw, Mark, *The Kingdom of God in Africa* (Baker Books, Grand Rapids, 1996), part 2 "The Clash of Kingdoms," chapter 7 "The Kingdoms of Christendom," pp. 108–109.

Chapter 2 — The Roots of the New Paradigm

1   In response many dissenters went to Scotland for their education while others started private schools or dissenting academies in England to train young men for the ministry. Between 1663 and 1690 twenty-three such schools were opened. Ironically because so many of these alternative schools were of such high quality, discrimination against dissenters by Oxford and Cambridge had the unintended consequence of elevating the standard of English education generally.

2   Bloom, Allan, *The Closing of the American Mind* (Simon & Schuster, 1987), part 3 "The University," "From Socrates' *Apology* to Heidegger's *Rektoratsrede*," section "The Relation Between Thought and Civil Society," pp. 256–262.

3   Ibid., p. 266.

4   Ibid., p. 267.

5   Ahlstrom, Sydney E., *A Religious History of the American People*, part 2 "The Protestant Empire Founded," chapter 8 "The Rise and Flowering of the Puritan Spirit," p. 124.

6   Calvin, John, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, book 1, chapter 11, see especially section 7.

7   A belief in Israel's "lost tribes" rests on the supposition that after the fall of Samaria in 722 BC, representatives of the ten tribes dwelling in the Northern Kingdom (actually there would have been nine since the Levites lived in both kingdoms) fled to the far corners of the earth where they remain concealed until the end of the world. Historical evidence in support of

such a belief is almost non-existent. The far more probable scenario is that those Israelites carried away into captivity by the Assyrians were soon absorbed by the surrounding population while those remaining on the land gradually became the hated Samaritans.

8   Edwards, Jonathan, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 1 (The Banner of Truth Trust, Edinburgh, 1992), *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England*, part 5 "What ought to be done to promote this work," section 3 "Of some particulars that concern all in general," p. 429.

9   Leff, Gordon, *Medieval Thought* (Penguin Books, 1958), part 3I "Scepticism," chapter 8 "Introduction to the Period," pp. 258–260.

10   Schleiermacher, Friedrich D. E., *The Christian Faith*, introduction, chapter 1 "The Definition of Dogmatics," p. 4.

11   Ibid., p. 5.

12   Ibid., p. 12.

13   Ibid., pp. 18–20. The two lower grades are the animal grade in which there is only a confused sense of self and that clear sense of self which develops from it and occupies a middle ground between the animal grade and the highest grade.

14   Ibid., p. 22.

15   Ibid., "Second Part of the System of Doctrine, Second Aspect of the Antithesis: Explication of the Consciousness of Grace, Second Doctrine: The Work of Christ," p. 429.

16   Cunliffe-Jones, Hubert (editor), *A History of Christian Doctrine*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1978, John H. S. Kent "Christian Theology in the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Centuries," p. 477.

17   Sugden, Edward H. (editor), *John Wesley's Fifty-three Sermons*, Abingdon Press, Nashville, 1983, Introduction to Sermon XIX "Upon Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount," p. 274.

18   Carter, Charles W. (general editor), *A Contemporary Wesleyan Theology*, vol. 1, Francis Asbury Press, Wilmore, Kentucky, 1983, Timothy L. Smith essay "A Historical and Contemporary Appraisal of Wesleyan Theology," p. 76; Douglas, J. D. (general editor) *New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Zondervan, Grand Rapids, 1974, Peter Toon essay "Thomas A' Kempis," p. 972.

19   Cox, Leo George, *John Wesley's Concept of Perfection* (Beacon Hill Press of Kansas City), chapter 1 "Introduction," p. 17.

20   Ibid. p. 16. Concerning Calvinist objections, in *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England* Jonathan Edwards, a stanch Calvinist, refers to the Wesleys and their follower as "high pretenders to spirituality in these days" (part 1 "A glorious Work of God," section 5 "The nature of the work in a particular instance," see the last paragraph in this section). That Jonathan Edwards viewed the Wesleys and their followers as pretenders to spirituality despite their deep involvement in a revival he was defending is indicative of how deep divisions between Calvinists and Arminians remained. Indeed toward the end of his tract, Edwards claims the revival entirely overthrows Arminian principles and invites those who hold such principles to repent (part 5 "What ought to be done to promote this work," section 2 "What must be done directly to advance this work").

21   Nash, Ronald, "Was the New Testament Influenced by Pagan Religions?," *Christian Research Journal*, Winter 1994, p. 10.

22   Suzuki, D. T. *Zen Buddhism* (Doubleday, Garden City, New York, 1956), part 3 "The Heart of Zen," chapter 4 "Satori, or Enlightenment," section 5 "Chief Characteristics of Satori," pp. 103–108.

23   Carter (general editor), *A Contemporary Wesleyan Theology*, vol. 1, Smith essay, p. 78; Douglas, (general editor), *The New International Dictionary*, A. Morgan Derham essay "Scougal, Henry," p. 891.

24   Elwell, Walter A. (editor), *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, 1984, R. G. Tuttle, Jr., essay "Wesley, John," p. 1163.

25   *Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. 23, (1972) "Wesley, John," p. 414.

26   Ibid.; Douglas (general editor), *New International Dictionary*, A. Skevington Wood essay "Wesley, John," p. 1034.

27   Carter (editor), *A Contemporary Wesleyan Theology*, vol. 1, Smith essay, p. 78.

28   Elwell (editor), *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, Tuttle essay, p. 1163; Douglas (general editor), *New International Dictionary*, Wood essay, p. 1034; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. 23, p. 414.

29   Douglas (general editor), *New International Dictionary*, Wood essay, p. 1034.

30   Elwell (editor), *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, Tuttle essay "Wesleyan Tradition, The," p. 1166.

31   Carter (general editor), *A Contemporary Wesleyan Theology*, vol. 1, Smith essay, p. 77.

32 Cunliff-Jones (editor), *History of Christian Doctrine*, Kent essay, p. 475.

33 Even Jonathan Edwards seems to stray toward such an interpretation. For example, in *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England* he asserts, with Jesus, that if one is not born again, one "is exposed every minute to eternal destruction" (part 3 "Wherein the zealous Promoters of this Work have been injuriously blamed," at the end of his discussion of the second point). Though Edwards does not specifically say so, it is easy to imagine, given the context of his words, that Edwards believed this birth occurs in a moment and that one is aware of it.

34 Sugden, *Wesley's Fifty-three Sermons*, Introduction to Sermon XXXIX "The New Birth," p. 567.

35 Ibid., p. 572.

36 Ibid., p. 571.

37 Ibid., p. 575.

38 Ibid., p. 576.

39 Ibid., p. 575.

40 Ibid., p. 578.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid., Sermon XII "The Means of Grace," p. 172.

43 Ibid., Sermon XXXIX "The New Birth," p. 577.

44 Carter (editor), *A Contemporary Wesleyan Theology*, vol. 1, Smith essay, p. 81.

45 Cox, *John Wesley' Concept of Perfection*, chapter 2 "Sin and Grace," p. 35; chapter 4, p. 118.

46 Carter (general editor), *A Contemporary Wesleyan Theology*, vol. 1, Smith essay, p. 80.

47 Sugden (editor), *John Wesley's Fifty-three Sermons*, Introduction to Sermon XXXV "Christian Perfection," p. 505.

48 Ibid., pp. 522–523.

49 Ibid., p. 524.

50 Ibid., p. 526.

51 Ibid., Introduction to Sermon XLVII "The Repentance of Believers," p. 673.

52 Ibid., p. 682.

53 Cox, *John Wesley's Concept of Perfection*, chapter 4 "Present Perfection," pp. 134–135.

54 Polythress, Vern Sheridan, "Modern Spiritual Gifts as Analogous to Apostolic Gifts: affirming Extraordinary Works of the

Spirit within Cessationist Theology," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, March 1996, volume 39, no. 1, p. 93.

55 Hatch, Nathan O., *The Democratization of American Christianity* (Yale University Press, 1989).

56 Shelley, Bruce, *Evangelicalism in America* (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1967), chapter 3 "Evangelicalism in America," p. 46.

57 One does find utopian elements in non-Western literary traditions. For example the Chinese have their legend of the Peach Blossom Valley immortalized by the Jin dynasty poet Tao Yuan-ming. But such stories generally have a fantastic Brigadoon-like quality and were not intended to be models for anything on this earth. In contrast Western utopian writing, like good science fiction, was engaged at one level with real possibilities. Indeed, science fiction itself owes much to utopian literature.

58 Edwards in very clear about this in *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England* (part 2 "Obligations to acknowledge, rejoice in, and promote this work," section 2 "The latter-day glory, is probably to begin in America"), but he is certainly not the only one who makes such a claim.

59 While *The Harper Study Bible* in its footnote on Revelation 20 traces the origins of postmillennialism to the fifth century by interpreting Augustine in a postmillennial fashion, this understanding of Augustine seems somewhat eccentric. In *The City of God*, book 20, chapter 8, Augustine makes it plain that he believed the Devil was bound when the church moved beyond Judea into other nations, and would remain bound until the end of this age. Since the binding of Satan marks the advent of the millennium, Augustine's position is classical amillennialism.

60 Since 1959 and the appearance of a paper by C. C. Goen, then a graduate student at Yale, the birth of postmillennial theology has been attributed to Jonathan Edwards. Goen's thesis has occasionally been challenged, most recently by Glenn R. Kreider of Criswell College in Dallas, Texas, in a paper delivered on March 21, 1997, at the Southwest Regional Meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society held at Dallas Theological Seminary. Professor Kreider maintains that Edwards taught four returns of Christ, two which had already happened and two which would happen in the future. He also argues that in some ways Edwards can be read as a premillennialist. According to Kreider the four returns of Christ that Edwards discerned are (1) during the days of the apostles but before the destruction of Jerusalem; (2) during Constantine's reign; (3)

in the future to destroy the Anti-Christ and establish the millennium (here Kreider sees Edward's premillennialism); and (4) as final judge.

Chapter 3 — The Redefinition of the Church

1   For an example of this sudden proliferation of churches in the Holy Land, Yoram Tsafrir's "Ancient Churches in the Holy Land" in *Biblical Archaeology Review* (September/October 1993, vol. 19, no. 5).

2   Jay, Eric G., *The Church* (John Knox Press, Atlanta, 1978), part 1 "The Patristic Period," chapter 3 "From Clement of Rome to Irenaeus," pp. 31–38.

3   Since the advent of democracy theological models have tended to represent God's power as more indirect, reflecting the collateral authority structures of democratic societies. For example, human freedom, a basic philosophical component behind all true democracies, has been stressed at the expense of God's sovereignty, a development encouraging the proliferation of Arminianism.

4   The British Isles often served as a refuge for such dissenters.

5   See Jeremiah 3, Ezekiel 16, and Zechariah 11, all late prophets.

6   Walls, Andrew F., "Missionary Societies and the the (sic) Fortunate Subversion of the Church," *The Evangelical Quarterly*, 88:2 (1988), pp. 141–153.

7   Encouraged by John Wesley he made the first of those voyages in 1738. He returned to America a year later in 1739 and stayed until 1741. His third visit lasted from 1744 until 1748. In 1751 he crossed again but returned to England the following year. His fifth visit between 1754 and 1755 was just as brief, but his sixth which began 1763 lasted until 1765. When he began his final North American tour in 1769 he was probably the best known preacher in those colonies.

8   He said the tutor had no more grace than a chair.

9   Westmeier, Karl-Wilhelm, "Becoming All Things to All People: Early Moravian Missions to Native North Americans," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, vol. 21, no. 4, October 1997, p. 174.

10 Note the emphasis here on conversion as an experience. As Calvinists, early colonial Puritans understood conversion as the end of a long and agonizing process of regeneration, and they

limited membership in the church to those who could testify to having endured that process. Of course only church members could present their children for baptism. But what if those baptized children could testify to no such experience? Did they, as baptized members, have the right to present *their* children for baptism? By 1646 this issue had begun to engage the attention of more and more pastors, most of whom agreed by 1649 that baptism should be extended to this group. In 1656, seventeen pastors debated the issue in Boston. Their conclusion, published in London in 1659, was that the unregenerate children of regenerate parents could present their own children for baptism. Detractors scorned this decision as "the Halfway Covenant." Eventually most Congregational churches accepted this solution but the issue was never fully resolved and as late as 1700 perhaps as many as 20 percent of the churches in Massachusetts refused to be part of this "sinful innovation." Most of these eventually agreed with the new practice but thirty years later there were still some hold outs. Obviously Jonathan Edwards was unhappy with the 1656 decision in Boston.

11   Phoebe Palmer's book *The Way to Holiness* first published in 1845 is a classic expression of this kind of teaching.

12   Rowe, William A. C., *One Lord, One Faith* (Apostolic Publications, Penygroes, South Wales, 1988), chapter 44 "Inception and Progress," pp. 353–395.

13   Brumback, Carl, *Suddenly . . . from Heaven* (Gospel Publishing House, Springfield, Missouri, 1961), chapter 13 "The Secret Committee's Report," p. 175.

14   Goddard, Burton (editor), *Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Missions*, "Assemblies of God Foreign Missions Department," p. 42.

15   This was not always the case. Churches with dispensational theologies often remained hostile to charismatic phenomena as did many holiness churches. And objections to glossolalia among members of the Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association, founded in 1917, continue to justify the exclusion of charismatic churches from that organization.

16   Langer, Susanne K., *Philosophy in a New Key*, chapter 1 "The New Key," p. 26.

17   *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (January 1998, volume 22, Number 1), "William Carey, Modern Missions, and the Moravian Influence" by David A. Schattschneider, pp. 9, 12.

Chapter 4 — Missions and Nation Building

1   Canonized in 1642, almost a century after his death, Xavier was named "Patron of Missions" by Pius X (1903–1914). Jesuits credit Xavier with 700,000 conversions.

2   Beck, James R., *Dorothy Carey* (Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1992), part 2 "Life in India," chapter 6 "Retreat from Reality," pp. 107–125; chapter 8 "Dorothy's Dark Years," pp. 145–163.

3   Roxborough, John, "The Legacy of Thomas Chalmers," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, vol. 23, no. 4, October, 1999, p. 173.

4   Quoted in *The Life of Alexander Duff* by George Smith (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1881), chapter 5 "The Mine Prepared," p. 68.

5   Meek, Donald E., "Protestant Missions and the Evangelization of the Scottish Highlands, 1700–1850," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, vol. 21, no. 2, April 1997, pp. 67–72.

6   The first overseas bishopric in the Anglican Church was established in Canada in 1787.

7   It seems significant that Jawaharlal Nehru's autobiography which he wrote between April and September 1944, while in Ahmadnagar Fort prison, is entitled *The Discovery of India*. Even at this late date the man who would be India's first prime minister struggles with what India is and even describes himself "approaching her almost as an alien critic," friendly but full of dislike for what he sees (chapter 3 "The Quest," p. 50). He insists that India has been considered a unity "since the dawn of civilization" (p. 62), and yet his own perceptions of that unity are deeply colored by a nationalism that is largely a creation of Romantic European notions. A deeply secular man, his interests are dominated by contemporary problems and he draws his own identity and the identity of the country he is helping to create as much from its colonial present as from its variegated past. The discovery of India that he is writing about is his own.

8   The British denied this, insisting instead that vegetable oil was used. The denial is probably true. Animal grease would have gone rancid very quickly in India's hot climate.

9   One occasionally sees references to some fifty Indians converted at the Scottish Church College during these years but according to Stephen Neill (*A History of Christian Missions* [Penguin, 1986], part 2, chapter 9 "New Forces in Europe and

America," p. 234) Duff recorded only thirty-three conversions during the eighteen years of his work.

10   Eliade, Mircea, *Myths, Dreams, and Mysteries* (Harper & Row, 1960), chapter 9 "Religious Symbolism and the Modern Man's Anxiety," p. 239.

11   Buddhism reinterpreted the doctrine of karma and centuries later in Japan evolved a theology where one being could be spiritually benefited by another. But this Pure Land form has little relation, beyond a historical one, to the Hindu world view from which it ultimately derived.

12   For an outstanding discussion of this problem see A. G. Hogg's *The Christian Message to the Hindu* (S.C.M. Press, 1947), especially chapter 5 "Come, Face with Me the 'Karma' of Humanity."

13   Thomas, M. M., *The Acknowledged Christ of the Indian Renaissance* (S.C.M. Press, 1969), chapter 8 "Mahatma Gandhi: Jesus the Supreme Satyagrahi," p. 219.

14   Hiriyanna, M., *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* (Novello & Company, London, 1956), part 2 "Early Post-Vedic Period," chapter 3 "General Tendencies," p. 98.

15   Ibid., p. 99.

16   What is especially interesting here is the way the resuscitation of these earlier traditions in response to the missionary challenge provided the impetus which, by freeing Hinduism from those associations with caste that had bound it almost completely to the subcontinent or to Hindu communities outside India, enabled that body of faiths to develop a missionary outreach of their own.

17   Derived from the Sanskrit *sati* which means "true woman" or "faithful wife," suttee refers to the practice of Hindu widows who threw themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands in an act of self-immolation.

18   Haberman, David L., "Roy, Ram Moham," *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (Mircea Eliade, editor in chief, Macmillian Publishing Company, new York, 1987), vol. 12, pp. 479–480. There are different spellings for Mohun. I am adopting the spelling used by Stephen Neill.

19   See the William Johnson's preface in Shusaku Endo's *Silence* (Kodansha International, Tokyo and New York, 1982), pp. 13–14.

20   McGee, Gary B., "Pentecostal Phenomena and Revivals in India: Implication for Indigenous Church Leadership,"

" *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, vol. 20, no. 3, July 1996, pp. 112–117.

21 Influenced by the Muslim precedent, Portugal became involved in the slave trade in 1441, making her the first Christian European power to become so engaged. By the 1580s Africans were being used in the Portuguese colony of Brazil to replace Amerindian labor. Though Philip II proclaimed Brazil's Amerindians free in 1609, pressure from the sugar lobby in Lisbon forced him to rescind that order in 1611. An independent Brazil agreed to abolish the slave trade in 1831 but continued trafficking in African slaves until 1853. In 1871 Brazil enacted a law implementing gradual emancipation, but was unable to achieve full emancipation until May 13, 1888, when Princess Regent Isabel, acting in the absence of Pedro II, freed Brazil's slaves by imperial decree. This made Brazil the last of the Western powers to abandon slavery. Even so the unpopularity of the princess's decree cost the royal family the support of the great planters who were the mainstays of Brazil's economy and contributed to the collapse of the Second Brazilian Empire.

22 Formerly Mvemba Nzinga, the soon to be king and his father were baptized on May 3, 1491. At that time he adopted the name Alfonso.

23 Rufus's principles were adopted by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1856 and have guide most American mission boards ever since. Venn's approach provoked a reaction among British missionaries, particularly those working in Africa, and after he died his policies were significantly modified, though never formally abandoned.

24 Quoted in the McGee article "Pentecostal Phenomena and Revivals in India" in the July 1996 issue of the *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, p. 113.

25 Ibid., p. 114.

26 Ibid., p. 113.

27 The mission was small. Only some two hundred missionaries served there between 1841 and 1969 when the last one left.

28 McGee, p. 114.

29 Pandita means "the learned" (note its similarity to our word pundit) and Mukti means "salvation" or "deliverance." A widow herself, Ramabai was baptized while visiting England in 1883 and on her return to India became concerned for widows who often found themselves abandoned by the families of their late

husbands yet under Hindu law could not remarry. She later expanded her work to include girls orphaned by the famine of 1896–97. Hundreds of young women came to faith in Christ through her work. The case of Indian women at the Mukti Mission speaking in English was reported by many and has generated much comment. Eddie L. Hyatt in *2000 Years of Charismatic Christianity* (Hyatt International Ministries, 1996), chapter 24 "The Message Spreads Around the World," pp. 170–171 quotes several paragraphs describing the phenomenon written by Albert Norton, a missionary visitor to the mission at the time who was well acquainted with some of the women involved. Based on what occurred at Mukti Mission, Hyatt proposes that Pandita Ramabai should be recognized as the Mother of Pentecostalism in India.

30 McGee, p. 116.

31 The Church of South India is by far the largest of the two. It was formed on September 27, 1947, from a union of Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational churches. Of these, the vast majority, 49 percent, were Anglicans. As a consequence, the CSI has become in practice and appearance and Anglican church. According to John C. B. Webster ("The Church of South India Golden Jubilee," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, volume 22, Number 2, April 1998), in 1997 after fifty years of existence it boasted 2.8 million members in 10,114 congregations within 21 dioceses. He also notes that it had 1,930 schools, 38 colleges, 51 vocational polytechnic schools, 104 hospitals and clinics, and 512 hostels for poor children (pp. 51, 53).

32 The Indian constitution currently treats all religions equally and guarantees them the right to propagate themselves.

Chapter 5 — Africa

1 This remnant would fall to the Ottomans in the fifteenth century. In a real sense one could say that the Roman empire, which went through several transformations in its long history, did not fall when Rome was sacked by Alaric I in 410, or captured by Gaiseric in 455, or when Romulus Augustulus was deposed by the rebel mercenary Odoacer in 476, but instead lasted until 1453 when Mohammed II captured Constantinople.

2 Keener, Craig S., and Usry, Glenn, *Defending Black Faith* (InterVarsity Press, Downers Grove, Illinois, 1997), chapter 1 "A Black Religion," p. 17.

3 Caraman, Philip, *The Lost Empire* (Sidgwick & Jackson, London, 1985), chapter 4, p. 64.

4 Kamil, Jill, *Coptic Egypt* (The American University in Cairo Press, 1987), chapter 1 "Early Christianity," p. 50.

5 The council, called by Valentinian and Marcian, attracted some 340 delegates, mostly from the East. However, legates represented the bishop of Rome who, like other Western bishops, restricted their travel for fear of the Huns, were present. The immediate occasion for the council was the concern Valentinian and Marcian felt over the reluctance of Egyptian clergy to support the condemnation of Eutyches, but its larger purpose was to seek a new unifying formula to resolve the persisting rift that rose over the teaching of Nestorius, a presbyter at Antioch, who Theodosius II made patriarch of Constantinople in 428. Nestorius objected to the description of Mary as *Theotokos* (that is "the mother of God" or "God-bearing"), a title that had been affirmed by the Council of Ephesus (remembered as the Third General Council) in 431. Nestorius argued that if *Theotokos* was to be used, it should be used in conjunction with *anthropotokos* (that is "man-bearing"). However, he himself favored using *Christotokos* (that is "Christ-bearing"). The Definition of Chalcedon affirmed the two perfect natures of Christ, one human, one divine, preserved by hypostatic union in one person and the appropriateness of the Ephesian language.

6 According to tradition, when the church was planted in Ethiopia, half the population was Jewish and most of these Jews converted to Christianity. This Ethiopian belief rests on a conviction that their royal house was directly descended from the Davidic line and that they posses the true Ark of the Covenant. The Bible says that King Solomon "gave unto the queen of Sheba all her desire" (I Kings 10:13). The Ethiopians interpret the passage to mean that he made the Queen of Sheba, whose name, they say, was Makeda, pregnant. They also believe that on the same night Solomon impregnated Makeda's maid. The maid's offspring founded the Zagwe dynasty. Makeda, for her part, gave birth to a son Menelik who, as a young man, returned to Jerusalem to meet his father. Solomon made a replica of the Ark of the Covenant for Menelik to take back to Ethiopia, but Menelik along with the high priest's son, conspired to switch the replica with the real Ark and carried it

to Ethiopia. Thus, if this legend is true, a branch of the Davidic dynasty endured in Ethiopia until 1974 when the Emperor Haile Selassie was overthrown in a military coup. And today the true Ark can be viewed in Ethiopia at the Church of Mary Zion in Aksum. For a more in-depth discussion of this tradition see Ephraim Isaac's review of Graham Hancock's *The Sign and the Seal: the Quest for the Lost Ark of the Covenant* (Crown Books, New York, 1992) in the July/August 1992 issue of *Biblical Archaeology Review*, pp. 60–62. These factors: Ethiopia's embrace of the messiah, the ties their royal house claimed to the house of David, and their possession of the genuine Ark, when taken together signified to the Ethiopians that they and not the Jews represented the true Israel.

7   Prester is a middle English word meaning priest.

8   Caraman, *The Lost Empire*, chapter 1, p. 7.

9   Collier, Richard, *Duce!* (Popular Library, New York, 1971), chapter 4 " 'If I Advance, Follow Me . . .'," p. 114.

10 Ibid., p. 119.

11 Edwin Yamauchi in his article "Afrocentric Biblical Interpretation" in the September 1996 issue of the *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* (volume 39, no. 3) traces the origins of the movement to the black studies programs begun in US universities during the 1960s. The word "Afrocentrism," he tells us, was coined by Molefi Kete Asante (p. 402).

12 Shaw, Mark, *The Kingdom of God in Africa* (Baker Books, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1996), part 2 "The Clash of Kingdoms," chapter 5 "The Kingdoms of Allah and Mungu," p. 76.

13 Ibid., chapter 7 "The Kingdoms of Christendom," p. 111.

14 This idea of compensation was especially appealing to William Wilberforce, an Abolitionist leader and a member of Parliament, who was also an evangelical (see John Pollock's biography *Wilberforce* [Lion Publishing, Herts, England, 1977], part 2 "Sorrows of Africa," chapter 11 "Serving Africa," p. 109).

15 Granville Sharp hoped that such a name, reminiscent of the famous Hudson's Bay Company, would make his partnership sound more impressive.

16 Walls, Andrew F., "A Christian Experiment, the Early Sierra Leone Colony," *The Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith* (G. J. Cuming, editor, Cambridge, 1970), p. 107.

17 Ibid., p. 114.

18 Ibid., p. 113.

19 Stephen Neill relates the moving story of how while on this mission Crowther, himself a recaptive, found his mother and sisters, how he led them to Christ, and how he translated the baptism ceremony into Yoruba on the occasion when he baptized his mother (*A History of Christian Missions*, part 2, chapter 9 "New Forces in Europe and America," p. 261).

20 Ajayi, J. F. Ade., "From Mission to Church: the Heritage of the Church Mission Society," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, vol. 23, no. 2, April 1999, p. 54.

21 Hanciles, Jehu J., "The Legacy of James Johnson," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, vol. 21, no. 4, October 1997, p. 162.

22 Ibid.

23 Shaw, *The Kingdom of God in Africa*, part 4 "The Kingdom on Earth: African Christianity in the Twentieth Century," chapter 13 "Cities of Zion," p. 243.

24 Hanciles, "The Legacy of James Johnson," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, p. 166.

25 Revivals have always been regional although the Welsh revival through the British empire and with ties to North America enjoyed something approaching worldwide influence. There is some indication that the Toronto Blessing with its roots in South Africa and Argentina and its base in Canada may also be global.

26 Shank, David A, *A Prophet for Modern Times*, part 2 "Patterns of Thought," introduction, p. 374.

27 Ibid., chapter 9 " 'Spiritual' Phenomena as Thought Patterns," p. 476.

28 Ibid., chapter 8 "Patterns of Biblical Understanding," p. 447.

29 Ibid., chapter 13 "Patterns of Thought Relating to Colonial Administration and Political Government," p. 691. Shank points out here that Harris was not opposed to colonial administration. If anything Harris was pro-British. Indeed, part of his goal during his days as a political rebel had been to enlist British support against Liberia. But he believed that colonial rule should comply with the dictates of God's law, and when it did not, he believed the populace had every justification for ignoring it.

30 Ibid., chapter 7 "Biblical Eschatology: the Key to Harris's Patterns of Thought," pp. 404–405.

31 Haliburton, Gordon Mackay, *The Prophet Harris* (Longman Group Ltd., London, 1971), chapter 13 "Platt's Discovery of the Harris Converts," p. 173.

32 This decree reflected French concerns that agitators from the Gold Coast were using Protestantism as a cloak for anti-French activity. The decree was intended to counteract such activity and to discourage the use of English.

33 Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris*, chapter 13, pp. 174–175.

34 Anker-Petersen, Robin E., *A Study of the Spiritual Roots of the East African Revival Movement with Special Reference to Its Use of Confession of Sin in Public* (M.Th. thesis, University of Aberdeen, Scotland, 1988), chapter 2 "The Ruanda Mission and the Revival 1920–1984," p. 19.

35 Ibid., p. 21.

36 Though born near Gahini, Kosiya Shalita had been raised in Uganda where he had received an excellent education. He would later become the first bishop of Ankole.

37 Anker-Petersen, *A Study of the Spiritual Roots of the East African Revival*, chapter 2, p. 23.

38 Ibid., p. 24.

39 Ibid., p. 26.

40 Ibid., p. 28. Anker-Petersen lists the number of evangelists and the places they went as follows: 12 went to Shyira, 8 to Kigeme, and 20 to the area around Gahini in eastern Ruanda.

41 Ibid., p. 29.

42 Ibid., p. 30.

43 Ibid., p. 34.

44 Parratt, John, *Reinventing Christianity* (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1995), chapter 2 "The Theological Method," section 1 "African Theology and Black Theology," p. 27.

45 Ibid., chapter 1 "The Emergence of Christian Theology in Africa," section 2 "Currents and Influences," p. 21. One conspicuous exception to this generalization would be *The Kairos Document*, a theological comment on the political crisis in South Africa, first published in 1985. That document is very much within the context of liberation theology. It remains to be seen, however, how much long term impact it will have.

46 Dr. Parratt also spends some time discussing "black theology" which he places in the South African context. This theology is highly political, and though it has given us many provocative insights, will probably not long endure now that the system to

which it reacted has been overthrown, so we shall not be considering it in this study.

47 Ibid., chapter 2, section 4 "Feminist Perspectives," p. 53.

48 Ibid., chapter 3 "Scripture and Revelation," p. 66. In one sense this is trivially true, but in another sense there is a profound insight in the observation that ties it into a well established Christian tradition: Eastern Orthodoxy. As Valdimir Lossky (*The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, T. & T. Clark, Cambridge, 1944), Timothy Ware (*The Orthodox Church*, Penguin Books, New York, 1964, Timothy Ware has since changed his name to Kallistos Ware), and others have pointed out, Eastern Orthodoxy stresses the distinction between God as revealed and God in his essence and for that reason has objected Western theology as excessively rationalistic. This distinction between the knowable and unknowable God lies at the heart of the Eastern Church's mystical tradition. The Eastern Church, too, has developed an extensive theology based on the concept of the cosmic Christ as found in Colossians 1:15–17. Hence the distinction Idowu insists upon even when projected against the role of God as creator revealed to all people by his creation need not lead to the conclusions Idowu draws.

49 Ibid., p. 68. Parratt also points out that it causes Idowu to cast doubt upon the unique contribution African traditional religion has to make to theology, the very thing he wants to defend.

50 Ibid., pp. 68–71.

51 Ibid., pp. 71–72.

52 Ibid., chapter 2, p. 37.

53 Ibid. p. 39.

54 Ibid., chapter 3, p. 59.

55 Erik Larson writing for *Time* reports that in some Alaskan villages more than half the people died while in one, Teller Mission (now Brevig Mission), 85 percent of the residents perished in a week. In New York City between September 1918 and March 1919 33,387 people, over one percentage of the population, died of influenza ("The Flu Hunters," February 23, 1998, vol. 151, no. 7, p. 57).

Chapter 6 — The North Atlantic Culture and Its Impact on Missions

1   *World Christian Handbook* (second edition, 1952), "The World Mission of the Church—a Survey" by E. L. Bingle, sec. 4, p. 11.
2   Ibid., sec. 9, p. 25.
3   Ibid., chapter 2 "Trends in World Evangelism" by Elmer G. Homrighausen, sec. 1, pp. 32–33.
4   *World Christian Handbook* (third edition, 1957), preface by Sir Norman Grubb, sec. 2, pp. xviii—xix.
5   Ibid.
6   *World Christian Handbook*)fifth edition, 1968), preface by Sir Norman Grubb, p. 9.
7   Ibid., "Protestantism and Anglican Churches and Missions" by Max Warren, p. 3.
8   *Mission Handbook: USA/Canada Protestant Overseas Missions* (fourteenth edition, 1989), chapter 2 "The Sending Body" by Samuel H. Moffett, p. 24.
9   It is important to make a distinction between fundamentalism conceived in this way and the so-called cults. Fundamentalism is occasionally described as though it were a cult, and cults may themselves be in militant opposition to the status quo, but to confuse the two is to lose the distinction of pedigree. Fundamentalism of whatever stripe is spawned as members of ancient religious traditions reach back through those traditions to fix in a selective way on certain traditional doctrines. It can even be understood as an attitude toward belief as opposed to adherence to specific beliefs. Cults by contrast are of more recent origin and usually invest tremendous authority in a seminal figure who has a new revelation.
10 These two are separate doctrines. Muslims, for example, affirm Christ's virgin birth but deny his deity. And pagans often affirm the deity of entities conceived through divine intercourse which would mean those beings were not born of virgins.
11 Gatewood, *Controversy in the Twenties* (Vanderbilt, University, 1969), chapter 2 "Evolution: focus of the Fundamentalist Offensive," p. 115.
12 Unger, Walter, *"Earnestly Contending for the Faith": The Role of the Niagara Bible Conference in the Emergence of American Fundamentalism, 1875–1900* (unpublished doctoral thesis submitted to Simon Fraser University, 1981).

13 Tillich, Paul, *Systematic Theology*, volume 1, introduction, section A "The Point of View," subsection 1 "Message and Situation," p. 3.

14 Cox, Harvey, *The Secular City* (The Macmillian Company, New York, 1965), part 1 "The Coming of the Secular City," chapter 1 "The Biblical Sources of Secularism," p. 18.

15 Peter Stoicheff in his essay "The Chaos of Metafiction" lists the characteristics shared by metafiction and chaos as including nonlinearity, self-reflexivity, irreversibility, and self-organization (*Chaos and Order*, edited by N. Katherine Hayles, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1991), p. 85. In their book *The Sixth Extinction* (Doubleday, New York, 1995) Richard Leakey and Roger Lewin suggest that chaos theory may provide an appropriate model for current evolutionary theory (see chapter 7 "Endless Forms Most Beautiful," p. 109 and chapter 9 "Stability and Chaos in Ecology"). From the beginning, as Princeton theologian Charles Hodge (*What is Darwinism?*, Scribners, Armstrong and Company, New York, 1874) was not slow to point out, there has been a random quality to Darwinism. This quality not only anticipated chaos theory but made Darwinists quite comfortable with it. It is helpful to remember that biology, which has bifurcated into a myriad of sciences, was once called "natural history," and that its historical component has been preserved in evolution. Of course history itself is fundamentally story.

16 Dennett, Daniel C., *Darwin's Dangerous Idea* (Simon & Schuster, New York, 1995), chapter 3 "Universal Acid," section 1 "Early Reactions," p. 63.

17 Ibid., chapter 4 "The Tree of Life," section 2 "Color-coding a Species on the Tree," p. 95.

18 Ibid., section 3 "Retrospective Coronations: Mitochondrial Eve and Invisible Beginnings," p. 96.

19 Ibid., chapter 8 "Biology is Engineering," section 4 "Original Sin and the Birth of Meaning," p. 200.

20 It is not sufficiently appreciated that this care for detail is central to the fundamentalists' view of God. They argue that God's true greatness is revealed not in his ability to direct the broad course of events, but in his care over even the minutia of creation.

21 Asimov, Isaac, *Asimov's Guide to the Bible: The Old Testament* (Avon Books, New York, 1968), chapter 23 "Isaiah," pp. 524–526.

22   In this regard it is of some interest to note that among Jehovah's Witnesses, a modern form of Arianism, Christ is identified with the archangel Michael. Satan of course is also an archangel.

23   Hebrew fathers divided their estates into equal parts that exceeded the number of children they had by one. That extra portion was added to the inheritance of the firstborn. He got a "double portion."

24   Kenotic theologians interpret the passage as implying an alteration of the very being of God in Christ (he emptied himself) while more traditional theologians see the passage as implying a veiling of the divine nature in order to fulfill the servant role. The RSV and ASV translations have a more ontological focus, the KJV and NIV a less ontological focus.

25   Pinker, Steven, *How the Mind Works* (W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1997), chapter 2 "Thinking Machines," p. 138.

26   Aquinas builds to this conclusion in his *Summa Theologica* (edited by Anton C. Pegis, Random House, New York, 1948). Aquinas argues that God as supreme act is supremely knowable, that the ultimate perfection of the rational creature is to be found in God who as its creator is the source of its being, and that therefore the blessed will see the essence of God (Question XII: How God is known by us, First Article, p.71). He then makes the point that as the author of intellectual power, God can be seen by the intellect, but because the intellectual power of the creature is not the essence of God, the created intellect must see God through some likeness of God that itself enables the intellect to see the essence of God (Question XII, Second Article, pp. 73–74). In fact, since God is incorporeal, God cannot be seen. God cannot even be imagined. God can only be apprehended by the intellect (Question XII, Third Article, p. 75). It is grace, not natural power that makes this possible (Question XII, Fourth Article, p. 77). However, to see the essence of God is not to know what God knows since no created intellect can fully comprehend God (Question XII, Eighth Article, p. 86). Instead, grace builds on our natural ability to know something of God [e.g. that God exists and is the first cause] by the images of God's effects (Question XII, Twelfth Article, pp. 93–94, Thirteenth Article, p. 95). Words are signs or ideas and ideas are similitudes of things [this following Aristotle], and God can be named (Question XIII The Names of God, First Article, p. 98). However, God's names are not synonymous with God (Question XIII, Fourth Article, p.

104), but are instead to be understood analogically (Question XIII, Tenth Article, pp. 120–121).

27 Tillich, Paul, *Systematic Theology*, volume 1, part 1 "Reason and Revelation," chapter 2 "The Reality of Revelation," section A "The Meaning of Revelation," sub-section 4 "The Knowledge of Revelation," p.131.

28 Ibid., section D "The Ground of Revelation," sub-section 13 "God and the Mystery of Revelation," p.156.

29 Ibid., section B "Reason in Existence," sub-section "The Conflict within Actual Reason and the Quest for Revelation," pp. 83–84.

30 Ibid., chapter 2, section C "Reason in Final Revelation," sub-section 9 "Final Revelation Overcoming the Conflict of Autonomy and Heteronomy," p. 147.

31 Ibid., p. 148. Context shows that Jesus is stressing the authority he has from the Father. Tillich plucks the passage from mid-verse and does not even allow Jesus to complete his sentence, though when quoting the passage again (vol. 2, part 3, chapter 2, section A, sub-section 4, p. 126) Tillich does complete the sentence. Nor does Tillich make any effort to harmonize his understanding of this passage with other passages in John where Jesus plainly insists that people should believe in him (John 9:35–38; 14:1 and 11; 17:20–21are among the clearest examples). Such clumsy handling of Scripture suggests what Tillich was wise to quote it as infrequently as he did.

32 Ibid., section D, sub-section 13 "Final Revelation and the Word of God," p. 157.

33 Ibid., pp. 157–158.

34 Ibid., volume 2, part 3 "Existence and the Christ," chapter 1 "Existence and the Quest for the Christ," section C "The Marks of Man's Estrangement and the Concept of Sin," sub-section 1 "Estrangement and Sin," pp. 44–45.

35 Ibid., p. 46.

36 Ibid., sub-section 5 "Estrangement as Fact and Act," p. 56. Indeed, he calls the traditional Christian teaching that sin entered the world by one man (the teaching established by Paul in Romans 5:12) an absurdity that no one can seriously defend (part 3, chapter 2, section B, sub-section 4, p. 130).

37 Ibid., chapter 2 "The Reality of the Christ," section A "Jesus as the Christ," sub-section 2 "Event, Fact, and Reception," p. 98.

38 Ibid., sub-section 3 "History and the Christ," p. 99.

39 Ibid., sub-section 4 "The Research for the Historical Jesus and Its Failure," p. 102.

40 Ibid., p. 105.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid., section B "The New Being in Jesus as the Christ," sub-section 4 "The New Being in the Christ as the Conquest of Estrangement," p. 133.

43 Ibid., p. 127.

44 Ibid., p. 135.

45 Ibid., section E "The New Being in Jesus as the Christ as the Power of Salvation," sub-section 1 "The Meaning of Salvation," p. 167.

46 Ibid., sub-section 4 "Principles of the Doctrine of Atonement," pp. 173–176.

47 Like any living theology, dispensationalism has developed in several distinct but related directions. There are fewer classic dispensationalists today, more who would classify themselves as being either revised and progressive dispensationalists. Our purpose here is not to examine any one expression exhaustively, nor to discuss the extraordinary dissension dispensationalism has fostered even among those who might have been expected to respond sympathetically. Rather we are only using the model as an illustration of the diversity that has appeared with the larger Protestant tradition. It is that diversity that is of primary interest to us.

48 *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* (December 1997, volume 40, no. 4), "Christian Prophecy and Canon in the Second Century: A Response to B. B. Warfield" by Gary Steven Shogren, pp. 609–626.

49 I Corinthians 12:31.

50 Donald W. Dayton in *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Francis Asbury Press, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1987) denies that glossolalia of itself can serve to define Pentecostalism. Tongues, he points out in chapter 1 "Toward a Theological Analysis of Pentecostalism," are a fairly common religious phenomenon and transcends Pentecostalism per se. He argues instead that Pentecostalism's belief that it is restoring the original apostolic faith is more characteristic of the movement than is tongues. While I agree that one can overemphasis the importance of tongues in the Pentecostal movement, I am not convinced that one can minimize the importance of glossolalia in Pentecostalism by merely pointing to instances where it

predates the Pentecostal movement. In fact, Pentecostals tend to interpret such instances as evidences of Pentecostalism. Second, while it is true that Pentecostals understand themselves to be restoring the apostolic tradition, a restorationist motif (as Dayton calls it on page 25) was characteristic of early Protestantism as well. Thus while a theological analysis of Pentecostalism must go beyond glossolalia, it must also recognize the importance of glossolalia in the origins of the movement.

51   Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, Epilogue "The Emergence of Pentecostalism," pp. 177–178.

52   Hyatt, Eddie L., *2000 Years of Charismatic Christianity* (Hyatt International Ministries, Inc., Chicota, Texas, 1996), part 7 "The Early 1900s," chapter 21 "Charles Fox Parham and Bethel Bible College," p. 149.

53   Ibid., p. 151.

54   Brumback, Carl, *Suddenly . . . from Heaven* (Gospel Publishing House, Springfield, Missouri, 1961), part 1 "The Revival that Was (1901–1929)," chapter 2 "Pentecost at Topeka," p. 24.

55   Ibid., p. 25.

56   Ibid., chapter 3 "A Notable Miracle," p. 27.

57   Ibid., p. 29.

58   Ibid., chapter 5 "The Azusa Stable," pp. 34–36.

59   Ibid., chapter 13 "The Secret Committee's Report," p. 175.

60   Goddard, Burton, *Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Missions* (Thomas Nelson and Sons, Camden, New Jersey, 1967), "Assemblies of God Foreign Missions Department," p. 42.

61   Reasons for rejecting the gift were different among the conservative traditions. Those which stressed holiness objected to charismatic claims that the Holy Spirit could indwell believers without giving them victory over sin. Dispensationalists because of their own interpretation of history insisted that the miraculous gifts were unnecessary after the completion of the canon and had ceased. And many of the fundamentalist groups looked askance at the charismatic movement precisely because it affected Roman Catholics. They insisted that it could not for that reason alone be of God.

62   Synan, Vinson, *The Spirit Said 'Grow'* (Missions Advanced Research and Communications Center [MARC], A Division of World Vision International, 1992), chapter 1 "A global family, size and scope of the movement," section "Third Wavers," p. 9.

63 For example, the November 1996 issue of *D* magazine (a Dallas publication) has a cover story by Kimberly Goad entitled "The Pink Mafia" which details exactly how the gay community targeted the power structure of Dallas and refers specifically to their campaign to infiltrate and change the churches.

64 *Fundamentalism Observed* (the University of Chicago Press, 1991), Martin, Marty E. and Appleby, R. Scott, editors, introduction, ix; chapter 1 "North American Protestant Fundamentalism" by Nancy T. Ammerman, p. 14; chapter 15 "Conclusion: an Interim report on a Hypothetical Family," by Martin E. martin and R. Scott Appleby, pp. 824, 827. Plainly in spite of Tillich's identification of fundamentalism and European orthodoxy, the scholars think it important to stress this point.

65 Ibid., introduction, p. ix.

66 Ibid., chapter 15, p. 818.

67 Ibid., chapter 3 "Protestant Fundamentalism in Latin America" by Pablo A. Deiros, pp. 179–180.

68 Ibid., p. 818. The Virgin Birth is used as an example of such a litmus test. The example is interesting since it suggests that the real target of the study is Christian fundamentalism and that Christian fundamentalists are indeed the heirs of European orthodoxy.

69 Ibid., chapter 15, p. 821.

70 Ibid., p. 822.

71 Ibid., p. 824.

72 Ibid., p. 822.

73 *The Christian Century* (July 29, 1992), "Fundamentalism in the World" by Robert Wuthnow, p. 456.

Chapter 7 — Roman Catholicism, Missions, and the Ecumenical Movement

1 *World Christian Handbook* (1949), Kenneth G. Grubb, editor, "The Religious Situation in the United States," by Kenneth Scott Latourette, p. 83.

2 Wuthnow, Robert, *The Restructuring of American Religion* (Princeton University Press, 1988), chapter 5 "Decline of Denominationalism," p. 74.

3   *World Christian Handbook* (1952), E. J. Bingle and Kenneth
      Grubb, editors, "The World Mission of the Church—A Survey,"
      p. 11.
4   *Ibid.* (1957), E. J. Bingle and Sir Kenneth G. Grubb, editors,
      preface by Sir Kenneth G. Grubb, section 1, p. xi.
5   *Ibid.*, section 2, p. xxii.
6   Howard, David M., *The Costly Harvest* (Tyndale House Pub-
      lishers, Wheaton, Illinois, 1975), chapter 6 "We Don't Want
      Protestants," p. 74.
7   Escobar, Samuel, "The Church in Latin America After 500
      Years: Understanding the Past" (unpublished paper), p. 13.
8   For example, the Coptic tradition, as we observed in chapter 5,
      has endured in Africa from the earliest days of Christianity,
      while in the east the Nestorian Church was established in
      China where it continued from the seventh to the tenth centu-
      ries and, despite innumerable persecutions, survives in Afghan-
      istan until today.. And as we saw in chapter 4, Nestorian
      interpretations defined the confessional stance of the isolated
      church in India until that church joined the Roman
      communion.
9   Tobit, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, the Wisdom of Solomon,
      and two of the books of Maccabees were included among the
      Old Testament books, and apocryphal chapters were added to
      the books of Esther and Daniel. The Prayer of Manasseh and I
      and II Esdras were excluded from the canon.
10   This treaty established a concordat between the Holy See and
      Italy. The Unification of Italy was completed in 1871. In the
      process the Italian government confiscated all papal property
      except a few buildings on and around Vatican Hill. The Italian
      government then offered the popes an annual indemnity which
      all subsequent popes refused, preferring to consider them-
      selves prisoners. This problem, called "the Roman Question,"
      was what the Lateran Treaty sought to resolve. Under the
      terms of the treaty a new state called Vatican City was estab-
      lished and the pope's inviolability was guaranteed by the Ital-
      ian government.
11   In September of that year other non-Catholic Christians
      including Protestants were also invited to attend. This was, like
      the Council of Trent to which Protestants were also invited,
      intended to be an ecumenical council.
12   In April a national election was held, but the French nation,
      exercising the power of the ballot in history's first example of

universal manhood suffrage, elected a more moderate Assembly than the radicals in Paris wanted. The workers revolted again in June but were mercilessly suppressed.

13 When challenged on this by a dissenting bishop, the pope reportedly replied, "Tradition? I am tradition."

14 Called "the Eastern Schism," these excommunications had defined the relationship between the Eastern and Western churches since July of 1054 when Pope Leo IX (1049–1054) and Michael Cerularius, the patriarch of Constantinople and considered second only to the pope, denied the validity of one another's communions.

15 *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (January 1998, volume 22, Number 1), "Shaking the Foundations: World War I, the Western Allies, and German Protestant Missions" by Richard V. Pierard, p. 13.

16 Hogg, William Richey, *Ecumenical Foundations* (Harper and Brothers, New York, 1952), chapter 4 "From Edinburgh to Crans, 1910–20," p. 149.

17 Ibid., chapter 2 "Nineteenth-Century Missionary Co-operation," p. 25.

18 Ibid., pp. 31, 33.

19 Ibid., p. 20.

20 Ibid., p. 41.

21 Ibid., pp. 90–91, 93.

22 Ibid., p. 61.

23 Ibid., chapter 3 "The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1910," p. 139.

24 Ibid., p. 130.

25 Ibid., p. 101.

26 Ibid., chapter 2, p. 24; chapter 3, p. 133.

27 Ibid., chapter 3, p.134.

28 Ibid., chapter 2, p. 32. Faith missions are those missions which rely on private donations to support their missionaries. Typically missionaries must raise this support themselves, relying on churches or individuals for the funds. These funds are turned over to the faith mission which either designates them for the missionary's private use or puts them in a common kitty from which all missionaries associated with the organization draw.

29 Frizen, Edwin L., *75 Years of IFMA: 1917–1992* (William Carey Library, Pasadena, 1992), part 1 "The Rise of

Nondenominational Protestant Missions," chapter 4 "The Contest 1910–1917," pp. 95–96.

30   Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations*, chapter 3, p. 117.

31   Ibid., chapter 4, p. 144.

32   Ibid., chapter 3, p. 128.

33   Ibid., chapter 4, p. 145.

34   Ibid., chapter 3, p. 144; chapter 4, p. 162.

35   Ibid., chapter 4, pp. 160–162.

36   Ibid., p. 146.

37   Ibid., p. 152.

38   Ibid., p. 156.

39   Neill, Stephen, *A History of Christian Missions*, part 2, chapter 12 "Form Mission to Church," p. 410.

40   Ibid., p. 411.

41   Ibid., p. 412.

42   Frizen, *75 Years of IFMA*, part 2 "The Beginning and Development of IFMA," chapter 5 "The IFMA Organized," p. 103.

43   Ibid., part 1 "The Rise of Nondenominational Protestant Missions in America," chapter 4, pp. 90–91.

44   Ibid., p. 89.

45   Ibid., p. 91.

46   Ibid., p. 90. It is of some interest that premillennialism, at least in the memory of the heirs of fundamentalism, has taken on an importance it does not seem to have had for the original fundamentalists. Though premillennialism was a doctrine that some fundamentalists defended, it was, as the confessional lists of chapter 6 show, one of several and did not even make all the lists. Indeed, it was the last to be included in the IFMA's own confessional statement.

47   Ibid., part 2, chapter 5, pp. 103, 107.

48   Ibid., pp. 109–110.

49   *Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission* (Stephen Neill, Gerald H. Anderson, and John Goodwin, editors, United Society for Christian Literature, Lutterworth Press, London, 1970), "World Council of Churches" by W. A. Visser't Hooft, p. 658.

50   Ibid.

51   Frizen, *75 Years of IFMA*, part 2, chapter 5, pp. 107–108. Hogg in *Ecumenical Foundations*, chapter 3, p. 131, writes that Edinburgh "touched not at all upon women's work," and that '[t]o many, Edinburgh's most important omission was Latin America." The exclusion of Latin America was done to win Anglican

cooperation. Although Hogg says that the omission of women's work "produced little or no repercussions" and although he points out that a rump session was held at Edinburgh to discuss Latin America's need and that this was followed by a two day conference on missions in Latin America in New York in march 1913 (p. 132), the presence of several Latin American missions as well as the Woman's Union Missionary Society during the early meeting of the IFMA seems significant.

52   Ibid., p. 111.

53   Ibid., 113.

54   *Mission Handbook: US/Canada Protestant Ministries Overseas* (14ᵗʰ edition, W. Dayton Roberts and John A Stewart, editors), chapter 4 "That the World May Believe" by Dr. Arthur F. Glasser, p. 36.

55   Ibid., Goddard, Burton L. (editor), *The Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Missions*, "Evangelical Foreign Missions Association" by Clyde W. Taylor, pp. 256–257; Frizen, *75 Years of IFMA*, part 3 "Expanding the Effectiveness of Ministry, 1950–1992," chapter 10 "Relationships," p. 256.

56   *Life and Work* (July 1986), "The Pope is no longer Anti-Christ, says Assembly," p. 10.

Chapter 8 — Toward a Theology of the Spirit

1   The word "spirit" is used to translate both the Hebrew word *ruah* and Greek word *pneuma*, words which themselves mean "breath" and "wind." The ancients interpreted such phenomena as evidence of invisible spiritual forces. Our word "ghost" comes from the Middle English *goost* which comes from the Old English *gast* which is derived from the German geist, all of which had similar connotations. Hence we refer to the Holy Spirit or the Holy Ghost. The relationship between God's spoken word and his Spirit is strikingly emphasized by the close connection between breathing and speaking.

2   In both passages these are qualified as God's holy Spirit.

3   Smeaton, George, *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (The Banner of Truth Trust, Edinburgh, Scotland, 1980 [first published in 1882]), First Division, "The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit—the Biblical Testimony," p. 27.

4   The additions distinguishing the final form from earlier versions which go back at least to the fourth century have nothing to do with the Holy Spirit. Those additions consist of the words

or phrases: "maker of heaven and earth," "conceived," "dead," "He descended into hell" (a phrase that many including Lutherans find problematic), "almighty," "catholic," and "the communion of saints."

5   Ward, Benedicta (translator), *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers* (Mowbrat: London and Oxford, 1975), "Alpha: Anthony the Great," verse 30.

6   Ibid., "Alpha: Arsenius," verse 42. The description is obviously based on Acts 11:24 so may well be formulaic.

7   Ibid., "Epsilon: Ephrem," verse 2.

8   Ibid., "Zeta: Zacharias," verses 2 and 3.

9   Ibid., "Iota: John the Dwarf," verse 10.

10 Ibid., "Lambda: Longinus," verse 5.

11 Ibid., "Omicron: Orsisius," verse 2.

12 Ibid., "Pi: Poemen," verse 136.

13 Ibid., "Rho: An Abba of Rome," verse 1.

14 Calvin, John, *Institutes*, book 1, chapter 9, sections 1–3.

15 Ibid., chapter 13, sections 14–15.

16 Ibid., book 3, chapter 1, section 1.

17 Ibid., section 2.

18 Ibid., section 4.

19 Ibid., chapter 20, section 5.

20 Ibid., book 4, chapter 14, section 9.

21 Ibid., chapter 16, section 25. In the next section, section 26, Calvin argues that although it is important, baptism is not necessary for salvation.

22 *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (January 1998, volume 22, Number 1), "William Carey, Modern Missions, and the Moravian Influence" by David A. Schattschneider, pp. 12.

23 Edwards, Jonathan, *An Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer*, part 2, section 7.

24 Fuller, Andrew, *The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptance*, part 3, p. 75.

25 Ibid. Earlier Fuller when discussing Adam's holiness, argues that the work of the Holy Spirit is nothing less than to restore us to our original state (part 3, p. 60).

26 Carey, William, *An Enquiry into the Obligation of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathen*, section 5 "An Enquiry into the duty of Christians in general, and what means ought to be used, in order to promote this work."

27   Rowe, William A. C. Rowe, *One Lord, One Faith* (Apostolic Publications, Penygroes Llanelli, Dyfed, South Wales, July 1988), section 9 "Governmental," chapter 38 "Divine Unity," p. 280.

28   Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, chapter 6 "The Rise of Premillennialism," p. 149.

29   Martin, David, *Tongues of Fire: the Expansion of Pentecostalism in Latin America* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), introduction, pp. 5–6.

30   Stoll, David, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant? The Politics of Evangelical Growth* (University of California Press, Berkley, 1990), chapter 5 "The Evangelical Awakening in Latin America."

31   Martin, *Tongues of Fire*, chapter 1 "Anglo and Latin: Rival Civilizations, Alternate Patterns," p. 22.

32   Ibid., p. 13.

33   Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?*, chapter 5.

34   In many ways postmodernism seems reminiscent of Madhyamika Buddhism as developed in second century AD India by Nagarjuna. The Madhyamika, critiquing all knowledge in the most radical way, insists that no part of any system is self-evident and concludes that while knowledge does have practical value in this life, it is devoid of any metaphysical significance. For the Madhyamika both perception and the inferences built upon it are of only provisional value. In an effort to illustrate his point Nagarjuna tried to demonstrate that all human thought runs to paradox and that no point of view can be consistently maintained. He also believed that when human beings realized the full implications of this, they would, like the Buddha, become compassionate toward others. Madhyamika Buddhism has been dismissed as mere nihilism by both Hindus and Jains, but Candrakitti writing in the seventh century AD argued that it differed from ordinary nihilism in two important ways. First its position is based on logical scrutiny of experience which implies a positive evaluation of logic, and second the Madhyamika affirms a belief in a positive and benevolent Ultimate.

35   In fact post-modernism can be interpreted as an example of the re-emergent tribalism.

36   Interestingly Jews, Christians, and Muslims while allowing for the possibility of demonic possession have no tradition of angelic possession. God's spirit may infill a person but an angel from God will not. Angels convey messages or perform tasks but they do not possess.

37 Tyson, Elizabeth Dodge, *An Analysis of Neopentecostal Mission Theology* (Ph.D. thesis for the University of Edinburgh, 1991), chapter 3 "Theology of Missions: Biblical and Theological Foundations," p. 95. Dr. Tyson also uses neopentecostal and charismatic as synonyms, a decision I find insightful and helpful.

38 *World Missionary Conference 1910 Historical Record and Addresses Volume IX* (Published by Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier in Edinburgh and London), "The Problem of Co-Operation Between Foreign and native Workers" by Rev. V. S. Azariah, p. 306.

39 Ibid., p. 315. Italics and capitalization in the original.

40 Kayser, John G., *Criteria and Predictors of Missionary Cross-Cultural Competence in Selected North American Evangelical Missions* (Ph.D. thesis for the University of Edinburgh), chapter 6 "Interpretation of Findings," p. 412.

41 Ibid., p. 411.

Chapter 9 — The Shape of Post-Protestant Faiths

1 For example, in Mack B. Stokes's *Major United Methodist Beliefs* (Abingdon Press, Nashville, 1971), we read about "the ideal of world brotherhood in the family of God" and of missionaries going into "the far-flung corners of the earth with the message of the love of God" (chapter 12 "We Believe in the Church," part 2 "The Glory of the Church," section 6 "The Message About Missions," p. 101). We read that communities can maintain high ethical standards only if they accept that those standards are rooted in God (chapter 13 "We Believe in the Kingdom of God," part 3 "The Key Principle," p. 108). We read that United Methodism is a millenarian church and believes that "God will, in his own time and way, inaugurate his new era under Christ in glory, power, and love" (chapter 15 "some United Methodist Attitudes," part 1 "The Second Coming of Christ," p. 116). The world transforming power of the gospel in preparation for the return of Christ has been an important part of the Methodist vision throughout its history. That vision was and remains postmillennial.

2 Latourette, Kenneth Scott, *The Unquenchable Light*, chapter 1 "The Initial Advance to AD 500," p. 6.

3 By sects we mean a religious movements which while they have significant tensions within their societies nevertheless have

prior ties to other established religious organizations and which usually show some willingness to accommodate dominant cultural and social realities. They are to be distinguished from cults, the latter being more extreme and often quite alien to the surrounding culture with little or no way to accommodate to it. This distinction between sects and cults goes back to Ernst Troeltsch's *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen.* (The English translation *The Social Teaching of the Christian Church* came out in 1931.)

4   It does not follow of course that the believer cannot quench the Spirit. Holy Spirit churches often teach that believers have such power. One can choose to believe or not to believe. Once one believes one can choose to submit or resist. While the Holy Spirit, in his time honored role as the Hound of Heaven, will pursue a recalcitrant believer, he may not pursue the believer indefinitely.

5   *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (January 1998, volume 22, Number 1) "Persecution of Christians in the Contemporary World" by Paul Marshall, p. 2.

6   Wuthnow, Robert, *The Restructuring of American Religion* (Princeton University Press, 1988), chapter 9 "Fueling the Tensions," pp. 219–221.

7   Berlin, Isaiah, *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York, 1969), see especially the third essay "Two Concepts of Liberty."

8   It does not follow that such a position leads to antinomianism (although of course it may). Prof. Berlin is quite clear that he does not believe that freedom is always good or that it is the only value that should determine human behavior.

9   In fact theological disputes cannot be resolved by an appeal to Scripture. If they could, they would not be theological disputes.
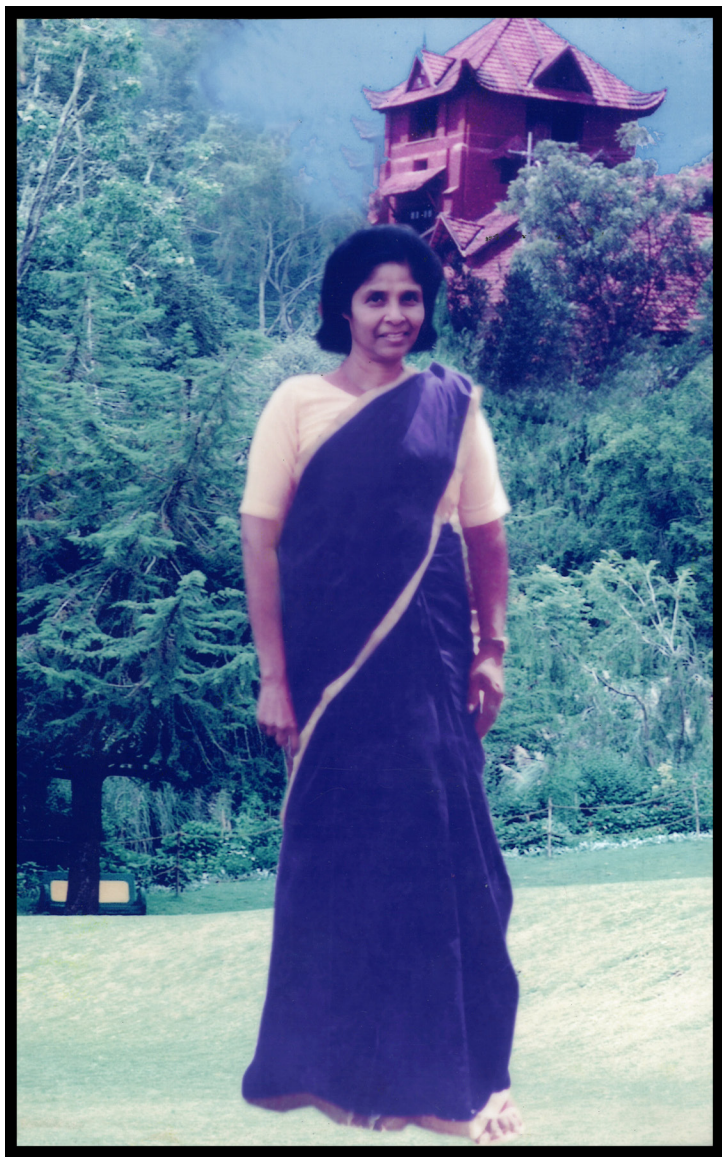
In the Summer of 2017, Salma traveled to Italy and stayed in Rome, near the Vatican. She presented her scholarly husband's books and writings to the Vatican Library. In September of 2017 she received a thank you letter from Pope Francis expressing appreciation, acknowledging the gift of inscribed copies of Dr. Ben Michael Carter's writings with his personal photo with the Papal seal.

The years wrap us unevenly

In their variegated textures.

For time unfolds according to its order.

But we get old a piece at a time.

A string of gray surrounds us.

A persistent stiffness,

A crumb of decay, a sudden splinter of pain.

Old age comes unevenly.

Rapping at us like a woodpecker.

Dr. Ben Michael Carter

**Mike's library is available for viewing at 2505 W. Northgate Drive in Irving Texas.**

From the Vatican, 19 September 2017

Dear Ms Carter,

I am writing to acknowledge the gift of inscribed copies of Dr Ben Michael Carter's writings, which you presented to His Holiness Pope Francis.

In expressing appreciation for this kind gesture, I am pleased to assure you of His Holiness's prayers for your late husband and for you and your intentions.
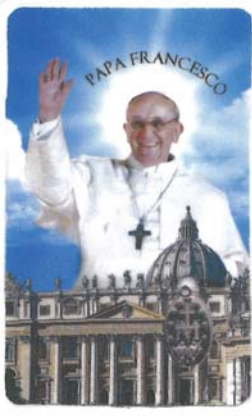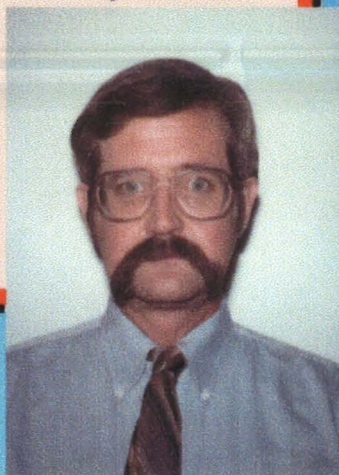
Yours sincerely,

Monsignor Paolo Borgia
Assessor

Ms Salma Carunia Carter
4077 N Belt Line Road, Apartment 2030
Irving, TX 75038-8531
USA

Dr. Carter argues that the church that Protestant missionaries planted in the non-Western World can no longer be adequately described as a Protestant church. Instead, it has produced what is effectively a new way of understanding Christian truth. This new paradigm, recently emerged from Protestantism, shares much in common with Protestantism, but also embraces a host of theologies and ecclesiologies that reflect developments distinct from those that produced the Reformation. Dr. Carter traces the origins of this new theological paradigm and argues that it will largely determine the future of non-Western Christianity.

Ben Carter earned a B.A. in economic history from the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, an M.A. in theological studies from Wheaton College, an M.Th. from the University of Aberdeen in Scotland, and a Ph.D. in Christianity in the non-western world from the University of Edinburgh in Scotland. He has published two previous books: *The Depersonalization of God* (University Press of America, 1989) and *Unity in Diversity* (University Press of America, 1991) as well as several articles and reviews.