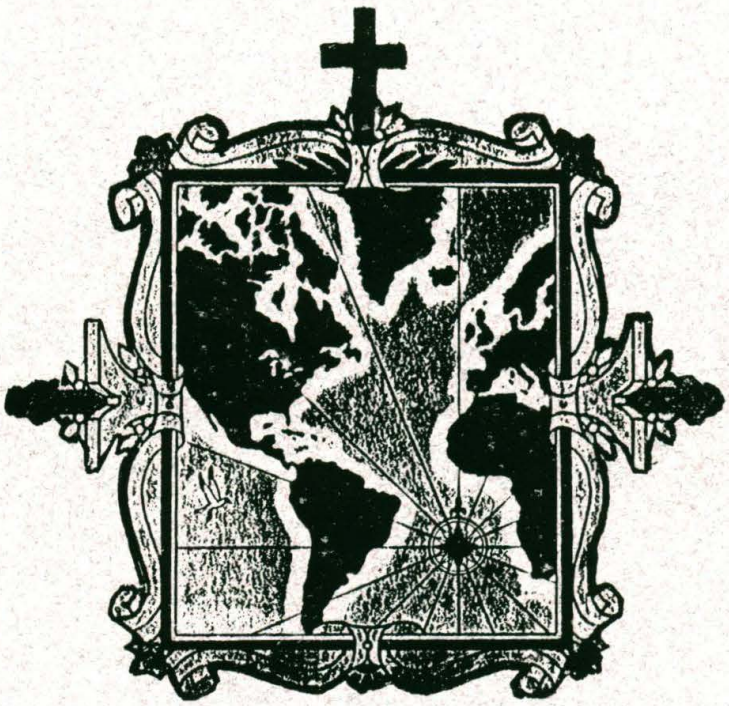
# *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*
## Reconsidered

The legacy of George E. Day



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# *A HISTORY OF THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY* RECONSIDERED

## The legacy of George E. Day

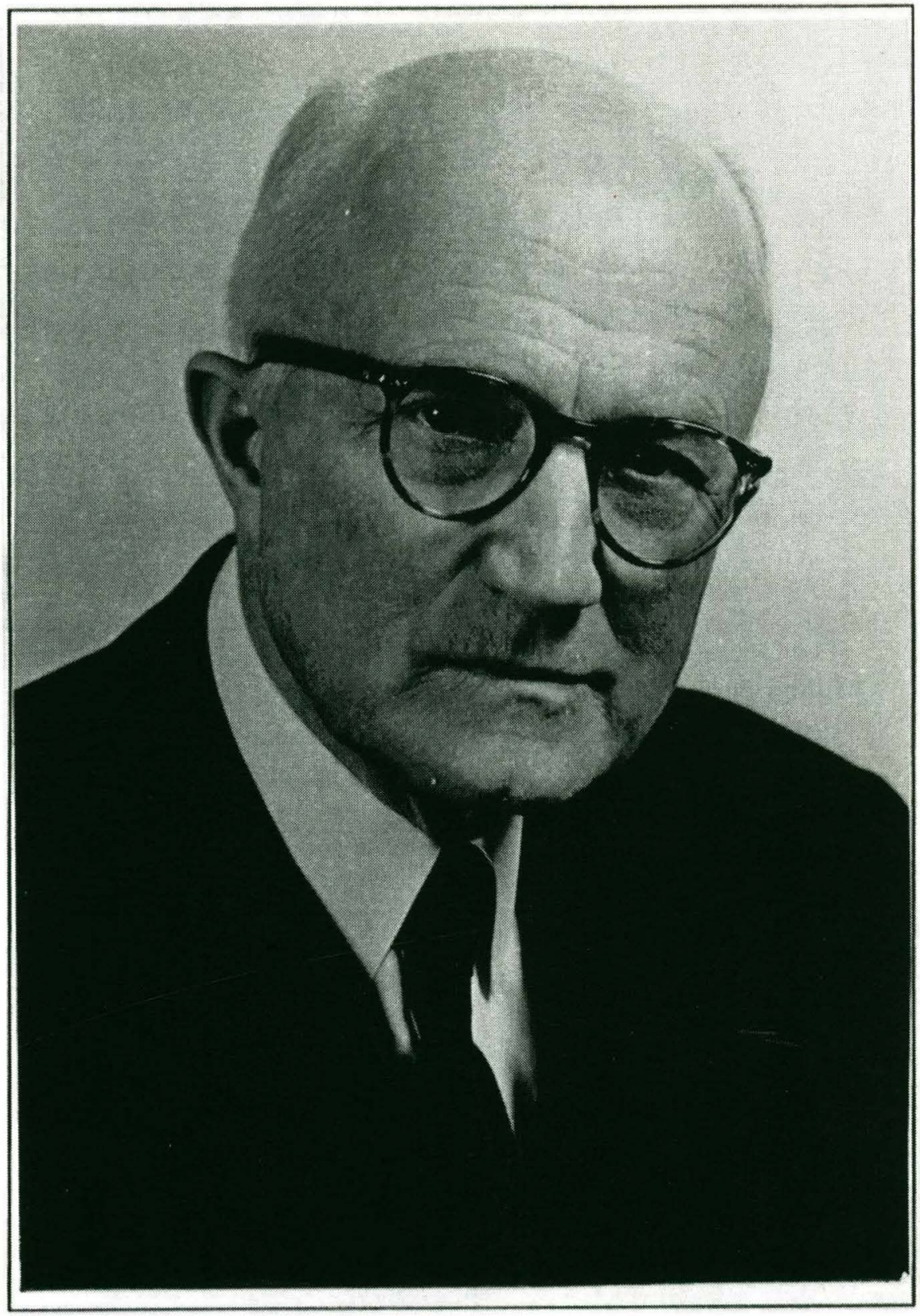
by

Andrew F. Walls

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Kenneth Scott Latourette (1884-1968)
Professor of Missions and Oriental History at Yale University, 1921-1953
Author of *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*

# *A HISTORY OF THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY* RECONSIDERED

## *The legacy of George E. Day*

A library, as Victor Hugo pointed out long ago, is an act of faith. It is a commitment to an unseen future. In the first lecture of the Day Library Associates, given in this chapel in the course of the first meeting of the Yale-Edinburgh Group on the History of the Missionary Movement, Dr. Stephen Peterson celebrated the vision of George E. Day.[1] As a student at Yale, Day met the *Amistad* captives whose arrival in New Haven initiated American missions to West Africa. As Professor of Hebrew he assembled here a specialist collection of publications on missions. Peterson's lecture showed that Day's was an Abrahamic journey, in which future generations were blessed. The bibliological acorn he planted produced in time a mighty oak. In taking up the high privilege of delivering another lecture in the Day Library Associates series, I must, as a member of the University of Edinburgh, rejoice to be doing so during another meeting of the Yale-Edinburgh Group. And for topic, it seems appropriate to turn to a work of scholarship that rests squarely on the provisions of the library that Day founded, and which is, perhaps, its most remarkable monument to date.

The first volume of *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, by Kenneth Scott Latourette, appeared in 1937; the seventh and final volume in 1945, just half a century ago. In celebrating it, I realize that in this audience there are colleagues as well as successors of Latourette, not to mention some of those select former students to whom he was "Uncle Ken," and who testify to his ongoing influence. I have no such claim; I can speak only as one of the many who have derived refreshment and resource from his writings, and especially from the seven volumes of the *Expansion*. Mine was the first student generation to have access to the whole work. Not that my student generation was falling over itself to do so; significantly, it was not from any of my teachers that I learned of its

existence, but from a visiting preacher, the dashing Bishop of Tirunelveli, Stephen Neill, during a university mission. The range of the book, its profusion of information, captivated me. In time its central theme gripped me and helped to shape my own work; but long before that, as a teacher in Africa, embarking on serious study of the then scarcely regarded field of African Christian history, I discovered the surprising richness of Latourette's bibliographies. They were about as comprehensive and as full as any one could get at that period. I did not yet know the secret of their source, though Latourette himself reveals it at the very beginning of Volume I:

> For more than a quarter of a century the author has had the privilege of living with much of the pertinent literature. During most of that time he has had constant access to one of the world's richest collections of printed material related to the subject, in the libraries of Yale University and especially the Day Missions Library[2]

In due course, I was able to visit the quarry from whence the *Expansion* was hewn, and, indeed, the Day Missions Library became a regular part of my life. This lecture, however unworthy in itself, is offered not only in celebration of the achievement of K. S. Latourette, by taking up themes dear to him, often with reference to his own words and conclusions. It also acknowledges a personal debt to a wonderful library and to a succession of librarians, curators, and library staff whose effectiveness and helpfulness are in my experience unparalleled. Librarians as a race are the salt of the earth. Those connected with the Day Library exemplify the traditional uses of salt in superlative measure; they preserve the food of scholarship, and they enhance its flavour.

## *Latourette's* Expansion *as a Monumental Work*

Nothing like Latourette's *Expansion* had appeared before, and it has so far had no obvious successor. Its scope, for a single author work, was extraordinary. It describes and documents, so far as the resources then available allowed, the story of the Christian faith in every century and in every part of the world. Such exhaustive coverage can produce sentences of almost comic intensity. Thus,

summarizing religious developments region by region over the period 1914-1944, the author tells us, "Of Greenland... little need be said". This solemn statement is then given solemn justification.[3] Latourette did not forget even remote islands. I once had an enquiry from a lady in England concerning a Scottish ancestor claimed by family tradition as the first Baptist missionary to St. Helena. I was surprised to hear of any Baptist mission in that bastion of Anglican rectitude in the South Atlantic, let alone a Scottish one. But a quick reference to the *Expansion* revealed that such was the case, and even better, Latourette had provided a reference.[4] It was to a book published in New York in 1852 describing how a Scot who had developed Baptist views betook himself to South Africa on his own initiative, and, after an interim ministry to convicts, mutinous sailors, and guano lifters found a niche in St. Helena. And, of course, the book was in the Day Library where Latourette himself had found it, and its subject's descendant was able, to her delight, to get a xerox copy.

Latourette's ecumenical vision is as remarkable for this period as his geographical range. Indeed, it is identified as his distinguishing feature by the author of a recent study of Latourette, who describes his theme as "Unity of all Christians in love and mission."[5] Latourette seeks to describe Christian expansion in such a way as to include all those who have borne Christ's name; and he did this long before mutual recognition between Catholics, Protestants, and Orthodox was at all widespread. It represented more than conventional courtesy for this evangelical Baptist to begin Volume 6 with a tribute to John J. Considine, of what he calls "the goodly fellowship"[6] of Maryknoll, for helping to initiate him into the ambience of Catholic missions.

But Latourette's vision has deeper springs than a desire for even-handedness between the confessions. He is not writing Church history, but *Christian* history. Church history writing requires ecclesiological choice; it assumes, consciously or unconsciously, a specific identification of the Church, or at least a particular manifestation of it. The various models of Church history teaching that have been adopted as classical in the West are produced by accumulations of essentially local factors,

which lead to certain selections of themes and certain proportions in their treatment. Even volumes on "the history of the early Church" do not always mean what those words, taken literally, might imply. What they usually give is a selection of themes from early Christianity that are relevant to a particular body of Christians with a particular geographical and confessional location today. (Note how in Western curricula the Eastern Church progressively tapers out after the christological controversies). The local nature of these models is revealed when - as, alas, is too commonly the case - they are absorbed unchanged into curricula intended for Africa or Asia. What then often happens is that material about African and Asian Church history is simply stitched on the end of material originally conceived for a Western purpose. Study of Church history in Africa and Asia requires a process of thorough reconception and re-selection. There is no fixed normative corpus of Church history to which additions and updatings can be made. The end shapes the beginning. If the end is to understand the place of Christianity in modern India or Nigeria or Uruguay, or even in a global society involving all these places, the whole of the study of the Church even in its early phases has to be re-thought.

Latourette seems to have recognized this principle. Because he wished to study the Christian faith in relation to human history as a whole, he reconceived its historical framework in a quite different way from that in which Christian history had hitherto been presented. The contrast with the usual view of early Church history is manifest in his opening volume, covering the first five centuries. The average study of early Christianity is concerned almost entirely with Christianity in the Roman Empire. Latourette, of course, is also concerned with the significant expanse of early Christianity outside the Roman Empire, in the Middle East, in Central and Southern Asia, in Eastern and Nilotic Africa. But he does more than widen the geographical scope of the traditional history of the early Church. He puts matters in perspective by pointing out how comparatively small a proportion of the world's population was comprehended within the Roman Empire, and by carefully introducing the

two other contemporary political units with which it bore comparison. He points to the Persian Empire, with a different and highly complex Christian story, and the Han Empire of China. Here, as elsewhere, Latourette's short service in China gave proportion to his account of other themes, just as his work as a professor of Asian history intertwines with his work as a professor of missions. He talks, for instance, as few Western historians of his day would, in terms of a single Euro-Asiatic continent, of which Western Europe (the focus of so much study of Christian history) forms only the far tip. He interprets the emergence of the characteristic forms of Western Christianity in relation to its distance from the Mongol and Turkish incursions, the fact that the Scandinavians were the last major invaders from the land mass eastward. Perhaps the concept of China as the Middle Kingdom influenced him more than he knew.

Still more interesting is his treatment of the subject matter of early Church history. No area of early Christian history has received more attention than that of Gnosticism, and perceptions of it have been radically revised by the remarkable discoveries that have taken place since the *Expansion* was published. But when Latourette treats Gnosticism, he does so in relation to his central theme of Christian expansion. This means that the crucial question that he asks about Gnosticism is, to what extent did the heavily acculturated forms of Christianity that make up what is today called Gnosticism draw people in Hellenistic society towards faith in Christ? Were they more or less successful than the less heavily acculturated forms usually called "catholic"? His answer, as usual, is not straightforward; it is sometimes more and sometimes less. Gnostic, Arian, Montanist, Donatist, Nestorian, Jacobite, as well as those forms of Christianity denominated orthodox, are each examined in terms of their missionary significance and effect.[7] The only generalization Latourette allows himself is that it was those groups that most clearly maintained the centrality and ultimate significance of Jesus Christ that had the most durable effect. The same principles applied to later centuries ensure that he gives equal attention, so far as the available resources allow him ("of Slavic languages [I have] used only

Russian",[8] he admits modestly), to Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox activity in Christian expansion. He does not ignore the Reformation, but he treats it in a quite different way from the standard Church histories, whether Catholic or Protestant, of the period. His viewpoint is indicated in the explanatory rubric attached to chapter one of Volume 3 where the Reformation period is described as: "The Revival in Western Christianity expressing itself through the rise of Protestantism and the Roman Catholic Reformation."[9] The language is significant, for, as we shall see, he did not interpret "expansion" in terms of crude statistical increase. How Latourette would have revelled in the materials that would have been open to him today, in the multitudinous indigenous churches of Africa, the base ecclesial communities of Latin America, the extra-church and non-church movements of Asia, the diverse embodiments of Christianity in his beloved China, the house churches of the West, and the explosion of evangelical charismatic and Pentecostal communities everywhere. But he lived in an age when everyone assumed that Christianity existed in three distinct modes, Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox. In our day we are realizing not only that there are substantial companies of Christians that do not fall into any of these categories, but also that the terms themselves, reflecting as they do the religious and cultural history of the West, are increasingly unhelpful as terms of description or analysis, even if they retain significance in terms of connexion and organization.

*Historiography since Latourette*

It goes without saying that the researches of fifty years have transformed the possibilities for the study of Christian expansion. The transformation is particularly marked with regard to what Latourette called The Great Century, the nineteenth, to which he devoted three of his volumes, and to the first half of the twentieth century, subject of part of his seventh volume. For these periods Latourette had to rely largely on printed mission sources. Since his time, much fundamental research has been conducted on the primary sources, oral and written, and new perspectives have been taken

up in which Africans, Asians, Latin Americans figure as the principal agents of Christian expansion. Such resources were not available to Latourette, and he is untroubled by the questions about the relationship of missionary history and Church history that his successors have to face. Nevertheless, he is aware of other basic issues in the philosophy of history, and he is conscious of a tension in dealing with them. As a Christian, he believes in a divine purpose for the world behind history. He is also by instinct and training a post-Enlightenment Western historian for whom such factors should play no part in historical discourse.[10] Latourette never resolves this tension. He meets it by openly confessing his Christian faith while in his historical analysis conscientiously trying to act as a post-Enlightenment historian. The nature of his subject, however, from time to time calls him to make generalizations about Christian history, and thus to comment on the nature of Christianity as displayed in its history. Such statements fall to be examined by historians and theologians alike; and I suspect that Latourette's generalizations have barely satisfied either group. He made no claim to being a theologian, and his theological language sometimes sounds naive as well as dated; and theologians, for whom teleological questions about history are primary, have not taken him particularly seriously. In this lecture I want to treat the *Expansion* not simply as a chronicle with bibliographies, but as a work of generalization and synthesis about the Christian faith. I wish to suggest that the theological implications of the account that Latourette gives need to be taken much more seriously than his sometimes simplistic theological language might suggest.

*Three Tests of Christian Expansion*

One way of approaching the topic is to examine just what is meant by the *expansion* of Christianity. We have noted that Latourette eschews any ecclesiological or institutional definition of Christianity; he will not identify it with any particular church or group of churches. At the same time he attempts no definition of the type that might be used in the phenomenology of religion. At one

point he seems to paraphrase his title as "the spread of the influence of Jesus",[11] bringing down the wrath of Reinhold Niebuhr, who detected in the *Expansion* an underlying secular liberal view of progress, and a tendency to appropriate to the influence of Christ what were really the products of secular influences.[12] But Latourette's paraphrase has certain helpful features. In the first place, it reminds us of the distinctive character of Christian faith: Christianity is about Christ. In the second place it implicitly distinguishes Christ from the community that bears his name. The witness of the Christian community to Christ is, as Niebuhr himself insisted, constantly ambiguous. Vital as the church may be as a vehicle of Christ's influence, it is stultifying to identify its influence with his. No one is saved through Christianity - though it may be possible to be damned through it.

But Latourette later becomes more specific, and proposes a three-fold means for measuring the influence of Christ - that influence which is the source of Christian expansion.[13] The first is the spread of Christian profession in particular areas. The second is the number and strength of new movements owing their origin to Christ. The third is what he calls "the effect of Christianity on mankind as a whole." One English reviewer of the *Expansion* describes these as "non-ecclesiastical, undogmatic tests, of a kind rather uncongenial to the main tradition of Western Christendom",[14] which I take to be an Oxford way of saying that they are more or less what one might expect from an American. In fact, I suggest, on close examination, each of these tests of Christian expansion is seen to be highly theological, with implications that can be clustered round a series of New Testament themes. I do not presume to interpret Latourette's own mind here, nor is what follows to be seen as attributable to him, even when it arises out of his words. It is tempting to add to his threefold analysis a further dimension of expansion: the expansion of the Christian faith by its interaction with different cultures and even languages, so that by cross-cultural diffusion it becomes a progressively richer entity. This process has been exemplified abundantly since Latourette's day, for over that time Christianity has passed from being a mainly Western to a mainly non-Western religion. But such a

theme needs fuller treatment than can be given here, and it seems prudent to restrict discussion to Latourette's own three stated criteria.

*The Church Test*

The first of these, it will be remembered, is the spread of Christian profession in particular areas. This is the easiest of the three to apply, for in principle, if not always in practice, it relates to something that can be counted. In our own day David Barrett's *World Christian Encyclopedia* represents the most thorough-going attempt at counting Christians yet undertaken.[15]

It is clear that there are times and places when large numbers of people newly profess allegiance to Jesus Christ and form new Christian communities. And it is equally clear that at other times and in other places this process stagnates or goes into reverse; where those newly professing allegiance to Christ are few and where the communities of his worshippers dwindle and die away. This theme is fundamental to Latourette's construction, his pattern of Christian advance and recession.

This first mark of Christian expansion should not lightly be dismissed as a "non-ecclesiastical, undogmatic" category, even by the most exacting theologian, for it leads directly to the New Testament theme of the Church, the whole people of God. The first sign of the expansion of the influence of Christ is the presence of a community of people who willingly bear his name, an "Israel" that maintains his worship. The other tests themselves presuppose this one, the existence of a statistically identifiable, geographically locatable Christian community, however small.

In considering the primacy of the Church factor, it is worth remembering that the first effect of Christian expansion is not the production of saved or enlightened individuals, but of congregations. Unless it be the Ethiopian eunuch (and even he must have had some institutional form of worship of the God of Israel back home, or what motivated his journey?) it is doubtful whether the New

Testament provides a single example of an individual convert, a "saved individual" left to plough his lonely furrow without family or congregation. The influence of Jesus not only produces group response; it works by means of groups, and is expressed in groups. The influence of Jesus, that is, operates in terms of social relations.

The early days of the modern missionary movement soon revealed the impossible position of the individual convert. *The Missionary Register* for July 1820, for instance, publishes the following letter, addressed to the Assistant Secretary of the Church Missionary Society:

> Dear Reverend Brother -
>
> I am just told I going to leave you, day after tomorrow. I will therefore write you,
>
> Dear Sir
>
> I go home tell my countrymen, that Jesus is the true God. Atua is false - no God, all nonsense.
>
> I tell my countrymen, Englishmen no hang his self, not eat a man - no tattooing - no fall cutting his self. My countrymen will say to me, "Why Englishman no cut himself?" It tell them Book of Books say, "No cut - no hang - no tattoo" I tell them "Jesus say all they that do so go to hell." I tell them they sin - they do wrong. I know that Jesus Christ's blood cleanseth all sin. I tell my poor countrymen so. He no find out the way to Heaven - poor fellow! Jesus our Lord, He found a way to Heaven for all who know Him... I tell my countrymen, Christians no fight, no use war club, no spear - they read Book of Books - all true! says, No fight, all love...
>
> I get home to New Zealand, and I go tell my countrymen, "Come countrymen, into House of Worship, where true God is worshiped"
>
> I hope you farewell. Good bye.
>
> Your affect friend
> Thomas Tooi [16]

Tui was a Maori of some significance in his home community. Like many of his seafaring

contemporaries, he had travelled, and in the course of his journeys reached Australia. There he came to the notice of the Rev Samuel Marsden, colonial chaplain and zealous promoter of missions, whose high hopes of the Christian potential of the Polynesian peoples contrasted with his despair over Australian Aboriginals. Tui stayed two years with Marsden, fully confirming all the latter's hopes of a breakthrough for the gospel in New Zealand, and resulting in Marsden arranging with the Church Missionary Society for Tui to spend a further year in England. Tui's evident conviction and general demeanour during his stay delighted the friends of missions. The edifying letter was written on the eve of his return to New Zealand, and many must have been waiting eagerly for the effect of his testimony among his compatriots.

Tui returned with Marsden. But a week after his return he was telling Marsden that he could not stand his ground unless a European joined him. The only way he knew of being a Christian was the European way he had met in Australia and England. There were no other Christians in his community; the only way he could support a Christian life was by maintaining a European lifestyle - a "civil life," Marsden called it, effectively outside his community. It is hardly surprising that his attempt soon broke down. In a few months, all that was left of the profession of Christian faith and the years of Christian training was a blue jacket. The glimpses we get of Tui's later life in written records indicate prowess as a warrior ("the greatest profligate and savage on the coast," according to one European visitor), and the last mention of all refers to an attempted deal by Tui with a French sea captain - tattooed head in exchange for a keg of gunpowder.[17] There are plenty such examples of the tragedy of the lone convert. Not the convert, but the congregation is the first sign of the influence of Christ.

The first test of the expansion, then, is the Church test; the emergence of a worshipping congregation. But in employing it, it is necessary to take its fragility into account. It is manifest that the expansion of Christianity does not plant churches that endure for ever. The first centre of

Christianity, and one that saw rapid statistical growth, was Jerusalem. The homelands of Tertullian and Augustine no longer burgeon with Christian scholars and statesmen. In many once Christian countries, former churches have become mosques; in my own they have become garages and sometimes nightclubs. The Christian story - and this, too, is fundamental to Latourette's view - is not a steady, triumphant progression. It is a story of advance and recession.

Latourette's whole arrangement of Christian history is based on this theme of advance and recession; the history of expansion includes within itself a history of contraction. The rhetoric in which Latourette was raised was one of Christian triumph from age to age; the missionary movement to which he himself belonged had been in a hurry to bring it to completion. But Latourette the historian knew that the history did not match the rhetoric; and, in a section near the end of volume 7,[18] he shows that he is aware that Islamic experience has been different.

Islam can point to a steady geographical progression from its birthplace and from its earliest years. And over all these years it has hitherto not had many territorial losses to record. Whereas the Jerusalem of the apostles has fallen, the Mecca of the Prophet remains inviolate. When it comes to sustaining congregations of the faithful, Christianity does not appear to possess the same resilience as Islam. It decays and withers in its very heartlands, in the areas where it appears to have had the profoundest cultural effects. Crossing cultural boundaries it then takes root anew on the margins of those areas, and beyond. Islamic expansion is progressive; Christian expansion is serial.

Do the resilience of Islam and the vulnerability of Christianity reflect something of the inherent nature of the two faiths? Does the very freedom of response inherent in the Christian Gospel leave it open to ultimate rejection? Is the Christian impact only durable when there is sustained, never ceasing penetration of the host culture? Christianity has no culturally fixed element, as is provided by the *Qur'an* fixed in heaven, closed traditions on earth, perfection of law in *shari'a*, single shrine in Mecca, and true word everywhere in Arabic. If the acts of cultural translation by which the Christians

of any community make their faith substantial within that community cease - if (if one may use such language) the Word ceases to be made flesh within that community - the Christian group within that community is likely to lose, not just its effectiveness, but its powers of resistance. Most cultures are in frequent change or encounter with others, so the process of translation is endless.

It is not profitable to moralize on the fate of vanished churches; to do so is like claiming to know that those on whom the Siloam tower fell were Jerusalem's chief sinners. We do not, cannot, know why the candlestick is taken from its place. But the New Testament is clear that God can dispense even with self-important Christian communities, and that He depends on no single instrument.

The Church test of Christian expansion is therefore a provisional one. New churches, or churches in new areas, are not gains to be plotted on the map. That is an Islamic, not a Christian view of expansion. Such churches are simply positions through which the influence of Jesus Christ may come to bear on people and communities.

*The Kingdom Test*

There are other reasons why the Church test on its own is not a satisfactory measure of the influence of Christ. There may be many elements in the actual local expression of Christianity at any one time that cannot be remotely traced to him. And yet within the same community that bears the Christian name there may be groups of believers striving to respond to him, trying to find a way of life that more nearly reflects his, to bring his life and teaching to bear more radically upon their church and society. This brings us to Latourette's second test of Christian expansion: the numbers and strength of new movements owing their origin to Jesus Christ. This was his rough and ready way of measuring the *depth* of Christian expansion at any one time in any given area. Clearly, he thought that the test of the local strength of Christianity was whether it was radical and innovative. Once more, I

suggest, the simplistic appearance of his criterion is deceptive; and, though the criterion may seem at first sight to be a sociological one, it is highly theological.

Latourette's second test in fact is a Kingdom test; it stands for the signs of the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom shines in the Church and exerts its energy within and beyond it, yet cannot be identified with it. The Kingdom of God, the Gospels tell us, is sprouting seed, growing in secret and suddenly bursting into flower. The Kingdom of God is fermenting yeast, that stirs things up so that a little of it transforms three whole measures of meal. The Kingdom of God is declared when demons are cast out by the finger of God. The Kingdom of God has drawn near in the presence of Christ with his acts of mercy and power.

Kingdom signs like these mark the innovative new movements that reflect true Christian expansion. Because, like the Kingdom, they sprout and stir up, they produce a more radical Christian discipleship. Because, like the Kingdom, they can transform the whole basin of meal into yeasty bread, they bring the Spirit of Christ to bear more widely within their society - penetrating that society's culture more deeply, translating Christ into that society more perfectly, making the Word flesh within it. Because, like the Kingdom, they stand for the casting out of demons, and because the demons that blight our world are legion, they have a multitude of specific objects and effects.

The archetype of the movements that the Kingdom test reveals as the agents of Christian expansion, is the great prophet of the Kingdom, John the Baptist, with his call to God's people for a change of heart, for radical righteousness, his revealing of a day of crisis and decision. It is probable that John did not invent the rite that gave him his nickname. The new thing he did was to take the ceremony that marked the entrance of a pagan convert into Israel, and insist that it applied also to the birthright people of God. The people of God needed repentance as much as anyone in the pagan world. "You must be born again," says Jesus, taking up the same theme.[19] "You" is plural here - not so much, surely, Nicodemus personally, as "you people," the leadership of the congregation of God's

people that Nicodemus represented. You must start again, with repentance for the past and God's Spirit for the future, if you are to begin to know the Kingdom, and what it really means to be what you claim to be, the people of God.

Kingdom movements call the Church to repentance and to alertness to the presence of Christ within her. The presence of the church, the first test of Christian expansion, is no guarantee of the continuing influence of Christ. The Church without the signs of the Kingdom becomes a counter-sign of the Kingdom, hiding Christ instead of revealing Him to the world. It is for creative minorities, like the righteous Remnant in old Israel, to reveal a better way and to make it possible for the wider Church to move towards it.

Among the Kingdom movements may be counted many movements of reformation, renewal, and revival. (It will be recalled that Latourette noted a "revival in Western Christianity expressing itself through the rise of Protestantism and the Roman Catholic Reformation.") Many movements for the propagation of the faith may also be so counted; and many movements seeking a righteous society, struggling against manifest evil, seeking to cast out demons. Kingdom movements are infinitely diverse. For one thing, there are legions of demons to cast out. For another, those who seek the Kingdom find it where they are, and they stand in very different places, their perceptions and relationships formed by different histories.

Kingdom movements, then, are not in themselves the Kingdom, any more than the Church is the Kingdom. They are *signs* of the Kingdom, reminders that the Kingdom seed is growing, the Kingdom yeast fermenting; reminders of the triumph of God and the assured defeat of evil.

The movements may or may not take an institutional expression; in complex societies it is usual for such institutional expression to emerge. But in either case, we must beware of confusing movement and institution. Even the most unmistakable signs of the Kingdom in human expression can pass over into counter-signs.

It may be well to illustrate the second test of Christian expansion by references to examples that are very well known.

Monasticism was born of the desire for wholehearted discipleship, in repentance from a development in Christian history that had enabled affluent people to combine piety and self-indulgence. "Sell all that you have and give to the poor," was the word of the Lord heard by Antony the Copt. The same desire for radical discipleship was to seize many more in the very different setting of early West European Christianity. Had not Jesus said, "If anyone wants to follow me let them say no to themselves and take up the cross?" And had he not promised that those who gave up family and lands would find sisters and brothers and houses and lands in plenty? All over Christendom, therefore, men and women covenanted to live under discipline, resigning personal rights and private property, avoiding relationships that would force them to put the interest of their own kin, or of their feudal superior, before the welfare of the brethren or the poor. The monastic movement produced many a mobile missionary task force, not least for the harshest and least inviting environments. It established permanent mission stations that were also centres of learning, hospitals, shelters for travellers, sources of immediate relief for the down and out. One has only to visualize the bleakness of life in early medieval Europe, the miserable hovels of the little settlements, the constant destruction of crops as raiders and rivals fought across fields, the arbitrary claims of lord upon vassal and of kin upon kin, to guess the significance of these centres of worship, peace, and charity. Many motives brought people to the monastic life, and by no means always the highest; but in their origins, and at their highest, monasteries were a culturally coherent way for those who wished to be radically Christian to imitate the lifestyle of Jesus and his apostles. Further, they were alternative communities for those who saw no way of living a consistent Christian life amid the demands of kinship and vassalage and the pressures of a violent society. "Will many be saved?" someone once asked St Anselm. "No," replied the Archbishop, who knew the ways of the King's court and the habits of the

Christian nobility. "And most of those who are saved will be monks."

Long a potential sign of the Kingdom, the monasteries over time became counter-sign of the Kingdom. Within Anselm's old domain of England, following processes in themselves natural and intelligible, the corporate followers of the one who had nowhere to lay his head became over time collectively the major holders of real estate, the directors of the most profitable export business and a comfortable class of rentiers. The conditions that had made the monasteries so crucial to the societal context passed away. And what was meant for selfless service to the poor became - without any set intention, any planned change of direction or deliberate revision of aims - self-regarding. Sign turned to counter-sign.

The process of renewal and reformation did not, of course, die, even in the worst of times; and in the sixteenth century it became a ferment. To realize the multiplicity of forms that the Kingdom signs take, it is worth pausing a moment longer on the monasteries. The Catholic reformation sought to restore them to their original form and motivation, with a heightened sense of the monastic life as vocation, a call to perfection. The Protestant reformers abandoned them, arguing that family life and active participation in society could be just as holy as life within the monastery walls, and life within them as sinful and self-centred as life outside. The radical reformers, often called Anabaptist, went further. For them the local church was a covenanted community of dedicated people - a monastery in effect. The gathered church congregation is the fully Protestant version of the monastery, with husbands, wives, and children all committed to a Christian style of life.

The second example of a dynamic and innovative movement may be taken from the Protestant world: the missionary society. Missionary societies came into being by what William Carey called "use of means" to spread the good news of Christ in the non-Christian world - that is, from the point of view of their founders, in the greater part of the world. Commonplace as the concept of societies for specific purposes is now, in Carey's day it was still quite novel. The

conditions under which people could freely associate, adopt programmes, raise and apply funds, were quite recent. The Protestant missionary movement that arose only became possible by means of these new structures. Small groups of people - lay people, very often, and when clergy not generally the most significant leaders of their denomination - made their own arrangements for preaching the Gospel and establishing new churches overseas. They gathered networks of local supporters, most of whom contributed from modest incomes, and fed those networks with regular and detailed literature, creating a circle of concerned, informed, giving, praying people. They did all this with little reference to, and still less assistance from, the formal structures of their churches. Indeed, it soon became clear that those structures, the product of another period of Western and Christian history, simply had no way of coping with the task of evangelism overseas. The voluntary society took on that task, and many other tasks, both at home and abroad, until the network of voluntary societies subverted the whole organization of European Protestantism. It was in the voluntary societies that women began to play an organizational role in church life. In all sorts of ways these societies did more than has perhaps been realized to establish Christian agendas for the nineteenth century, and raised and applied the resources to maintain them.

The missionary societies not only performed a vital role in mobilizing and sustaining a missionary task force (there is a parallel story in the Catholic Church with the missionary orders); they also became the natural channel of communication between Western Christians and the new Christians of Africa and Asia. In a Christian world transformed out of all recognition from that of William Carey, the images held by too many Western Christians of the non-Western world are formed from the legacy of the - often now attenuated - mission societies. And one can envisage a time when some missions, like some monasteries, come to divert and obscure, rather than act of channels of the concerns of the Kingdom. In using the Kingdom test of Christian expansion, we must give no final and absolute value to even the radical and innovative movements, or to the dearest to our ourselves.

A third example comes from a development hidden from Latourette's view. One of the most noticed features of modern Christian history in Africa has been the emergence of churches that owe little to Western models of how a church should operate, and much to African readings of Scripture, for which the conditions of African life often provide a hall of echoes. Studies of these "spiritual" churches have rightly stressed their closeness to traditional African world views, and their involvement in the problems that concern large numbers of people in modern African society. Stress is often laid on the syncretistic aspects of these churches, which tends to obscure the extent to which they are also radical, innovative, and revolutionary movements. Certainly the charismatic healer whose ministry forms the point of attraction to the church may use techniques found also among African diviners; but he will almost certainly do so in the name of the God of the Scriptures, and justify his use of them by Biblical examples. And if he insists that the deliverance he proclaims comes from the God of the Scriptures, and associates it with Christ or the Holy Spirit, he has broken the ring of the local powers who lie at the heart of most traditional religious systems. The interview with the person seeking healing may follow a pattern similar to those conducted by traditional diviners, but the effects may be startlingly different. The seeker of healing admits that he is wearing a curative charm, and throws it away; or that he has buried something at his house, and goes shamefacedly away to dig it up in order to secure healing. Even the seeker who confesses to witchcraft or sorcery is not necessarily responding to psychological pressure to admit an imaginary offence; what is emerging is the acknowledgement of deepset hatreds, jealousy, envy, that corrode relationships, poison the personality, and produce the very antithesis of health. There are signs of the Kingdom here for many Christians who attend church regularly while in trouble resorting to the traditional diviner - but at night, and with a bad conscience. They do not wish to turn back from the Christian faith, but they are unable to trust wholly, for nothing in the (essentially Western) model of the Church as they know it offers defence against the worst features of the world as they know it. Many such have seen the

Kingdom signs in such "spiritual" churches.

In recent years a new wave of churches has appeared in many African countries proclaiming the visible immediacy of Christ's salvation and the overcoming power of the Holy Spirit in the face of all the omnipresent ills of modern Africa. It is noticeable that they rarely embrace the "spiritual" churches as allies; rather they see them as bastions of occultism and immorality. This is not the place to discuss developments and relationships of considerable complexity; but it is appropriate to reflect again how readily the Kingdom sign embodied within human movements passes into counter-sign.

*The Gospel Test*

It is now time to consider Latourette's third test of Christian expansion, and on any reading the hardest to apply. He called it "the effect of Christianity upon mankind as a whole"[20] or, more specifically "the effect of Jesus on individual lives and civilizations." Had he been writing today he might have spoken rather of the effect of Christ on people and on cultures. And the capital difficulty of making this into any sort of principle of judgment is that the influence may be direct and acknowledged, or direct and unacknowledged, or indirect and even unconscious.

Whatever difficulties of measurement this brings, it appears that once again Latourette has fixed upon a *theological* principle, and one further reaching in its implications than he claims. I propose to denominate it the Gospel test, and to link it with the New Testament theme of Good News. The term "Good News" seems to have been more popular with Paul and the other early Christian missionaries to the non-Jewish world than even the word "Kingdom" that featured so prominently in the preaching of Jesus himself. The adoption of a "Gospel test" is intended to argue that there is a dimension of Christian expansion beyond those that we have already examined, those that issue in the planting of the Church and the development of radical corporate discipleship.

When Paul sums up the Gospel as he preached it, he emphasizes two elements: that Christ

died for our sins according to the Scriptures and that he rose again according to the Scriptures.[21] Elsewhere in the epistles the death and Resurrection of Christ is presented as a Roman triumph, in which the cross forms a victor's chariot for the conquering hero, while the principalities and powers trail behind, like the captives of a Roman general publicly exhibited to the crowds at his homecoming.[22] It matters little whether we see the principalities and powers here as demonic forces, or like some interpreters, as political (or as we might say today, structural) world rulers. Either way they are powerful spiritual entities that oppose God and spoil the world. They seek to destroy truth, goodness and love as manifested in Christ. And the Gospel as Paul declared it proclaims that in the Resurrection of Christ something completely new happened, and history took on a new dimension. Christ defeated - *spoiled* is the word - the principalities and powers and put them to public humiliation.

We cannot do justice to such themes by throwing all their significance into an eschatological consummation still to come. The whole point is that the Resurrection makes a difference in the here and now. And if the death and Resurrection of Christ is related to the reconciling of all things to God, we have to recognize a world already bought back by God, a world in which the principalities and powers are already defeated.

The scope of the principalities and powers and their corrupting rule is immense. That rule poisons the environment and sends a virus through society. It soils every dimension of life and every level of the personality. The scope of the Good News that proclaims Christ's victory over them is correspondingly immense. It extends through environment and society and reaches the depths of the individual personality.

In the view of Christianity that I believe underlies Latourette's work - though again I must insist that he bears no responsibility for the theological extrapolation that I have made from it - there are not different Gospels for individuals and for society. There is no question of there being an option

which to proclaim, or of balancing the claims of one against another. Nor are there different Gospels for different kinds of people, or for different situations. There is only one Good News of salvation through Jesus Christ, resting on one event, the death and Resurrection of the Divine Son. But the *scope* of that event, and of the Gospel on which it rests is beyond the most comprehensive description of it as experienced by any person, or by any part of the redeemed creation. The spoiling of the principalities and powers proclaims the victory of God at every level of creation. By the same token, the proclamation of the Good News, which is the witness of the Church to the Cross and Resurrection, also extends to all the various reaches of their domain. It should not be surprising if different walls and redoubts of the demonic kingdom collapse at different times as Christ is uplifted in the proclamation of the Good News. And, since the application of the Good News is greater than anyone's experience of it, we may well proclaim the Good News in anticipation of a response reflecting our own experience, we find others responding in quite another way - but nevertheless hearing Good News. For at every level at which the Good News is heard, it corresponds with reality; with a real victory secured by Christ over the forces of evil and death.

This is the basis on which I would justify Latourette's third test of Christian expansion, and why I think it may be called the Gospel test. It may help to proceed with a couple of examples.

We have already noted the discouraging nature of the beginnings of missionary work in New Zealand. It took five years to get a mission settlement established at all, fifteen before there was a single baptism, three years more before the next. That takes us to 1827. But by 1840 there were 30,000 Maori associated with the missions and regularly hearing Christian teaching. Four hundred were baptized in six months. By 1845, nearly two thirds of the population was attached to the Anglican, Methodist, or Roman Catholic mission and there was a New Testament in Maori circulating for every two of the total population.[23] Yet the missionaries - certainly those of the Church Missionary Society - were far from ecstatic about what was happening.

One reason for their reaction lay deep in their own experience. They had themselves known evangelical conversion, in which an oppressive sense of guilt had been succeeded by a happy consciousness of guilt removed through Christ. Their framework of thought distinguished the "real" Christianity, to which these experiences were the prelude or early stages, from the formal Christianity accepted by the bulk of society who understood neither the seriousness of sin nor the effect of the work of Christ. It was natural to assume that if the Maori were to become Christians, it would be by the gate of conviction of sin and subsequent sense of divine forgiveness, the marks of genuine conversion and the gateway to "real," as distinct from formal, Christianity. The missionaries also believed (though they would have regarded this as belonging to a lower order of conviction) that British education, technology, and civil polity - what they called "civilization" - was closely associated with Christianity. They were perhaps not fully agreed among themselves as to whether "civilization" was a fruit of receiving the Gospel, or an attractive and helpful preparation for it.

The Maori were not remotely interested in Christianity and not very interested in civilization - they were reasonably satisfied with the style of life they already had. What they did recognize was that some aspects of that life style could be enhanced by certain metal goods that could be obtained only from Europeans; and the missions were useful, because permanently resident, sources of such items. For many years, therefore, the missionaries had to live on that basis. They could stay only on the Maori terms, tolerated as convenient suppliers of metal goods, subject to endless badgering, and essentially insecure. For twenty years of proclamation of the evangelical Gospel there was only one unmistakable achievement; the missionaries had proved that it was possible to live with the Maori without being killed and eaten. And the fruits of that achievement were, to say the least, ambiguous. Encouraged by missionary durability, other Europeans came in, with more liberal policies on trading in metal goods; and the honest commerce, which in the original visions was to ease the path to wholesome "civilization," spawned violence, prostitution, and above all, arms trading. For muskets

were soon the most desirable iron goods in New Zealand. Ritualized warfare was endemic in New Zealand; and the traditional code of honour enforced obligations of satisfaction and revenge effected through networks of kinship. For its prosecution, firearms proved more efficient than the traditional spears and clubs. "This people are in the Gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity," wrote one weary missionary. "Every man's hand seems to be against his brother."[24] No one seemed to heed their message. "There is not one native on the Island," said the same missionary, "in whom it can be said that the work of grace is begun." As for cannibalism or human sacrifice, there was not a trace of compunction, let alone guilt, about such things.

But the introduction of Western firearms into the Maori patterns of ritual combat and satisfaction was well nigh disastrous. Under its impact Maori society was no longer satisfied and confident, no longer finding the powerful new weaponry delightful. A weariness and depression settled on the once enthusiastic warriors as they realized they were in danger of wiping one another out. Some wished for flight to a distant island, or talked of going to Australia with the missionaries. And they began to feel themselves trapped in a tyrannous circle of events they could no longer control. "They said it was all very good what we had told them," records the same missionary commentator, "but as other Natives would not let them alone, they stood greatly in need of muskets and powder in order to defend themselves." Maori society now longed for peace, but with the concurrence of musketry and the traditional code of satisfaction, despaired of achieving it. Some things the missionaries had been saying these many years began to sound, for the first time, attractive, things about the good news of peace, and their constant deprecation of Maori violence. Occasions arose when these outsiders who had invited themselves in could be useful, for instance in arranging peace at a point when tradition would have demanded a fight to the finish. Alas, that was the problem; the Maori could not give up the practices that were destroying their society without also giving up a code that for centuries had been crucial to their way of life. The pattern of satisfaction and revenge had all

the sacredness of ancestral tradition. Not to avenge harm done to one's kin brought unalterable shame and diminished a person to negligibility. The only way to get rid of self-destructive war was to give up the system on which it was conducted. And the only viable way of doing that was to take up a new way of life. The Maori began to do so with enthusiasm. They came forward in companies to learn to read the Bible, and manifestly sought to follow its teachings. They brought in their neighbours and took the message to the peoples living in districts beyond. They formed regular congregations of their own.

The missionaries did not fall over themselves to sweep in new converts. All their understanding of the surgery of the soul made them anxious about offering inducements, or accepting too ready and superficial response. They could not deny the evident sincerity of the movement that now almost overwhelmed them. They must accept what was happening as a work of God. And yet where was the mourning for sin, and the rejoicing in forgiveness, which should mark a *real* conversion?

From the viewpoint of a later time it may be easier to recognize what happened in New Zealand as a genuine response to the Gospel, a genuine hearing of it, a genuine demonstration of the victory of the Cross over the power of evil. In the Christian movement the self-destructive forces in Maori society were bound, as nothing else could have bound them. But the Maori responded to the Gospel, not to the missionaries' experience of the Gospel. They did not misunderstand the Good News preached to them, even if they did not fully understand it (who does so, ever?) And even if they did not respond in the terms anticipated by the missionaries, one can still trace in their response an evangelical paradigm that the missionaries themselves might have recognized as valid. There was repentance, a clean break with the past, a turning toward the God of the Scriptures. There was a step of faith, for in turning to the way of peace they risked much - the wrath of the *Atua* or local spiritual powers, humiliation by enemies in their newly chosen defencelessness, and the disorientation of

abandoning the known ways. And if not delivered from guilt (and how could they feel guilt for following the ways ordained by the fathers?) they were certainly delivered from shame, from the shame involved in not avenging wrongs done against oneself or one's clan. They turned to Christ when they had come to an end of themselves and of the resources of their society.[25] That too, is in tune with the evangelical paradigm, and recalls the theme that the Gospel can be heard, and responded to, at various levels of experience.

In the example we have given of the application of the Gospel test of Christian expansion, a new Christian community was born. In other words, Christian expansion took place by the Church test also. Is it possible, however, to speak meaningfully of Christian expansion, in the sense of the spread of the influence of Christ, where no such sign of Church expansion takes place?

Our second example, then, is from India. *Sati,* burning of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands was a custom traditional in some parts of Hindu society. Christian missionaries caused the custom to be well known in the West, portraying it as perhaps the worse horror to be encountered in India. They felt particular outrage that it occurred undisturbed in areas under British rule, a rule exercised by the East India Company. The Company's essential purpose was commercial; its declared policy was to avoid interference in social and religious matters, and its general ethos was resistant to missionary influence. In 1829 *sati* was prohibited by order of the Governor-General. The violent Hindu outcry and reaction that many had predicted did not take place.

Three different groups of people may be seen as in some way responsible for abolition. First, the missionaries, who described what happened, placed the facts before the public that their writings could reach, denouncing from the Scriptures both the practice and the attitudes that tolerated it. But on their own, the influence of missionaries would not have moved Government. There were many other issues in which the missions, and the section of the British public that supported them, were out of tune with the conventional wisdom of the British governance of India, and their impact

was limited. Second, there was a group of East India Company officials, and especially the Governor-General himself, Lord William Bentinck. The revulsion that this rather radically minded aristocrat felt for *sati* came from ideas of natural justice and humanitarian conviction, which themselves had come to him in Christian forms - the evangelicalism of his wife's family may have sharpened them. But even a strong Governor-General - and Bentinck had had his fingers burnt before - could not have brought about the end of *sati* in the face of determined resistance. Earlier governors had hated the practice but felt powerless to stop it. What enabled Bentinck to act was the work of a third group of people, Hindu reformers who detested the burning of widows as a corruption of true religion, and a blot on India's honour. Without the influence of Ram Mohun Roy and those like him, no influence of missionaries or of the Governor-General would have availed.

But what had made Roy a reformer was the effect of his encounter with Jesus through the New Testament. While the New Zealand missionaries were plodding through their dark days, Roy was writing a book that appeared under the title *The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness.*[16] The book did not find favour with Christian missionaries in India. It confined itself to the teaching of Christ, omitted the Gospel miracles (Indians had heard of bigger ones, said Roy, and so were not impressed) and did not deal with the issue of his person. Missionaries felt obliged to go on producing refutations of this remarkable work in the name of Christian orthodoxy. Nevertheless Roy believed that "no other religion can produce anything that may stand in competition with the Precepts of Jesus - much less that can be pretended to be superior to them." This conviction gave point to his very active life, which was devoted to the abolition of customs such as *sati*, the regeneration of Hindu society by the stripping away of its overlying corruptions, and the recovery of what Roy believed was the genuine, monotheistic, faith of India.

If we use the Gospel test, we may thus argue that the abolition of *sati* was a result of the spreading influence of Jesus. There was a hearing of, and response to, Good News, even though no

expansion of the Church resulted from it. But the difficulty goes deeper. The abolition of *sati* was not a matter of a single, isolated institution; it was part of a wider story of the emergence of a reformed and reformulated Hinduism. Not for nothing has Roy been called the Father of Modern India; nor was he the last of the line of devout Hindus who encountered Christ in the Scriptures and were moved by him. From Roy to Gandhi and beyond there stretches a line of those who sought to purge their land of evil things, and their faith from misconceived things under the guidance of a Christ they knew from the Scriptures. Sometimes they brought to light the radical nature of that teaching in a way that Christians had forgotten. "God uses many instruments," said E. Stanley Jones, "and he has used Mahatma Gandhi to help christianize unchristian Christianity."[27]

The paradox of the Gospel test goes further still. It is possible that the reforms we have seen as an expression of the influence of Christ by the Gospel test actually hindered the expansion of Christianity in India as measured by the Church test. There was a period when the missionary Alexander Duff, whose work was made possible by Ram Mohun Roy's endorsement of the school he operated, was making a substantial impact on young Hindu intellectuals. Then, without any obvious change in method or direction, the stream of such converts stopped. Reformed Hinduism increasingly became resistant Hinduism. Duff's young men came from the very stream in Hindu society that had no place for customs such as *sati*, who felt oppressed by traditional society's refusal to embrace new learning and ideas, and hemmed in by the corruption of much contemporary religion. Perhaps it was the effectiveness of the movements for purity and reform, themselves inspired in part by the teachings of Christ, that stifled in such people the revulsion that once might have left open a path to open Christian discipleship. It is a question we must leave with God. But can we look at the total history of India over the past two centuries, and say that even the indirect and unacknowledged influence of Christ is not a response to Good News? Or dare to say that it is outside of God's saving purpose for the world He redeemed?

*Conclusion*

A reconsideration of the seven volumes of the *History of the Expansion of Christianity*, then, finds it possible to invest Latourette's three criteria of Christian expansion with more theological significance than perhaps he realized. There is the Sign of the Church, the emergence of communities of people who worship God, acknowledge Christ, and confess his ultimacy. There is the Sign of the Kingdom, the impact within the Church as the Remnant principle operates afresh, and movements of reformation, renewal, and devotion spring up to challenge it and channel Christ's influence to the world. And there is the Sign of the Gospel, as people respond, directly or indirectly, to Christ's victory over evil through his Cross and Resurrection. The consequences and availability of this victory reach as widely as the vitiating effects of evil; that is, to every level of personality, society, and environment. There are many factors determining which echoes of that victory particular people hear from where they are standing. But every echo corresponds to reality, and it is Good News.

But there is built-in fragility in each of the tests. The fragility of the Church sign is obvious; and the Kingdom sign passes all too readily into counter-sign. So also with the Gospel sign; the responses to the Gospel that we have noted by its aid are not complete and final. Indeed, none of the tests for Christian expansion enable us to mark up gains on the map of the world, or chart progress towards the final goal. Such ideas do not belong to a Christian understanding of expansion; they are closer to the essentially secular optimism with which some of Latourette's critics (inappropriately) charged him. Latourette saw that advance and recession, not irreversible progress, was the pattern of Christian expansion; just as Bunyan saw that there was a way to hell even from the gate of heaven. But there is a more fundamental fact still underlying Christian expansion, and it seems appropriate to close this reconsideration by repeating the words with the monumental work closes:

> The Christian is certain that Jesus is central in human history. His confident faith is that in those who give themselves to God as they see Him in Jesus there is working the power of endless life and that from them God will build, to be consummated beyond time, the heavenly city, the ideal community, in which will

be realized fully the possibilities of the children of God. The eternal life and this ideal community are, in the last analysis, not the fruit of man's striving, but the gift of a love which man does not deserve, and are from the unmerited grace of God.[28]

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## NOTES

1

S. L. Peterson, *The Day Missions Library Centennial* (Yale Divinity School Library Occasional Publication No. 2) New Haven, CT: Yale Divinity School Library, 1993.

2

K. S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* I, New York and London: Harper, 1937, xv. Subsequent references to this work will use the abbreviation *HEC*.

3

*HEC* VII, 162.

4

*HEC* V, 317.

5

Juhani Lindgren, *Unity of All Christians in Love and Mission. The ecumenical method of Kenneth Scott Latourette* (Annales Academial Scientiarum Fennicae Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 54) Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1990.

6

*HEC* VI, ix. Latourette also acknowledges a debt to Considine in his autobiography, *Beyond the Ranges*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1967, 78f, III.

7

In his autobiography, he describes with relish how at the inaugural meeting of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1948, where he was a consultant, he insisted that "reunion" was a misnomer. Even in New Testament times, Christians had never been united, *Beyond the Ranges*, 108.

8

*HEC* I, xvi .

9

*HEC* III, 1.

10

Cf *HEC* I, xviif; and note Latourette's conviction that a synthesis is possible if the Christian interpretation is accepted, but not otherwise. He gave his presidential address to the American Historical Association on the theme "The Christian understanding of history." It was politely received, but some auditors evidently indicated that if they wanted a talk on that subject they would go to church. *Beyond the Ranges*, 115.

11

T*he Unquenchable Light.* London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1948 p ix, 131; cf *HEC* I, ix, and frequently in his contribution to the discussion "Christ the hope of the world" (see f.n. 12, below). It may be worth recalling the sharp words of one of his contemporaries: "The Christian faith has just as little to do with the influence of Jesus on the history of the world as it has to do with his historical personality." E. Brunner, *The Mediator*, London: Lutterworth, 1934, 81.

12

See the discussion Kenneth Scott Latourette, Reinhold Niebuhr, and F E Stoeffler "Christ the hope of the world. What has history to say?", *Religion in Life* 23 (3) 1954, 323-351. Latourette's contribution occupies pp 323-333, Niebuhr's 334-340.

13

*HEC* VII, 417f.

14

E. A. Payne, "The modern expansion of the Church: some reflections on Dr. Latourette's conclusions", *Journal of Theological Studies* 47 (2) 1946, 143-155. Lest a wrong impression be given of this perceptive and prescient article, another of its comments on perspective may be cited. Latourette may appear to a European, Payne says, a product of American optimism. But might not a work on the same topic by a European scholar appear to American readers a characteristic product of European pessimism?

15

David Barrett, *World Christian Encyclopedia. A comparative study of churches and religions in the modern world, AD 1900-2000.* Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1982.

16

*The Missionary Register for MDCCCXX*, 309.

17.

Tui appears intermittently in Marsden's New Zealand journals; cf John Ranson Elder (ed) *The Letters and Journal of Samuel Marsden 1765-1838*, Dunedin: for Otago University

Council, 1932. On his later career cf Harrison M Wright, *New Zealand 1769-1840: early years of Western Contact*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959.

18

*HEC* VII, 469-473.

19

John 3:7

20

*HEC* VII, 418.

21

1 Corinthians 15:3ff

22

Colossians 3:15. Other interpretations of this passage have been suggested, but this seems the natural sense, and is excellently supported. A recent discussion is Roy Yates, "Christ triumphant," *New Testament Studies* 37, 1991, 573-579. I am grateful to my colleague Professor J. C. O'Neill for this reference.

23

The interpretation of the New Zealand story followed here owes much to Harrison M. Wright (see footnote 12). For other versions cf, e.g. J. M. R. Owens, *Prophets in the Wilderness. The Wesleyan Mission to New Zealand 1819-27* Auckland University Press 1974, and his essay in Christopher Nichol and James Veitch (eds) *Religion in New Zealand* Wellington: Victoria University, 1980, 5-52; and Allan K. Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa*, Wellington: New Zealand Education for Ministry Board, 1991.

24

The writer is Henry Williams, leader of the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, who left extensive journals.

25

This is not, of course, the end of the story of the Maori and Christianity. Some of the chapters to follow were very distressing - but we cannot pursue them here.

26

*The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness, extracted from the books of the New Testament ascribed to the Four Evangelists*. First London edn 1824, 2nd edn 1834.

The first Indian edition was published anonymously in 1820.

27

E. Stanley Jones, *Mahatma Gandhi: an interpretation*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1948, 102. The missionary involvement in the *sati* controversy, without reference to Roy, is discussed by Kenneth Ingham, *Reformers in India 1793-1833*, Cambridge University Press, 1956, chapter 3.

28

*HEC* VII, 505.