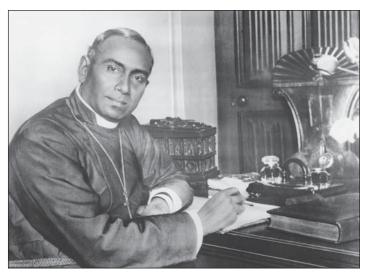
Vol. 30, No. 4 October 2006

# **International Bulletin**

# Edinburgh 1910: Friendship and the Boundaries of Christendom

S everal of the articles in this issue relate directly to the extraordinary World Missionary Conference convened in Edinburgh from June 14 to 23, 1910. At that time, Europe's global hegemony was unrivaled, and old Christendom's self-assurance had reached its peak. That the nations whose professed religion was Christianity should have come to dominate the world seemed not at all surprising, since Western civilization's inner élan was thought to be Christianity itself.



The Great War of 1914–18 soon plunged the "Christian" nations into one of the bloodiest and most meaningless paroxysms of state-sanctioned murder in humankind's history of pathological addiction to violence and genocide. At least for European missionaries, the war exposed the naïveté of missionary apologetics. Missionaries were unable to offer any credible rejoinder to the charge that the West neither believed nor practiced what the Bible actually taught.

Christopher Anderson's article on the 1919 Methodist Missionary Fair is a reminder that although old Christendom's claim to moral superiority had been exposed as a farce, it would take some time before U.S. missionaries began to reach similar conclusions about their own nation. But within the fifty years following the Second World War, profound uncertainty arose concerning the moral legitimacy of America's global economic *Continued next page* 

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# of Missionary Research

and military modus operandi, fueled by the nation's ethically indefensible and militarily disastrous escapades in Central America, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East. Only now, when it may be too late, have Christians on this continent—for long seeing nothing amiss in the unholy union between personal piety and blind nationalism—begun to sense the nation's precarious position. U.S. Christians, at least in some quarters, seem increasingly troubled by the thought that their nation may be on its way to joining the long list of expired empires, each blinded by hubris, deluded by self-absorption, addicted to exploitation, and—if need be—determined to wreak destruction on those who stand in its way.

It is appropriate, then, that this issue of the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH should pay modest tribute to Vendanayagam Samuel Azariah (1874–1945), whose picture (thanks to the Indian Missionary Society, Tirunelveli, Palayamkottai, South India) appears on the previous page. When he attended the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, he was serving with the Indian Missionary Society in Dornakal. Within two years, and until his death in 1945, he would be the first and sole Indian Anglican diocesan bishop. Given the continuing economic polarities and social inequities within the global community of faith, Azariah's passionate appeal is at least as pertinent today as it was when he made it nearly a century ago. "Missionaries," he lamented, "except for a few of the very best, seem . . . to fail very largely in getting rid of an air of patronage and condescension, and in establishing a genuinely brotherly and happy relation as between equals with their Indian flocks.... 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."<sup>1</sup>

by conference statisticians provides a backdrop helpful to understanding our own reality, with the surging vitality of Christianity virtually everywhere except in the world of old Christendom. The challenges facing statisticians, demographers, and cartographers already at work producing the atlas of world Christianity for Edinburgh's 2010 centenary commemoration are, if anything, even more daunting that those that confronted their predecessors. The boundaries of nation-states or continents are no longer coterminous with any vital ecclesiastical counterpart. Christianity is now a *world* religion. The lands of old Christendom, furthermore, no longer make any pretense to be *Christian*, while in the United States, popular profession is consistently contradicted by greed and voided by guns. Christianity today, as in its earliest manifestation, is neither aligned with nor supported by the apparatus of political, economic, and military power. It is found, rather, in those parts of the world that have never experienced the corrosive hubris of imagined superiority.

While neither the nature nor the extent of contemporary world Christianity could have been anticipated by the organizers of Edinburgh 1910, Kenneth Ross reminds us that the Western instinct to political, economic, military, and ecclesiastical domination is as powerful now as it was then. The centenary commemoration of Edinburgh 1910 to which he makes reference will therefore not be an occasion for self-congratulation but an opportunity for repentance—the only ground on which the friendship for which Azariah appealed can be built.

—Jonathan J. Bonk

#### Note

1. World Missionary Conference, 1910, to Consider Missionary Problems in Relation to the Non-Christian World (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910), 9:315.

Brian Stanley's masterful recounting of the challenges faced

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### Defining the Boundaries of Christendom: The Two Worlds of the World Missionary Conference, 1910

Brian Stanley

"E dinburgh 1910" is remembered as the conference that set the course of the twentieth-century ecumenical movement. Its delegates spanned the theological spectrum of the non-Roman Catholic Western missionary enterprise. Catholic Anglicans and those who would soon be known as fundamentalists sat together in apparent harmony. But this united front had been created only after a period of intense controversy in the preparations for the conference. The arguments rehearsed in this controversy raised fundamental questions of enduring relevance: Is there any theological validity to concepts such as "Christendom" or "the Christian world," and, conversely, "the non-Christian world"? What are the goals of Christian mission when it is conducted within a traditionally Christian society? Most fundamental of all, how do we define Christian identity? Just what is a Christian?

The Edinburgh conference was originally designated as the Third Ecumenical Missionary Conference (the first two being in London in 1888 and New York in 1900). It would be "ecumenical" in the sense that it would include the whole human race in its scope and discuss "problems of supreme moment for the missionary future of the world."<sup>1</sup> The first of the eight preparatory commissions set up in July 1908 originally bore the title "Carrying the Gospel to all the World."<sup>2</sup> In September 1908 the title of the conference itself was changed to "World Missionary Conference, 1910" to avoid any misunderstanding arising from the fact that "the word 'Ecumenical' has acquired a technical meaning"—in other words, its modern meaning, associated with the very movement for church unity to which Edinburgh gave birth.<sup>3</sup>

#### Statistics: the Source of the Controversy

Formally, therefore, Edinburgh 1910 was originally summoned to discuss how the Gospel could be proclaimed to the whole world. In reality its scope was limited from the outset by a decision that representation should be confined to "Societies and Boards administering funds and sending out missionaries for the propagation of the Gospel among non-Christian peoples." In the case of societies that worked in part in "professedly Christian countries," only that portion of their income "expended on work among non-Christians" could be counted.<sup>4</sup> In September 1908 the first (American) meeting of Commission I, entrusted with the topic "Carrying the Gospel to All the World," accordingly ruled that its subcommittee on statistics should exclude "missionary work carried on on the Continent of Europe, with the exception of the Turkish Empire and southeastern Europe."5 Even before the geographic scope of the conference became a bone of contention, the principle had been conceded that most of Europe should be excluded from its purview as being "Christian" territory. In practice, therefore, the conference was not to be about mission to the world but about mission from "Christendom" to "heathendom." There was no dispute that the two worlds could

incar meaning —in the word ought not t

be differentiated on a territorial basis: the issue was where to draw the boundary.

On February 3, 1909, the British section of Commission I, known as the British Advisory Council, considered a letter from the American chairman of the commission, John R. Mott, to the British vice-chairman, George Robson.<sup>6</sup> At the meeting Bishop H. H. Montgomery, secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, asked a question regarding the brief that the commission had given to James S. Dennis's subcommittee on statistical survey, maps, and charts. Mott had written that Dennis would compile statistics on the same basis as for the New York Conference of 1900, which included South America, Palestine, Syria, and Turkey as Protestant mission fields.<sup>7</sup> Montgomery asked the meeting "whether missions of Protestant Bodies among Roman and Greek Churchmen were to be considered as coming within the province of the Conference, as Foreign Missions." No clear answer was forthcoming. Montgomery sent a memorandum of the meeting to Randall Davidson, archbishop of Canterbury, to Edward Talbot, bishop of Southwark, and probably also to Charles Gore, bishop of Birmingham.

The central question facing the commission, Montgomery noted, was how "to define 'Christendom', in order to settle from all the countries where to get statistics of foreign Missions, 'foreign' meaning outside Christendom. . . . Again the definition of the word 'foreign' is not yet settled. Some of us feel that the word ought not to exist in the Church of God."8 His concern had been triggered by a statement that "Roman Catholics were semi-Christians who had to be evangelized" and a reference to the archbishop's Mission to the Assyrian Christians as "a Mission to non-Christians." Montgomery's memorandum urged that missions to existing Christian communions should be put into a separate category and called "Missions of Help." Unless this were done, he anticipated the need for a minority report or even the withdrawal of the Anglican representatives.<sup>9</sup> His covering note formally asked whether the archbishop considered his Assyrian Mission to be a foreign mission and to non-Christians, though he had informed the meeting that Davidson's answer would be that it was "a Mission of Help to a Christian Church."10

The following morning Montgomery was granted an audience with the archbishop. As anticipated, Davidson took the view that the Assyrian mission was a "Mission of Help," not one of conversion. In reporting this response to Robson, Montgomery voiced anxiety over the larger question of the designation to be applied to "Missions of other Churches to other Christians, such as Roman Catholics and Greek Churchmen."11 The wording of his letter led Robson and J. H. Oldham (the conference secretary) to suppose that Anglo-Catholic concerns could be met, provided that a distinction was made in the statistics between mission work among non-Christians and that among Roman Catholics and the Eastern churches.12 Robson wrote to James Dennis requesting that such a distinction be made and received a cable in reply indicating "that the discrimination we desire in the statistics would be made." Robson accordingly reassured Montgomery that the conference statistics would adhere to this principle.13

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#### The Anglo-Catholic Ultimatum

The Anglo-Catholic bishops, however, were not to be satisfied merely by the separate tabulation of Protestant missions aimed at other Christian populations. Oldham now received letters from Talbot and Gore protesting against the intention to include in the conference statistical atlas statistics of Protestant missions working among Catholic, Orthodox, or Oriental Christian populations. Unless such an intention were revoked, it was clear that all Anglo-Catholic participation would be forfeited, and the hope that this conference could be the first to claim the full endorsement of the Church of England would be dashed.<sup>14</sup> Talbot informed Oldham that he, Gore, and Montgomery were agreed that any departure from the principle that the conference was concerned solely "with Christian efforts to communicate the Gospel to non-Christians" would "lead to the entire secession from the Conference of a large section of members of the Church of England, and very probably of others with them."<sup>15</sup>

In response Oldham assured Talbot that "any mission work which is immediately and predominantly directed towards Christian communities will be excluded from the returns."<sup>16</sup> He told Mott that the issue, though "of considerable moment," was not "really serious" and that the bishops were "unnecessarily scared." Perhaps they would be content with the exclusion of missions

# Oldham warned that they faced the resignation of twenty leading members.

directed at Catholic populations in Europe and would accept his suggestion that the Christianity of Latin America was "to a large extent . . . merely nominal."<sup>17</sup> But Oldham's anxiety deepened when Gore wrote a second letter demanding that *all* missions to Catholic populations should be excluded and suspending his chairmanship of Commission III, Education in Relation to the Christianisation of National Life.<sup>18</sup> Influenced by Gore's ominous words that his "friends among Churchmen will be very much 'awake' and alert on this subject," Oldham warned Mott that they faced the probable resignation of twenty leading members of the commissions, with the result that "the Church of England, so far as its real authorities are concerned, will be out of the conference."19 Oldham attempted to reassure Gore that "all work that aims at the conversion of persons from one form of Christianity to the other is necessarily excluded from the purview of the Conference."20 Gore's reply gave Oldham a month to obtain from the subcommittee on statistics a guarantee that their statistics would conform to the desired principle.<sup>21</sup> Gore kept his resignation from Commission III in abeyance but declined to resume his role as chairman, pending full satisfaction on this issue. Oldham warned Mott bleakly of potential disaster. Fearing that the membership of the commissions would be decimated, and Commission III wrecked entirely, Oldham brought forward his existing plans for a visit to America.

#### Narrowing the Conference Agenda

The seriousness of the situation was quickly grasped by Arthur Brown, the Presbyterian chairman of the American Executive, who convened an emergency meeting of the New York members of the Executive and Commission I. All agreed that the success of the conference was more important than the scope of its statistics, and that a signal must be given to Oldham pending a full meeting of the Executive and consultation with Mott (then in Moscow) as chairman of Commission I. It was resolved that Brown should send Oldham a cable: "New York members Executive and Statistical Committee personally willing to conform to judgment of British Executive on Statistics Confer Mott."<sup>22</sup>

Armed with this cable, Oldham met in turn Talbot, Gore, and Montgomery. The generous response from New York "helped matters enormously." He found all three bishops "extraordinarily cordial and friendly." Oldham informed Mott that the way was now clear for an ecumenical missionary conference supported fully by the Church of England as a national church, provided that two essential points were scrupulously observed: the exclusion of all reference to work among Roman Catholics or other Christians, and that "no surrender of conscientious conviction" be demanded of any participant in the conference.<sup>23</sup> With the stakes as high as they were, there was little doubt that Oldham would receive the backing he wanted from the British Executive Committee. On March 25 it resolved unanimously that the statistics of the conference should relate only to work among non-Christians.<sup>24</sup>

Mott's response was less predictable. Although convinced of "the essential non-Christian character of whole sections of the nominally Roman Catholic parts of Latin America," he was willing to concede that the conference should concentrate its forces on what all could agree were non-Christian fields. His principal anxiety was of defections from the ranks at the other (American) end of the ecclesiastical spectrum. He advised Oldham to avoid giving the American leaders when he met them in New York "the impression that the whole British Committee and Continental leaders have made up their minds finally on the subject." "Even if this is true," counseled Mott, it would not do to say so.<sup>25</sup>

While offering this advice to Oldham, Mott was instructing his trusted lieutenant, Hans P. Andersen, "to cultivate Oldham very thoroughly while he is in America." Andersen was given instructions to confer with Arthur Brown and with each American member of Commission I before Oldham got to them; Oldham must not be permitted to see any of the members on his own, and Andersen was to act in meetings attended by Oldham as Mott's appointed representative and report to him.<sup>26</sup> Mott did not yet trust Oldham to reach conclusions that were in harmony with his own priorities, which were shaped primarily by the interests of the American YMCA. Mott was unwilling to abandon those parts of the globe that had caused the controversy: "the admittedly non-Christian part of the population" in Latin America, the Levant, and Russia must remain part of the investigations of his commission. The statistical controversy was for him only one expression of a broader divergence that set some of the British and Continental members of the commission apart from the activist concerns of the American half of the commission.<sup>27</sup>

Andersen warned Mott that it would not be easy to reach an agreement, since "the underlying assumptions on the part of Anglicans in Great Britain and the assumptions underlying our thinking have been so different that we have not understood each other." One of the embarrassments facing the Americans was how to square the title of Commission I with the more limited scope of investigation now envisaged for it. Andersen made a suggestion that proved to be pivotal for the conference: "In reality it is not a Commission on Carrying the Gospel to All the World but a Commission on Carrying the Gospel to the Non-Christian World. It would help us very materially if the title of this Commission could be changed so as to avoid the implication that countries occupied by Roman Catholic and Eastern Churches are not to be considered in contemplating carrying the Gospel to all the world.... We could then clearly indicate that the scope of the Conference is limited and that the title 'World Missionary Conference' does not have reference to the field but to the participants."<sup>28</sup>

#### **Oldham's Diplomatic Mission to New York**

Oldham arrived in New York on April 4, 1909, and on the 7th met with the American Executive Committee and the American members of Commission I. He stated the British view that the scope of the statistics must conform to the basis of the conference, warned that any other position would result in the withdrawal of the Anglicans, and expressed great appreciation for the spirit shown by the American brethren in their cable. In response, members of Commission I expressed their willingness to confine their statistical inquiries to the conference basis, but Harlan P. Beach and Charles Watson, acting chairman of the commission in Mott's absence, proceeded to expound the "very serious" practical obstacles that this principle raised. Egypt, for example, had a million Copts living among about 15 million Muslims—did it fall in the Christian or the non-Christian world? In Turkey, the students of the Syrian Protestant College included Muslims as well as Oriental Christians. The British principle required that the former should be included in the returns but the latter excluded. Beach, on behalf of Commission I, proposed that where mission work was almost entirely among Roman or Eastern Christians, it should be excluded and reserved for a later, unofficial volume, but where the two classes of work were intermingled, full statistics should be given without attempting separation. It seems likely that this last proposal was opposed by Oldham as being inadequate to meet the Anglican case. "Much discussion" then ensued. Some, such as Thomas Barbour, foreign secretary of the American Baptist Missionary Union, found the prospective exclusion of much of their mission work hard to swallow but felt that no other course was possible. Robert E. Speer, who was firmly in favor of making the desired concession, put forward a resolution expressing full acceptance of the British position. With some modification, it was eventually adopted. Speer, Beach, and Oldham were appointed as a subcommittee to consider and report on the atlas and proposed unofficial statistical volume.29

On April 8 the meeting reconvened. American concerns focused on two practical questions. One was how to explain to the American Christian public a substantial restriction in the scope of the conference, involving the elimination of substantial tracts of the American Protestant mission field. The other was simply the enormous amount of statistical work that Dennis and Beach had devoted to the statistics and the atlas, which must now be done all over again in a way that overcame the dilemma of how to define the boundary between the Christian and non-Christian worlds.<sup>30</sup> To ameliorate the first difficulty, it was agreed to recommend to the British Executive Committee the adoption of Andersen's suggestion that the title of the commission be amended to "Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World." The response to the second problem was twofold. First, the meeting endorsed the proposal of the subcommittee on statistics that the Americans should be granted the right to issue their own comprehensive statistical volume after the conference.<sup>31</sup> Second, a motion was passed to the effect that "it is the judgment of the American Executive Committee that the statistical and atlas work of Commission I be geographical and that the British representatives present be asked to secure the judgment of the American and British members of Commission I as to whether the countries in which missions for both Christians and non-Christians are combined should be included or excluded and, if possible, a definite statement of the territory which should be excluded."<sup>32</sup>

The Americans had accepted reluctantly the Anglican definition of what constituted legitimate evangelistic endeavor but now threw it back to the British for detailed application on the basis of specifically territorial lines of division.<sup>33</sup> They also presented Oldham with a list of questions to be submitted to the British Advisory Council, the two most crucial of which were:

- What percentage of Christians, whether Protestant, Roman Catholic, or of Oriental churches, shall be deemed sufficient to change the country from the non-Christian to the Christian class?
- Shall Persia, Turkey, Syria, and Egypt, where the ultimate aim of the boards at work is to reach non-Christians, have all their statistics included?<sup>34</sup>

#### **Drawing the Frontiers**

On May 4 the British Advisory Council of Commission I gathered in London to hear Oldham report on his visit to New York. The proposals to change the title of Commission I and permit the American members to compile their own unofficial statistical survey were endorsed. Consideration was given to the questions raised by the Americans. Missions to Jews were to be included, but tabulated separately, as were statistics of Catholic and Orthodox missions. In the cases of the Turkish Empire, Persia, and Egypt, a compromise of strange logic was reached. Statistics of all Protestant missionaries and their institutions in these territories were to be included "in view of the direct bearing of the work in these countries upon the Mohammedan population" and "as indicating the agencies and forces which are influencing, and in a measure are directed to effect the ultimate conversion of the non-Christian populations." Yet all statistics of the Protestant church members converted through the agency of these same missionaries were to be omitted, on the grounds that these

#### The decision to include all foreign missionaries but exclude all their converts was anomalous.

Christians were primarily proselytes from the ancient Oriental churches.<sup>35</sup> This compromise originated in a proposal from Eugene Stock of the Church Missionary Society "that in the Near East the living agents who were there for Mahommedan work should be included, but that the whole of their congregations drawn from other Christian bodies should be deleted."<sup>36</sup> If Stock had meant to include only those missionaries who were specifically engaged in Muslim work, his proposal had some logical basis, but the decision to include all foreign missionaries but exclude all their converts was anomalous. All Protestant work in Latin America was to be excluded from the statistics, except for missions among the aboriginal tribes and "non-Christian immigrants."<sup>37</sup> Missions among African-American people in North

and South America and the West Indies were excluded on the grounds that these peoples now formed part of Christendom, though work among Asian immigrants to the Caribbean was included. Protestant missions working in Madagascar, Portuguese Africa, and Portuguese India, territories that were predominantly or even overwhelmingly Catholic in their missionary complexion, were included, presumably on the grounds that they were deemed insufficiently Christianized to be part of Christendom. No answer was apparently given to the American question about what percentage of the population had to be Christian for a country to be counted in Christendom, but it seems that the percentage was deemed high enough in, for example, Brazil, but too low in Goa.<sup>38</sup>

Montgomery, an invited observer at this meeting, produced a memorandum that he sent to Davidson and other Anglican leaders, indicating that they could be quite happy with the outcome. The memorandum makes clear that the Anglican position was in fact less sympathetic to the rigidly territorial definition of Christendom that was emerging than might be imagined. Catholic Anglican leaders did not wish to see North and South America classified without differentiation as falling within Christendom. The British, with Montgomery's full support, had urged the Americans to include in the statistics home missionary activity within the United States directed toward Native Americans, Asian immigrants, and the indigenous peoples of Alaska. The American committees, however, had "begged us not to press this point. They . . . had given way to us so much, that they asked us to give way to them in this matter." The reason for their resistance, Montgomery explained, was the organizational gulf within American Protestantism between denominational church

> The solution to the controversy opened the way for an approach to be made to the archbishop of Canterbury. Oldham finally had his prize.

structures and the autonomous foreign missionary societies. It was "impossible" for foreign missionary societies to approach home missionary societies (which were by 1910 mostly church departments of home mission) for statistics of evangelistic work among non-Christians.<sup>39</sup> An additional factor not mentioned by Montgomery was the reluctance of the American statisticians to make distinctions in the data on the basis of theological judgments on which sections within a given population were, or were not, Christian. Confronted by the Anglican insistence that, if Christian mission were indeed to be equated with evangelism, then only enterprises directed at non-Christian populations could be denominated as mission, the Americans had fallen back on what seemed the only possible course, namely, to adopt a crudely geographic division between the Christian and non-Christian worlds.

Anglo-Catholic sensitivities had dictated that the conference must exclude from its scope Protestant activity in contexts where baptized Catholics, Orthodox, or even Protestants (as in the West Indies), represented the majority of the population. Such endeavors could be included only when, as in parts of Latin America, they were directed toward statistically identifiable groups of aborigines or recent immigrants—islands of heathenism within the boundaries of Christendom. Conversely, the conference was permitted to include in its purview Protestant efforts to compete with Catholics or Orthodox for the conversion of non-Christians, even where Protestants were interlopers in a Catholic field. The nature of the American response to the principle contended for by the bishops meant that only missions operating within large territorial units where a majority of the population were baptized were to be excluded; all other conversionist efforts were either legitimated or condoned. Hence Oldham could observe to Dennis that the outcome demonstrated how liberal an interpretation the bishops were willing to place on their central principle: they were not going to quibble over any particular application, so long as the principle itself was respected.<sup>40</sup>

#### The Cost of the Compromise

Nevertheless, Oldham was left uneasy. As he commented to Mott, it was impossible to avoid giving the impression that all work that was included in the statistics was endorsed, and all that was excluded was discredited. The latter implication was indeed one that the bishops desired to give. Because evangelicals believed passionately in the legitimacy of their work in Latin America, the Caribbean, or indeed Europe, Oldham recognized that its exclusion marked "the one point in which we depart from the fundamental principle of the conference, that we ask from none of those who co-operate any surrender of conviction."41 Adhering to that fundamental principle so far as High Anglicans were concerned had meant infringing it in relation to evangelicals. Also, the decision to restrict the territorial scope of the conference drew strong criticism in Britain from the leaders of the Baptist and Wesleyan Methodist missionary societies and from the China Inland Mission.

Oldham's unease may have been exaggerated. Most denominational Protestant mission leaders regarded the limitations imposed by Anglican convictions as a price worth paying, perhaps because they themselves accepted the notion of Christendom. There was little doubt that the Anglo-Catholic case would triumph, because, if Europe and North America were deemed to be within Christendom and hence beyond the scope of mission, how could the same status logically be denied to Latin America? As Oldham commented to Mott, "If you admit work among the Roman Catholics in South America why should we exclude such work in papal Europe?"<sup>42</sup>

When the British Executive Committee met on June 30, there was no dissent from Oldham's proposal that, "in order to remove misconception," a subtitle should be added to the words "World Missionary Conference": "to consider Missionary Problems in relation to the Non-Christian World."<sup>43</sup> The solution to the controversy opened the way for an approach to be made to the archbishop of Canterbury to participate, though Davidson did not commit himself to addressing the opening session of the conference until April 18, 1910.<sup>44</sup> Oldham finally had his prize.

While in Britain the course of the controversy was dictated by the pressures of ecclesiastical politics, in the United States the responses of mission leaders were pragmatic. Few welcomed the conditions imposed by the Anglicans, but most accepted the situation as a regrettable necessity dictated by British peculiarities. Mott regarded the issues at stake as significant mainly for their potentially divisive consequences. In his efforts to avert such consequences, he appeared to vacillate over the issues "In the PhD program, one can enjoy the camaraderie of rubbing shoulders with co-participants who are missionaries and academicians with long years of experience in diverse mission fields and ministries. We come together to reflect on our past experiences in the light of the theories we are learning together."

- Tenny Li Farnen, PhD (Intercultural Studies) student, came to Trinity after twelve years teaching at a seminary in the Philippines.

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Contact our Admissions Office today: 800.583.6654 Trinity Evangelical Divinity School | 2065 Half Day Road, Deerfield, IL 60015 | www.teds.edu themselves. He could do little to reverse the narrowing of his global vision for his commission. On May 20, 1909, the American members of Commission I, meeting in his absence, considered "with great care" the British responses to the list of questions they had submitted and accepted them, with only one hesitation with respect to the black population of Central America and the Caribbean, whom the Americans felt "have had so much less of Christian influences than the negroes in the United States as to justify their classification as non-Christian." The Americans even adopted the quixotic British solution on the Levant—including missionaries but excluding their converts—and applied it to the Philippines.<sup>45</sup>

From the standpoint of present-day ecumenical orthodoxy, the outcome may appear desirable. Edinburgh 1910 implicitly

#### Notes<sup>-</sup>

- 1. Memorandum Suggesting Constitution and Procedure of Conference, December 12, 1907, pp. 5–6, Third Ecumenical Missionary Conference (June 1910), Ecumenical Centre, Geneva [ECG].
- 2. Minutes of Third Ecumenical Missionary Conference International Committee, July 14–20, 1908, p. 3, ECG.
- 3. Minutes of World Missionary Conference (1910) General Committee, September 23, 1908, p. 21, ECG.
- 4. Minutes of Executive Committee, March 12, 1908, pp. 14–15, ECG.
- 5. Minutes of Commission I, September 9–10, 1908, box 7, folder 4, World Missionary Conference Papers, Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary, New York [WMCP].
- 6. Commission I, Minutes of British Advisory Council, February 3, 1909, box 7, folder 3, WMCP.
- 7. Mott to Robson, January 11, 1909, box 74, folder 1358, letter 474, Mott Papers, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut [MP]; Ecumenical Missionary Conference New York, 1900, *Report of the Ecumenical Conference on Foreign Missions* . . . , 2 vols. (London and New York: Religious Tract Society and American Tract Society, 1900), 2:428–33.
- 8. Memorandum from Bishop Montgomery, n.d. [February 3, 1909], vol. 269, fol. 19, Davidson Papers, Lambeth Palace, London [DP].
- 9. Ibid. On the Assyrian Mission, see J. F. Coakley, *The Church of the East and the Church of England: A History of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).
- 10. Montgomery to "Boyd," February 3, 1909, vol. 269, fol. 18, DP.
- Montgomery to Robson, February 4, 1909, X 366, fols. 755–56, United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Archives, Rhodes House, Oxford.
- 12. Robson to Dennis, March 2, 1909, box 1, folder 2, Oldham Papers, New College, Edinburgh [OP].
- 13. Robson to Montgomery, February 20, 1909 (copy), box A21, Student Christian Movement Archives, Univ. of Birmingham.
- Keith Clements, Faith on the Frontier: A Life of J. H. Oldham (Edinburgh and Geneva: T. & T. Clark and WCC Publications, 1999), pp. 81–85; T. Tatlow, The Story of the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland (London: SCM Press, 1933), pp. 404–10.
- 15. Bishop of Southwark to Oldham, February 20, 1909, box 1, folder 2, OP.
- 16. Oldham to Bishop of Southwark, February 23, 1909, box 1, folder 2, OP.
- 17. Oldham to Mott, February 23 and 25, 1909, box 1, folder 2, OP.
- 18. Bishop of Birmingham to Oldham, February 24, 1909, box 1, folder 2, OP.

declared Protestant proselytism of Roman Catholics and, rather less clearly, of Orthodox and Oriental Christians to be no valid part of Christian mission. The principle of the unity of Christendom had been preserved, but at a price that Montgomery regarded as regrettable though still necessary—the division of humanity into two lines that were not strictly confessional but primarily geographic. The centuries-old gulf in Western Christian thinking between territorial Christendom and the so-called non-Christian world was now wider than ever. From a missiological perspective, the stance taken by the conference was indefensible in that it had restricted the mission of the church and, by implication, the mission of God to certain geographically demarcated portions of humanity. The deleterious consequences of that restriction are still being played out.

- 19. Oldham to Mott, February 25 and March 2, 1909, box 1, folder 2, OP.
- 20. Oldham to Bishop of Birmingham, February 26, 1909, box 1, folder 2, OP.
- 21. Bishop of Birmingham to Oldham, March 1, 1909, box 1, folder 2, OP.
- 22. Arthur J. Brown to Oldham, March 13, 1909; Oldham to Mott, March 15, 1909, box 1, folder 2, OP.
- 23. Oldham to Mott, March 17, 1909, box 1, folder 2, OP.
- 24. Minutes of WMC (1910) Executive Committee, March 25, 1909, p. 33, ECG.
- 25. Mott to Oldham, March 15, 1909, box 1, folder 2, OP.
- 26. Mott to Andersen, March 16, 18, and 27, 1909, box 2, folder 26, MP.
- 27. Mott to Andersen, March 16, 1909, box 8, folder 15, WMCP.
- Andersen to Mott, April 6, 1909, box 2, folder 26, MP.
   Minutes of American Executive Committee, April 7, 1909, box 19,
- folder 13, WMCP; Oldham to Mott, April 13, 1909, box 1, folder 3, OP.
  30. Oldham to Robson, April 9, 1909, box 20, folder 11, WMCP (copy in box 1, folder 3, OP).
- 31. Published as H. P. Beach et al., eds., *World Statistics of Christian Missions* (New York: The Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, 1916).
- 32. Minutes of American Executive Committee, April 8, 1909, box 19, folder 13, WMCP.
- 33. Oldham to Mott, April 13, 1909, box 1, folder 3, OP.
- 34. Minutes of Commission I, April 8, 1909, box 7, folder 4, WMCP. For the memorandum itself, see box 20, folder 3, item 325, WMCP.
- 35. Minutes of the British section of Commission I, May 4, 1909, box 7, folder 2, WMCP; Oldham to Dennis, May 8, 1909, box 1, folder 3, OP; *Statistical Atlas of Christian Missions* (Edinburgh: World Missionary Conference, 1910), p. 61.
- 36. For Stock's authorship, see Memorandum from Bishop Montgomery, May 6, 1909, vol. 269, fol. 24, DP.
- 37. Oldham to Dennis, May 8, 1909, box 1, folder 3, OP.
- 38. Minutes of the British section of Commission I, May 4, 1909, box 7, folder 2, WMCP.
- 39. Memorandum [from Bishop Montgomery], May 6, 1909, vol. 269, fols. 23–24, DP.
- 40. Oldham to Dennis, May 8, 1909, box 1, folder 3, OP.
- 41. Oldham to Mott, May 21, 1909, box 1, folder 3, OP.
- 42. Oldham to Mott, March 10, 1909, box 1, folder 2, OP.
- 43. Minutes of WMC (1910) Executive Committee, June 30, 1909, p. 44, ECG.
- 44. Davidson to Oldham, April 18, 1910, vol. 269, fols. 67-69, DP.
- 45. Minutes of Commission I, May 20, 1909, box 7, folder 4, WMCP.

## The Centenary of Edinburgh 1910: Its Possibilities

#### Kenneth R. Ross

G iven our decimal units of measurement, it is hard to avoid the sense that a significant moment strikes when we arrive at the centenary of a notable event. Although anniversaries can degenerate into occasions of maudlin self-congratulation, nevertheless when a cause is held dear, its advocates are reluctant to let a centenary pass without due recognition. In fact, the centenary often offers the opportunity for a fresh affirmation of identity and a reappropriation of purpose that energizes all concerned. For those who value the worldwide movement of Christian mission, the centenary of the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh presents itself as such an occasion. It demands recognition, and the question is how to make the most of the opportunity it presents. This article suggests some of the possibilities that are offered by this centenary.

#### A Vision Realized

The delegates who gathered in Edinburgh in 1910 caught a vision of something that did not then exist: a "world church" with deep roots and vigorous expression widely apparent on every continent. The fact that such a church is a manifest reality today indicates that their vision has been realized and indeed is something to be celebrated. Admittedly, the celebration must be tempered by recognition that, in many respects, the Edinburgh conference was overheated and overambitious. It was carried away by the self-confidence of the Western powers at the height of an age of empire. Its slogans proved to be hollow. The world was not evangelized in that generation. The Gospel was not carried to all the non-Christian world. Within a few years of the conference, the energies of the Western "missionized" nations would be consumed by a war more destructive than any experienced hitherto, and a great deal of the worldwide evangelistic effort would be put on hold. Nor did this war prove to be a temporary interruption. Edinburgh 1910, which understood itself to be on the brink of a great new surge of missionary advance, was in fact the high point of the movement. Never again would the Western missionary movement occupy center stage in the way it did at Edinburgh. For most of the mission boards and societies represented, the twentieth century would be one of remorseless decline in their operations.

Nonetheless, the twentieth century has witnessed a vindication of a fundamental conviction of Edinburgh 1910: that the Good News of Jesus Christ can take root in every culture across the world and produce fruit in church and society everywhere. In terms of church history the great drama of the coming century would be the growth of Christian faith in Asia, Africa, Oceania, and Latin America. In some respects it has surpassed even the most sanguine expectations of 1910. The extraordinary growth of Christianity in Africa, for example, was not foreseen by any of the Edinburgh delegates. Nor had they anticipated how Latin America would become the theater of a powerful renewal of Christian faith. This worldwide flourishing of the faith stands as a demonstration of the validity of their missionary vision that the Gospel could be received and find expression in completely new contexts. As Andrew Walls notes, "The fact remains that, by a huge reversal of the position in 1910, the majority of Christians now live in Africa, Asia, Latin America or the Pacific, and that the proportion is rising. Simultaneously with the retreat from Christianity in the West in the twentieth century went—just as the visionaries of Edinburgh hoped—a massive accession to the Christian faith in the non-Western world. The map of the Christian Church, its demographic and cultural make-up, changed more dramatically during the twentieth century than (probably) in any other since the first."<sup>1</sup>

Without the missionary impetus represented by Edinburgh 1910, the prospects for Christianity as a world religion might well be doubtful today, particularly as its longtime European homeland is proving inhospitable to organized church life. Largely as a result of the seeds planted by missionary endeavor, vigorous and numerous expressions of Christian faith appear on all six continents today. Inasmuch as Edinburgh 1910 was the occasion on which the vision of the modern missionary movement found its most concentrated articulation, it calls for celebration as a vision fulfilled.

#### **Repentance and Redirection**

While the ultimate vision of Edinburgh 1910 may have been realized, it must be acknowledged that it has occurred in spite of the limitations of the conference. Its centenary calls for repentance from what, with hindsight, are features that caused the Christian message to be compromised. As a century of critique has made plain, the conference did not acquire sufficient distance from the Western imperialism then at its height. The fact that the Western "Christian" powers dominated world affairs underlay a great deal of the optimism of the conference regarding the missionary enterprise. It was assumed that the initiative and the authority in Christianity's expansion would lie with the Western churches for generations. The new churches emerging in the mission fields were regarded as "infant" churches, and it was expected that they would require the care and direction of their "parents" for many years to come.

With Western dominance still well entrenched today at the economic and political levels, it cannot be taken for granted that relations among churches are not even yet infected with the condescension and paternalism that was so evident in 1910. There is need for repentant recognition that initiative in Christian mission is not the exclusive prerogative of the West. Mission is "from everywhere to everywhere."<sup>2</sup> Indeed, responsibility is increasingly falling to the churches of the non-Western world. Any celebration of the centenary of Edinburgh 1910 must recognize that the Western sense of ownership of the missionary enterprise must give way to an appreciation of the worldwide church as the base for Christian mission.

There is need also to recognize that the aggressive and confrontational understanding of Christian mission that characterized Edinburgh 1910 has provoked much resentment and does not serve to commend Christian faith today. This is not to say that Christians should lack confidence in the message they proclaim. The issue, rather, is one of respect for those who adhere to other faiths. Although the report of Commission 4 (on relations with non-Christian religions) showed that many mission-

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aries had developed a sympathetic appreciation of other faiths, its militaristic and triumphalist language strikes a note of antagonism that could hardly be expected to make for cordial interfaith relations or for a culture of peace. It concludes by celebrating "the spectacle of the advance of the Christian Church along many lines of action to the conquest of the five great religions of the modern world."<sup>3</sup> In the discourse of the conference, missionaries were often described as "soldiers" or Christian "forces." The reports and speeches abounded with metaphors such as "army," "crusade," "council of war," "conquest," "advance," and "marching orders."4 David Bosch described the contrasting tone needed for authentic missionary witness as "a bold humility-or a humble boldness. We know only in part, but we do know. And we believe that the faith we profess is both true and just, and should be proclaimed. We do this, however, not as judges or lawyers, but as witnesses; not as soldiers but as envoys of peace; not as high-pressure sales-persons, but as ambassadors of the Servant Lord."<sup>5</sup> In order to meet this challenge, the centenary of Edinburgh 1910 needs to be a time of repentance and redirection.

#### **Fragments Reconnecting**

In institutional terms the direct outcome of Edinburgh 1910 was the International Missionary Council (IMC), constituted in 1921.<sup>6</sup> For forty years it ran in parallel with the Faith and Order and the

Life and Work streams of ecumenical engagement, which flowed together in 1948 to form the World Council of Churches (WCC).<sup>7</sup> Though these movements had themselves been galvanized by Edinburgh 1910, it was not apparent to everyone that a single ecumenical organization should be formed. Debates on "integration" raged for many years in the mid-twentieth century before the IMC was finally integrated into the WCC in 1961.<sup>8</sup> Those with a strong mission agenda and a conservative theological posi-

tion feared that the "churchy" concerns of the WCC would lead to mission being sidelined, despite the formation of the Division of World Mission and Evangelism, which was intended to carry forward the life and action of the International Missionary Council within the life of the WCC.

It must be acknowledged that these tensions were never fully resolved. Indeed, the formation in 1974 of the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization proved to be a rallying point for those who feared that the WCC was failing to maintain an explicit and convincing commitment to evangelism.<sup>9</sup> Though in strictly institutional terms it is the World Council of Churches that is the heir of Edinburgh 1910, in terms of promoting the agenda of world evangelization, the Lausanne movement might be seen as standing in direct continuity. Could the centenary provide an opportunity for both streams to reengage with the Edinburgh 1910 heritage and with each other? As Andrew Walls suggests: "Both 'ecumenical' and 'evangelical' today have their roots in Edinburgh 1910. If each will go back to the pit whence both were dug, each may understand both themselves and the other better."<sup>10</sup>

The historical perspective opened up by the centenary also creates the possibility for both traditions to recognize how much they represent a mid-twentieth-century response to world affairs and theological trends. Major new movements lay down the challenge that perhaps in new paradigms Christian mission will discover the cutting edge it needs for the very different world of the twenty-first century. While certain traditions arising from the 1910 conference deserve all due respect, it may be that their renewal will come from reconnecting fragments that have broken apart and by making new connections among contemporary movements of Christian mission. A process taking its inspiration from the 1910 conference but thoroughly contemporary and forward-looking gives an opportunity for connections to be made that will be fruitful in shaping Christian mission for a new age.

#### **Taking Stock**

Some of the missionary movement's most perceptive participant-critics have observed that we have arrived at a time of fundamental change in the shape and direction of Christian mission. Andrew Walls suggests that "the missionary movement is now in its old age.... What is changing is not the task [of world evangelization], but the means and the mode."<sup>11</sup> Michael Amaladoss spoke for many when he said that "we are living in an age of transition—a liminal period."<sup>12</sup> There is need for new models to interpret and give coherence to new patterns of mission for a new century. Wilbert Shenk declares that "renewal will not come by way of incremental revisions of structures and liturgies inherited from the past."<sup>13</sup> Common to different schools

Since 2001 the Towards 2010 Council has coordinated a number of events that look at the twentieth and twenty-first centuries in the spirit of Edinburgh 1910. Download papers presented and keep abreast of plans for Edinburgh 2010 by visiting www.towards2010.org.uk.

> of thought is an acknowledgment that the old wineskins are no longer holding the new wine of the Gospel and that new wineskins are required.

> In this context, the centenary of Edinburgh 1910 is an occasion that challenges the global missionary movement to regather and once again take stock of how it stands in relation to its task. This is not a matter of nostalgia but, on the contrary, of being forward-looking. It is about attempting to do for the twenty-first century what Edinburgh 1910 did for the twentieth: catching a vision and setting an agenda that will give direction and energy to the missionary movement. Today's conditions offer the possibility to do so on a more comprehensive basis than could be imagined in 1910. Rather than being confined to Protestantism, there is the opportunity to gather Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Pentecostal participants, as well as both conciliar and evangelical Protestants.

> As noted above, the "center of gravity" of Christianity is no longer in the North, as was the case in 1910. Nonetheless, Edinburgh, as the site of the 1910 conference, excites the imagination and cannot be bypassed as a place of utmost historical significance for the world mission movement. In addition, for a comprehensive process of reflection, it could hope to provide something of a neutral space where many different participants in Christ's mission worldwide could come together. Using

Edinburgh and the upcoming centenary as a base could be a very effective way of engaging the various streams that make up Christian missionary outreach worldwide.

Edinburgh might hold value as a focal point, but it is clear that the process leading to the centenary would need to be fully international. In June 2005, the Scottish Towards 2010 Council hosted a small but representative international consultation which examined the possibility of embarking upon a major international process of systematic missiological study and analysis, based on the model of the eight commissions of 100 years ago, that would run for several years prior to the centenary and report to one or several international "world missionary conference(s)" in 2010 itself. The idea would be that each of the new commissions would engage with what the Edinburgh 1910 planners described as "matters of large importance and of timely interest at this stage in the missionary enterprise."14 Each would be based at a center with the skills and expertise to coordinate its work. While each center would have a distinctive local base, it would carry out its task by creating an international network for the study of its particular theme.<sup>15</sup> The June 2005 international consultation established a subcommittee to work on organization and finance. The aim is to create a viable process with achievable aims well in advance of the centenary.<sup>16</sup>

Initial consultation has suggested that many individuals and organizations with Christian mission at heart recognize that the centenary presents an opportunity to be seized. A clear focusing of the task that awaits Christian mission in the twentyfirst century is widely felt to be needed, and the Edinburgh 1910 centenary carries the historical meaning and emotional resonance to engage the required energy and imagination.

#### **Stimulating Fresh Movement**

Given the historical significance of the Western missionary movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it would

#### Notes

- 1. Andrew F. Walls, "The Great Commission, 1910–2010" (lecture at the Towards 2010 Conference on Commission I, "Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World," Edinburgh, Towards 2010, April 2002), p. 6. See www.towards2010.org.uk.
- 2. See Michael Nazir-Ali, From Everywhere to Everywhere: A World View of Christian Witness (London: Collins, 1990).
- Report of Commission IV: The Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions, World Missionary Conference (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier; New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1910), p. 273.
- See David Bosch, Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1991), p. 338.
- 5. Ibid., p. 489.
- 6. See Tom Stransky, "International Missionary Council," in *Dictionary* of the Ecumenical Movement, 2d ed., ed. Nicholas Lossky et al. (Geneva: WCC Publications, 2002), pp. 595–98; W. R. Hogg, Ecumenical Foundations: A History of the International Missionary Council (New York: Harper, 1952).
- See Günther Gassmann, "Faith and Order," in *Dictionary*, ed. Lossky et al., pp. 461–63; Paul Abrecht, "Life and Work," in ibid., pp. 691–92.
- 8. See Timothy Yates, *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994), pp. 155–58.
- 9. See Robert T. Coote, "Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization," in *Dictionary*, ed. Lossky et al., p. 673.
- Andrew F. Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History:* Studies in the Transmission and Appropriation of Faith (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2002), p. 62.

probably not be very difficult to organize a process of academic reflection around the centenary of Edinburgh 1910. A pertinent question, however, is whether theoretical analysis alone would do justice to the memory of the conference. The ethos of the conference was characterized, as Kathleen Bliss explained, by "the common living convictions of practical men and women who are working together for the evangelization of the world."<sup>17</sup> At its heart was a pressing sense of urgency about the fulfillment of the Christian imperative for mission that could find its proper expression only in action. As Kenneth Latourette explained, it aimed to be a "consultation through which the missionary agencies could plan together the next steps in giving the Gospel to the world."18 The preparations were made with the prayer that "the Church, dominated by a fresh vision of an unevangelized world and of that coming ecumenical, Christ-redeemed, triumphant multitude whom no man can number, may consecrate herself, as never before, to the sublime task of making Christ known and loved and obeyed by all men."19 A celebration of the centenary that did not issue in new initiatives of a practical nature would have missed something essential to the original conference.

Hence any process of reflection worthy of the centenary must issue in clear direction and fresh impetus for the Christian missionary movement. The discernment and elucidation of the key themes around which Christian mission will revolve in the twenty-first century must be undertaken in such a way as to stimulate a fresh concentration of missionary commitment and endeavor. Vital to the chemistry of the centenary celebration will be the interaction of the academic and the practitioner. The highest standards of academic rigor must be married to the action-oriented instincts of missionary practice. The famous words with which Mott concluded the conference must also shape any worthy celebration of the doing."<sup>20</sup>

- 11. Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1996), p. 261.
- 12. Michael Amaladoss, "The Future of Mission in the Third Millennium," Mission Studies 5, no. 2 (1988): 96.
- 13. Wilbert R. Shenk, "Mission, Renewal, and the Future of the Church," International Bulletin of Missionary Research 21, no. 4 (1997): 154.
- 14. Quoted in C. Howard Hopkins, *John R. Mott, 1865–1955: A Biography* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1979), p. 344.
- See further, Kenneth R. Ross, "Thinking Edinburgh 2010—Tracing the Impulse of the Spirit," *International Review of Mission* 94, no. 375 (October 2005): 585–601.
- 16. Information on conferences held and meetings anticipated are posted at www.towards2010.org.uk.
- 17. Quoted in Keith Clements, *Faith on the Frontiers: A Life of J. H. Oldham* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1999), p. 74.
- Kenneth Scott Latourette, "Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement and the International Missionary Council," chap. 8 in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement*, vol. 1, 1517–1948, 4th ed., ed. Ruth Rouse and Stephen C. Neill (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1993; orig. pub., 1954), p. 358.
- 19. Quoted in Hopkins, John R. Mott, p. 346.
- World Missionary Conference, 1910: The History and Records of the Conference, 9 vols. (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier; New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1910), 9:347.

## World Christianity as a Women's Movement

#### Dana L. Robert

The recognition that Christian affiliation is shifting to the Southern Hemisphere has released tremendous academic energy on issues of Christianity as a world religion, and it has provoked studies of the particular nature of faith and religious participation in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Scholars like Andrew Walls have been arguing for years that the majority Christians of the non-Western world should be put in the center of scholarly agendas. Yet it appears that the same path is being trod as in other fields of history, namely, to bury women's participation in a larger narrative, in this case one called "world Christianity."

What would the study of Christianity in Africa, Asia, and Latin America look like if scholars put women into the center of their research? In this article I argue that the current demographic shift in world Christianity should be analyzed as a women's movement, based on the fact that even though men are typically the formal, ordained religious leaders and theologians, women constitute the majority of active participants.<sup>1</sup> First, I examine the evidence for women's presumed majority in world Christianity. Statements that women are "naturally" more religious than men or that women "always" outnumber men in churches need to be analyzed or else they fail to do justice to the complexity and diversity of women's experiences of Christianity. Second, I survey recent studies that examine gender-based reasons for conversion. Why do women convert to Christianity? Are there gender-based factors for women's conversion that extend across different cultures?

#### The Female Majority in World Christianity

In 1999 I claimed that "the typical late twentieth-century Christian" was no longer European "but a Latin American or African woman."<sup>2</sup> In March 2001 an article in the London *Times* asserted that the "average" Anglican was a twenty-four-year-old woman.<sup>3</sup> Later Philip Jenkins's important book *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (2002) appeared, in which he stated, "If we want to visualize a 'typical' contemporary Christian, we should think of a woman living in a village in Nigeria or in a Brazilian *favela*."<sup>4</sup> Neither my article nor Jenkins's book explored the hard data behind this assertion—because there wasn't any.

My statement that the growing world church is largely female was reached by extrapolating from histories of conversion in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with information from regional qualitative studies of rapidly growing groups in Africa and Latin America—in particular, African indigenous churches (AICs) and Latin American Pentecostals. Bengt Sundkler gave the first hint of growing African female participation rates in *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (1948), his pioneering study of AICs. Sundkler noted that among Zulus, congregations of historic mission churches were composed mostly of females and were thus referred to by their pastors as "women's church." Female local leaders showed more initiative than men in leading prayer meetings, congregational visitation, and singing. As AICs then broke off from the mission churches, female prophets emerged who believed themselves empowered by the Holy Spirit.<sup>5</sup> David and Bernice Martin, in their groundbreaking empirical studies of the conversion of Latin American Roman Catholics to Pentecostalism, indicated that two-thirds of Pentecostals in Central America were women.<sup>6</sup> Thus I surmised that if the fastest growing indigenous groups in Latin America and Africa were predominantly female, and that if in the year 2000 these continents together contained roughly 41 percent of the world's Christians,<sup>7</sup> then one could speak of the typical Christian in 2000 as a Latin American or African female. Although I used Latin American and African material as sources for my conclusions, the case for a global non-Western female majority was strengthened by other evidence that growing churches in Asia, such as Chinese house churches and Korean cell groups, are also predominantly female.

*Women in Pentecostalism*. Another way to test whether there is a female majority in the growing churches of the Southern Hemisphere is to look not at growth points in particular geographic regions but at studies of the largest blocks of Christian affiliation, namely Pentecostalism and Catholicism. In the late twentieth century, both movements provided a universal theological framework and represented cultural trends that cut across different regions of the world. Sociologist David Martin sees Pentecostalism as a response to the early phase of modernization, a fusion of "populist Christianity" with "black spirituality" and "shamanism." As a "global option," Pentecostalism is based on "individual choice, movement, fraternal association, and the nuclear family." The most rapidly growing block of Christians in the twentieth century, Pentecostalism accounts, by Martin's estimate, for roughly one in eight Christians in the world.<sup>8</sup> Older studies of North American Pentecostalism emphasized the marginality of its adherents, who, according to "deprivation theory," tended to be women, African-Americans, new immigrants, and the disabled. Although deprivation theory is clearly inadequate to explain something that involves one-eighth of the world's Christians, theories of globalization are now used to emphasize how Pentecostalism around the world is a response among displaced and migrant peoples facing the impersonality of urbanization and the corrosiveness of modernity on traditional communities.

Studies of Pentecostalism provide strong evidence that there is a female majority in world Christianity today. In his overview, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity*, South African Pentecostal scholar Allan Anderson takes what he calls a "multicultural" rather than a "historical" approach to the subject. Rather than tracing all Pentecostalism from the American movement at Azusa Street in 1906, he assumes that Pentecostalism had multiple points of origin. This multicultural approach allows him to follow David Barrett and Walter Hollenweger by folding into his definition of Pentecostalism many of the indigenous churches that emerged in the twentieth century—whether or not they call themselves Pentecostal based on theology and worship styles that focus on the experience of the Holy Spirit.<sup>9</sup> Anderson's multicultural nomenclature allows him to claim that "in less than a hundred years, Pentecos-

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tal, Charismatic and associated movements have become the largest numerical force in world Christianity after the Roman Catholic Church and represent a quarter of all Christians."<sup>10</sup> Anderson's definitions double the number of Pentecostals counted by David Martin.

Regardless of Anderson's method of counting, the important point for this article is that he unpacks the category of Pentecostal to reveal that three-fourths of them live in the "majority world." Not only are three-quarters of the world's Pentecostals from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, but also "throughout the world, there are many more [Christian] women than [Christian] men."<sup>11</sup> Like so many other studies, the fact of a female majority lies embedded in Anderson's data. He attests that not only is Pentecostalism the fastest-growing block of Christians in the world, but three-fourths of them live in the "third" world—and of these the vast majority are women.

As he surveys Pentecostalism by region, Anderson occasionally comments on gender ratios. Not only were women the majority of "apostles" at the Azusa Street revival, but the majority of missionaries who went out as early self-supporting missionaries from Azusa Street were women; Hispanic Pentecostals in North America are predominantly women and children; and Pentecostals in Lagos, Nigeria, are largely women.<sup>12</sup> According to Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, who has conducted a major study of indigenous Pentecostalism in Ghana, involvement in Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Ghana runs 60 percent female and 40 percent male. When asked to distinguish between the newer Pentecostal and the older indigenous churches, groups that Barrett, Hollenweger, and Anderson tend to lump together, Asamoah-Gyadu perceived closer gender parity in the newer, more urbanized groups than in the older Aladura or Spirit churches.13 His comments suggest that we should hesitate to sweep indigenous movements under the Pentecostal umbrella or to make broad generalizations about female majorities in the whole. Clearly there is a need for detailed studies of genderlinked participation for different types of churches, even those consolidated under the Pentecostal umbrella by outside researchers.

Women in Roman Catholicism. The largest ecclesiastical grouping in the world remains Roman Catholicism, composing roughly half the world's Christian population. Catholics and Pentecostals are not entirely separate groups, as the large number of Catholic charismatics attests. Nevertheless, David Martin analyzes global Catholic culture as markedly different from that of Pentecostalism. As a generalized model, Catholics tend toward "locality, birthright membership, continuity, and extended familial and communal obligations," as opposed to the mobility and dislocation characteristic of Pentecostals.<sup>14</sup> Martin's generalizations about Catholic culture seem to work best where Catholicism dates back several centuries and has become integrated into traditional clan-based social structures. In Latin America, with its five hundred years of official Catholicism, Catholic identities have synthesized elements of official church practice with pre-Christian worldviews, including traditional rituals that address problems of evil and suffering. In non-Western Catholic cultures, with their habitual shortages of priests, adherence to Catholicism is better tested by participation in popular rituals and by communal identification than by regular attendance at Mass

According to some scholars, the violent and incomplete nature of the European conquest of Latin America means that women's domestic cultures maintained greater continuity with

pre-Christian worldviews in the realms of both the "supernatural" and the "mundane" than did those of males.<sup>15</sup> Official church disapproval of "syncretism" and "folk religion" has yielded in recent years to church-based reflections on popular Catholicism as inculturated forms of the faith, and to scholarly studies of "border crossing." In the new appreciation for popular Catholicism, women are less often dismissed as superstitious syncretists, but rather hailed as keepers of a flexible cultural continuity for their communities and families.<sup>16</sup> In 1999 Thomas Bamat and Jean-Paul Wiest published a fascinating collection of empirical studies entitled Popular Catholicism in a World Church. Seven case studies of Catholic inculturation reveal the high devotion of non-Western Catholics to communal religiosity and to rituals. Unfortunately, even in this fine collection sustained attention to gender is minimal, partly because of a shortage of female researchers for the case studies.<sup>17</sup> The editors of the project do indicate, however, that in popular Catholicism around the world, most participants are women.18

Women in popular Catholicism appear to be most active in communal devotions designed to ensure the well-being and health of their families. On the Caribbean island of St. Lucia, for example, women dominate several sodalities. They wear special white uniforms, hold regular novenas to pray for healing and guidance, attend special Masses, and pray for the intervention of the saints.<sup>19</sup> In Tanzania women constitute the majority of the Marian Faith Healing Ministry, a prayer vigil group that asks the Virgin Mary for intervention, prays for healing and exorcism of evil spirits, visits the sick, and testifies. Although the church hierarchy has condemned the Marian group, the women persist in their popular devotions.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to localized prayer groups and rituals, major Catholic pilgrimage sites document female majorities, especially in relation to prayers for family healing and communal wellbeing. Lay Catholics in different countries see Mary as a source

#### What would the study of Christianity look like if scholars put women in the center of their research?

of both spiritual and emotional strength, and they eagerly participate in pilgrimages, such as Mexican devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe, Portuguese devotion to Our Lady of Lourdes, and other manifestations of the Virgin Mary.<sup>21</sup> Veneration of Our Lady of Guadalupe, for example, underscores the sacredness of motherhood in Mexican Catholic culture. Records of the annual pilgrimage in Mexico written in 1926 describe thousands of Indian families walking for miles to the shrine in Mexico City, camping out to participate in the 5:00 a.m. Mass. Entering the sanctuary, the pilgrims crawled on their knees toward the shrine, and "numerous women raised their arms aloft in supreme supplication and lifted their faces to heaven while tears streamed down their cheeks."22 Thomas Tweed's creative study of Our Lady of Charity follows the pilgrimage of the Virgin herself, as devotion to the patron saint of Cuba traveled with exiles to Miami. He notes that in both Cuba and the United States, most pilgrims to the shrine are women, a gender pattern that has existed since the 1800s, when travelers to Cuba noted that women and children filled the churches. Said Bishop Michael Pfeifer of San Antonio in 1994, "God has entrusted the future of humanity to women. Women are the primary evangelizers. . . . Our faith comes primarily from our mothers and grandmothers."<sup>23</sup>

One way to reveal the gender breakdown in world Catholicism is to examine the enthusiasm for vowed religious life among non-Western women. Even as the number of nuns is dropping in the West, the number of women religious increased by 56 percent from 1975 to 2000 in Africa, and by 83 percent in Asia.<sup>24</sup> In Africa there are one-third fewer Catholic priests and brothers than there are religious sisters. In Asia priests and brothers number less than three-fifths the number of sisters. Although the gender of religious professionals does not necessarily reflect religious participation among ordinary Catholic laity, the fact that religious sisters far outnumber male religious does indicate the attraction of Catholicism for women. With the overall success of sisters' cross-cultural missions in the twentieth century, many traditionally Western communities of sisters are in the process of becoming non-Western. For example, some congregations of Franciscan sisters are evolving from North American to Brazilian membership.<sup>25</sup> Similar ethnic transitions among female Catholic religious communities are a metaphor for the "Southward shift" in global Catholicism itself.

# Noteworthy

#### Announcing

The International Conference on Christianity and the State: Complicity and Conflict, to be held in Singapore, January 10–12, 2007, will consider questions such as, In an increasingly globalized world, what does it mean to be Christian in contemporary Asia? and, What social and political position does Christianity occupy in regional perspective? The Asia Research Institute of the National University of Singapore is organizing the gathering. Details may be found at www. ari.nus.edu.sg/conf2007/christianity.htm.

A workshop on short-term missions to be hosted by the Ph.D. Program in Intercultural Studies at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Illinois, March 22–24, 2007, will feature Robert J. Wuthnow, director of the Center for the Study of Religion and chair of the Department of Sociology at Princeton University, as a key presenter. Robert J. Priest, organizer, invites Ph.D. students with research focused on short-term missions, as well as senior scholars, to participate. Participants will be invited to present papers at a wider conference on short-term missions in the summer of 2008 and to participate in a collaborative publication. Cosponsored by the North Central Region of the Evangelical Missiological Society, funding is available for twelve scholars, including three from outside the United States. Apply by November 30, 2006; for details, contact Priest at rpriest@tiu.edu.

The Yale-Edinburgh Group on the History of the Missionary Movement and Non-Western Christianity, meeting June 28–30, 2007, at Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut, will address the topic "Liberty, Slavery, and Christian Missions." The questions discussed will include, What were the impact and consequences of the involvement of New World Africans in the campaign for abolition on the course of the missionary movement? What role did freed slaves and freed captives play in the drive against domestic slavery and related institutions? How did slavery affect relationships between missionaries and governments? "Yet the theme of lib-

As with lay pilgrimages, a great attraction to vowed life among non-Western Catholic women lies in their personal identification with the Blessed Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus. Catholic sisters not only look to Mary for spiritual power, but they are themselves also identified as "Marys," as communal rather than biological mothers of their nations. According to an important study of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in the Congo, African sisters are widely seen as "BaMama BaMaseri," or Mamas of all the people.26 Congolese women's traditional value as "life-bearers" meant that the first African sisters who joined the Belgian order in the 1930s and 1940s were ridiculed as barren women or "sterilized cows." But over time, as local Catholic devotion deepened and the sisters proved themselves as teachers and nurses, they earned the respect of their laity. Congolese sisters see their celibacy not as a loss of "physical maternity" but as "a call to nurture and foster life for all in an unbounded, universal spiritual maternity."27 According to Ursuline Mother Superior Bernadette Mbuy-Beya of Lubumbashi, the Catholic sister "bears children for the Church" and is thus "at the centre of inculturation in Africa."28

Although evidence on gender tends to be anecdotal rather than based on statistical surveys, the overwhelming impression

erty and slavery also has relevance well beyond the slave trade that became illegal in 1807. Our theme also provides room for investigation of the intertwined themes of liberty and liberation that have given rise to missionary involvement across the world in issues of social justice, the defense of indigenous rights, the advancement of women, and so forth," according to a statement from conveners **Lamin Sanneh** and **Andrew F. Walls**. The seminar is cosponsored by the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World at the University of Edinburgh, Yale Divinity School, and the Overseas Ministries Study Center. For details, visit www.library.yale.edu/div/ yaleedin.htm.

A conference, "Christian Missions in 19th and 20th Century Southern Africa: Passing Review and Breaking New Ground," will be hosted July 8–11, 2007, by the History Department of Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa. Forward inquiries to Alan Kirkaldy (a.kirkaldy@ru. ac.za); proposals for papers should be received by November 1, 2006. A wide range of disciplinary and cross-disciplinary approaches are welcome.

The International Association for Mission Studies (www.missionstudies.org) will hold its twelfth assembly in Budapest, Hungary, August 16–22, 2008. The IAMS secretariat seeks brief proposals for papers, the abstracts of which are due by March 31, 2007, on the assembly's topic, "Human Identity and the Gospel of Reconciliation: Agenda for Missionary Churches in the Twenty-first Century." Address correspondence to Jan van Butselaar at butselaar@antenna.nl.

In May 2006 the Missionary Training Service, the World Evangelical Alliance, members of the International Commission for Evangelical Theological Education, Trainers of Pastors International Coalition, and others launched the **Evangelical Training Database**, a multilingual online listing of training courses. Training organizations may post entries and church leaders may access the database at www. trainforchrist.org. For details, visit www.missionarytraining. based on a sampling of both regional and ecclesiastical studies is that women constituted roughly a two-thirds majority of practicing Christians in the growing world church in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. From a demographic perspective, Christianity is a women's religion. Studies of world Christianity, either as global force or as local movement, need to put women's issues at the center of our scholarship about the growth of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

#### Women and Conversion

Conversion is a significant factor in understanding gender dynamics in the growing world church. Are there gender-specific reasons for the conversion of women that cut across cultural differences? Do women convert more readily to Christianity than do men? Did missionaries replicate European and American gender dynamics in the new churches of Africa, Asia, and Latin America? With the transatlantic spread of evangelical Christianity in the late 1700s and early 1800s, new patterns of female religious leadership developed.<sup>29</sup> During the Second Great Awakening, revivals occurred because a maternal network of female organizers sought to convert their husbands and chil-

org/news.htm or contact Ian Benson, coordinator, Missionary Training Service, coord@missionarytraining.org.

The first one-volume commentary on all the books of the Bible "written in Africa by Africans and for African churches" was launched in July 2006, according to SIM's Web site. Written in English by seventy contributors from twenty-five countries, the *Africa Bible Commentary* aims to explain the Bible from an African perspective. The commentary, published by Zondervan and edited by **Tokunboh Adeyemo**, general secretary of the Association of Evangelicals in Africa, Nairobi, Kenya, contains local proverbs and folklore to help interpret the Scriptures, and it addresses contemporary issues such as HIV/AIDS, female genital mutilation, refugees, ethnic conflict, and witchcraft. A French edition is to be released in 2007, with other language editions to follow.

Blackwell Publishing plans to produce a three-volume *Encyclopedia of Christian Civilization* in 2008. With 900 entries, it will be "one of the largest encyclopedias defining Christian faith, legacy, experience and culture," says the editor, **George T. Kurian**. Scholars interested in writing entries for the encyclopedia may contact Kurian, coeditor of the *World Christian Encyclopedia* (Oxford University Press, 2001), at gtkurian@aol.com.

Anne-Marie Werner of the **East Asia Institute of the University of Zurich**, Switzerland, has created a database with a chronology of cultural relations between China and the West from 1245 to 2000. The indexed themes include history, religion, and the history of missions. For details, visit www.unizh.ch/ostasien.

**WorldCat**, a database that describes 1.3 billion items in more than 10,000 libraries worldwide, is now available for free at http://worldcat.org/. See more information about WorldCat at http://worldcat.org/whatis. Note that though the Search Box says, "Enter a title, subject or person," keyword searching works fine, too. For example, you can search for *missions* and *tanzania* and *german* (46 results).

dren. Evidence for this conclusion is the tendency of women to join the church alone, whereas men typically joined in the presence of their families.<sup>30</sup> Did this linkage between revivalism and women's role in family conversion spread into evangelical Christianity throughout the world? Certainly in Latin American Pentecostalism today, the linkage among mobility and migration, urbanization, and the role of conversion in strengthening the nuclear family provides interesting parallels with North America in the 1800s. In both contexts women promoted the conversion of men and children.<sup>31</sup>

The conversion of indigenous women in the nineteenth century. The writings of nineteenth-century missionaries indicate that the conversion of women could not be taken for granted. Missionaries in India, China, and Muslim countries often complained that it was difficult to convert women and that the churches attracted only young men. As these men aged and took on more public responsibilities, they tended to fall away from the churches unless they had strong Christian wives. Missionaries often commented that uneducated and "superstitious" Chinese, Indian, and Muslim women were great obstacles to their husbands' faith. By the mid-1800s, it was frequently argued that women mission-

#### Personalia

**Cardinal Ivan Dias,** 70, archbishop of Bombay since 1996, now leads the Vatican's Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples. In May 2006 Pope Benedict XVI named Dias, a native of Mumbai who had worked in a variety of diplomatic posts from 1964 to 1996, to head the mission body when **Cardinal Crescenzio Sepe** became archbishop of Naples.

The University of Notre Dame appointed **Mark A. Noll**, McManis Professor of Christian Thought at Wheaton College and author of numerous books, including *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Oxford Univ. Press, 2002), as Francis A. McAnaney Professor of History, effective with the fall 2006 semester. In 2005 *Time* magazine named Noll one of America's twenty-five most influential evangelicals. He will succeed **George Marsden**, author of *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 2d ed. (Oxford Univ. Press, 2006).

Marvin J. Newell has been appointed executive director of the Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association of North America (IFMA), Wheaton, Illinois, (www. ifmamissions.org), effective January 1, 2007. A missionary with TEAM for twenty-one years and a former professor at Erikson-Tritt Bible College and Seminary, Irian Jaya, Indonesia (1979-93), Newell for the past seven years has been professor of missions and chair of the Intercultural Studies Program at the Moody Bible Institute Graduate School, Chicago. He replaces John H. Orme, who has been executive director since 1991.

Trustees of New York Theological Seminary elected historian of world Christianity **Dale T. Irvin** as NYTS's eleventh president, effective August 1, 2006. Formerly academic dean at the seminary and vice president for academic affairs, Irvin had been acting president since January 1, when he replaced Hillary Gaston, Sr. Irvin, coauthor with Scott W. Sunquist of *History of the World Christian Movement: Earliest Christianity to* 1453 (Orbis Books, 2001), will continue as professor of world Christianity. aries were needed to reach these resistant women, and that without the conversion of wives and mothers, the Christianization of societies could not be assured. Well into the 1920s, missionaries commented that the Chinese church was largely male.<sup>32</sup>

When Western missionaries first entered India and China in the nineteenth century, social ostracism was initially too high a price for women to pay for conversion to Christianity. As the vulnerable members in patriarchal cultures, women could not afford to be cut off from their extended families, or to suffer the economic hardships of being ostracized because of their husbands' decisions to reject the ways of the village fathers, or to be discarded by a polygamous husband who was allowed to retain only his first wife. Sinologist Jessie Lutz writes of the wife of one

### In Africa, Southeast Asia, and Oceania, women were among the earliest converts to Christianity.

of the first Hakka Chinese to become Christian. She threatened to hang herself, and when she later died, her husband returned his Bible to the missionary because of family pressure to give her a traditional funeral.<sup>33</sup> In strict gender-separate societies, women greeted individualized conversion of their husbands with dismay, as negative pressure from the extended family was unbearable. If Hindu or Muslim women wished to become Christians on their own, they could be ostracized or killed by their families, and their children could be taken away. In her study of the early Brahmin convert Anandarao Kaundinya, Mrinalini Sebastian showed that his wife, Lakshmi, was forced by the family to leave him for dead and to take on the Hindu role of widow.<sup>34</sup> Only when missionary women began raising girl orphans or founding girls' schools was there an infrastructure that could support lower-class female converts in Asia by providing a counterweight to traditional family control. With the increasing number of women missionaries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and their partnership with indigenous Bible women and evangelists, the conversion of women gained momentum in Asia. By the 1920s, even though men still outnumbered women in the churches, the first generation of educated Chinese Christian women leaders were leading revivals, running medical centers, and becoming principals of mission schools.

In contrast to reports from China, anecdotal evidence from the nineteenth century indicates that in localized oral cultures in Africa, Southeast Asia, and Oceania, women were among the earliest converts to Christianity. For example, when American missionaries first arrived in Hawaii, they were greeted on board ship by the emissaries of a female chief, who became an early convert and sponsor of the fledgling church. Royal women in Africa sometimes befriended missionaries and became their sponsors, even in the face of hostility from men. Another category of early female converts was young women trapped in forced marriages. For example, the first convert of the Nazarenes in Swaziland was the tenth wife of an elderly man, who soon brought three other women and their children to the missionaries for instruction. As the church filled with women and children, men persecuted them.<sup>35</sup>

This early openness of African women to Christian conversion was analyzed by historian Adrian Hastings in an important article published in 1993, "Were Women a Special Case?" While recognizing that the conversion of women was integral to social movements toward Christianity, Hastings argued that gender analysis has largely been overlooked in the focus on the political implications of conversion. In his broad purview of African history, Hastings noted how often the first converts seemed to be women.<sup>36</sup> He speculated that early converts saw the relative equality in Christianity as providing an escape from patriarchal customs that oppressed women, such as forced marriage, and personal griefs such as the murder of twins. Even though over time the church followed the typical social pattern of male domination, the liberative potential contained within Christianity continued to attract African women. According to Hastings, it was the leadership of African women that consolidated Christianity as an African religion in the late twentieth century.<sup>37</sup> As early as 1962, female prayer unions were being described as the oldest and most enduring "African organizations in South Africa."38

In 2002 anthropologist John Peel, by analyzing gender factors in the Christianization of the Yoruba in Nigeria, entered the discussion of whether African women tended to convert before men did. While accepting that Christianity is central to African women's lives and that African women seem to predominate in worship life, Peel rejects Hastings's generalizations as unsystematic. Studies of gender and conversion must be held in tension with other social factors such as age, and they must be grounded in particular contexts in which missions developed over time.<sup>39</sup> In the mid-1800s women were more opposed to the Gospel than men because abandonment of their traditional religion risked their "reproductive health and success" and thus their very existence in Yoruba culture. As women grew interested in Christianity, they faced persecution for ostensibly jeopardizing the continuity of their husband's lineage. As they aged, however, women became more attracted to Christianity because it gave them more social freedom and protected them from being condemned as witches. As older men reverted to polygamy to ensure their own social status, Christianity became the venue of women and of young men. By the mid-1870s, in the town of Abeokuta, twice as many women were being baptized as men. Peel ultimately concludes that as the traditional system of patriarchy met the more individualistic patriarchy of mission Christianity, space was created for subordinate groups-here, women—to choose to convert.<sup>40</sup> Both Peel and Hastings attribute initial female conversion partly to the liberation from traditional customs women obtained through Christianity.<sup>41</sup>

Studies of gender and conversion in the late twentieth century. Although in-depth studies are still scarce, female anthropologists have undertaken the most thorough empirical studies of gender and conversion in the last twenty years, notably among the rapidly growing churches of Latin America and Africa. Here I examine two of the most important—one on Latin American evangelicalism, and one on African Catholicism.

In the context of hundreds of years of Catholic dominance, adherence to evangelical Pentecostalism has exploded since the 1970s, particularly in Central America and in Brazil. Using gender as a lens through which to examine evangelical conversion in Colombia, Elizabeth Brusco concludes that evangelicalism is "a form of female collective action" that improves family life by "reattaching males to the family." In the context of machismo, the Latin American patriarchal ethic, women are the first to convert and often bring their family men along with them. Women join churches in which women support one another. If the husbands can be persuaded to convert, they reject the destructive aspects of machismo such as drinking with other men and visiting prostitutes. Instead, they recommit themselves to their families. An evangelical household improves economically because scarce resources are now directed toward "female" values such as the education of the children. Conversion to evangelicalism occurs in a context of urbanization in which women's productive roles in peasant economies have been undermined, and the family has become dependent on male wages. In the final analysis, "the pragmatic function of evangelical conversion is to reform gender roles ... thereby dramatically improving the quality of life within the confines of the family."<sup>42</sup>

Although Brusco's data was limited to Colombia, her analysis holds important keys to the conversion of women to evangelical Protestantism and seems consistent with other studies of Protestant revivalism during periods of urbanization. As people move from peasant or rural economies to cities, women's economic functions are undercut as male wage labor becomes the major source of income. The ethic of the nuclear family, as spread by evangelicalism since its emergence in the 1700s, serves to recommit men to their wife and offspring. As a "strategic women's movement,"43 evangelicalism therefore bestows concrete material benefits on the family in the form of male economic loyalty, and also emotional and spiritual support for women. Christian forms of patriarchy, such as doctrines of male headship spread by evangelical groups, are a small price to pay for the moderation of machismo, male drunkenness, and expenditure of high percentages of the family income.

The deepest study of recent female conversion within an African culture is Dorothy Hodgson's work on Roman Catholicism among the Maasai in Tanzania. Her work is of particular interest to scholars of world Christianity because she studied from historical and sociological perspectives the process of evangelization in territory covered by famous Spiritan missionaries Eugene Hillman and Vincent Donovan.<sup>44</sup> Hodgson's study asks the question why women have become the vast majority in Maasai Catholicism, even though generations of Catholic missionaries privileged their work among men and were unhappy when women insisted on participation while Maasai men of warrior status repeatedly ignored them. By tracing the history of the nomadic pastoralist people, Hodgson found that women in Maasai culture had always been the gender responsible for the spiritual realm, for prayer to Eng'ai (the high god), and for knowledge of traditional rituals. Women's greater spirituality is an assumed part of Maasai culture because of their function as life-bearers.

The movement of women into Catholicism occurred in the wake of colonialism and then domination by Tanzanian postcolonial elites, whose policies to circumscribe and redefine the Maasai—including pressuring them to settle—disempowered women and also undercut their communal lifestyle. Despite male opposition, women in the last decades of the twentieth century poured into the church, where they found healing and female solidarity. Maasai women carried their dominance of the spiritual realm into the Catholic Church and saw their prayers there as continuous with their pre-Christian relationship with Eng'ai. Hodgson describes a context in which women's greater cultural flexibility allowed them to transfer their spiritual lives to the church because its spiritual teachings, structures, and meetinghouse and the sacramental presence of missionary priests gave them a space in which "to create an alternative female community beyond the control of Maasai men." Hodgson argues strongly that the spiritual realm itself should receive more respect by researchers and not be reduced to a function of politics or anticolonial struggles.<sup>45</sup>

#### Why Does Gender Matter?

In this article I have sampled current literature to argue that world Christianity should be analyzed as a women's movement. The majority of Christians in the emerging churches of the world are women—a fact that holds both for the major ecclesiastical groupings and for geographic areas of greatest Christian growth. Although many more studies are needed before conclusions can be drawn as to why there are more women than men in the emerging churches of the world, recent empirical research on new Christian movements in Latin America and Africa suggests three gender-linked factors in female church participation.

First, women join churches because in them they find female solidarity and support for their roles in family and community life, often in connection with mitigating the pressures of patriarchal societies. Hodgson goes so far as to suggest that spiritual beliefs and practices "may be central to the production, reproduction, transformation, and negotiation of gendered identities, of masculinities and femininities."<sup>46</sup> In other words, not only do churches provide communal support for female identity, but forms of spirituality may be integrally related to the construction of gender itself. For ordinary women, the community they experience is more important than raising questions about the patriarchal basis of most church leadership.

Second, women are attracted to new Christian movements because they hold out hope for healing, improved well-being, and reconciliation with others in their communities. Across the

#### "World Christianity as a women's movement" is significant not just for scholarship but for the future of Christian practice itself.

growing world church, experiences of healing provide entry points for women in diverse Christian communities, whether Pentecostal or Roman Catholic.

Third, church-based community support for women, and for healing and wholeness, can create new avenues for women's leadership in patriarchal societies, as well as provide a context in which female education is valued—even if only in church-based instruction for membership. Since much of women's leadership is directed back into the church, a cycle of female activism works to recruit other women and girls into church membership. Over generations, this cycle of female church participation can become a spiral that propels women into leadership in the larger society. During the twentieth century, Christian women became the first medical doctors, college presidents, social workers, community organizers, and politicians in many countries of the non-Western world.

But what happens if this cycle is broken? What happens if women no longer find fulfillment and satisfaction in church participation? Although gender-based studies of church decline in the non-Western world do not exist as yet, a few British scholars have examined the relationship between gender and church decline in Europe. These studies offer tantalizing hints as to why the vitality of world Christianity itself is dependent on a deeper understanding of gender dynamics. For example, Callum G. Brown's controversial book *The Death of Christian Britain* (2001) links the decline of gender-based piety to the rapid collapse of a Christian worldview in Great Britain since the 1960s the same period as the rapid growth of Christianity in Africa and Latin America.<sup>47</sup> Brown argues that once Christian discourse became "ungendered" and women rejected the female associational norms of the church, then "British Christian culture" entered its "death throes."<sup>48</sup>

Callum Brown's correlation of the church's failure to ad-

#### Notes

- "World Christianity" as used here includes Christians in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The majority status of women in world Christianity parallels that of women among North American Christians, among women in evangelical movements in the modern period, and among European women in mainline churches. On North American and European women, see Ann Braude, "Women's History 15 American Religious History," in *Retelling U.S. Religious History*, ed. Thomas A. Tweed (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1997), pp. 87–107; Tony Walter and Grace Davie, "The Religiosity of Women in the Modern West," *British Journal of Sociology* 49, no. 4 (1998): 640–60. I presented an earlier version of this paper at the Pruitt consultation on world Christianity at Baylor University in November 2005.
- In January of 1999 I gave a plenary lecture on the growth of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and Latin America to the American Society of Church History, meeting in Washington, D.C. The lecture was subsequently published in April of 2000 as "Shifting Southward: Global Christianity Since 1945," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 24, no. 2 (2000): 50–58.
- 3. Cited in J. D. Y. Peel, "Gender in Yoruba Religious Change," *Journal* of *Religion in Africa* 32, no. 2 (2002): 162 n. 2.
- 4. Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2002), p. 2. Although Jenkins indicated in chap. 1 n. 4 (p. 224) that he wrote an article on global Christianity that appeared before my April 2000 article "Shifting Southward," and that he and I used similar examples, there is reference neither to gender nor to a "typical" Christian in his earlier article. See Philip Jenkins, "That New Time Religion," *Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture* 23 (1999): 17–19.
- Bengt Sundkler, Bantu Prophets in South Africa, 2d ed. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1964), pp. 139–44. See also David Barrett, Schism and Renewal in Africa (Nairobi: Oxford Univ. Press, 1968), p. 148; Harold W. Turner, African Independent Church, vol. 2, The Life and Faith of the Church of the Lord (Aladura) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 42–43.
- 6. David Martin, *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Pentecostalism in Latin America* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).
- David Barrett, Todd M. Johnson, and Peter F. Crossing, "Missiometrics 2005: A Global Survey of World Mission," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 29, no. 1 (2005): 29.
- 8. David Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 2–4, 23, 1.
- Allan Anderson, An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004), pp. 12–13. Putting older indigenous churches under the term "Pentecostal" raises methodological problems. See O. U. Kalu, "Estranged Bedfellows? The Demonisation of the Aladura in African Pentecostal Rhetoric," in African Christian Outreach, vol. 1, African Initiated Churches, ed. M. L. Daneel (Pretoria: SAMS, 2001), pp. 121–42.
- 10. Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism*, p. 1. It can be misleading (like comparing apples and oranges) to compare church membership

dress changing gender roles in the larger society with the collapse of a British Christian worldview does not prove that one caused the other. His study is also at odds with the work of sociologists that links the decline of Christianity in Europe to the pullout of men, while women have maintained higher levels of both church attendance and religiosity.<sup>49</sup> Despite its limitations, however, Brown's study is powerfully suggestive of why gender analysis ought to occupy a central place in studies of world Christianity. The linkage of gendered piety to the vitality of varied forms of Christianity worldwide suggests why the study of "world Christianity as a women's movement" is significant not just for scholarship but for the future of Christian practice itself.

statistics using phenomenological rather than ecclesiastical definitions of Pentecostalism.

- 11. Ibid., pp. 5, 169.
- 12. Ibid., pp. 57, 59, 5.
- Personal communication to author, March 2005. See J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, African Charismatics: Current Developments Within Independent Indigenous Pentecostalism in Ghana (Leiden: Brill, 2005).
- 14. Martin, Pentecostalism, p. 23.
- See June Nash, quoted in Luis D. Leon, *La Llorona's Children: Religion*, *Life, and Death in the U.S.-Mexican Borderlands* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2004), p. 27.
- 16. For example, see ibid., and Robert A. Orsi, *The Madonna of* 115th Street (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1985).
- 17. Brazilian feminist theologian Ivone Gebara points out that the lack of female researchers means that "women's variables" and gender issues are largely absent from these case studies ("A Feminist Perspective on Enigmas and Ambiguities in Religious Interpretation," in *Popular Catholicism in a World Church: Seven Case Studies in Inculturation*, ed. Thomas Bamat and Jean-Paul Wiest [Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1999], p. 258).
- 18. Thomas Bamat and Jean-Paul Wiest, "The Many Faces of Popular Catholicism," in *Popular Catholicism in a World Church*, ed. Bamat and Wiest, p. 2.
- Patrick A. B. Anthony, "St. Lucia, West Indies: Garden of Eden?" in Popular Catholicism in a World Church, ed. Bamat and Wiest, pp. 96–97.
- Christopher Comoro and John Sivalon, "Tanzania: Marian Faith Healing Ministry," in *Popular Catholicism in a World Church*, ed. Bamat and Wiest, pp. 157–82.
- For Web sites on Marian apparitions, see http:// www.apparitions.org or http://members.aol.com/bjw1106/ marian.htm.
- 22. Quoted from the *New York Times* in Leon, *La Llorona's Children*, pp. 78–79.
- 23. Quoted in Thomas Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile: Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997), p. 61.
- 24. Bryan T. Froehle and Mary L. Gautier, *Global Catholicism: Portrait of a World Church* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2003), pp. 50, 89. Note that vowed religious have long had a female majority in both Europe and the United States.
- Margaret Eletta Guider, "'On Planting Dates': The Consequences of Missionary Activity on U.S.-Based Franciscan Sisterhoods (1960– 2000)," in Gospel Bearers, Gender Barriers: Missionary Women in the Twentieth Century, ed. Dana L. Robert (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2002), pp. 157–70.
- 26. Quoted in Joan F. Burke, "These Catholic Sisters Are All Mamas! Celibacy and the Metaphor of Maternity," in *Women and Missions: Past and Present*, ed. Fiona Bowie, Deborah Kirkwood, and Shirley Ardener (Providence, R.I.: Berg, 1993), p. 257. See Burke's full-length study *These Catholic Sisters Are All Mamas! Towards the Inculturation of the Sisterhood in Africa; An Ethnographic Study* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

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- 27. Burke, "These Catholic Sisters," pp. 255, 263.
- 28. Quoted in Carrie Pemberton, *Circle Thinking: African Women Theologians in Dialogue with the West* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 98. See her chapter "Sisters and Mothers," pp. 92–125.
- 29. Female leadership emerged strongly in the transatlantic revival movements of pietism and Methodism. See, for example, David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2005).
- 30. Mary Ryan, "A Women's Awakening: Evangelical Religion and the Families of Utica, New York, 1800–1840," in *Women in American Religion*, ed. Janet Wilson James (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), pp. 89–110.
- E.g., Martin, Tongues of Fire; Elizabeth Brusco, The Reformation of Machismo: Evangelical Conversion and Gender in Colombia (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1995).
- 32. See, for example, the discussion of women's participation and roles in the pioneer study by the International Missionary Council, *The Place of Women in the Church on the Mission Field* (London and New York: IMC, 1927). Numerous missionary women commented on the lack of women in Chinese churches; see Welthy Fisher, in Sally Swenson, Welthy Honsinger Fisher: Signals of a Century; The Life and Learning of an American Educator, Literacy Pioneer, and Independent Reformer in China and India, 1879–1980 (Stittsville, Ont.: S. Swenson, 1988), p. 75; Ortha May Lane, "Women's Work at the National Conference," Chinese Recorder 53 (April 1922): 268.
- 33. Jessie Lutz, "Conversion Patterns Among the First Chinese Protestant Evangelists" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Yale-Edinburgh Group on the History of the Missionary Movement and Non-Western Christianity, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut, July 3–5, 2003).
- Mrinalini Sebastian, "Mission Without History? Some Ideas for Decolonizing Mission," *International Review of Mission* 95, no. 368 (2004): 78–89.
- 35. Lula Schmelzenbach, *The Missionary Prospector* (Kansas City, Mo.: Nazarene Publishing House, 1937), pp. 59–66.
- 36. Adrian Hastings, "Were Women a Special Case?" in *Women and Missions*, ed. Bowie, Kirkwood, and Ardener, p. 111.
- 37. Ibid., p. 123.
- Mia Brandel-Syrier, quoted in Deborah Gaitskell, "Hot Meetings and Hard Kraals: African Biblewomen in Transvaal Methodism, 1924–60," in African Initiatives in Christian Mission, vol. 2, The Mission Churches, ed. Dana L. Robert (Pretoria: SAMS, 2003), p. 73.
- 39. Peel, "Gender in Yoruba Religious Change," p. 152.

- 40. Ibid., pp. 158, 160, 162.
- 41. The initial liberation of conversion is often followed by a routinization process in which women lose status relative to men who assume church leadership; nevertheless, women continue to find fulfillment in the churches. Cynthia Hoehler-Fatton makes this point in one of the most thorough studies of gender in an indigenous church; see her *Women of Fire and Spirit: History, Faith, and Gender in Roho Religion in Western Kenya* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1996).
- 42. Brusco, Reformation of Machismo, pp. 3, 5, 9.

- 44. See their well-known missionary "classics," Vincent J. Donovan, Christianity Rediscovered (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2004); Eugene Hillman, Polygamy Reconsidered: African Plural Marriage and the Christian Churches (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1975); Dorothy L. Hodgson, The Church of Women: Gendered Encounters Between Maasai and Missionaries (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 2005).
- 45. Hodgson, Church of Women, pp. 187, 259.
- 46. Ibid., p. 258.
- 47. Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800–2000* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 195. From around 1800 to the 1960s in Great Britain, the age in which religious affiliation became a matter of personal choice, it was women's "influence on children and men, their profession of purity and virtue, their attachment to domesticity and all the virtues located with that, which sustained discursive Christianity in the age of modernity" (p. 195). According to Brown, the chief factor in British secularization in the 1960s was a profound change in female identity that occurred during the youth rebellion and changes in sexual mores of the era: "Discourses on feminine identity were now conveyed by everything other than family, domestic routine, virtue, religion or 'respectability'" (p. 195).
- "Female rebellion—of body, sexuality and above all the decay of religious marriage—was a transition out of the traditional discursive world" (ibid., p. 196).
- 49. See Walter and Davie, "The Religiosity of Women in the Modern West." Walter and Davie found that Western women attended church in even greater percentages than men, especially in mainline churches. The declines in church participation in England and Holland during the late twentieth century were related to a falloff in the church participation of men more than of women. In their opinion, the inconclusive nature of studies on gender and religiosity underscores the general failure by scholars to address "the question of why women are more religious than men" (p. 656).

#### Doctoral Dissertation Database Online

The database **Researching World Christianity: Doctoral Dissertations on Mission Since 1900** can now be accessed online for free, unrestricted use. Hosted at the Yale Divinity School Library and produced in collaboration with the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MISSIONARY RESEARCH, the database records English-language doctoral dissertations from 1900 to the present on missions and on Christianity outside the West. More than 5,700 dissertations are listed, with full bibliographic details and indexing. The database incorporates compilations of missions-related dissertations published in the July 1983, July 1993, and July 2003 issues of the *IBMR* and has been expanded in its scope. Excluded are dissertations about Christianity in Europe, Australasia, and North America, with the exception of aboriginal missions in these areas. The present compilation includes all doctoral-level dissertations and theses that could be identified, including the D.Min. and D.Miss. To access the database, visit either http://resources.library.yale.edu/dissertations or www.omsc.org/dissertationscollection.html.

<sup>43.</sup> Ibid., p. 135.

## The Role of Women in the Formation of the World Student Christian Federation

#### Johanna M. Selles

A picture taken in 1895 of the founders of the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF)—all males might suggest that women were absent from the movement until their formal admission several years later.<sup>1</sup> Official histories of the movement and of its leaders would support this assumption.<sup>2</sup> The formal entrance of women to the WSCF is generally marked by the appointment of Cambridge-educated Ruth Rouse (1872– 1956) as women's secretary in 1905.

This interpretation neglects an important part of the heritage of the WSCF, namely, the culture that blossomed from within women's higher education. The interest and involvement of female students in missionary studies and clubs in nineteenthcentury higher education for women formed an important stream that fed directly into the founding, methods, and expansion of the WSCF. This article examines three such organizational streams-missionary study in clubs and curricula in institutions of higher education for women, formation of the YWCA, and numerous philanthropic and service organizations founded, led, and staffed by women. The type of organizational culture and methods these women-run organizations brought to the milieu out of which the WSCF arose has received insufficient acknowledgment. Exclusive attention to male leadership in the founding of the WSCF neglects the active role played by women in the formation of wider student organizations, such as the Student Volunteer Missionary Union, that were immediate antecedents to the WSCF. Though many of the individual women had multiple overlapping commitments, which can be discerned only by reading from inside the individual lives as much as the records allow us, the women's missionary and service organizations of the second half of the nineteenth century can rightly be spoken of, along with the SVM and SVMU, as precursors to the WSCF.

#### A New Day in Women's Higher Education

The late nineteenth century witnessed an unprecedented growth in women's participation in higher education, including ladies' seminaries, women's colleges, and coeducational universities.<sup>3</sup> Graduates were eager to apply new learning and leadership skills to a vocation and to a life of service.<sup>4</sup> This eagerness was inspired partly by a spiritual call to vocation, partly by an adventurous curiosity that quietly defied middle-class expectations for marriage and home and opened the world to educated women. Increased possibilities of travel and communication assisted these women in their quest. Furthermore, the involvement by women carried with it an agenda that was shaped by the assumption of moral authority that was felt to reside particularly in Western, white, middle-class Protestants.<sup>5</sup>

The women's colleges, which bloomed mid- to late-nineteenth century in North America, England, and Australia, generally encouraged missionary societies as part of their extracurricular club life. At the Methodist Ontario Ladies' College in Whitby, Ontario, for example, a missionary society was organized in 1889 by the lady principal, Mary Electa Adams. Other Methodist ladies' colleges in Ontario, such as Alma College in St. Thomas, also had a missionary society, as did Albert College in Belleville.<sup>6</sup>

One of the early American women's student societies that can be considered a precursor to the WSCF was the Mount Holyoke Missionary Association (MHMA), founded by Mariana



Yale University Divinity School Library, Special Collections

Founders of the WSCF, Vadstena Castle, August 1895 J. Rutter Williamson, Johannes Siemsen, John R. Mott K. Martin Eckhoff, Karl Fries, Luther D. Wishard (*l to r*)

(MaryAnn) Holbrook in 1878. This small group met in secret because of reticence about letting people know they were considering foreign missionary service. In 1888 the MHMA ceased to be a secret society and accepted new members who shared their purpose.<sup>7</sup> The group included daughters of missionary families, as well as others with an interest in missions. By 1884, thirty-four students had signed a declaration of their missionary purpose. Grace Wilder, class of 1883, was a member of the MHMA. Wilder, daughter of India missionary Royal Wilder, presumably influenced her brother Robert's decision in 1883 to begin a Student Volunteer Movement (SVM) group at Princeton.<sup>8</sup>

Mariana Holbrook, founder of the MHMA, was the daughter of Richard Holbrook and Ruth Ford Holbrook, from Rockland, Massachusetts. In 1878 she transferred to the University of Michigan to prepare herself for missionary service by studying medicine. After graduation in 1880, she interned in Boston for six months and then went to Tung-cho, North China. In ill health, she returned to the States in 1887 but recuperated sufficiently to go to Japan two years later.

In 1889 Dr. Holbrook and three Mount Holyoke students— Cora Stone, Caroline Telford, and Lizzie Wilkenson—wrote to the American Board for Foreign Missions, offering themselves for service in Japan. Holbrook and her three friends offered to help establish a "Mount Holyoke College" in Japan so that Japanese women could be trained to their "sphere of usefulness" and that the college might do what the American Mount Holyoke had done for the world, namely, elevate the status of women. The

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proposal was rejected, and the prospect of imposing the Western educational model for women in the form of Mount Holyoke failed, as the college was not established. The women instead all found employment on the faculty of Kobe College, where Holbrook established the science department. Tuberculosis forced Stone to return to the United States in 1894, but she later served as a home missionary in North Carolina.<sup>9</sup> In 1907 Holbrook also resigned due to ill health; she eventually died in 1910, in East Haven, Connecticut. Her achievements included two books written in Chinese, one a science textbook.<sup>10</sup>

An earlier society called Stella Vigiles (Watchers for the Star) had already been founded at Mount Holyoke in 1865. Primarily daughters of missionaries, the members called themselves SVs. They used "Watchman, what of the night?" as a motto and held monthly Sunday prayer meetings as well as social evenings with refreshments and guests.<sup>11</sup> Grace Wilder was secretary of the SVs during part of 1881–82 and also for 1882–83. The Stella Vigiles society may have overlapped with the MHMA. The MHMA itself continued until 1898, when it was incorporated into the Mount Holyoke Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), which had been organized in 1893, as the Missionary Literature Committee.<sup>12</sup>



Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collections

#### Mariana Holbrook

Meetings of the MHMA were held once a month on Sunday afternoons. Members, who were recruited by personal invitation, signed the MHMA pledge that stated: "We hold ourselves willing and desirous to do the Lord's work wherever He may call us, even if it be a foreign land." Members of the association subsequently worked in India, South Africa, East Africa, China, Constantinople, and India. Other members worked in the United States in various academic and social-service positions.<sup>13</sup>

The women's colleges and seminaries fostered a desire to learn about the foreign field as well as domestic problems, and planted the idea that mission work was an appropriate vocational goal for women. Four examples of students at Mount Holyoke who had pursued this goal well before the founding of the MHMA are Charlotte Bailey, who left in 1838 to work in Africa; Fidelia Fiske, who in 1843 went to Persia to start Fiske Seminary for girls; and two nieces of Mary Lyon (the founder of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary), graduates of 1838 and 1840, who both taught at Mount Holyoke before marrying and then departing for India and China.<sup>14</sup> In 1897 the Mount Holyoke YWCA voted to adopt a missionary who was a recent graduate of the college. In 1907 Olive Sawyer Hoyt, class of 1897, was sent to Japan to teach at Kobe College (1902–13) and later to serve as principal of a girls' school in Matsuyama, Japan (1913–40). Alice Seymour Brown, class of 1900, was adopted as a Mount Holyoke missionary and sent to China in 1905. The pattern of club life and commitment to overseas service demonstrated by Mount Holyoke in the late-nineteenth century was replicated in many of the women's colleges of the time.

#### **Coeducational Universities and Mission Clubs**

Universities that began as male institutions made room for women in the missionary clubs as well as in the classroom and allowed for interdenominational work that later crossed university and college lines. For example, a branch of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) was established at Victoria College, Toronto, a Methodist institution, in 1870, later to be joined by a chapter of the Inter-collegiate Missionary Alliance (an interdenominational society connected with the YMCA) in 1885. From the 1870s until World War I, other clubs were formed that engaged students' commitment to missionary work, including social and moral reform. These included the Methodist Missionary and Woman's Missionary Society, the denominational Epworth League and Young People's Forward Movement for Missions, and the nondenominational Student Volunteer Movement and its successor the Student Christian Movement. A Ladies' Missionary Society was formed at the coeducational Victoria in Toronto in 1891,<sup>15</sup> but previous to this women were generally welcome also in the nominally male missionary societies.

#### YWCA

Forerunners to the YWCA, which was founded in 1855, include an array of efforts by individual women and endeavors by women's organizations to meet the needs of women. Though these early efforts were limited in scope, operating within national boundaries, over time they coalesced to inspire the international organizational vision of the YWCA. Most directly two individual efforts in England gave rise to what eventually became the YWCA; one was a prayer union founded in 1855 by Emma Roberts, and the other was a London hostel established by a Mrs. Arthur Kinnaird. The vision of the YWCA that emerged was based on a commitment to serve those in need, including the displaced, the marginalized, and the working poor, as well as the high school or college girl.

The American YWCA, inaugurated in 1858, began with a commitment to personal piety and social service and grew to incorporate educational methods and leadership training, traditions that were also part of the English and Continental YWCAs. The movement tended to transcend denominational lines in building local organizations with the help of voluntary, unsalaried leadership. Emphasis on Bible study and special evangelistic work was common to the YWCA in various countries. Their methods included summer camps and courses that helped with individual spiritual formation.<sup>16</sup>

The outlook of the YWCA imparted a strong impetus toward missionary work carried out across denominational lines and

organized by an international committee, an ecumenical theme that was continued in the WSCF.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, the YWCA was more ecumenical than even the interdenominational church boards; by 1920 it had dropped membership in a Protestant evangelical church as a condition for YWCA membership. By 1894 the organization's vision of an international movement led to a debate among YWCA members, who argued the merits of the title "International" versus "World." They finally settled on the name "World's Young Women's Christian Association" because it emphasized unity, whereas for them "International" in the title would signify only cooperation between separate entities.<sup>18</sup> The constitution provided YWCA members with active membership in the worldwide association but limited it to those who had a national organization. At the first World's YWCA Conference in 1898, representatives of national organizations were present from Great Britain, the United States, Norway, Sweden, Canada, Italy, and India.<sup>19</sup>

The rapid diffusion of the YWCA opened up worldwide employment possibilities for young women.<sup>20</sup> Women graduates of higher education, who increasingly were looking for international experience, in turn provided a demand for service organizations with national or international emphases. Organizationally, problems arose due to the rapid growth of the YWCA, occasioned by the presence of multiple organizations working in the same international field. Some countries resisted what they saw as an aggressive takeover of work by British or American leaders. At the World's YWCA meeting in 1902, it was decided to approve and sponsor the development of the association in countries then regarded as "mission fields," although they specified that they intended only to supplement, not to take over, the work of missionary societies.<sup>21</sup>

The history of the YWCA, particularly its international branch, is inextricably linked to the history and development of the WSCF. Personnel were shared for periods of time, and common training programs and summer camps allowed for a shared culture and shared norms of leadership. Institutional histories present a picture of separate organizations, whereas in reality there was a great deal of overlap in personnel, training methods, and territory.

The YWCA in America developed as a separate women's movement, even though one of the early organizers, Luther Wishard, supported gender-mixed college Y's. The executive of the American YMCA, who insisted on separate development, ordered Wishard to undo his original coeducational work. Women were told that they were best served by having their own movement.<sup>22</sup> Women graduates provided the YWCA with a skilled workforce and transferred their skills to the organization. For example, Corabel Tarr left teaching in 1889 to become the second general secretary of the International Committee and served until her marriage in 1892.

#### Philanthropic and Service Organizations

Nineteenth-century activists belonged to a variety of organizations concerned with social betterment, and they brought an ethos of social service, outreach, and leadership that in many cases eventually carried over into the WSCF. A premier example is Grace Hoadley Dodge, the granddaughter of William Dodge, a metals business executive. Her leadership and philanthropic work supported an array of charities and dispensed more than a million dollars of funding. In 1880 she founded the Kitchen Garden Association (later renamed the Industrial Education Association) to foster manual and domestic training and industrial arts in the public schools. She funded the New York College for the Training of Teachers in 1886, which was absorbed by Columbia Teachers College in 1892. In 1884 she organized a club for working women that became the Working Girls' Societies and served as its president until she helped to merge the group into the U.S. YWCA in 1905. She served as president of the YWCA board until her death in 1914.<sup>23</sup>



University Archives and Columbiana Library, Columbia University

**Grace Hoadley Dodge** 

Dodge was one of the first women appointed to the New York Board of Education. She also served as a member of the Educational Commission for the 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, which she attended. Dodge worked for a united effort among Jewish, Roman Catholic, and Protestant women to greet incoming girls at the stations and docks. The National Vigilance Committee, which later became the American Social Hygiene Association, was formed at her house in 1905. This organization involved itself in the development of laws against the trade in women.

Influenced by the writings of Johann Pestalozzi and Friedrich Froebel, Dodge had talent for organization and creativity and was deeply dedicated to providing education and training. Ruth Rouse, who became the Women's Secretary for the WSCF, spoke about the opportunities in student work to a group at Dodge's home. Dodge apparently left a bequest for women's work in the WSCF, one that by the 1940s had been redirected into the general funds of the organization.<sup>24</sup>

#### **Overlapping Commitments**

Dodge's varied interests and wide involvement provide an excellent example of the overlapping engagements of those involved in Christian social service, student work, and YWCAsponsored activities. Her broad philanthropic and mission participation arose not merely from her inheritance, but even more from her commitment to provide practical help to those in need in order that they might have the skills necessary for survival. Many of the early supporters and leaders in the WSCF carried forward this commitment to multiple constituencies. Dodge did not live to see the demise in 1928 of one of her projects, the National YWCA Training School.<sup>25</sup>

Educated women were inspired to take up the challenge of a career in the YWCA. Education was a key, as YWCA leader Annie Reynolds claimed, to the appeal and the growth of the movement: "It is the best education, the best brain, the strongest constitution and the deepest consecration that must stand in the breach of this advance stage of the world's civilization. There is work for all, but now, when everywhere the standard of education has been so much raised, there is an especial need for those who have the higher advantages of any land to make their influence felt for Christian womanhood."<sup>26</sup>

Since their work and personnel overlapped greatly, the relationship between the YWCA and the WSCF is at times confusing. Nettie Dunn Clarke, first national secretary of the YWCA in the United States, who resigned in 1891 and went to India in 1893, commented on the cooperation between the organizations. Looking back in 1940 on her career with the Y, she wrote:

You may remember how I really hunted for something to do in YWCA lines. In our first Station, Ludhiana [India], we had a YWCA mostly made up of young medical students and nurses of the Medical School there. But it was only after five years, when we moved to Ambala and had that camp that I felt that this was YWCA work that counted. By that time I had been hearing about the Federation and was rejoiced to have its help from you and Miss Cooke and to feel that here was an organization made to really help our student associations in a sympathetic way. It was something that the Federation had its own financial budget and paid workers who could give time to college groups in India, as we knew it was doing in various parts of Europe and other lands. And I judge that one great advantage was that the Federation gathered up a great number of Associations with various names, not always

#### Sherwood Eddy Pays a Visit to Adolf von Harnack Before Returning to the United States, December 1918

I am shaken by this war—unless I am mistaken your God received a nearly mortal wound. My friend Azariah would offer you his fellowship (and a few well-chosen words about conversion), but I'm not sure you've heard of him. The crack that startled all of us was not the Crack of Doom, but Christendom. Hang on, old man, a new hand drives the pace of change— I know, we Yanks can be a bumptious lot but we are good at making up, and funding, as we go along. Believe me, dreams are back,

though Lenin's on the move, but maybe not as fast as moves the Dove.

—Mark A. Noll

YMCA or YWCA, and these needed to be helped and coordinated. In those days it was therefore a much needed unifying influence in Europe and America as well as a spiritual stimulus to real Christian work in the Colleges.

As to the World's YWCA, that was started several years before the Federation and in those years it was a great help to both city and college Associations, though at first it seemed far away from our American Associations, and we rather felt that the English organizations were getting most of the help....So perhaps the World's Federation was more warmly welcomed by the students.<sup>27</sup>

#### Women and the SVM and SVMU

How does this wide array of nineteenth-century mission, philanthropic, and service organizations founded and led by women relate to the founding and organization of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVM) and the Student Volunteer Missionary Union (SVMU), and eventually to the WSCF itself? Until recently educational historians and consequently historians of campus-based voluntary organizations have focused on male clubs and organizations.<sup>28</sup> For example, historian Timothy Wahlstrom discusses three male student organizations that led to the formation of the larger Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVM), namely, the Society of Brethren (1808-70), the Andover Society of Inquiry on the Subject of Missions, and the Philadelphian Society at Princeton.<sup>29</sup> Yet women were active participants in both single-sex and coeducational mission societies throughout the history of early missions and early campus-based voluntary movements. This coeducational participation carried over into the eventual formation of the WSCF.

For the formation of the SVM, the Mount Hermon Conference for students in 1886, held at D. L. Moody's school in

Northfield, Massachusetts, was a crucial event. It served as the catalyst for the development of an organization that would combine the smaller collegiate societies into a nationwide intercollegiate society within the United States. Organizationally, the next step occurred when Robert Wilder traveled to Britain in 1891 and, the following year, organized the Student Volunteer Missionary Union (SVMU), which comprised a committee of four representing England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. Membership in the SVMU was open to both women and men who signed a declaration proclaiming their intention to become a foreign missionary. One of the students who signed the declaration was Agnes de Selincourt, a high school friend of Ruth Rouse. When in 1894 Rouse herself attended the meetings of the Keswick Convention in England's northern Lake District, 50 out of the 193 in attendance were women. At this meeting she met both John Mott (1865–1955) and Robert Speer (1867–1947), who became, respectively, the first and second traveling secretaries of the SVM. In 1896 she attended the first Student Volunteer Convention, in Liverpool.

The SVMU struck a chord with students. By that first convention in Liverpool, 1,038 students had signed the declaration, and 212 had already left for mission fields. The welcome accorded to the founding of the SVMU in 1892 led to the formation in 1893 of another British student movement with a broader scope called the Inter-University Christian Union (IUCU), renamed a year later as the British College Christian Union (BCCU). Both de Selincourt and Rouse were instrumental in

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bringing several independent organizations in the women's colleges into affiliation with the BCCU. They also managed to transfer the ideals of social settlement work—which involved serving a community by living among its people—from college life into missions. In 1894 they outlined a plan for the Missionary Settlement for University Women (MSUW) in which women

from English universities would establish a hostel in India and do educational, medical, and evangelistic work. Based in Bombay, the MSUW developed work among Parsees.<sup>30</sup> Rouse in 1895 became the editor of the journal Student Volunteer, a role that gave her a position on the executive of both the SMVU and the BCCU. Rouse's appointment in 1896 as traveling secretary meant that she served the SVMU, the BCCU, and the MSUW-evidence of the interconnected relationships among the organizations.

Founded in England in 1892 as a coeducational student association, the SVMU met in conjunction with the Keswick Convention in 1893, with six women present, and proposed to create an intercollegiate Christian organization

to deepen the spiritual life of Christian students and to win others for Christ. A number of women students from Oxford were also present at Keswick in 1893, including the sister of Alexander Fraser (CMS missionary educator in Africa and Sri Lanka), Mary, who was a student at Somerville College.<sup>31</sup> The founders of the recently rechristened British College Christian Union (BCCU) hoped that the new name would help establish Christian unions in colleges not of university standing, such as teachers training colleges, where presumably the students were largely women. Of women students at Keswick in 1894, the majority were Student Volunteers and medical students, largely from the London School of Medicine for Women.<sup>32</sup> (By 1898, thirty-two women's unions were affiliated with the BCCU, which in 1900 included 1,300 women students.<sup>33</sup>)

#### Impact of the SVM

The conventions organized by the student movements generated tremendous enthusiasm and formed powerful memories for those who attended. Helen F. Barnes, a secretary of the American YWCA, attended the SVM convention in Cleveland in 1898. The excitement generated at that meeting was still vivid for her four decades later. She wrote: "There [in Cleveland] I received a vision and an ideal which never left me. I was thrilled, and greatly moved by the proposed heights, and ideals in spiritual growth and possible achievement by the every day student, any young person who knew God." Concerning the watchword to evangelize the world, Barnes wrote that the message "appeared to me, as to thousands, as heroic." In spite of intervening wars and destruction, she felt that if every Christian had accepted and acted on the watchword, the subsequent destruction to civilization might have been avoided.<sup>34</sup>



Ruth Rouse, center, in Moscow in 1909

The SVM's three major tenets were dependence on prayer, confidence in the power of the Holy Spirit, and confidence in the guidance of the Scriptures. The organizational approach followed by the SVM was to draw together a group of interested students who would form a Volunteer Band. These bands formed the core for Christian associations in the colleges (or inter-

seminary alliances in the seminaries). The Executive Committee oversaw the movement as a whole and appointed volunteers as secretaries. Both the organizational structure and the culture of the SVM were carried into the WSCF by leaders, such as Rouse, who had training in the SVM.

Membership in the SVM was dependent on two things—possession of the appropriate educational status and willingness to make a sacrificial commitment. Though the slogan was the subject of increasing debate as the WSCF carried it into the twentieth century to a student population growing more skeptical,<sup>35</sup> the sacrificial commitment called for by the SVM was epitomized by the watchword that it adopted in 1888: "the evangelization of the

world in this generation." Individuals could be members of a denomination and of the SVM at the same time.<sup>36</sup> In the first twenty years of the SVM, 2,953 volunteers emerged; notably, 30 percent of them were women.

#### Conclusion

The inception of the WSCF can be dated to August 1895. When Prince Bernadotte of Sweden invited Christian student leaders to Vadstena Castle on Lake Vettern that year for a conference, more than 200 accepted, the founders of the WSCF among them. Delegates came from North America representing the Intercollegiate Department of the YMCA, the International Committee of the YWCA, and BCCU; from the German Christian Student's Alliance; and from universities in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland. Luther Wishard represented student associations in a variety of countries where he had done pioneering work.

Although no women appear in the official photograph of the founding committee, the cross-connections and multiple links between the women's missionary clubs, YWCA work, and other service and philanthropic movements related to work at home and abroad made those clubs and societies important precursors to the WSCF. Although many of these links and individuals have been forgotten, their contributions live on in a variety of international student voluntary organizations on university campuses today, including the Student Christian Movement (formed in 1920) and World University Service of Canada (formed in 1950).<sup>37</sup> The commitment to student refugees and other social-justice work evident within them today was formed in the early mission movements, in which women were active participants.

#### Notes

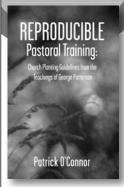
- 1. Founded in 1895 as the World's Student Christian Federation, the WSCF formally changed its name in 1960 to World Student Christian Federation, the form of the name followed in this article.
- 2. See, for example, C. H. Hopkins, *John R. Mott, 1865–1955* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979).
- 3. This increase has been documented in a variety of educational histories. For England, see Felicity Hunt, *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women*, 1850–1950 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987); for Australia, see Marjorie R. Theobald, *Knowing Women: Origins of Women's Education in Nineteenth-Century Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996); for Ontario, see Ruby Heap and Alison Prentice, *Gender and Education in Ontario: An Historical Reader* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1998); for the United States, see Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1986).
- See, for example, Ruth Brouwer, New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876–1914 (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1990); Dana L. Robert, American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice, 1792–1992 (Macon, Ga.: Mercer Univ. Press, 1997).
- 5. Karen Garner, "Global Feminism and Postwar Reconstruction: The World YWCA Visitation to Occupied Japan, 1947," Journal of World History 15, no. 2 (June 2004), http://www.historycooperative.org/ journals/jwh/15.2/garner.html. See also Anne McClintock, Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest (New York: Routledge, 1995).
- Johanna Selles, Methodists and Women's Education in Ontario, 1836– 1925 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1993).
- 7. Mary L. Matthews to Ruth Rouse, March 29, 1943, box 71-575, WSCF Papers, record group 46, Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, Connecticut (henceforth YDS).
- 8. Ruth Rouse, *The World's Student Christian Federation* (London: SCM, 1948), p. 104.
- 9. Enoch Bell to Ruth Rouse, May 20, 1942, box 71-576, YDS.
- 10. Clipping file in the Mount Holyoke Library Archives, copied in box 71-576, YDS. For further information on student records and organizations at Mount Holyoke Archives and Special Collections, see RG 27.1 Alumnae Biographical Files (LD 7096.6), x-Class of 188-, Holbrook, Mary Anna; RG 27.1 Alumnae Biographical Files (LD 7096.6), Class of 1889, Stone, Cora; RG 25.3 Student Organizations (LD 7095.5 M66), Mount Holyoke Missionary Association; RG 25.3 Student Organizations (LD 7095.5 S75), Stella Vigiles; RG 25.3 Student Organizations (LD 7095.5 Y65), Young Women's Christian Association. I am grateful to Jenny Smith, Archives Assistant, Mount Holyoke Archives and Special Collections, for assistance in locating materials.
- 11. Bertha Blakely to Ruth Rouse, March 19, 1942, box 71-576, YDS.
- 12. Bertha E. Blakely to Ruth Rouse, May 16, 1942, box 71-576, YDS.
- 13. Typescript by Mary Mathews, 1937, box 71-574, YDS.
- 14. YWCA file, box 71-570, YDS, shows that there were mission study classes at Mount Holyoke as follows: in 1902, two classes, with 21 enrolled; in 1903, six classes, with 87 enrolled; in 1904, five classes, with 91 enrolled; in 1905, twelve classes, with 181 enrolled. The figures for subsequent years are similar. In 1919/20, mission study classes were called World Fellowship classes; that year there were fifteen classes, with 229 enrolled. The numbers reflect a growing interest in missionary concerns among students.
- Neil Semple, Faithful Intellect: Samuel S. Nelles and Victoria University (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 2005), p. 216.
- 16. At Silver Bay Conference Center on Lake George, New York, YWCA conferences drew enthusiastic participants. In 1904 there were 810 delegates to a YWCA conference, of whom 550 were college students and 50 were preparatory students. In 1905 there were 734 students from 111 institutions in twelve states and Canada. See

E. Clark Workman, *The Contribution of Silver Bay to the Professional Training of the YWCA, 1902–1952* (Lake George, N.Y.: Silver Bay Association, 1952).

- Anna Rice, A History of the World's Young Women's Christian Association (New York: Woman's Press, 1947), p. 50. See also Nancy Boyd, Emissaries: The Overseas Work of the American YWCA, 1895–1970 (New York: Woman's Press, 1986), p. 92.
- 18. Carole Seymour-Jones, *Journey of Faith: The History of the World YWCA* (London: Allison & Busby, 1994), p. 13.
- 19. Ibid., p. 13.
- 20. Rice, History, p. 4.
- 21. Seymour-Jones, Journey, p. 15.
- 22. For example, Luther Wishard, who was urged to reverse the genderintegrated policy he had started in the United States, arranged for Fanny Beale, YWCA delegate, to speak at an Ohio State convention in 1883 to advocate for a separate association for women. Beale argued that only a girl could reach the heart of a girl. See C. K. Ober, *The Association Secretaryship* (New York: Association Press, 1918), p. 69.
- 23. For a biography of Dodge, see Abbie Graham, *Grace H. Dodge: Merchant of Dreams* (New York: Woman's Press, 1926). For a reprint edition of Dodge's writings, see *Grace H. Dodge: Her Life and Work* (New York: Arno Press, 1974).
- 24. Robert C. Mackie to Ruth Rouse, June 29, 1942, record group 46, box 1, file 2, YDS. Mackie wrote: "I did not know that this money was still supposed to be set against women's work, but I have no qualms of conscience on the subject. The only two members of staff being paid directly from our central funds are Suzanne and myself, and quite obviously a very high percentage of the students in the movements we are seeking to help are women students."
- Nancy Boyd, Emissaries: The Overseas Work of the American YWCA, 1895–1970 (New York: Woman's Press, 1986), p. 95.
- Annie Reynolds, "Annual Report for 1899," quoted in Rice, *History*, p. 85.
- 27. Nettie Dunn Clarke to Ruth Rouse, April 22, 1940, box 84-689, WSCF Archives, YDS.
- 28. See, for example, Clarence Shedd, *Two Centuries of Student Christian Movements* (New York: Association Press, 1934); J. B. Reynolds, S. H. Fisher, and H. B. Wright, eds., *Two Centuries of Christian Activity at Yale* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901.
- 29. Timothy C. Wallstrom, *The Creation of a Student Movement to Evangelize the World: A History and Analysis of the Early Stages of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions* (Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey International Univ. Press, 1980), pp. 24–28.
- Tissington Tatlow, The Story of the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland (London: SCM Press, 1933), pp. 57–58.
- 31. Keith Clements, *Faith on the Frontier: A Life of J. H. Oldham* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1999), p. 26.
- 32. Tatlow, Story of the Student Christian Movement, p. 59.
- 33. Rowland, "Contribution of Ruth Rouse," p. 51.
- 34. Helen Barnes, box 84-689, WSCF Archives, YDS.
- Clements, Faith on the Frontier, p. 65. See also Andrew Porter, Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914 (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 2004), pp. 303–6.
- 36. Rowland, "Contribution of Ruth Rouse," p. 41.
- 37. The SCM of Canada was formed at the first Canadian National Student Conference, held in Guelph, Ontario, from December 1920 until January 1921. See Margaret Eileen Beattie, *SCM: A Brief History of the Student Christian Movement in Canada*, 1921–1974 (Toronto: SCM, 1975). World University Service of Canada was formed in 1952 from the International Student Service (1925), previously known as European Student Relief (ESR). The ESR was established in 1920, under Rouse's leadership, when the WSCF created an organization specifically to meet the needs of students in post-war Europe.



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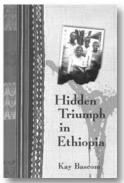


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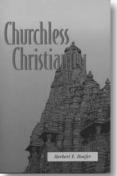
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# The World Is *Our* Parish: Remembering the 1919 Protestant Missionary Fair

Christopher J. Anderson

John Wesley once stated, "The world is my parish," a phrase that served as a springboard for a dramatic increase in missionary activity by Methodist mission agencies in Great Britain and the United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the summer of 1919 American Methodists took this phrase as the slogan for an enormous Fair, functioned as international pavilions presenting for view the peoples, landscapes, and material artifacts of countries impacted by the work of Methodist missionaries in Africa, China, India, Europe, Latin America, the Far East (including Korea, Japan, and Malaysia), and the United States.

Prior to the exposition Methodist officials sent word to

missionary exposition held in Columbus, Ohio. From June 20 to July 13, members of Methodist denominations-including the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church (since 1954, the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church)participated in an international exhibition showcasing American Methodist missions and the worldwide expansion of Christianity.



General Commission on Archives and History, The United Methodist Church

Parade showcasing the work of Methodist missions in India

This exhibition—the Centenary Celebration of American Methodist Missions—was a Protestant world's fair commemorating the 1819 founding of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The exposition also celebrated the legacy of African-American Methodist itinerant minister John Stewart and his missionary work with the Wyandot Indian Nation near Upper Sandusky, Ohio. The fair was a multimillion-dollar event attracting over one million visitors, including 10,000 Methodist clergy, who could walk through pavilions displaying the current work of Methodist missionaries from around the world and who could catch a glimpse of the future by imagining the potential effects of a Methodist crusade to Christianize many sections of the world.<sup>1</sup>

#### The Methodist "World's Fair"

The entire exposition was a vast undertaking, a missionary fair much larger than any previous U.S. Protestant exhibition. Organizers staged the Centenary Celebration at the state fairgrounds in Columbus, which encompassed a large section of land north of downtown between Eleventh and Seventeenth Avenues and about four blocks east of the campus of Ohio State University. The fairgrounds contained over 16,000 exhibits representing thirty-seven different countries, including the United States.<sup>2</sup> Eight large exhibition buildings, normally used to display agriculture, livestock, and farm implements at the annual Ohio State mission agencies of the need to gather people and items of material culture for display at Columbus. As a result, over 500 "natives" were enlisted, and a number of their homes and hundreds of objects were collected, all being transported from around the world by ship and train to the fairgrounds.<sup>3</sup> Visitors at the Centenary Celebration thus could view the successful expansion of Christianity into foreign fields and could witness the powerful changes experienced by native peoples through the means of Methodist missionaries and missionary agencies.

The pavilions re-created scenes of distant lands that most visitors had only imagined or seen while watching a church missionary lantern slide show. In the Africa building, for example, visitors could feed elephants and ride camels through a miniature desert. The Malaysian Island building contained artifacts and peoples from the Philippine Islands. One of the most popular displays inside this pavilion was a mechanical electric village. It displayed a "typical" Philippine village by using electric power to motorize a series of large belts. The exhibit depicted automated scenes in miniature, including a regiment of U.S. troops marching across the island landscape, a working waterfall, and a small "native" climbing up and down a coconut tree.<sup>4</sup>

As people entered the India building, they could dip their fingers into a miniature version of the Ganges River flowing throughout the pavilion, or they could view Hindu fakirs reclining on a bed of spikes. Visitors were also able to spend time inside a replica Hindu temple, complete with statues of local gods, with guides who described how Methodist missionaries were working toward evangelizing the people of India. In the lecture room one could also view amateur ethnographic silent films made by

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Methodist missionaries that featured the conversion of Indian spiritual leaders.

The Europe building contained a five-hundred-seat replica of a destroyed French Protestant cathedral. Visitors could sit on benches and peer out broken windows to view large painted murals depicting the destruction of the European landscape as a result of the Great War. Inside, people could reflect on the horrors of the war and contemplate the roles they might play in European reconstruction through volunteer service or financial contribution.

Throughout the day these buildings and exhibits were occupied by interested visitors and potential donors who wanted to see images from popular magazines such as *National Geographic* come to life. Local newspapers and Methodist periodicals beckoned readers to see for themselves what was going on at the fairgrounds. If visitors tired of touring the pavilions, they might enjoy a glass of Coca-Cola or ride the Ferris wheel,<sup>5</sup> take in a lantern slide show or missionary film on the ten-story picture screen, attend a musical pageant and ethnological demonstration put on by foreign Christian converts and American Methodist volunteers, or even watch a recent Hollywood film. Visitors also watched parades held daily throughout the grounds or looked to the skies as World War I airplanes fought in mock air battles and anti-aircraft guns loaded with blank shot barked out a deafening response from the grounds below. There was always plenty to do and see at the missionary exhibition, just as Methodist organizers had meticulously planned.

Fred B. Smith, a Methodist layman writing for the YMCA periodical Association Men, noted the multilayered entertainment the Columbus exposition offered. Smith praised the various modes of the fair, which "gave an opportunity for enjoying what was the best in a circus, a county fair, a picnic, grand opera, the drama and the Church—all at one time."6 Even visitors from Hollywood were impressed by the scope of the Methodist fair, which offered Americans the chance to view real "natives" from distant lands. Motion picture director D. W. Griffith, following a tour of the pavilions, remarked, "What particularly impressed me was the wonderful opportunity the Methodist Centenary Celebration gives the people to visit the entire world. Extraordinarily impressive are the foreign villages represented where not 'supers' but real natives brought from foreign lands demonstrate the daily existence in those countries."7 For Smith and Griffith the exposition served as an arena simultaneously for Methodist entertainment, Christian missionary education, and ethnographic exhibition.

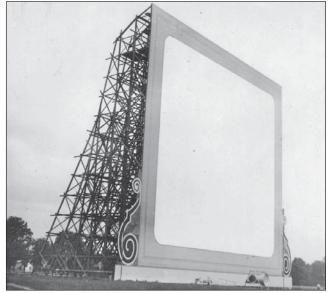
#### **Early International Missionary Expositions**

The Centenary Celebration of American Methodist Missions combined the exhibition of peoples, artifacts, and technologies seen at international world's fairs with displays showcasing the effects of world missions evidenced at earlier European and American Protestant missionary expositions. The popularity of international expositions in Chicago (1893), St. Louis (1904), and San Francisco (1915), as well as missionary expositions in London (1867) and Boston (1911), encouraged Methodists to plan a further celebration of Protestant missions for American audiences.

The roots of the U.S. missionary exposition movement can be traced to a YMCA conference center in Silver Bay, New York, where the Young People's Missionary Movement (YPMM) was formed in 1902 to promote education about Protestant missions through Sunday schools and mission study classes.<sup>8</sup> The YPMM

in turn led to the founding of the Young People's Missionary Union (YPMU), formed in Boston in 1908 by a small group of missions-minded Protestants.

While the YPMM, through Christian education and weekend retreats, was successfully emphasizing the need for more missionaries, another venue geared toward showcasing foreign and home missions had been prominent in Great Britain for half a century, namely, Protestant missionary expositions. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such expositions provided British audiences with a chance to see the success and global reach of missions by placing converted peoples, their homes, and material artifacts on display in an interactive museum format. Expositions such as the 1908 "Orient in London," sponsored by the London Missionary Society, sparked the interest of U.S. Protestant missionary agencies for holding such an exhibition in the United States. Those within the New Englandbased YPMU also believed that a missionary exposition similar to the London fair would draw large crowds of missionary supporters and ultimately increase funding for U.S. mission agencies. As a result, the first U.S. Protestant missionary exhibition—"The World in Boston: The First Great Exposition in America of Home and Foreign Missions"—was held in April and May of 1911 at the Mechanics Building in downtown Boston.<sup>9</sup>



General Commission on Archives and History, The United Methodist Church

Ten-story lantern slide and motion picture screen

Planning for the Boston exposition began in 1908. By March of 1909 the YPMU had acquired the support of over fifty Christian organizations to help with planning and implementing the exposition, including both the Board of Home Missions and Church Extension and the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The 1911 fair fostered support for the later 1919 Centenary Celebration as both Methodist Episcopal Church missionary boards organized display booths and key Methodist leaders, including S. Earl Taylor and Ralph E. Diffendorfer, served in leadership roles at "The World in Boston."<sup>10</sup>

In 1910 A. M. Gardner of London was chosen by the YPMU to serve as general secretary of "The World in Boston" because of his experience with earlier British missionary expositions. Gardner immediately went to work designing floor plans and an assortment of displays including glass curios, wall exhibits, and foreign homes. Experts from various denominations gathered in Boston to plan exhibits that showcased the people and domestic activities of countries impacted by Protestant missionary agencies. The live exhibits and demonstrations re-created the living conditions of people from Africa, India, and China. Exposition visitors watched as foreign families prepared meals and ate dinner, organized and cleaned their homes, and practiced indigenous religious traditions. Exhibits dedicated to the endeavors of home missionaries in the United States appeared throughout the building, giving visitors the chance to view ways in which Protestant missionaries assisted the Southern Negro and the American Indian. The exposition also featured a "Hall of Religions," which included exhibits comparing American Protestantism with the practices of Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam.<sup>11</sup> believed that renewed mission effort was the key and began to discuss the idea of initiating a national fund drive to raise money for world missions. This campaign would culminate in 1919 with the Centenary Celebration, a distinctly Methodist missionary affair that leaders wanted to ensure was larger in size and broader in scope than any previous Christian missions exposition.

During the war Methodist executives who had worked at the 1911 Boston exposition continued to discuss the effectiveness of missionary exhibitions. Methodist leaders firmly believed that the U.S. government and the American military were "making the world safe for democracy" by working for worldwide peace, human rights, and economic prosperity. Yet as Methodist military leaders and soldiers fought in the fields of Europe, S. Earl



General Commission on Archives and History, The United Methodist Church

Exhibition pavilion with Methodist displays during the fair

Following the successful run of the Boston exposition, several Protestant world's fairs were held in the United States before World War I, including expositions in Cincinnati and Baltimore in 1912, and in Chicago in 1913. Each of these fairs showcased the progress of world missions by exhibiting their success in making Christian converts and by bringing Western civilization to "uncivilized" (i.e., non-Christian) parts of the world.

#### Planning for the Columbus Fair

By late 1914 much of Europe had become engulfed in conflict, including nations with many Protestants. As the war became more global in scope, the effectiveness of Christian foreign and home missions needed to be reassessed. How might mission agencies effectively demonstrate that the work of Christian missionaries in foreign lands could still bring global peace and cultural stability when thousands of Protestant soldiers were slaughtering each other in trench warfare and Christian citizens were being killed in European cities? In newspapers and periodicals Americans read of the destruction and chaos caused by the Great War, and Christians throughout the United States wondered how effective as a positive global presence foreign missions actually had been. Some American Methodist leaders Taylor, secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, argued there were "things which governments cannot do" for which the Methodist Episcopal Church had an answer. In an article for The Centenary Survey of the Board of Foreign Missions, Taylor declared that the Methodist Church and its missionary agencies were needed to reinforce "the spiritual and moral forces" within the United States and to remove "ignorance and superstition" from foreign lands. Taylor summoned American Methodists to the task, and Methodist Bishop James W. Bashford seconded Taylor's claim, stating in the same article, "Nothing can meet the problem of making them [foreigners] ready [for democracy] but Christian missions, and in that solution our Church with its World Program is taking the lead."12 This "World Program" evolved into the Centenary Fund Drive.

In 1916 at the Saratoga Springs General Conference of the Methodist

Episcopal Church, discussions were held on how the denomination might effectively raise additional funding for missions, as well as recognize both the centennial of black Methodist missionary John Stewart and the 1819 founding of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Minutes from the General Conference state, "Whereas, the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was born in 1819, and, during one hundred years of splendid service, has helped to spread Christ's kingdom not only at home but in many foreign fields, Therefore, be it resolved, that the General Conference authorizes the setting aside of the years 1918 and 1919 as Centennial Thanksgiving years . . . and to make all necessary arrangements to enable the Church to signalize the Centennial year by special intercession and the outpouring of gifts."<sup>13</sup>

During the General Conference the Board of Foreign Missions was directed to organize a Centenary Commission to make "Centenary Surveys" of all missionaries, foreign fields, and needed funding. The results of the survey were presented in 1917 at Niagara Falls, New York, to the World Program Committee, a select group of Methodists whose task it was to organize the exposition. The recommendation highlighted the origin of the exposition and the ultimate motives of the Centenary Commission: "The Centenary Program should culminate in a great Centenary Celebration to be held in Columbus, Ohio in June, 1919. In this Celebration the Methodist Church, South will join with the Board of Home Missions and Church Extension, and the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church." Furthermore, "The Centenary Commission should keep constantly in mind, as its goal, the making of every church in Methodism dominantly missionary. By this we mean: a church with a missionary passion which will be evangelistic at home and truly missionary in its out-reaching to the ends of the earth; a church in which each member recognizes it as his sacred obligation to promote the world-wide plans of Jesus Christ."<sup>14</sup>

For American Methodists the "world-wide plans of Jesus Christ" meant the evangelization and Christian conversion of the world, and the upcoming missionary exposition—which some observers called a Methodist world's fair<sup>15</sup>—would become a vehicle for carrying out these plans. The leadership of the Methodist Church believed it was on the frontlines of this global endeavor, but to accomplish this task a large amount of money was needed. The Niagara Falls commission recommended that the Church raise \$8 million a year for five years to cover the expenses of Methodist missionary activities at home and abroad.<sup>16</sup> Once raised, the money would go toward projects in the United States and overseas, including the building of hospitals and schools, as well as the salaries of missionaries.

The amount of money pledged to the Methodist Episcopal Church from 1917 to 1919 far exceeded the \$40 million originally

proposed by the Centenary Commission. Fund drive pledge cards filled out before the start of the June 1919 exposition committed Methodists to give almost \$160 million toward global missions—an enormous sum of money to be promised by any group or organization in the early twentieth century.

Methodist leaders investigated a number of Midwestern cities, including Indianapolis, Indiana; Cincinnati, Ohio; and Louisville, Kentucky, before settling on Columbus. Honoring the "discoverer" of America, the city's name sounded an appropriate note. Many Americans associated the term "Columbus" with "progress" and "conquest"—two important words used by proponents of Methodist missions at the Columbus exposition—and the name carried expansionist overtones linked to the westward progress of the United States in the nineteenth century.<sup>17</sup>

Both denominational demographics and accessibility entered into selection of the city. A survey had indicated that one in twelve Ohio residents attended a Methodist Episcopal Church and that approximately one million Methodists lived within a six-hour drive of the city.<sup>18</sup> Columbus served as a central hub for the U.S. railroad system, and a number of highways intersected with the city, connecting it with surrounding states. To assist Methodists toward finding their way to the Centenary Celebration organizers distributed 100,000 free road maps with directions to the fairgrounds to churches and individuals across the United States.

#### Significance and Outcome

The Centenary Celebration, along with other missionary expositions, was more than simply a venue for missionary promotion. As a fair, even if a missionary one, it stood in a lengthy line of selfcongratulatory international expositions. Technological achievements, such as its gargantuan movie screen, earn it a minor note in the history of the growth of the U.S. entertainment industry. As Recent theoretical scholarship in museology addresses the motivations that lie behind the exhibition—and viewing—of people and the placement of products on display. Tony Bennett writes of the "exhibitionary complex" that moves people and objects from previously enclosed or private locations to more open and interactive settings. Viewers are provided with opportunities to compare and contrast themselves with the persons and objects on display. Bennett raises questions about the impact the curator's control of the exhibit's arrangement has on the way people and objects are understood and interpreted.<sup>19</sup>

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett highlights the issue of placing of peoples and material objects in curator-defined contexts for purposes of display. On the one hand, ethnographic villages, "natives," and selected objects on display become representative of an entire country or particular group of people. On the other hand, the paraphernalia of exhibits, including descriptive diagrams, charts, or identification tags, distance viewers from the objects under observation. While onlookers are able to make comparisons, the supplied frames of reference privilege the viewer over against the objects or "natives" on display.<sup>20</sup>

Considered in light of the work of Bennett and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, what did people attending the Centenary Celebration



General Commission on Archives and History, The United Methodist Church

Airplane view of the Fourth of July parade which attracted over 100,000 visitors to the fairgrounds

see? By viewing the people of the world "live," American Methodists could compare their own privileged situation, their Western cultural advantages, and their faith in Christ with those in the exhibit. For these same viewers, the foreigners on display gave evidence of many disadvantages and needs.

From the perspective of the organizers of the Centenary Celebration, the various pavilions provided a visual and auditory representation of the impact Methodist missionaries were having on particular countries and peoples. The exhibits provided an interactive map of Methodist missionary work throughout the world. Unfortunately, as the climax of a fund-raising campaign, the missionary fair was less successful. Though the promotion and excitement of the Centenary Celebration created an initial fervor to spread Christianity, the excitement was shortlived and the amount of money collected fell far short of the amount pledged. Money received was used in a variety of ways, including funding for academic institutions, hospitals, and churches throughout the world. Funds actually received were insufficient to complete these building projects, leading some church leaders to charge that Methodists were robbing God.<sup>21</sup>

The missionary exposition of 1919 was never to be repeated. To the best of my knowledge neither the Methodist Church nor any other Wesleyan-affiliated tradition ever held another fair of such magnitude and scope. Mission festivals held at churches and conferences today serve as small-scale reminders of the missionary fairs staged between 1867 and 1919.

Setting aside the financial difficulties that followed it, during the Centennial Celebration American Methodists from 1916 to

#### Notes

- 1. For discussion of the setting and outcome of the Centenary Celebration of American Methodist Missions, see Christopher J. Anderson, "The World Is Our Parish: Displaying Home and Foreign Missions at the 1919 Methodist World's Fair" (Ph.D. diss., Drew University, 2006).
- 2. "Centenary Celebration Columbus," *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, July 4, 1919, p. 15.
- 3. "The Outer World," Epworth Herald, May 24, 1919, p. 487.
- "Replica of Philippine Village Marvel of Ingenuity," Columbus Evening Dispatch, June 23, 1919, p. 6.
- 5. Fred Smith, "In Stride with the Christian World: An Exposition de Luxe," Association Men, August 1919, p. 876.
- 6. Ibid.
- 7. "World to See Centenary Celebration," *Central Christian Advocate*, July 2, 1919, p. 8.
- 8. [Harrie R. Chamberlin, ed.], *Handbook and Guide of the World in Boston: The First Great Exposition in America of Home and Foreign Missions* ([Boston]: World in Boston, [1911]), pp. 107–8. In 1911 the name of the YPMM was changed to Missionary Education Movement; it continues today as the Mission Education Movement.
- 9. Ibid., p. 105.
- 10. Methodist Episcopal Church leadership and others connected with the 1919 Columbus exposition served in various roles at the 1911 Boston fair. S. Earl Taylor, Methodist Board of Foreign Missions secretary and general secretary of the Centenary Celebration, served as consulting secretary for the Boston event. Methodist minister Ralph E. Diffendorfer organized the children's section at "The World in Boston" and later became general secretary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, serving as a speaker for the home missions exhibits at the Columbus fair. Professor Lamont A. Warner of Columbia University designed many of the exhibits at Boston and later served as director of fine arts for the Columbus exposition.
- 11. *Handbook and Guide of the World in Boston,* pp. 4–5. These pages contain a detailed floor plan of the various exhibits in the Mechanics Building.
- 12. S. Earl Taylor and James W. Bashford, "The Timeliness of the Centenary," in *The Centenary Survey of the Board of Foreign Missions: The Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: Joint Centenary Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1918), pp. 7–8.

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1919 had imagined the conversion of the world for Christ with a sense of expectation. They had also enjoyed themselves at a religious festival that combined leisurely entertainment with promotion of Methodist missions and global Christian advance. The exposition was missionary in nature with serious intercultural implications. The peoples, homes, and material objects of mission lands beckoned the gaze, the interest, and the money of visitors. Made aware of needs around the world, the crowds departed from the exposition better informed concerning the work that needed to be done on behalf of distant peoples in need of Christian salvation and Methodist deliverance.

13. Ibid., p. 5.

- 14. Ibid.
- 15. "The Methodist 'World's Fair,'" *Central Christian Advocate*, July 26, 1919, p. 12.
- John Lankford, "Methodism 'Over the Top': The Joint Centenary Movement, 1917–1925," Methodist History 2, no. 1 (October 1963): 27.
- 17. See Thomas J. Schlereth, "Columbia, Columbus, and Columbianism," *Journal of American History* 79, no. 3 (December 1992): 946. By the early twentieth century some U.S. states officially recognized Columbus Day. For the danger of descent into boosterism, see a local reporter's comments: "It is altogether fitting that the word 'Columbus' is attached to this exposition, because it is in Columbus, Ohio, that things are shown which mark the great progress of the world since the days when Columbus discovered this wonderful country—the one country in all the world that is able to do and is glad to do more for all of the other countries of the world than any other single nation." "Centenary Celebration Columbus," *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, June 28, 1919, p. 7.
- 18. "Official Reports and Records of the Methodist Centenary Celebration. State Fair Grounds, Columbus, Ohio, June 20–July 13, 1919," compiled by Alonzo E. Wilson, director, Division of Special Days and Events, p. 12. This volume is located at the General Commission on Archives and History for the United Methodist Church, Madison, New Jersey. See also Nancye Van Brunt, "Pageantry at the Methodist Centenary," *Methodist History* 35, no. 2 (January 1997): 106.
- 19. Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 60–62.
- Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," in Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), pp. 388–90.
- The Methodist Year Book (New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1921), pp. 154–55. Elmer T. Clark, The Uttermost Parts: The Situation, the Challenge, the Opportunity, the Duty of Methodist Missions (Nashville: Board of Missions, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1926), pp. 13–15. See also Elmer T. Clark, The Task Ahead: The Missionary Crisis of the Church (Nashville: Board of Missions, Centenary Commission, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1925), p. 255.

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# The Legacy of Hilda Lazarus

#### Ruth Compton Brouwer

 $^{\prime\prime}\mathrm{F}^{\mathrm{or}}$  the members of the Christian community," Brian Stanley has observed, "the independence and partition of India in 1947 simply accentuated the problems inherited from the colonial era of how to affirm and defend their 'Indianness.'"1 The problems to which Stanley refers also faced mission-founded educational and medical institutions. Given a deeply rooted tendency in nationalist circles to regard Christian institutions, as well as Christian individuals, as fundamentally "un-Indian," it could not be taken for granted that such institutions would be welcome in the new India. In these circumstances, for India's Christian medical community to have secured Dr. Hilda Lazarus (1890–1978), a nationally recognized medical leader and a deeply committed Christian, as the first Indian to head Christian Medical College and Hospital (CMC), Vellore, was unquestionably a case of obtaining the right person at the right time. Lazarus served at CMC for only seven years, retiring just before the beginning of its "golden years," 1955-70.<sup>2</sup> Yet during her seven-year tenure she played a vital role in ensuring the survival and future success of the institution, which remains today a landmark in the town of Vellore and a center recognized throughout India for compassionate medical expertise.<sup>3</sup> This profile provides information on Lazarus's background and her long career with the Women's Medical Service of the Government of India before focusing on the institutional transitions at Vellore that gave rise to CMC and her years of leadership there.

The name that looms largest in CMC history is that of an American medical missionary, Ida Sophia Scudder. Beginning her celebrated medical work for women in 1900 in her missionary parents' bungalow, Dr. Scudder went on to establish a women's hospital and, in 1918, the Missionary Medical School for Women, the foundation on which CMC was built. Retiring from Vellore in 1946, she remained nearby until her death in 1960, a source of counsel and practical help. Like another remarkable medical missionary connected to the Vellore story, the first full-time secretary of the Christian Medical Association of India (CMAI), Dr. Belle Choné Oliver, Dr. Scudder recognized the gifts that Hilda Lazarus could bring to the cause of Christian medical education in India. When a convergence of nationalist goals and new professional standards led in the late 1930s to a requirement to upgrade medical schools like the one at Vellore, both women were eager to obtain Lazarus's services for what would be India's first fully professional Christian medical college. Other contemporaries in India and the West also recognized Lazarus's gifts and the positive impact of her brief tenure at Vellore. Yet no buildings, wards, or other facilities appear to have been named in her honor, even after her death, when one-third of her estate was left to the college. Nor has her life been the subject of a booklength work. In the absence of such a study, this brief profile will, I hope, suggest something of the importance of her legacy.

#### **Background and Government Medical Service**

Hilda Mary Lazarus was born on January 23, 1890, into an accomplished family at Visakhapatnam, in southern India. Her grand-

parents on both sides had converted to Christianity in the early nineteenth century, her maternal grandfather abandoning his Brahmin identity to become an ordained missionary for the London Missionary Society (LMS). Hilda was one of nine surviving children born to Eliza and Daniel Lazarus. Her father, a highly regarded Christian educator and author, ran the oldest high school in the Madras Presidency, an institution founded by the LMS and later administered by the Canadian Baptist Mission. After obtaining a solid education in this school, Hilda Lazarus attended a local college and then, like her brothers, left "Visag" for professional training and a remarkable career.<sup>4</sup>

At the University of Madras Lazarus completed a B.A. before obtaining her medical degree from the university's coeducational Madras Medical College and winning a gold medal for outstanding work in midwifery. Following further training in the United Kingdom, she passed medical examinations in London and Dublin. Having obtained membership in the Royal College of Surgeons and a specialization in obstetrics and gynecology, she was appointed from London to the Women's Medical Service (WMS) in India, the first Indian woman to obtain such an appointment. Thus began a career in government medical service that lasted from 1917 to 1947.

Established under the authority of the government of India, the WMS had its origins in the National Association for Supplying Medical Aid to the Women of India, otherwise known as the Dufferin Fund. Named for the vicereine and initiated by Queen Victoria in 1885, the Dufferin Fund had as its mandate the provision of medical services for Indian women and children.<sup>5</sup> Proselytizing was forbidden in Dufferin-funded institutions. Nevertheless, many women doctors in the WMS, Lazarus among them, brought a strong personal Christian faith to their work and had close links with medical missions.

Lazarus entered the first stage of her career with the WMS by serving briefly at Lady Hardinge Medical College and Hospital, New Delhi. Established under government auspices in 1916 as the only fully professional medical college in India concerned exclusively with the training of women, Lady Hardinge was open to qualified students from all religious backgrounds. Full professional training was also available in some coeducational institutions, such as the one in Madras where Lazarus herself had studied, but other facilities in India exclusively for training medical women, such as the Missionary Medical School for Women in Vellore, offered only licentiate-level instruction and thus only limited professional horizons for their graduates. Lady Hardinge Medical College was thus unique within India, and it was to this institution that Lazarus returned in triumph in 1940 as its first Indian principal. Meanwhile, during the years that intervened, she worked in various parts of India, superintending hospitals, training nurses and midwives, and taking other steps to improve the quality of medical services for women and children. In addition to broadening her professional horizons and areas of expertise, these years also led her to acquire facility in several new Indian languages in addition to the Telugu and Sanskrit that she had learned in childhood, along with English.

The years of World War II significantly advanced Lazarus's career. Having been made head of Lady Hardinge in 1940, she was asked just three years later to take up another new appointment: chief medical officer of the WMS. At the same time, she

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became secretary of the Countess of Dufferin Fund and assistant director-general of the women's branch of the Indian Medical Service. In the latter position she held the rank of lieutenantcolonel. Nor were these the last of the firsts in her career in government medical service. Lazarus was one of just three women invited to serve on the government of India's Health Survey and Development Committee, headed by Sir Joseph Bhore. Its report, published in 1946, was intended to serve as a blueprint in planning for public health and medical education for the next forty years. Though the Bhore Committee had been appointed by a government still under British control, its composition reflected changes to come in that two-thirds of its membership was Indian, including "many of the leading figures in medicine and public health in India at the time."<sup>6</sup> Lazarus's appointment to the Bhore Committee was thus an exceedingly important recognition of her status in the Indian medical community. Her accomplishments were also recognized in several government honors, among them appointment as a Companion of the British Empire (CBE). Meanwhile, in 1945 her sisters in the medical profession chose her as president of the Association of Medical Women in India.

Given this background, it is scarcely surprising that Lazarus was regarded by Oliver and Scudder and many of their colleagues in the medical missions community as the ideal person to become CMC's first Indian head. For those who did not know her, it was perhaps less easy to see why Lazarus agreed to leave the WMS a year before her retirement and, already in her late fifties, to take responsibility for an institution that would clearly face a struggle even to survive. Yet her Christian commitment was deep and strong. Not only had she grown up in a home that had implanted an ethic of Christian service, but she had contributed over the years in a variety of ways to the work of medical missions in India. She was a respected member of the interdenominational Vellore Council, which, together with the British and North American sections of the Governing Board, determined broad policy and future directions for the Missionary Medical School for Women. She was also an admirer of Scudder and, as a result of overseas furlough travels, already well known to "Friends of Vellore" committees and other important mission-support constituencies in England and North America. Thus, when an opportunity came to help secure a future for a fully professional Christian medical college in an independent India, it seems clear that she felt a sense of vocation to take up that opportunity, notwithstanding the difficulties to be faced. Some background on the factors that led to the transition at Vellore in the 1940s from the Missionary Medical School for Women to the coeducational Christian Medical College will help provide a context for Lazarus's years there and suggest why her long period of successful government service was of such importance.

#### New Challenges: The 1930s and 1940s

Nationalism and new standards of medical professionalism combined to create unique challenges for the medical missions community in India during the already difficult years of the Great Depression.<sup>7</sup> The Missionary Medical School for Women could not escape those challenges. The dilemma facing Scudder's institution and the two other Christian medical schools in India in the late 1930s—those at Ludhiana and Miraj—was the same as that facing numerous other medical schools in the country: they had been training doctors to a licentiate level rather than to a fully professional standard, offering diplomas (usually for L.M.P.'s,

Licensed Medical Practitioners) rather than the degree of M.B.B.S. (bachelor of medicine, bachelor of surgery), available only through affiliation with a recognized university. For Indian nationalist modernizers anxious to make their educational and medical institutions as respectably professional as those in the West, the licentiate level of training was no longer acceptable. Steps to legislate more rigorous requirements for medical education began in the late 1930s with Indian politicians in the Madras

#### When an opportunity came to help secure a future for a fully professional Christian medical college, she felt a sense of vocation.

Presidency, where Scudder's school was located. At the time the University of Madras was widely regarded as the premier university in India, so the state's leadership in this matter was not surprising. Scudder had already been seeking funds in the United States to upgrade her school even before the Madras government issued its ultimatum to licentiate-level institutions to develop their staff and facilities to meet degree-level standards or cease teaching. Inevitably, the new requirements made her task much more urgent.

Meanwhile, under the leadership of the indefatigable Dr. Choné Oliver, the Christian Medical Association of India had been working since the early 1930s to establish a fully professional Christian medical college. An association of Protestant medical missionaries and other Western and Indian doctors who shared its objectives, the CMAI recognized the urgency of providing Indian Christian doctors with the level of training and commitment necessary to work as colleagues in mission hospitals. But as at Vellore, the stumbling block was money. In these circumstances cooperation between the CMAI and Vellore seemed an obvious approach. The CMAI, however, had been committed since 1932 to establishing a coeducational institution, while Scudder and the American section of the Vellore Governing Board, which raised most of the funds for her school, remained wedded to its long tradition of "women's work for women." This difference resulted in years of delay. It was not until 1943, some five years after pressure in favor of coeducation had been brought to bear by senior representatives of overseas ecumenical committees and denominational mission boards, and after a lengthy tour by Scudder in the United States had failed to obtain the funds necessary to upgrade the school on a single-sex basis, that the Vellore Council finally won approval from the American section of the Governing Board to work with the CMAI for a coeducational Christian Medical College.8

In addition to coming to terms with the fact that it would be difficult to raise funds for even *one* fully professional Christian medical college for India, those who had previously held out against coeducation were brought round by arguments that coeducation was acceptable, even desirable, in a modernizing India and by the urgency of training Indian Christian doctors who could be, in Oliver's words, "colleagues and eventually successors." Especially in the context of wartime India's increasingly strong demands for independence, there was great pressure both to upgrade and to Indianize Christian medical education. In a colonized country where Christianity had made only a tiny dent, and that mainly among people whose commitment to nationalism had long been questioned, Christian institutions were tainted by their assumed links with colonialism and thus had to demonstrate that they would have both utility and a strong national identity in a future independent India. A statement in the CMAI *Journal* in 1942 referred to the need to create a Christian medical college "so strong and so distinctive in its contributions to the needs of India that its value cannot be questioned by any government or medical council of the future . . . [able] not just to conform to the minimum standard for

> Her furlough in North America was a means of reassuring supporters that the new Vellore was in competent hands and worthy of support.

University affiliation but to develop a college that can give a lead in lines that need emphasis such as research, service in rural areas, [and] the moral and spiritual basis for healthy living." Fortunately for the medical missions community, independent India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, was prepared to accept and even welcome Christian institutions like the one at Vellore if they could help deal with India's massive health and social problems.<sup>9</sup> Fortunately, too, in Hilda Lazarus, Vellore was getting someone with a nationally recognized reputation to deal with the challenges that lay ahead.

#### Seven Years at Vellore

When she took up her role as principal in the summer of 1947, Lazarus faced many challenges beyond those directly related to the profession of medicine. There were administrative, political, and financial problems to be dealt with if CMC was to obtain full and permanent affiliation with the University of Madras as a recognized professional medical training college. When she arrived, there were, in effect, two Vellores in existence. Though they had shared staff and facilities and both were referred to informally as Vellore, there continued to be separate councils for the Missionary Medical School for Women and the newly emerging CMC until they officially amalgamated in August 1948.<sup>10</sup> By then, the "old Vellore" had upgraded in stages, having obtained approval from the university in 1942 for teaching twenty-five women students for the first two years of an M.B.B.S. degree and, in 1946, getting provisional affiliation with the university for teaching the third, fourth, and fifth years. An outpatient department for men had opened in 1944, and three years later the first male students were admitted.

These changes were taking place at the same time that Vellore was dealing with a frequent turnover in leadership. With Dr. Scudder's departure to the United States in 1941 to raise funds, a longtime colleague had become acting principal. She was replaced in 1944 by Dr. Robert Cochrane, an internationally renowned leprosy specialist, who also served as director. Lazarus at first succeeded Cochrane only in the principalship, but when he resigned as director early in 1948, she took on that role as well. In September she donned yet another hat, undertaking a fourmonth tour of North America as a fund-raiser for Vellore. Her departure necessitated the appointment of yet another temporary administrator, Dr. Carol Jamieson.<sup>11</sup>

Dr. Lazarus's prolonged absence so soon after her arrival undoubtedly added to concerns among staff and supporters about the frequent changes in leadership, especially given the many challenges Vellore was facing. Yet most of these challenges required large infusions of money, far more than was available in the new India. Although Scudder's medical work for women had received much favorable attention in the interwar years, the "old Vellore" lacked the infrastructure and staff to offer more than L.M.P. training. Indeed, most of the doctors, including Scudder herself, lacked the qualifications necessary to meet University of Madras requirements for training medical students to the M.B.B.S. degree. As the Vellore Council secretary put it in 1944, the difference between an institution like the old Vellore and what it had to become to obtain permanent accreditation was akin to the difference "between a kindergarten and a high school."<sup>12</sup>

Prior to Dr. Lazarus's arrival, steps to address the staffing problems had been taken through recruitment efforts within India and in the West. Beginning in 1942, and continuing even after her formal retirement as CMAI secretary in 1944, Dr. Oliver had sought out staff with the medical qualifications necessary for teaching M.B.B.S. courses, among them the young and able Dr. Jacob Chandy, who returned from his postgraduate studies in North America to begin the first neurosurgery work in India. Likewise, Dr. Cochrane sought faculty who could fill urgent needs, bringing to Vellore medical couples like Paul and Margaret Brand, who, like him, made significant contributions to leprosy work.<sup>13</sup> Some longtime Vellore staff upgraded their training or, like Dr. Carol Jamieson, obtained British Commonwealth qualifications in order to meet national government requirements. Even so, as Lazarus explained in her first report, there remained inadequacies in the facilities and staffing for some mandatory departments in the training hospital at CMC and a lack of "security of finances," with the result that full and permanent accreditation by the University of Madras was delayed until 1950.<sup>14</sup> Given such circumstances, that furlough in North America shortly after her arrival was in fact a necessity, a means of reassuring supporters that the new Vellore was in competent hands and worthy of ongoing support.

Returning to Vellore in January 1949, Lazarus was once again in charge of an institution still in the process of reinventing itself. With the encouragement of government and university officials, it had begun India's first degree-granting nursing program in 1946. It also pioneered other specialties in addition to neurosurgery and began planning for a leprosy sanatorium and a mental hospital. While the men and women responsible for developing these areas of expertise were drawn to CMC by a sense of vocation (they could have earned much more in government work or private practice), they were also professionals anxious for the facilities that would make their particular specialties as strong as possible. Inevitably, the resulting pressures forced Lazarus to make tough decisions about allocating scarce physical and financial resources.<sup>15</sup>Not surprisingly, she began to show signs of strain. "Do pray . . . for Hilda," wrote colleague Frank Lake. "When she gets too tired, she tends to become very critical and rather difficult." Even in these circumstances, he added, she "continues to guide the affairs of state with surprising clear-sightedness and efficiency." Like a senior official with "Friends of Vellore" in England, who described Lazarus as "an outstanding and widely respected administrator well able to cope with Madras University and government authorities," Dr. Lake called for a division of responsibilities as a way of light ening her burden.  $^{\rm 16}$ 

In 1950 Dr. P. Kutumbiah, a senior medical educator who had retired from the Madras Medical College, succeeded Lazarus as principal. Yet she continued to teach and perform operations in obstetrics and gynecology and to do religious work with students. She also participated in conferences and became CMAI president. And as director of CMC, she still faced administrative, financial, and political challenges. The college remained dependent on overseas sources for most of its funds and for some specialized staff. As a Christian institution in an overwhelmingly non-Christian country, it sometimes faced criticism for its external links. There were additional hurdles to be overcome in establishing viable relationships with the national and state governments and the University of Madras. For instance, in order to receive funding from the Madras government, CMC had to deal with questions about such matters as the number of non-Christian students it was prepared to accept. In 1950 Lazarus argued successfully against a proposed increase by pointing out that CMC already did more in acceptance of non-Christian students than some non-Christian institutions did in acceptance of Christian students.<sup>17</sup> The skill and determination with which she made this argument did not stem from hostility to the aspirations of the new India but rather from a commitment to keeping CMC a strongly Christian institution, even as it became increasingly Indian. In old age she recalled that she had responded to parliamentary concerns about proselytization within the hospital not by denying that it had taken place but rather by declaring that the institution's clear religious commitment was something many patients found helpful. Indeed, she seems to have practiced and defended forms of overt evangelism that many medical missionaries had by then eschewed in favor of a more informal approach and the witness provided by their professional and personal lives. It was one of a number of areas in which Dr. Lazarus and Dr. Cochrane differed in their approach to leadership at Vellore.<sup>18</sup>

#### The Lazarus Legacy

In her presidential address to the CMAI's fourteenth biennial conference, at the end of 1953, Dr. Lazarus took mission hospitals and their home boards to task for being slow to appoint Indian doctors to positions of leadership and to grant them the same opportunities available to missionaries. In the same address she insisted that leadership in a Christian medical college should go to "the best individual for a particular post, irrespective of race or nation." While her remarks may have seemed confusing to her audience, even contradictory, they reflected her attempt to address both national, or "justice," issues and issues of institutional priorities. When she retired early in 1954, she signaled her commitment to the latter position by recommending an American medical missionary, Dr. John S. Carman, as the best person to succeed her. Her recommendation may have disappointed

#### Notes

- 1. Brian Stanley, ed., *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), p. 7.
- Usha Jesudasan, Challenged, Changing . . . Moving On, 1900–2000: Christian Medical College and Hospital, Vellore (Vellore: Christian Medical College and Hospital, n.d.), pp. 33–48.
- 3. Bryn Thomas et al., *India*, 7th ed. (Hawthorn, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 1997), p. 1071; Gillian Paterson, *Whose Ministry?* A Ministry of Health Care for the Year 2000 (Geneva: WCC Publica-

some members of her staff, particularly some of its gifted and ambitious young Indian doctors, but it is unlikely that they questioned the disinterestedness of her motives or the sincerity of her concern for CMC's future.<sup>19</sup>

During her seven years at the college Lazarus had done a great deal to strengthen its position within India. The stellar national medical reputation, decades of experience, and connections within government that she brought with her were, in themselves, significant gifts to Vellore. This point bears emphasis, since in the postcolonial era many mission institutions lacked respected and experienced leaders and went into a state of decline. On the ground, Lazarus deployed her time and talents and the necessary tough-mindedness to cope with the numerous, often conflicting, pressures associated with her roles. A resolution in the College Council minutes at the time of her retirement stated that through the things she had done for Vellore as its principal and director, Lazarus had "helped raise this institution to the unique position it now occupies in India."

### Her insistence on high standards left Vellore significantly strengthened.

The resolution also noted that rather than accept the retirement "purse" equivalent to six months' salary offered by the college, she had requested that the money be put toward the year's budget.<sup>20</sup>

Given the contributions she made to Vellore, it seems important to ask why Hilda Lazarus does not loom larger in its institutional memory or in the memories of former colleagues. The low-key gift to a budget rather than a building may be part of the reason. Perhaps more important, even colleagues who remembered Lazarus fondly for acts of tenderness and sympathy, as well as for medical and administrative skill, acknowledged that she could be difficult, demanding, and intimidating and that she was not someone who formed easy and intimate friendships. Indeed, her penchant for privacy and the "very strong personality" that made her "a leader among women of her time" perhaps precluded such friendships, even as her steely determination and insistence on high standards enabled her to take the helm of an institution in transition and leave it significantly strengthened.<sup>21</sup> Lazarus's legacy, then, as the first Indian director of the work begun by missionaries at Vellore is not to be found in personal tributes or physical monuments but rather in her contribution to indigenizing and professionalizing a venerable institution while retaining its strong Christian identity and preserving it for the India of the future. CMC's Web site celebrates the vision of founder Ida Scudder. Perhaps in time there will also be a place for the accomplishments of the remarkable Indian doctor who successfully led it into the postcolonial era.

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- BL, IOR/PP, Friends of Vellore Collection, MssEurF219/5/23, McGilivray to M. Freethy, March 17, 1944.
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#### **General Note on Sources**

Hilda Lazarus left few papers bearing on her careers in government and mission work, but the manuscript records mentioned below are helpful. Two brief autobiographical sketches written in old age, "Dr. Hilda Lazarus," a typescript, and Autobiography of Hilda Mary Lazarus, printed at Visakhapatnam, contain information on family and professional background, as does Dr. Hilda Lazarus, a booklet compiled by family members and published in 2000 by Friends of Vellore, U.K. These sources have been supplemented by numerous articles in the CMAI *Journal*, among them two profiles of Lazarus: "Dr. Hilda Lazarus Honoured," vol. 17, no. 6 (November 1942): 332-33, and "Dr. Hilda Mary Lazarus: Our New Principal," vol. 22, no. 6 (November 1947): 209-10. Medical personnel formerly associated with CMC provided helpful insights and clarifications. For background on the establishment of CMC, see Ruth Compton Brouwer, Modern Women Modernizing Men: The Changing Missions of Three Professional Women in Asia and Africa, 1902-69 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002), chap. 2.

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- Chandy, *Reminiscences*, pp. 52–53, 67–69; reminiscences about Lazarus in *Dr. Hilda Lazarus*, ed. Clare Howes (London: Friends of Vellore, 2000), especially pp. 27–38; letter to Brouwer from Dr. L. B. M. Joseph, Vellore, April 29, 2004 (contains quoted passages).

#### Manuscript Records

In the Archives Library, Christian Medical College and Hospital, Vellore, see especially:

- Dr. Jacob Chandy file, CMC-D/18/51 (contains some useful correspondence from Lazarus's term as CMC's director).
- Lazarus box (chiefly photographs and postretirement correspondence).
- Minutes of Meetings of American and British Governing Boards.

Additional information relevant to Lazarus's career at CMC can be found in:

- Friends of Vellore Collection, Private Papers, India Office Records, British Library.
- Glenna Jamieson Fonds, United Church/Victoria University Archives, Toronto.
- Ida Sophia Scudder Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Joint International Missionary Council/Conference of British Missionary Society Archives/India, for National Christian Council and Christian Medical Association of India records, available on microfiche from Yale Divinity School Library and Archives, New Haven, Connecticut.

# **Book Reviews**

### Interfaith Dialogue: A Catholic View.

By Michael L. Fitzgerald and John Borelli. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2006. Pp. 192. Paperback \$25.

Interfaith Dialogue: A Catholic View is a light on the pathway to a future in which religious pluralism will be seen as a blessing and not a curse. Essays by Archbishop Michael L. Fitzgerald and John Borelli present a gracious Catholic vision of dialogue. While respecting the integrity of religious communities, they face the contradictions of human religiousness and the threat of fundamentalism. Yet theirs is a vision of hope. The authors have a clear commitment to the faith of the Catholic Church and the authority of the pope. However, they believe in a Catholicity that has the strength to reach beyond itself to the two-thirds of the world that does not share the traditions of the church. Archbishop Michael tells of his own spiritual journey in mission and in dialogue with Islam, for which he has a special vocation.

While analyzing theological documents, the book also deals with dialogue in parish life. It tells of the foundations of dialogue in Vatican II and of the spiritual pioneers who made it possible. For evangelicals and liberals alike, this book can be a guide to Roman Catholic teachings on interfaith dialogue.

Ostensibly, this view of dialogue emanates from an authoritative level in the Vatican. However, just as this book was published, Archbishop Fitzgerald was removed from his post as president of the Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue. No successor has been named, and the council may be subsumed into the Council for Culture. Despite voluble reassurances that Vatican policy on dialogue has not changed, the departure of the archbishop signals a shift away from the vision of interfaith dialogue that this book represents. Whatever the shifts in papal policy, this book remains a sign of hope to all seeking to live faithfully in a religiously plural world.

-Donald G. Dawe

Donald G. Dawe is the Robert L. Dabney Professor Emeritus of Systematic Theology at Union Theological Seminary / Presbyterian School of Christian Education, Richmond, Virginia. He has lived and taught at universities and theological schools in India, Nigeria, Ghana, and South Africa.

#### The American Evangelical Story: A History of the Movement.

By Douglas A. Sweeney. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005. Pp. 208. Paperback \$17.99.

The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody. Vol. 3 of A History of Evangelicalism: People, Movements, and Ideas in the English-Speaking World.

By David W. Bebbington. Downers Grove, III.: InterVarsity Press, 2005. Pp. 288. \$23.

#### What a Friend We Have in Jesus: The Evangelical Tradition.

By Ian Randall. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2005. Pp. 230. Paperback \$16.

Evangelicalism is a significant, growing global religious movement. Defining what evangelicalism is precisely, however, is difficult. Three recent books weigh in on the discussion, each in its own way seeking to shed light on the identity and direction of the movement. Of the three authors, Douglas A. Sweeney writes most selfconsciously as an evangelical from inside the movement. Perhaps as a result, he does the best job in exploring the difficulties with defining the term. Of the three he also locates his subject most specifically, confining his narrative to the U.S. evangelical story, which he says is the "most prodigious global center" of world evangelicalism today.

Sweeney's American Evangelical Story traces the movement to the twin roots of beliefs that were forged by the sixteenthcentury European Protestant Reformation, as mediated through English Puritanism and Continental European Pietism and through practices that emerged in the eighteenth century from the transatlantic revivalism of the Great Awakening. The movement took on institutional form early in the nineteenth century as it became the dominant U.S. cultural religion, even as it began to diversify through world missions and crossed the color line in the emergence of an African-American tradition. The late nineteenth century and the twentieth century brought a spate of radical holiness, Pentecostal, charismatic, fundamentalist, and neoevangelical expressions. The last two came to dominate evangelical history. Furthermore, while fundamentalists disengaged from culture, their neoevangelical successors reversed direction and once again moved to the center. From here Sweeney's narrative moves succinctly to its conclusion. "By the late 1950s, neoevangelical leaders had succeeded in their goal of reengaging American culture. ... Evangelicals had access once again to the levers of power" (p. 176). His purpose in the end is to call fellow evangelicals to responsible exercise of such power as they move back into a place of cultural dominance.

David Bebbington's book explores the theme of dominance as well, doing so, however, within the historical framework of the second half of the nineteenth century and in the broader English-speaking world. *The Dominance of Evangelicalism* is a well-researched, richly detailed historical work, drawing upon a broad range of primary and secondary sources and digging deeply into the culture of the

tradition. Bebbington examines the four theological pillars that in an earlier work he argued define the movement-the Bible, the cross, conversion, and activismand he explores in greater nuances their various nineteenth-century articulations. He highlights the varieties of evangelicalism found in the English-speaking world, looking at the common practices of spirituality, worship, and missions. He argues that evangelicalism was deeply molded by the Enlightenment and its child, Romanticism, and pays careful attention to how these influences are worked out through the period. He concludes the book by observing that by the end of the nineteenth century evangelicalism achieved cultural and religious hegemony within the English-speaking world, the effects of which were felt worldwide.

This last assertion, I believe, is the most problematic in The Dominance of Evangelicalism. I recognize that the book is part of a series on evangelicalism in the English-speaking world. Nevertheless, reduction of world evangelicalism to its dominant Anglo-Saxon form is an error. Bebbington's history for the most part ignores the nineteenth-century Continental European evangelical experience, and important figures such as the Blumhardts in Germany. He acknowledges in the prologue that he has limited his study to English-language sources but then seems to forget that he is not discussing evangelicalism universally when he gets into the text of the book.

Even within the English-speaking world his vision is limited, to the point of raising significant questions about the usefulness of his definition today. His assertion that evangelicalism had become the dominant religious force in Anglo-American culture and society by the end of the nineteenth century appears to lead him methodologically to exclude from his analysis much that was part of evangelicalism but took place outside the dominant culture. Indeed, numerous evangelical shadows are found throughout the pages of this book. Here and there Bebbington notes the presence of something that he calls "black evangelicalism," without ever trying to investigate or understand the African-American experience. The prologue asserts that he is not studying missions but those who sent missionaries. Yet time and again throughout the book he refers to the world evangelical experience, which one assumes would include those who were missionized.

Those who sent missionaries may indeed have occupied the center of the evangelical world, but already in the nineteenth century the margins of evangelicalism were large, and growing. Those who inhabit these margins pose a major challenge to Bebbington's thesis. One reads, for instance, that the planting of Christianity in the Far East was often the result of "the dedicated efforts of Chinese evangelists converted under the auspices of CIM [China Inland Mission]" (p. 189). But no Chinese subject is named in his pages, and no expressions of Chinese evangelicalism are examined. This is a serious problem, especially since Chinese evangelical churches may be the fastestgrowing wing of the movement globally today. In the end one is left wondering whether Bebbington has indeed shown us what world evangelicalism looked like even in the age of Spurgeon and Moody.

Ian Randall sets a more limited task for himself in *What a Friend We Have in Jesus*, which is published as part of the Traditions of Christian Spirituality series. Randall seeks to explore the breadth and depth of evangelical spirituality across the centuries. He acknowledges, however, that he has primarily concentrated on British evangelicalism, with only an occasional reference to the North American Anglo experience. In several places one finds references to the wider global evangelical community, represented for instance by the Lausanne World Fellowship, but these are offered more by way of contrast than substantive engagement. Randall bypasses almost entirely Pentecostalism and the charismatic renewal because, he says, these are to be covered in a different volume in the series.

The result is a rewarding look at the spiritual practices fostered within a specific evangelical subtradition that runs from the eighteenth-century revivals to the twenty-first century. Thematic chapters are devoted to conversion, the Bible, the sacraments, prayer and praise, the cross, holiness, fellowship, missions, and last times. A concluding chapter offers a brief look at the broader global evangelical currents and the future of the movement.

Randall, like Bebbington and Sweeney, draws a picture of evangelicalism as a diverse, pandenominational movement with internal tensions and differences. English-speaking Baptist, Methodist, and Reformed church leaders are well represented in these pages. Nevertheless, without minimizing the significance of these efforts, one is still left wondering in the end about the adequacy of these historical sources on their own for illuminating what is taking place worldwide in evangelicalism today.

—Dale T. Irvin

Dale T. Irvin, President and Professor of World Christianity at New York Theological Seminary, New York City, is coauthor of A History of the World Christian Movement (with Scott W. Sunquist; Orbis Books, 2001).

## Dutch Missionary Activities: An Oral History Project, 1976–1988.

Edited by Arnulf Camps, O.F.M., Vefie Poels, and Jan Willemsen. Nijmegen: Valkhof Pers, 2005. Pp. 523. €30.

This volume documents the KomMissie Memoires (KMM), an oral history project that was begun in the Netherlands in 1976. It primarily consists of abstracts of interviews with Dutch Catholic missionaries who served overseas (pp. 91–481). Three introductory essays describe the project, comment on the role of oral history in documenting mission activity, and provide a useful historical overview of Dutch Catholic missions. The KMM project used a semistructured interview process based on a set of questions related to ten subject areas: the native culture, pastoral aspects of the missionary's work, education, politics, missionary strategy and expansion, welfare work, ecumenism, documentation, the home front, and contacts with Rome. The interview abstracts provide factual information about the role and location of the missionary and a selection of keywords describing the content of the interview. A well-developed index allows the researcher to identify interviews that touch on similar topics or geographic locations. The interview tapes are located at the Catholic Documentation Centre, Radboud University, Nijmegen; full transcriptions have not been made.

Arnulf Camps (1925–2006), a noted missiologist who taught at the University of Nijmegen and was cofounder of the International Association for Mission Studies, was on the KMM Steering Committee from its inception and was chair of the project from 1990. His essay introduces the project and reflects on the role of oral history. Vefie Poels, KMM project manager, describes the interview process and provides interesting commentary on distortions of individual memory and the concept of collective memory. The Willemsen essay provides the historical context for the interviews. This English summary of the KMM project draws international attention to a notable oral history project that could serve as a model for further work in this area.

-Martha Lund Smalley

Martha Lund Smalley is Research Services Librarian and Curator of the Day Missions Collection at the Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, Connecticut.

#### Small Christian Communities Today: Capturing the New Moment.

Edited by Joseph G. Healy and Jeanne Hinton. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2005. Pp. xiii, 224. Paperback \$20.

This book presents an updated overview of a very significant movement in the Christian world in the past decades, the spread of "small Christian communities" throughout the world, often in nations previously considered as mission territories. These communities represent an effort to enable people to participate actively in the life of their churches at a grassroots level. In one sense, this movement is a reaction to larger church structures, such as the traditional parish, in which people feel anonymous and tend to be passive. In another sense, it represents a creative effort to achieve a greater faithfulness to the Gospel. Many of these communities were birthed among Catholics as a consequence of the Second Vatican Council's new theological image of the church as the "people of God," which called for the active participation of laypeople.

These small communities are described throughout the book simply and fundamentally as "a new way of being Church." The main features of the communities are biblical reflection, participative prayer and worship, and actions of social commitment. Although this phenomenon does represent a renewal movement in the Catholic Church, it is not restricted to that tradition but is also found in churches of the Anglican and Protestant traditions. More often than not, these communities manifest an ecumenical spirit of openness to others.

The book itself is an ecumenical endeavor, with a Catholic and an Anglican editor. The Catholic editor is Joseph Healey, a Maryknoll missioner with over thirty years of service in East Africa, and the Anglican editor is Jeanne Hinton, a laywoman from the United Kingdom. The book's twenty-six chapters were written by leading participants in varying types of small Christian communities of different denominations and on all continents.

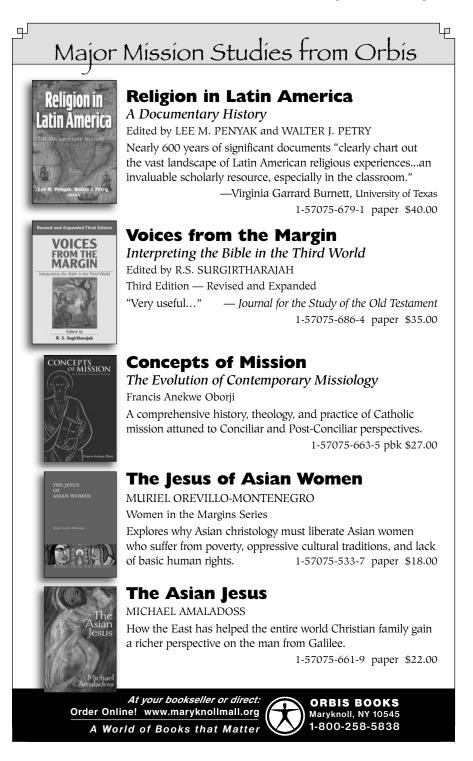
—John F. Gorski, M.M.

John F. Gorski, M.M., a contributing editor who has served as a missionary in Bolivia since 1963, is staff missiologist of the National Office of the Pontifical Mission Societies (U.S.A.) in New York.

#### The Acts of Mār Mārī the Apostle.

Translated by Amir Harrak. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005. Pp. xxxvii, 110. Paperback \$19.95.

Contemporary interest in Syriac Christianity derives from the fact that it preserves extensive and sustained evidence of Christianity that expressed itself exclusively in the Aramaic language and that was largely untouched by Hellenism during its formative period.



Precise historical details concerning the evangelization of the Syriac-speaking East have not survived. The existing evidence, however, points in the direction of a primitive Judeo-Christian missionary impulse from Palestine to established Jewish communities in Syria/ Mesopotamia. The most reliable witness to this movement is preserved in literature about the apostle Thomas. The Acts of Thomas is not only the most extensive piece of early Syriac literature to have survived, but unlike so many of the apocryphal books of Acts that eventually made their way into Syriac, the Acts of Thomas was composed in Syriac, not in Greek. Both the *Teaching of the Apostle Addai* and the *Acts of Mār Mārī the Apostle* are dependent upon the *Acts of Thomas* as their inspiration and literary model.

The present volume traces the historical evidence for the evangelization of the Syriac-speaking world through the "Thomas" cycle of literature to Mār Mārī, the purported evangelist of present-day Iraq and Iran. Following the critical introduction, Harrak provides the Syriac text of the *Acts* with a facing translation that is faithful to the Syriac and flows idiomatically in English. The edition is

annotated throughout with historical references that elucidate the text and guide the reader through a literature that, though immensely important to the history of Christianity outside the Greco-Roman world, remains generally unfamiliar to Western Christians.

-Joseph P. Amar

Joseph P. Amar, Associate Professor, has a joint appointment in the departments of theology and classics, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana. He teaches and writes on the interplay between Christianity and Islam in the Middle East.

#### The Poor Indians: British Missionaries, Native Americans, and Colonial Sensibility.

By Laura M. Stevens. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. Pp. 264. \$39.95; paperback \$22.50.

Laura Stevens, professor of English at the University of Tulsa, in Tulsa, Ŏklahoma, in a novel approach has undertaken to examine the rhetoric of British conversion in North America by studying "the documents produced in connection with those [evangelical] projects [that] rarely have been examined as works of rhetorical complexity and depth" (pp. 3-4). In her own evaluation, "This book asks how these texts encouraged their readers to think about their own emotional responses" and permits her to "untangle the knot of ambivalent benevolence that is at the center of many British and American attitudes to Indians and that still influences portrayal of Indians" (p. 4).

"Pity" is the word—and the concept central to the missionary enterprise, a word that committed the person feeling it to offer financial support to the missions while maintaining a sense of superiority over the Indian's otherness. But since the "history of [Protestant] British mission in North America was one in which words outweighed deeds and textual production exceeded conversions," examining these texts demonstrates that their range far exceeded their missionary purpose (p. 3). The combined efforts of pity and ineffectual benevolence culminated in the erasure of the Indian in British minds, the theme of Stevens's final chapter. "Only by understanding the mechanics by which benevolence can erase its object, especially in a sentimental and colonial framework,' Stevens argues, "can we see those pitied objects more accurately as people who actively sought to resist or mitigate the effects of colonization on their own cultures" (pp. 22, 196-98).

In six deftly written chapters Stevens explores such correlative topics to pity as husbandry and trade, epistolary communication and transatlantic community, the role of the missionary society, comparisons of British Protestant missionization efforts (good) with those of Spanish and French Catholic missionaries (bad), self-sacrifice, and Christian origins of the vanishing Indian. This gracefully written, clearly argued, and intellectually rich work deserves the widest possible readership.

—James A. Sandos

James A. Sandos is Farquhar Professor of the Southwest at the University of Redlands, Redlands, California, and is the author of Converting California: Indians and Missionaries in the Missions (Yale Univ. Press, 2004).

## A History of the Ecumenical Movement. Vol. 3: 1968–2000.

Edited by John Briggs, Mercy Amba Oduyoye, and Georges Tsetsis. Geneva: WCC Publications, 2004. Pp. xix, 697. \$60.

A History of the Ecumenical Movement is a three-volume account of the ecumenical movement from 1517 to 2000, published by the World Council of Churches. The goal of this ambitious project, as stated on the back cover, "has been to provide a systematic survey of the churches' quest for unity in faith and action during the nearly five centuries under review." The first volume, edited by Ruth Rouse and Stephen C. Neill, appeared in 1954 and covered the period from 1517 to 1948. A second volume, edited by Harold E. Fey, appeared in 1970, covering the period from the first WCC assembly, in Amsterdam in 1948, up until the fourth assembly, in Uppsala in 1968.

Now the third and final volume has been published, examining the period from 1968 to 2000. Unlike previous volumes, whose authors were predominantly European or North American males, the current work reflects the diversification of the ecumenical movement by including both women and global South authors. It is divided into three interconnected sections: the first provides context and overview, the second offers thematic chapters on major streams of ecumenism, and the third focuses on the distinctive experiences of local ecumenical efforts.

The work attempts to be inclusive of all traditions and regions, though even in such a large volume extensive detail is eschewed in favor of conveying the "texture" of events and developments in the ecumenical movement. However, as one would expect in a work published by the WCC, the emphasis is on the developments associated with its institutionally driven work. One misses, therefore, concrete acknowledgment of the major successes scored outside of that framework—as, for example, an achievement significant to this author, namely, "Called to Common Mission" (1999), which is the historic agreement establishing full communion between the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America and the Episcopal Church.

-Joseph Britton

Joseph Britton is Dean of the Berkeley Divinity School at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. He formerly served as the canon missioner of the Episcopal Convocation of American Churches in Europe.

#### A New Vision, a New Heart, a Renewed Call: Lausanne Occasional Papers from the 2004 Forum for World Evangelization.

Edited by David Claydon. Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 2005. 3 vols.: 746, 724, and 492 pp. Paperback \$89.99.

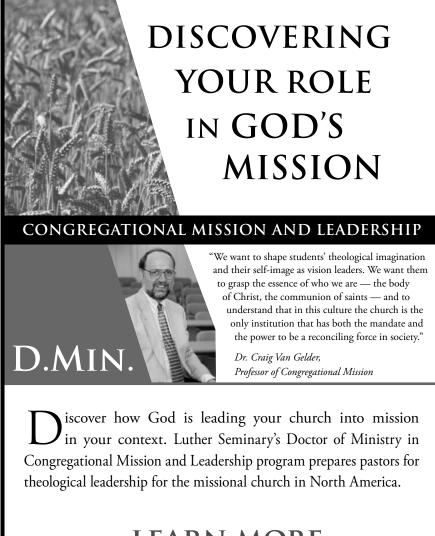
The Lausanne 2004 Forum for World Evangelization was held in Pattaya, Thailand, from September 9 to October 5, 2004. The forum brought together 1,530 participants from 130 countries, making it the most diverse Lausanne gathering in history. This collection of all the Occasional Papers from the forum is named after the theme of the conference: "A New Vision, a New Heart, a Renewed Call." It brings together the final reports from each of the thirty-one "mini-consultations" or "working groups," which represented the central work of the forum. The threevolume set serves as the continuation of the earlier collection edited by John Stott entitled Making Christ Known: Historic Mission Documents from the Lausanne Movement, 1974-1989.

The sheer diversity and range of issues that this forum addressed is almost overwhelming. Several of the working groups focused on issues that have long been at the heart of mission consultations concerning global evangelization in today's context: globalization and the Gospel, the uniqueness of Christ, the persecuted church, the local church in mission, understanding Muslims, and so forth. These reports reflect the strong evangelical commitments that have been characteristic of the Lausanne movement since it began in 1974. The Lausanne Covenant (1974) and the Manila Manifesto (1989) clearly provide the theological underpinnings of these reports and are, in fact, both included in appendixes in the back of volume 1.

Other working groups focused on issues that are relatively new to evangelical discussions about world evangelization, such as nontraditional families, bioethics, redeeming the arts, and media and technology. These papers seek to demonstrate how world evangelization must be embraced more holistically.

A few general observations about this outstanding collection may be helpful. First, the Lausanne movement is, at heart, a popular movement, focused on practical issues and challenges to world evangelization, rather than theoretical discussions. The bulk of these reports were prepared after a week of consultations, followed by some heroic editorial work. Thus, the reports should not be seen as precise statements reflecting highly nuanced theological thinking. Most of the participants who prepared these reports are not trained theologians or missiologists but field workers who, more than anyone else, will actually determine the future of world evangelization. These reports should be read as insights into ongoing conversations and discussions that are taking place around the world about issues that are relevant to the church at this time.

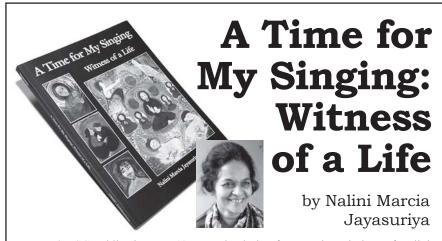
Second, this collection of thirty-one documents reveals as much about what was not discussed as what was discussed. Several great themes that have come to symbolize the Lausanne movement such as church planting, reaching unreached people groups, and the challenge of the 10/40 Window were all conspicuously absent. Overall, the collection leaves one with the impression that the 2004 forum



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**\$19.95 each** plus shipping. Ideal for Christmas presents. was focused more on helping the existing church to become more effective right where it is than on issuing a call for the church to relocate and plant new churches among unreached people groups where the Gospel is currently not heard.

Third, this collection demonstrates the power and vibrancy of the rising new voices of the Majority World church. The working groups "Transformation of Our Cities/Regions" (1:495), "Partnership and Collaboration" (1:557), and "Business as Missions" (3:281) all reflect the unique perspective of a church that is today predominantly nonwhite and non-Western in its orientation, with its own contributions to make. For example, the working group "Two Thirds World Church" voted unanimously to reject the assigned name of its group and the phrase "Two-Thirds world" in favor of "Majority World Church" (2:118).

Many of these Occasional Papers, with their accompanying bibliographies, represent important contributions that should be widely read. For example, "Making Disciples of Oral Learners" (3:1–73), "Effective Theological Education for World Evangelization" (3:155–211), and "Foundations for Marketplace Ministry" (1:609–73) represent the vitality and energy that can accompany large-scale mission collaborations.

In conclusion, these three volumes represent an extremely valuable guide to practical steps that the church needs to take to face the enormous challenges of the twenty-first century. This collection also provides an important link demonstrating the many changing issues that have influenced the church since 1989 and that will serve as an important bridge to the major "Lausanne 3" gathering planned for 2010 in Edinburgh.

—Timothy C. Tennent

Timothy C. Tennent is Professor of World Missions and Indian Studies at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, South Hamilton, Massachusetts.

#### Canadian Methodist Women, 1766– 1925: Marys, Marthas, Mothers in Israel.

By Marilyn Färdig Whiteley. Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, 2005. Pp. xi, 306. \$49.95.

The 1835 report of the Hamilton Methodist Missionary Society included a remark that one woman was worth seven and a half men, alluding to a town in which females had collected seven and a half times more money for the society than the men, who had been in charge the year before. This comment illustrates a major theme of *Canadian Methodist Women*. While men may have held most of the positions of power and garnered most of the limelight, women seem to have been running much of the machinery of Canadian Methodism. In fact, Whiteley argues, the particular dynamics of Methodist faith and practice empowered women to take on positions of leadership, forming a tradition of religious participation by women that continued even when opportunities for women's leadership decreased.

Whiteley, an independent scholar who has worked at the archives of the United Church of Canada, organizes her work in five sections: the legacy of itinerancy, Methodist spirituality, organization-building, the missionary movement, and the social transformations of the early twentieth century. Directed less at actual missionary engagement than at the ways women in local churches supported and encouraged the movement, Whiteley's book may be of most interest to readers of the IBMR for the Canadian Methodist context it provides. Whiteley describes a wide range of religious activities by women, from opportunities to develop new skills and new leadership positions to less glamorous tasks such as raising funds, providing hospitality, teaching Sunday school, and disseminating missionary news. Similar to other studies of women and mission, this book implicitly raises questions about the extent to which women drove nineteenth-century evangelicalism and the reciprocal question of how that movement may have affected women's roles.

—Jay R. Case

Jay R. Case is Associate Professor of History at Malone College, Canton, Ohio. He and his wife, Elisa, served as missionaries with Africa Inland Mission in Kijabe, Kenya, from 1986 to 1993.

#### Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (16th–17th Centuries)

By Ines G. Županov. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 2005. Pp. 408. \$75.

This sophisticated work is a "trope" about "tropes"—a form of literary criticism called discourse analysis. As such, it makes a provocative contribution to the history of early modern encounters between Jesuits and learned guardians of *Sanskriti* and Tamil traditions in South India, and also provides fascinating new perspectives on the interactions between Catholic and Hindu cultures. The author, a senior research fellow at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris, tells us less about indigenous discoveries of Western Christianity than about missionary constructions, explorations, accommodations, and adaptations of their own hallowed institutions to the "heathen" or "pagan" institutions with which they came into contact. In doing so, she draws inspiration from recent work being done by such scholars as Velcheru Narayan Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subramaniam.

The author shows how Jesuits, both

as individuals and as communities, manipulated their own culture in such a way as to make it fit modes of religious culture that already existed in India. Hence "tropics," or "tropical" modes, are brought into play. But these perhaps tell us more about current intellectual fashion than about historical realities that the author purports to represent. Drawing upon a variety of resources—Italian, Latin, Portuguese, Spanish, and French, as well as Sanskrit and Tamil—Županov describes how vernacular Catholic institutions in

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E-mail Judy Stebbins, OMSC Director of Finance and Housing, stebbins@OMSC.org, or visit www.omsc.org/summer.pdf. India reflected a complex interlayering of missionary impulses and indigenous responses. By resorting to European medical theories, for example, missionaries sought to explain "pagan" religious culture as a natural outgrowth of a hot and humid climate, and as a product of environmental influences.

This work should interest scholars who study cross-cultural encounters and religious conversion in early modern times, whether in India or in other parts of the world. It is also itself a "trope" that represents what is currently highly fashionable within some circles of academia.

-Robert Eric Frykenberg

Robert Eric Frykenberg is Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. His books include Christians and Missionaries in India: Cross-Cultural Communication Since 1500 (Eerdmans, 2003) and History of Christianity in India (Clarendon, forthcoming).

#### The Pyramid Under the Cross: Franciscan Discourses of Evangelization and the Nahua Christian Subject in Sixteenth-Century Mexico.

By Viviana Díaz Balsera. Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press, 2005. Pp. 272. \$45.

The early Franciscan missions in Mexico possess an unfailing fascination for those concerned with Christian missions in a "first contact" situation. In this excellent book, Viviana Díaz Balsera explores Franciscan catechetical writings from New Spain, revealing new insights into the friars' interactions with native Nahua cultures.

Díaz Balsera analyzes seven colonial texts: Sahagún's dialogue between missionaries and Nahua leaders, three Christian evangelical plays in Nahuatl, two manuals for confessing Christian Nahua neophytes, and a Franciscan history from 1596. Throughout this thoughtful study, the author emphasizes how the Christian evangelizers were themselves transformed by the religious culture of the colonized Nahua. For example, she argues that Sahagún's dialogue, despite its purported intention of proving the superiority of Christianity to Mexican beliefs, is unexpectedly sympathetic to Nahua religion; as such, it "shows crevices, contradictions, and insufficiencies that belie its claim to an indisputable, selfevident visibility of truth and authority" (p. 21). Such contradictions are not uncommon in the medieval religious colloquies that precede Sahagún's text. For instance, Anselm of Havelberg's twelfth-century *Dialogi*, a disputation allegedly between Anselm and a Greek Orthodox theologian, is remarkably positive and nuanced in its depiction of Greek "heterodoxy."

Two of the most intriguing chapters focus on confession, which Díaz Balsera sees, in part, as a means to inculcate the colonizers' worldview in the Nahua "interior" self. Her examination of Nahua confession manuals suggests that the Franciscans failed to impose an unaltered ideology of "sin" and "self"; rather, their use of confession fostered the creation of a new, "hybrid" Nahua subject. Ultimately, she concludes, the Spanish discourse of "spiritual domination"—as she terms Christian evangelism—was transformed or reversed by the Nahua, leading to a faith in which Nahua Christians would maintain their ancestral ways of relating to the gods. Highly recommended.

—Sabine Hyland

Sabine Hyland, Associate Professor of Anthropology at St. Norbert College, De Pere, Wisconsin, is the author most recently of The Quito Manuscript: An Inca History Preserved by Fernando de Montesinos (Yale Univ. Press, in press).

#### Island Ministers: Indigenous Leadership in Nineteenth-Century Pacific Islands Christianity.

By Raeburn Lange. Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2005. Pp. 436. Aus\$31.78.

This is a very welcome publication. For the first time we have a scholarly volume that does justice to the significant contribution of indigenous leaders to the growth of the church throughout the South Pacific. Raeburn Lange, who was born in New Zealand, earned his doctorate in Pacific history from Otago University, Dunedin, New Zealand, and taught Pacific history and the history of Christianity for nearly ten years at the Pacific Theological College in Suva, Fiji.

In Lange's own words, the aim of the book is "to provide factual information about the origins, development and character of indigenous ministry in the Pacific" and to explore the way this leadership "fitted into past social, economic, cultural and political patterns" (p. 11). Lange successfully accomplishes this goal. In eighteen chapters dealing with indigenous leadership across various church traditions, Lange coverseach island group, starting in eastern Polynesia and moving westward through Polynesia to Micronesia and finally Melanesia. A preliminary chapter introduces preChristian forms of local cultural leadership, and a closing chapter offers a summary and looks to the future.

Each section of the book is the product of careful research, which began at the time of Lange's appointment in Fiji in 1984 and continued for more than twenty years. He draws impressively on both published and unpublished materials. A bibliography of around 700 items and over 2,000 endnotes are witness to the effort that has gone into this work.

Despite its scholarly approach, an easy narrative and biographical style of writing makes the book readable for a wide audience. It is destined to become a much-used resource for scholars and students of mission history and anthropology, as well as for generations of Pacific Islanders who continue to give leadership to their churches.

—Randall Prior

Randall Prior is Professor of Ministry Studies and Missiology at the United Faculty of Theology, Melbourne, Australia. He worked for five years in the island nation of Vanuatu and is actively involved in the ongoing Gospel and Culture in Vanuatu project.

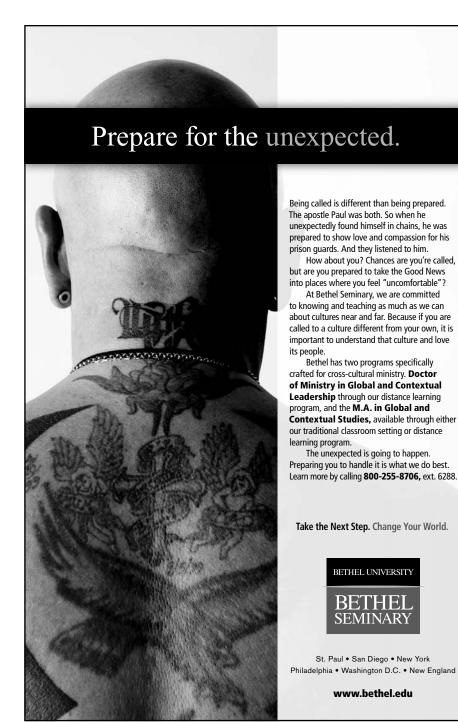
## The Moravian Mission Diaries of David Zeisberger, 1772–1781.

Edited by Hermann Wellenreuther and Carola Wessel. Translated by Julie Tomberlin Weber. University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 2005. Pp. x, 666. \$65.

This book is a translation into English of the previously edited German mission diaries of David Zeisberger, a leading eighteenth-century Moravian missionary to the Delaware Nation in the Upper Ohio Valley. His diaries for the communities of Schönbrunn and Lichtenau cover the intense engagements between European and American military forces, European settlers, and Native Americans before and during the American Revolution, a period in which also an increasing dislocation of the native population took place. Zeisberger's knowledge of Indian languages involved him as a diplomat and cultural mediator in these events, amid strenuous efforts to preserve neutrality.

While the historical and ethnological value of the diaries is considerable, they are also a rich source for the missiologist. They not only open a window on how Moravians translated their heart religion and Christocentric missionary ideal in an American setting but also display the full range and complexity of reactions of Native Americans to Europeans: from self-conscious adaptation and pragmatic cooperation to nativistic reaction and opposition. The diaries also demonstrate how the Moravian missionary appeal was rooted in a shared lifestyle of the missionaries with their native congregations and in a conversion process and identification with the suffering Christ that engaged sense and imagination in ways familiar to Indian religious sensibilities.

This edition, with its full yet economical references, its historical, theological, and literary introduction, and its several appendixes of relevant minutes and other documents, is exemplary and establishes a new standard for future editions. It is enhanced by a register of persons, full geographic index, bibliography, modern and historical maps of the Ohio region, and comprehensive general index. The sample English translations that I compared with the German original are faithful but not slavish, and the principles guiding the translation have been explained in some detail in the introduction to the book.



Together with Linda Sabathy-Judd's Moravians in Upper Canada: The Diary of the Indian Mission of Fairfield on the Thames, 1792-1813 (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1999), this volume expands considerably our knowledge of Native American history and Moravian missions in North America and invites further use not only by historians and social scientists but also by missiologists.

-Hans Rollmann

Hans Rollmann is Professor of Religious Studies at Memorial University of Newfoundland and Adjunct Professor in the Faculty of Theology at Queen's College, St. John's, Newfoundland.

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#### In War and Famine: Missionaries in China's Honan Province in the 1940s.

By Erleen J. Christensen. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 2005. Pp. vii, 292. CA\$44.95 / US\$37.95 / £24.95.

This fascinating and evocative work is a double memoir, as well as a work of historical reconstruction. The author was a small child, not yet three, when her father, Emery W. Carlson, a Lutheran missionary doctor, and his wife, Elvira, sailed for China in 1940. Although Emery and Elvira provide the main narrative voices through their letters and diaries, the author contributes her share to the recollected past, while also including many voices from her parents' colleagues, friends, and Chinese coworkers. Use of translated sources limits the Chinese voices to males. especially Archdeacon Bernard Tseng and Joseph Hsu. But these varied voices do contribute to recounting much neglected aspects of the China missionary experience: the multinational response to the Japanese war, one of the worst famines, and the civil war that ended the neocolonial phase of Christianity in China.

The great strength of this book lies in the intimate, everyday details, from which a very clear picture emerges of the terrible suffering of war and famine, and of the heroic relief efforts that transcended nationality and often, but not always, denominational differences.

Christensen is particularly sensitive to issues of gender. In writing of the famine work, for instance, she notes that the missionaries in control were men; those "out living Chinese-style among those who were suffering the worst, however, were mostly female" (p. 115). She also details the painful process in the postwar years as missionary power over the church gave way to indigenous control, a process only accelerated by the Communist victory. The wartime Chinese church "proved its mettle through a time of testing" and "could no longer be viewed as a child the foreign missionaries were

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Dr. Dale Irvin, president and professor of world Christianity, New York Theological Seminary, New York City, considers the city in the mission of God. Cosponsored by Eastern Mennonite Missions. Eight sessions. \$145

fostering" (p. 214). Many still found this lesson a hard one to learn, and while sympathetic, the author is balanced in her judgments of this difficult period. She has used her sources with care, but small errors and typos mar what is on balance an extremely valuable contribution.

-Margo S. Gewurtz

Margo S. Gewurtz is Professor of Humanities and Master of Founders College, York University, Toronto, Canada. A Canadian, she has published numerous essays on Canadian missionaries in China and their Chinese co-workers.

#### Cross and Flag in Africa: The "White Fathers" During the Colonial Scramble (1892–1914).

*By Aylward Shorter. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2006. Pp. xxv, 294. Paperback \$25.* 

No story of African Christianity can ignore the Missionaries of Africa, or White Fathers, Catholic missionaries who evangelized much of the continent. Aylward Shorter, a member as well as an anthropologist and pastoral theologian with extensive experience in eastern Africa, here recounts the history of these men in the critical years between the largescale imposition of European colonialism (and the death of their founder, Cardinal Lavigerie) and World War I. Shorter's diligence in his community's archives and his formidable skill as storyteller yield a rich and complex picture of dedicated yet fallible missionaries interacting with multifarious African peoples and colonizers as a vast continent underwent dramatic change, notably because of European overrule.

Besides correcting some previous assumptions, particularly of Uganda's much-recounted Christian origins, Shorter's numerous narrative threads capture both the spirituality of his fascinating forerunners and the practical difficulties facing them and their African coworkers. He also describes the broader historical circumstances that shaped their achievements, both heroic and dubious. These included arming missionary auxiliaries to fight the slave trade, training African doctor-catechists, and restoring the catechumenate of the early church. Shorter's method is accumulative: he allows anecdotes, often wittily told, to illustrate broader themes. Such themes include the overlapping, yet distinct and occasionally conflicting interests of missionaries and colonizers; the attentiveness of the Missionaries of Africa to local cultures and especially languages; the zeal with which they sought to create African Christian communities and leaders, both lay and clerical; and the effective leadership of Lavigerie's successor Léon Livinhac, who served throughout the period here considered.

Shorter's account of the missionary achievements of his confreres and their African collaborators does more than shed valuable light on Christianity's roots in many places in Africa. It also lays an indispensable foundation for any future research into the Christian communities that emerged because of their efforts.

-Paul V. Kollman

Paul V. Kollman is Assistant Professor of Theology, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana. He has taught and carried out research in eastern Africa and has recently published The Evangelization of Slaves and Catholic Origins in Eastern Africa (Orbis, 2005).



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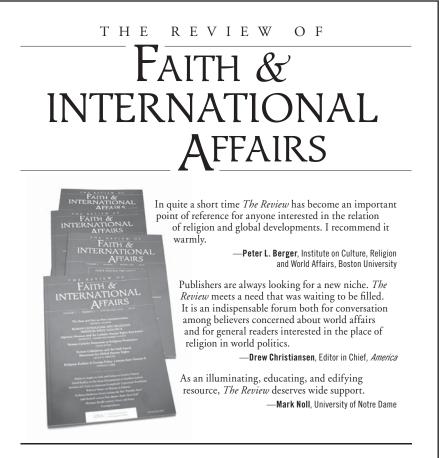


#### Christianity in Korea.

Edited by Robert E. Buswell, Jr., and Timothy S. Lee. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2006. Pp. viii, 408. \$42.

Robert Buswell of the University of California, Los Angeles, and Timothy Lee of Texas Christian University have coedited a volume that provides an impressively comprehensive overview of Korean Christianity. This multidisciplinary book is written under the premise that the study of Korean Christianity in its unique historical and cultural context is requisite to a proper understanding of both modern Korean society and global Christianity.

The first chapter, by James Grayson, provides a succinct and lucid survey



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of Korean Christian history and serves as a backdrop for the various topics addressed in the volume. The subsequent chapters are organized under four headings: "The Beginning of Christianity in Korea"; "Christianity, Nationalism, and Japanese Colonialism"; "Christianity and the Struggles for Democracy and Reunification"; and "Growth and Challenges."

The contributors reflect critically on many of the crucial issues in the history and life of Christianity in Korea, from the family and social ethics expressed in early vernacular Catholic writings, to the Christian roots of the Korean Constitution, the role of women in the Korean mission field, minjung theology, Korean evangelicalism, and the sibling rivalry between the Catholic and Protestant communities. In a chapter on the reunification of the two Koreas, Anselm Min provides a solid Trinitarian basis for unity and solidarity and incisively portrays the most compelling mission of the Korean church as being an instrument for overcoming the "exclusive systems of identity" and for abolishing "all structural sources of inequality and discrimination." Reflecting on the impact of modernization on Korean Protestant religiosity, Byongsuh Kim poignantly points out a strong correlation between the cultural captivity of the Korean church and the decline in its growth rate and social influence. An interesting sociological study of evangelical conversion of women in Korea is presented by Kelly Chong, who argues that Korean evangelicalism has served a contradictory, double role for womenliberating as well as oppressing.

*Christianity in Korea* is an excellent guide—probably one of the best resources available in English—for the study of Korean Christianity. Yet, considering that Korea has become the second largest missionary sending country in the world, with more than 12,000 missionaries, a chapter on the significance and future of the Korean missionary movement would have made the book an even more valuable resource.

—Joon-Sik Park

Joon-Sik Park is the E. Stanley Jones Associate Professor of World Evangelism at the Methodist Theological School in Ohio, Delaware, Ohio. He previously served as pastor of multicultural United Methodist congregations in Ohio and Kentucky.

# **Dissertation Notices**

#### Barnard, Robert.

"Critical Analysis of Organisational Strategies Designed to Resolve Consequences of Dysfunctional Behaviour in Christian, Evangelical Organisations."

Ph.D. Oxford: Oxford Centre for Mission Studies (Open Univ.), 2004.

#### Bates, Matthew David, Jr.

"Growing the Church, Resisting the Powers, Reforming the World: A Theological Analysis of Three Options for Ecclesial Faithfulness in North American Protestantism."

*Ph.D. Richmond, Va.: Union Theological Seminary and Presbyterian School of Christian Education, 2005.* 

#### Eshete, Tibebe.

#### "Growing Through the Storms: The History of the Evangelical Movement in Ethiopia, 1941–1991."

Ph.D. Lansing: Michigan State Univ., 2005.

#### Eskilt, Ingrid.

"An Analysis of Changing Perspectives on the Understanding of the Missionary Call in the Mission Covenant Church of Norway." Ph.D. Deerfield, Ill.: Trinity International Univ., 2005.

#### Fetters, Luke Sheldon.

"The Church of the United Brethren in Christ Support of the Community Education Work of Moy Ling Among the Chinese in Portland, Oregon, 1882– 1931: Implications for a Missiological Understanding of Partnership." Ed.D. Muncie, Ind.: Ball State Univ., 2005.

#### Fossouo, Pascal.

"African Sacral Rule and the Christian Church: An Investigation into a Process of Change and Continuity in the Encounter Between Christianity and African Tradition, With Particular Reference to Cameroon and Ghana." Ph.D., Pietermaritzburg, S.A.: Univ. of Natal, and Akropong-Akuapem, Ghana: Akrofi-Christaller Memorial Centre for Mission Research and Applied Theology, 2003.

#### Klawitter, Paul.

#### "Youth and Church: Shall the Twain Connect? A Comparative Analysis of the Emergent French Youth Culture and Contemporary Church Planting Approaches."

D.Min. South Hamilton, Mass.: Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, 2005. Lee, Og Kyung.

"Cultural Change and Evangelical Spirituality Among Korean Evangelical Seminary Students." Ph.D. Deerfield, Ill.: Trinity International Univ., 2005.

Nsofor, Chukwunulokwu Fyne. "Christian-Muslim Relations in a Contemporary Multiethnic, Multireligious Society: Toward Nigerian National Identity." Ph.D. Deerfield, Ill.: Trinity International Univ., 2004.

#### Stabell, Timothy D.

"'The Modernity of Witchcraft' and Theological Contextualization in Contemporary Africa." Ph.D. Deerfield, Ill.: Trinity International Univ., 2005.

#### Sveen, David E.

"Leadership Development as a Nonformal Learning Experience in Central and Eastern Europe." Ph.D. Deerfield, Ill.: Trinity International Univ., 2005.

Thekkumkattil, Joseph Teresa. "Family of Truth: The Liminal Context of Inter-religious Dialogue; An Anthropological and Pedagogical Enquiry." Ph.D. Rome: Pontifical Gregorian Univ., 2005.

#### Tizon, F. Albert.

"Mission as Transformation in the Philippines: The Holistic Journey of Radical Evangelicals in Global-Local Perspective." Ph.D. Berkeley, Calif: Graduate Theologica

Ph.D. Berkeley, Calif.: Graduate Theological Union, 2005.

#### Tran, Cuong.

"Preaching to Hong Kong Immigrants in America." D.Min. Columbia, S.C.: Columbia International Univ., 2005.

Walker, Dennis Nyamieh. "Perceptions of Liberian Christians Concerning the Role of the Liberian Church in Reconciliation." Ph.D. Deerfield, Ill.: Trinity International

Univ., 2005.

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Dr. Wilbert Shenk is professor of mission history and contemporary culture at Fuller



Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California. Previously a missionary in Indonesia, a

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#### January 2007 Student Seminars on World Mission "Constrained by Jesus' Love": Christian Mission Today (see the ad on page 216 or visit www.omsc.org/jan2007.pdf

#### February 26–March 2, 2007 Leadership, Fund-raising, and Donor Development for Missions.

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

#### March 5-9

### Little Letters of Paul: 1 Thessalonians, Philippians, Philemon.

Dr. Edgar Krentz, former New Testament professor at Concordia Seminary and Christ Seminary–Seminex, St. Louis, and at Lutheran School of Theology, Chicago, opens up the thinking and world of the apostle Paul. Cosponsored by Park Street Church (Boston). Eight sessions. \$145

#### March 19-23

## Challenges Facing Roman Catholic Mission Theology: From the Eve of Vatican II to the Twenty-first Century.

Dr. Lawrence Nemer, S.V.D., lecturer in mission studies at Yarra Theological Union, Box Hill, Australia, and senior mission scholar in residence, surveys shifts in Roman Catholic thinking on mission from the eve of Vatican II to the present and identifies the principal challenges facing Roman Catholic mission theology today. Eight sessions. \$145

#### March 26–30

#### Worship and Mission.

Dr. Alan Kreider, associate professor of church history and mission at Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Elkhart, Indiana, and Mrs. Eleanor Kreider, musician, author, and specialist in worship, reflect on the twin themes: worship of God empowers God's people for mission; the mission of God guides worship and provides a means for evaluating it. They give special attention to





issues of inculturation. Cosponsored by Greenfield Hill Congregational Church (Fairfield, Connecticut), InterVarsity Missions/Urbana, and Mennonite Central Committee. Eight sessions. \$145

#### April 9–13

#### Culture, Interpersonal Conflict, and Christian Mission.

Dr. Duane H. Elmer and Dr. Muriel I. Elmer, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Illinois, help Christian workers strengthen interpersonal skills and resolve conflicts among colleagues, including host country people. Cosponsored by Wycliffe International. Eight sessions. \$145

#### April 16-20

Mission in the Shadow of Declining Empire. Dr. Wilbert R. Shenk, professor of mission history and contemporary culture, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California, and senior mission scholar in residence, examines ways decline of the American empire—seeds of whose dissolution expert observers see as beginning to sprout—will shape the setting in which Christian mission will be carried out in the twentyfirst century. Cosponsored by Moravian Church Board of World Mission and Wycliffe Interna-

tional. Eight sessions. \$145

#### April 23–26 (*note change of date*) **Deuteronomy: A Challenge to Mission.**

Dr. Christopher J. H. Wright, international ministry director, Langham Partnership International, London, will unfold the relevance of Deuteronomy for contemporary Christian missions and ethics. Cosponsored by the Baptist Convention of New England and Trinity Baptist Church (New Haven). Eight sessions *in four days*. \$145

#### May 7-11

#### Personal Renewal in the Missionary Community.

Rev. Stanley W. Green, executive director, Mennonite Mission Network, Elkhart, Indiana, blends classroom instruction and oneon-one sessions to offer a time of personal renewal, counsel, and spiritual direction for Christian workers. Cosponsored by Mennonite Mission Network. Eight sessions. \$145

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# **Book Notes**

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History of Vatican II. Vol. 5: The Council and the Transition: The Fourth Period and the End of the Council, September 1965–December 1965. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books; Louvain: Peeters, 2006. Pp. xxiii, 686. \$80.

*Barram, Michael.* **Mission and Moral Reflection in Paul.** *New York: Peter Lang, 2006. Pp. 212. \$65.95.* 

#### Broomhall, A. J.

**The Shaping of Modern China: Hudson Taylor's Life and Legacy.** *Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library; Carlisle, Eng.: Piquant Editions, 2005. Vol. 1, pp. xx, 860; vol. 2, pp. ix, 867. Paperback \$49.99.* 

#### Chu, Cincy Yik-Yi.

**The Maryknoll Sisters in Hong Kong, 1921–1969: In Love with the Chinese.** *New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004. Pp. x, 214. \$65.* 

Koschorke, Klaus, ed., in cooperation with Jens Holger Schjørring. African Identities and World Christianity in the Twentieth Century: Proceedings of the Third International Munich-Freising Conference on the History of Christianity in the Non-Western World (September 15–17, 2004). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005. Pp. 284. Paperback €38.

#### Kraft, Charles H.

**SWM/SIS at Forty: A Participant/Observer's View of Our History.** *Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 2005. Pp. xi, 362. Paperback \$19.99.* 

Leder, Arie C., ed. **For God So Loved the World: Missiological Reflections in Honor of Roger S. Greenway.** Belleville, Ont.: Essence Publishing, 2006. Pp. 328. Paperback \$16.95.

Lupton, Robert D. **Renewing the City: Reflections on Community Development and Urban Renewal.** Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2005. Pp. 240. Paperback \$34.

Madges, William, ed. Vatican II: Forty Years Later. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2006. Pp. xxvi, 373. Paperback \$30.

Nazir-Ali, Michael. Conviction and Conflict: Islam, Christianity, and World Order. New York: Continuum, 2006. Pp. 177. Paperback \$30.95.

*Penner, Peter F., ed.* **Christian Presence and Witness Among Muslims.** *Schwarzenfeld, Ger.: Neufeld Verlag, 2005. Pp. 199. Paperback €14.90 | SFr 27.90.* 

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*Phan, Peter C.*  **Mission and Catechesis: Alexandre de Rhodes and Inculturation in Seventeenth-Century Vietnam.** *Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2005. Pp. xxiv, 324. Paperback \$35.* 

Sivasundaram, Sujit. Nature and the Godly Empire: Science and Evangelical Mission in the Pacific, 1795–1850. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005. Pp. xi, 244. \$80.

Vaage, Leif E., ed. **Religious Rivalries in the Early Roman Empire and the Rise of Christianity.** *Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier Univ. Press, 2006. Pp. xvi, 324. \$85.* 

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Catholic Missionaries and Civil Power in Africa, 1878–1914 Aylward Shorter, M.Afr.

Spreading Fires: The Globalization of Pentecostalism in the Twentieth Century Allan Anderson

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