

William Carey's famous 'Enquiry' (1792) changed mission history, and he is considered the „Father of Protestant missions“. Even though his life and work has been the topic of many books and articles, a study on his theology is the missing link of mission research. Dr. Schirmacher, mission activist, historian and professor of missions, studies Carey's theological motivation. He recovers the real change in theology, that made world mission possible.



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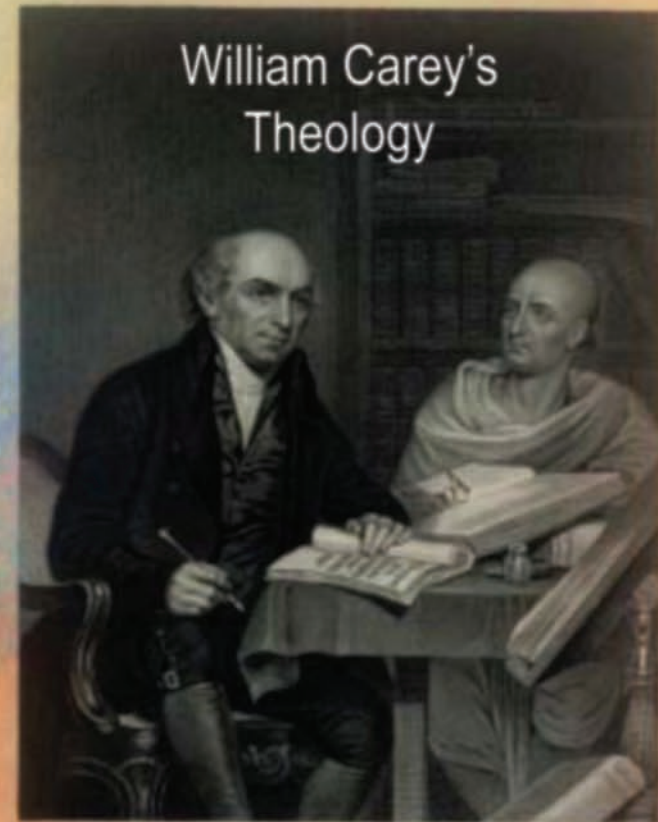
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William Carey's Theology

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1. Carey's Theology – the 'Missing Link'

Almost nothing about Carey's theology

William Carey is considered the “Father of Protestant missions”¹. His book, “An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens”², written in 1792, was the beginning of the so-called ‘Great Century’³ (1792-1914) between the French and the Russian Revolutions. For the centennial anniversary, none lesser than the mentor of German missiology, Gustav Warneck, wrote, “Thus, the year 1792 may be considered the true birth date of modern missions.”⁴ Less than twenty days after the publication of the “Enquiry”, Carey preached his sermon on Isaiah 54:2-3 and began to disseminate it with a clear appeal for missions to his fellow pastors,⁵ which soon led to the foundation of the mission society “The Particular Baptist Mission”. The first mission society

¹. Ralph D. Winter, Steven C. Hawthorne, ed., *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1981), p. 227-228. E. Daniels Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837: The History of Serampore and its Missions* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1967) p. 5, criticizes this view.

². Edition used: William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens* (London: The Carey Kingsgate Press, 1961).

³. Charles L. Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America* (South Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1976) p. xi.

⁴. Gustav Warneck, “Zum Jubiläumsjahr der evangelischen Mission”, *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* 19 (1892) pp. 3-4. Warneck mentions Carey’s predecessors, but considers their efforts private attempts, while Carey initiated the systematic spread of the Evangelical faith. In Serampore, Carey and his team took over the work of the Herrnhuter missionaries, Schmidt and Grassmann, who had begun their work in 1777. Schmidt died twelve years later, the station was closed in 1787, and Grassmann returned to Europe in 1792; from A. Schillbach, “William Carey: Eine Jubiläumserinnerung”, *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft* 7 (1892) pp. 175-183, 219-227, and 8 (1893) pp. 29-38). For a thorough comparison of the two positions, see Aalbertinus Hermen Oussoren, *William Carey, Especially his Missionary Principles* (Diss.: Freie Universität Amsterdam), (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1945), pp. 219-269.

⁵. Mary Drewery, *William Carey* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979) p. 39. James R. Beck, *Dorothy Cary: A Biography* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979) p. 65-66. Gustav Warneck, “Zum Jubiläumsjahr der evangelischen Mission”, op. cit., p. 3.

without state supervision was founded on different lines than the Anglo-Saxon honor societies.⁶

Much has been written about Carey and his colleagues, their mission field in Serampore, as well as their achievements in printing, Bible translation, teaching and in many other areas.

Strangely enough, however, in his numerous⁷ biographies⁸ little attention has been paid to his theology, as expressed in his major work, not even in Bruce J. Nichols' article "The Theology of William Carey"⁹. (The only exception I know of is Iain Murray's study, *The Puritan Hope*).¹⁰ This failure, probably, is due to the fact that Carey's theology differs from that

⁶. R. Pierce Beaver, *All Love Excelling: American Protestant Women in World Mission* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1968) p. 15-17.

⁷. See Ernest A. Payne, "Carey and his Biographers," *The Baptist Quarterly* 19 (1961) p. 4-12, for a survey of older biographies.

⁸. Works with notes and documentation: Mary Drewery, *William Carey*, op. cit.; James R. Beck, op. cit.; Works without documentation: Frank Deauville Walker, *William Carey* (1925, repr. Chicago: Moody Press, 1980); Kellsye Finnie, *William Carey*, (Carlisle, G. B.: OM Publ, and Didcot., G. B.: Baptist Missionary Society, 1992); Basil Miller, *William Carey: The Father of Modern Missions*, (Minneapolis: Bethany House, n. d.), Original title published as *William Carey: Cobbler to Missionary*, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1952); S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey*, original from 1923/1934 ed. by Peter Masters (London: The Wakeman Trust, 1993), German ed.: S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey: Der Vater der modernen Mission*, (Bielefeld: CLV, 1998). See also more the specific, documented studies by A. Christopher Smith, "William Carey", *Mission Legacies: Biographical Studies of Leaders of the Modern Missionary Movement*, ed. Gerald H. Anderson American Society of Missiology Series 19 (Maryknoll, N. Y.: Orbis Books, 1994) [reprint of A. Christopher Smith, "The Legacy of William Carey", *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 16 (1992) pp. 2-8]; A. Christopher Smith, "Myth and Missiology: A Methodological Approach to Pre-Victorian Mission of the Serampore Trio", *International Review of Mission* 83 (1994) pp. 451-475; and A. Christopher Smith, "The Edinburgh Connection: Between the Serampore Mission and Western Missiology", *Missiology: An International Review* 18 (1990) pp. 185-209.

⁹. Bruce J. Nichols. "The Theology of William Carey". pp. 114-126, J. T. K. Daniel, Roder E. Hedlund ed., *Carey's Obligation and Indian Renaissance* (Serampore, India: Council of Serampore College, 1993)

¹⁰. Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope: Revival and the Interpretation of Prophecy* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1971) pp. 138-147. One should also mention Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society 1792-1992* (Edinburgh: T & T. Clark, 1992) pp. 36-57, even though Stanley is dealing with the views of all members of the Serampore-Trio. Stanley's view is, that the work in Serampore rested especially on belief in the sovereignty of God and on the plan to plant indigenous churches under indigenous leadership.

of presently predominant, Post-Classical mission societies, which happily claim him as their father, although he was a Calvinist and a Postmillennialist.¹¹ Even the two dissertations discussing his achievements¹² ignore large areas of his theology. Neither mention his eschatological views, which played a major role in his decisions. The best description –actually a biography of his first wife¹³ – mentions his personal optimism in the chapter on “Attitudes Towards the Future”,¹⁴ but not his optimistic perspective on world missions, which he derived from his Postmillennial theology.

German¹⁵ speaking theologians have shown little interest¹⁶ in Carey's “Enquiry” although Protestant mission societies continually refer to his

¹¹. J. A. de Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea: Millennial Expectations in the Rise of Anglo-American Missions 1640-1810* (Kampen: J. H. Kok., 1970) p. 176-181. W. Bieder, “William Carey 1761-1834”, *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin* 105 (1961) pp. 153-173, here pp. 172-173. Bieder holds Carey for an example for all “Reformed Christians” (p. 172).

¹². Aalbertinus Hermen Oussoren, *William Carey, Especially his Missionary Principles*, op. cit., includes excellent historical discussion of his life pp. 19-121.; E. Daniels Potts. *British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837: The History of Serampore and its Missions*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1967), contains the most thorough work on Carey and the work of his team in India.

¹³. James R. Beck, op. cit. This work rises above the usual prejudices against Carey's marriage to an uneducated woman, for which one might find the following example: W. Bieder, “William Carey 1761-1834”, op. cit., pp. 153-173. After the death of his first wife, Carey was happily married for 13 years (1807-1821) with the linguistically gifted Danin Charlotte Rumohr. His third wife, Grace Hughes, survived him. Both these marriages are little known. See also A. Christopher Smith, “William Carey”, op. cit., p. 248.

¹⁴. James R. Beck, op. cit., p. 130.

¹⁵. Here I would like to recommend the Swedish articles in SMT: “Arvet efter William Carey”; *Svensk Missionstidskrift* 80 (1/1992) p. 6-23. They include a Swedish translation of the “Enquiry” (without the graphs) as well as the following articles; Göran Janzon, “Introduktion: William Carey och Hans Berömda ‘Undersökning’”, p. 1-5; Torsten Bergsten, “William Carey och Serampore-Missionen”, p. 24-38; Ulla Sandgren, “William Carey och Bibeln Till Indiens Folk”, p. 39-46. None of these pieces, however, deal with Carey's eschatology.

¹⁶. E. Wallroth, “William Carey”, *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* 14 (1887) pp. 97-123; Johann Schmidt, “Carlote Emilia von Rumohr und William Carey: Ein früher Beitrag Schleswig-Holsteins zur Mission in Indien”, *Schriften des Vereins für Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchengeschichte* II, Reihe Beiträge und Mitteilungen 28, (1972), pp. 38-51; W. Bieder, “William Carey 1761-1834”, op. cit., which on page 154, Note 1, lists older texts in the Baseler Missionsbibliothek on Carey. Most are inspirational texts, predominantly in German. Some of the best inspirational biographies in German are G. Schott, *William Carey, der Vater der gegenwärtigen Missionsbewegung*, Missi-

German¹⁷ speaking theologians have shown little interest¹⁸ in Carey's "Enquiry" although Protestant mission societies continually refer to his work as the origin of their own.¹⁹ The German edition, which identified the geographical details for the first time,²⁰ did not appear until 1993.²¹ In 1987, the first German biography of Carey was published.²² A work, which,

onsschriften 164 (Barmen: Verlag des Rheinischen Missionshauses, 1915) (English original unknown) and B. Schmidt, *William Carey, der Missionspionier in Indien* (Kassel: J. G. Oncken, 1922).

¹⁷. Here I would like to recommend the Swedish articles in SMT: "Arvet efter William Carey"; *Svensk Missionstidskrift* 80 (1/1992) p. 6-23. They include a Swedish translation of the "Enquiry" (without the graphs) as well as the following articles; Göran Janzon, "Introduktion: William Carey och Hans Berömnda 'Undersökning'", p. 1-5; Torsten Bergsten, "William Carey och Serampore-Missionen", p. 24-38; Ulla Sandgren, "William Carey och Bibeln Till Indiens Folk", p. 39-46. None of these pieces, however, deal with Carey's eschatology.

¹⁸. E. Wallroth, "William Carey", *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* 14 (1887) pp. 97-123; Johann Schmidt, "Carlotte Emilia von Rumohr und William Carey: Ein früher Beitrag Schleswig-Holsteins zur Mission in Indien", *Schriften des Vereins für Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchengeschichte* II, Reihe Beiträge und Mitteilungen 28, (1972), pp. 38-51; W. Bieder, "William Carey 1761-1834", op. cit., which on page 154, Note 1, lists older texts in the Baseler Missionsbibliothek on Carey. Most are inspirational texts, predominantly in German. Some of the best inspirational biographies in German are G. Schott, *William Carey, der Vater der gegenwärtigen Missionsbewegung*, Missionschriften 164 (Barmen: Verlag des Rheinischen Missionshauses, 1915) (English original unknown) and B. Schmidt, *William Carey, der Missionspionier in Indien* (Kassel: J. G. Oncken, 1922).

¹⁹. Particularly on the occasion of the centennial of his major work. See: A. Schillbach, op. cit., and A. Schillbach, "William Carey als Bahnbrecher der evangelischen Mission", *Evangelisches Missions Magazin* (1892) pp. 129-141, 177-186, 240-250 (p. 130 on the importance of the jubilee). This last includes a good bibliography. See also Gustav Warneck, "Zum Jubiläumsjahr der evangelischen Mission", op. cit.

²⁰. In the German text and in an English appendix.

²¹. William Carey, *Eine Untersuchung über die Verpflichtung der Christen, Mittel einzusetzen für die Bekehrung der Heiden*, edition afem – mission classics 1, ed. and translated by Klaus Fiedler and Thomas Schirmacher (Bonn: Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft, 1993). The first excerpt of the "Enquiry" in German appeared in Werner Raupp, *Mission in Quellentexten: Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelischen Mission von der Reformation bis zur Weltmissionskonferenz 1910* (Bad Liebenzell, Germany: Verlag der Liebenzeller Mission; und Erlangen, Germany: Verlag der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Mission, 1990) p. 231-235. (Good bibliography on page 235).

²². Harald Schilling, "Der geistige und geistliche Werdegang William Careys bis zu seiner Veröffentlichung der Enquiry im Jahr 1782", *Fundierte Theologische Abhandlungen* Nr. 5 (Wuppertal, Germany: Verlag der Evangelischen Gesellschaft für Deutschland, 1987) pp. 77-92.

however, only described his life up to the publication of the “Enquiry” and has little to say about his theology.

This fact is even more surprising, for Carey was not a pioneer missionary who, due to conditions, left no material for posterity. A. Christopher Smith writes, “He was much more of a mission motivator and Bible translator than a pioneer in the heart of India – or a mission strategist.”²³

The significance of Carey’s work lies not in the 420 converts²⁴ in Serampore. As a settled and thorough designer, Carey left many texts describing his thought and his theology.²⁵

Smith attempts to liberate Carey from false renown by referring to the achievements of his colleagues, William Ward and Joshua Marshman,²⁶ but goes too far; in my opinion. Carey’s work not only consisted of the main ideas behind the “Enquiry” and the ‘Baptist Mission’ but also most of the task of translation. Besides, Carey’s team, particularly the ‘Serampore trio’, Carey, Marshman and Ward, have always been properly esteemed, especially after the publication of John Clark Marshman’s *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward* in 1859.²⁷ “Carey was a man of team-work,”²⁸ writes W. Bieder, who advises the modern missionary:

“He can learn from Carey, that it is quite possible to work for twenty three years under difficult conditions – together rather than against each other.”²⁹

Even E. Daniel Potts, who has best analyzed and honored the significance of the teamwork in Serampore, emphasizes Carey as the driving force behind the work.³⁰

²³. A. Christopher Smith, “William Carey”, op. cit., p. 249.

²⁴. According to A. Schillbach, “William Carey als Bahnbrecher der evangelischen Mission”, op. cit., p. 245, for the time until 1818.

²⁵. John Clark Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward, Embracing the History of the Serampore Mission* (London: Longman, 1859). (Volume 1 up to 1812, Volume 2 1813 to Marshman’s death in 1837). See also John Clark Marshman, ed., *William Carey, Letters, Official and Private* (London: 1828).

²⁶. A. Christopher Smith, “William Carey”, op. cit., p. 246.

²⁷. John Clark Marshman, *The Life and Times of William Carey*, op. cit.

²⁸. W. Bieder. “William Carey 1761-1834”, op. cit., p. 165.

²⁹. Ibid., p. 172.

³⁰. E. Daniels Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837*, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

2.1 Postmillennialism and Missions

Classical and Post – Classical Missions and Eschatology

Klaus Fiedler has suggested a good classification of Protestant mission societies.³¹ “Classical” mission societies are denominational organizations that usually originate from the Reformed tradition. They began with Carey’s ‘Baptist Mission Society’ in 1792. “Post-Classical” missions are those of the Brethren, including the so-called free missionaries, the faith missions, which, Fiedler believes, originated with Hudson Taylor (and include most modern Evangelical mission boards), and Pentecostal mission societies (movements listed in chronological order of origin). Classical mission societies arose during the first and second Great Revivals (Pietism), the Post-Classical faith missions during the third Revival (the so-called Sanctification movement).

The difference between modern ‘evangelical’ missions and modern ‘ecumenical’ missions is a century old. ‘Ecumenical’ missions are Classical, Reformed missions which have become liberal. Faith missions are those that differ from the Reformed theology of the Classical mission societies on various points and with varying intensity.

Eschatology is a clear example. The Classical churches tend to be A- or Postmillennial, while the Post-Classical mission boards are generally Dispensationalist or Premillennial.

Eschatology, Missions and Postmillennialism

Already in the beginning of this century, Theodor Oehler, director of the Basler Mission, observed, just as Gustav Warneck had done:

³¹. Klaus Fiedler, *Ganz auf Vertrauen: Geschichte und Kirchenverständnis der Glaubensmissionen* TVG (Giessen, Germany: Brunnen, 1992) pp. 12-53; Klaus Fiedler, “Der deutsche Beitrag zu den interdenominationellen Missionen”, in *Bilanz und Plan: Mission an der Schwelle zum Dritten Jahrtausend Festschrift George W. Peters*, Evangelische Missionslehre, Vol. C2, ed. Hans Kasdorf and Klaus W. Müller (Bad Liebenzell, Germany: VLM, 1988). See also Thomas Schirmacher, “Hans Kasdorf/Klaus W. Müller (Hg.) Bilanz und Plan ...“ *Jahrbuch Mission* 21 (1989) pp. 190-192; Klaus Fiedler, “125 Glaubensmissionen: Die Anfänge”, *Evangelikale Missiologie* 5 (1989) 2, pp. 19-25; Klaus Fiedler, “Die Bedeutung der Einzigartigkeit Jesu Christi für die Theologie der Glaubensmissionen” in *Die Einzigartigkeit Jesu Christi*, ed. Rolf Hille and Eberhard Troeger (Wuppertal, Germany: Brockhaus, 1993)

“... there is an undeniable connection between missions and the Christian hope for the future: ‘We will soon discover that missionary attitudes will be suppressed by a certain view of the future, which will dampen earnest motivation for missionary activity’.”³²

“Expectations on the future of God’s Kingdom have not always moved in the same direction as missions, which have not served to vitalize them.”³³

Out of three most common eschatologies, Pre-, A- and Postmillennialism,³⁴ the latter has more often been the champion of increasing missionary fervor.

R. G. Clouse defines the role of Postmillennialism fittingly:

“In contrast to premillennialists, postmillennialists emphasize the present aspects of God’s kingdom which will reach fruition in the future. They believe that the millennium will come through Christian preaching and teaching. Such activity will result in a more godly, peaceful, and prosperous world. The new age will not be essentially different from the present, and it will come about as more people are converted to Christ.”³⁵

One of the best-known Reformed³⁶ Postmillennialists, Loraine Boettner, defines Postmillennialism in his standard work, *The Millennium*,³⁷ as following:

“Postmillennialists believe that the Kingdom of God will be realized in the present age by the preaching of the Gospel and by the saving influence of the

³². Theodor Oehler, *Die Mission und die Zukunft des Reiches Gottes*, Basler Missionsstudien (Basel: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1902) p. 40.

³³. Ibid., p. 1. He mentions Luther and Johann Tobias Beck as examples. See below.

³⁴. See Thomas Schirmacher, *Der Römerbrief* Vol. 2 (Neuhausen, Germany: Hänssler Verlag, 1994) pp. 161-191; and Thomas Schirmacher, *Er wird regieren (Off 11,15); Gegenüberstellung von sechs Endzeitmodellen*, (Set of 8 cassette tapes with graph) (Bonn: Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft, 1994) for a survey of the 6 major eschatological views.

³⁵. R. G. Clouse, “Millennium, Views of the”, *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, ed. Walter A. Elwell (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1984) p. 715.

³⁶. Loraine Boettner, *The Reformed Doctrine of Predestination* (1932, repr. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1987); Loraine Boettner, *The Reformed Faith* (Phillipsburg, N. J.: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1983).

³⁷. Loraine Boettner, *The Millennium* (1957, repr. Phillipsburg, N. J.: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1984). Compare Loraine Boettner. “Die Sicht des Postmillennialismus”. in: Robert G. Clouse ed., *Das Tausendjährige Reich: 4 Beiträge aus evangelikaler Sicht*, (Marburg: Edition C. Verlag der Francke-Buchhandlung, 1983) pp. 95-115 (and 39-46, 79-86, 159-166) [engl. original: Loraine Boettner, “The View of Postmillennialism”, *The Meaning of the Millennium*, ed. Robert Clouse (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1977)].

Holy Spirit in the hearts of individuals, and that at an unknown time in the future, the whole world will be Christianized. They also believe that Christ will return at the end of the so-called Millennium, an epoch of unknown length, marked by justice and peace ... The Millennium, according to the Postmillennialist view, is a Golden Age at the end of the present dispensation, the Age of the Church.”³⁸

Boettner does not believe that, “there will ever be a time on earth in which all living men will be converted or when all sin will be eliminated.”³⁹

However, evil will be reduced to a minimum, and Christian principles will no longer be the exception, but the rule.⁴⁰ Boettner sees this achievement as the fulfillment of the Great Commission.⁴¹

Postmillennialism and Missions

Theologians generally ignore the origins of modern evangelical world missions in the middle of the sixteenth century. Calvinist, mostly Puritan pastors, who had immigrated to America from England, preached the Gospel to the Indians.⁴² Postmillennialism was the mother of Anglo-Saxon missions, as many dissertations⁴³ and other studies⁴⁴ have shown.⁴⁵ This is

³⁸. Loraine Boettner, “Die Sicht des Postmillennialismus”, op. cit., p. 95 (retranslated from the German); similar Loraine Boettner, *The Millennium*, op. cit., pp. 4 (and 14).

³⁹. Loraine Boettner, “Die Sicht des Postmillennialismus”, op. cit., p. 95 (retranslated from the German).

⁴⁰. Ibid.

⁴¹. Ibid., pp. 96, 160-161.

⁴². R. Pierce Beaver ed., *Pioneers in Missions: ... A Source Book on the Rise of the American Missions to the Heathen* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1966) pp. 11-15.

⁴³. J. A. de Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, op. cit.; Charles L. Chaney, op. cit.; Peter Kawerau, *Amerika und die orientalischen Kirchen: Ursprung und Anfang der amerikanischen Mission und den Nationalkirchen Westasiens*, *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte* Vol 31 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1958); Johannes van den Berg, *Constrained by Jesus Love: An Inquiry into the Motives of the Missionary Awakening in Great Britain in the Period between 1698 and 1815* (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1956); Sidney H. Rooy, *The Theology of Missions in the Puritan Tradition: A Study of Representative Puritans: Richard Sibbes, Richard Baxter, John Eliot, Cotton Mather, and Jonathan Edwards* (Delft, Netherlands: W. D. Meinema, 1965). (On Postmillennialism, particularly the section on Richard Sibbes, pp. 56-58 and 325-326.

⁴⁴. The standard work is Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, op. cit. See also, Norman Pettit, “Editor’s Introduction”, pp. 1-83 in Jonathan Edwards, *The Life of David Brainerd* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1985) pp. 24-70; R. Pierce Beaver, “Missionary Motivation Before the Revolution”, *Church History* 31 (1962)

true for Calvinists (Anglicans, Presbyterians and Congregationalists) as well as for Calvinist Baptists such as William Carey.

“The eighteenth century was the great age of Postmillennialism, which played a major role in the development of missionary thought.”⁴⁶

“The Postmillennialism of the eighteenth century played an important role in the development of Anglo-America missions. In the light of chiliastic expectations, British and American revival movements were considered the first signs of a great wave soon to engulf the whole world. Not only Edwards, but also English (Isaac Watts, Philipp Doddridge) and Scottish (John Willision, John Erskine) theologians related Postmillennial eschatology with revival and with the missionary idea – a combination which gave rise to the growth of organized missionary activity at the end of the century. Carey, for example, was strongly influenced by the Postmillennial view of a universal Kingdom of God.”⁴⁷

The close relationship between Postmillennialism and missions goes back past the Reformed Puritans of America and England to the Reformation.⁴⁸ Greg L. Bahnsen mentions the Reformed⁴⁹ Postmillennialists, John

pp. 216-226 (including bibliography): R. Pierce Beaver, ed., *Pioneers in Missions*, op. cit.; Peter Toon, ed., *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel: Puritan Eschatology 1600 to 1660* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1970).

⁴⁵. Charles Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, op. cit, summarizes, “The roots of mission is in the eschatological orientation of the settlement of New England ...”, p. ix.

⁴⁶. Richard J. Bauckham, “Millennium”, *New Dictionary of Theology*, ed. Sinclair B. Ferguson, David F. Wright and James I. Packer (Leicester, G. B. and Downers Grove, Ill.: Inter-Varsity Press, 1989) p. 429 (retranslated from the German).

⁴⁷. Richard J. Bauckham, “Chiliasmus IV. Reformation und Neuzeit”, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Vol. 7, ed. Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1981) p. 741.

⁴⁸. Allen Carden, *Puritan Christianity in America* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1990) p. 94-95, 108-110; Andrew C. Rolls, “Missionary Expansion”, *Encyclopedia of the Reformed Faith*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Louisville, Ky: Westminster/John Knox Press and Edinburg: Saint Andrew Press, 1992), pp. 242-244; Ernst Staehelin, *Die Verkündigung des Reiches Gottes in der Kirche Jesu Christi: Zeugnisse aus allen Jahrhunderten und Konfessionen*, Vol.5, *Von der Mitte des 17. bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt, 1959) pp. 5-7 on Savoy Declaration, pp. 11-17 on John Archer and Thomas Goodwin, pp. 114-146 on John Cotten, John Eliot and Michael Wiggelsworth, p. 211-223 on Spener.

⁴⁹. On the history of Reformed Postmillennialism, see Greg Bahnsen, “The Prima Facie Acceptability of Postmillennialism”, *The Journal of Christian Reconstruction* 3 no 2, (Winter 1976/77): *Symposium on the Millenium*, pp. 48-105, here pp. 68-104; Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, op. cit.; Gary DeMar, Peter J. Leithart, *The Reduction of Christianity: Dave Hunt's Theology of Cultural Surrender*, (Ft. Worth, Tex.: Do-

Calvin,⁵⁰ Ulrich Zwingli, Theodor Bibliander of Zürich, Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr and Theodor Beza⁵¹; the Puritans John Cotten, Samuel Rutherford⁵², John Owen⁵³, and Matthew Henry⁵⁴, the missionaries John Eliot⁵⁵, as well as many other missionaries of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries⁵⁶.

Steve Schlissel has pointed out that, in the past as well as in the present, the Reformed Postmillennialists have believed in the future conversion of the Jews,⁵⁷ basing this idea primarily on Romans 11.⁵⁸ Murray considers Thomas Brightman (1562-1607) as one of the first Puritans who saw the

minion Press & Atlanta, Georg.: American Vision Press, 1988) pp. 229-270; Joseph R. Balyeat, *Babylon: The Great City of Revelation* (Sevierville, Mich.: Onward Press, 1991). pp. 9, 42-43; Gary North ed., *Journal of Christian Reconstruction* 6 (1979) 1 (Summer), *Symposium on Puritanism and Progress*.

⁵⁰. Greg L. Bahnsen, "The Prima Facie Acceptability of Postmillennialism", op. cit., pp. 69-76; cf. the same view on Calvin's eschatology in Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, op. cit., p. 40; Gary North, *Westminster's Confession: The Abandonment of Van Til's Legacy* (Tyler, Texas: Institute for Christian Economics, 1991) pp. 349-356; James Jordan, appendix, "Calvin's Millennial Confession", in John Calvin, *The Covenant Enforced, Sermons on Deuteronomy 27 and 28*, ed. James Jordan (Tyler, Texas: Institute for Christian Economics, 1990), pp. xxvi-xxxvii; Heinrich Quistorp, *Die letzten Dinge im Zeugnis Calvin's: Calvin's Eschatologie* (Gütersloh, Germany: C. Bertelsmann, 1941) p. 113-117.

⁵¹. Greg L. Bansen, "The Prima Facie Acceptability of Postmillennialism", op. cit., p. 76.

⁵². Ibid., pp. 78-79.

⁵³. Ibid., pp. 84-85.

⁵⁴. Ibid., pp. 88.

⁵⁵. Ibid., pp. 83-84.

⁵⁶. Ibid., pp. 94 and more.

⁵⁷. Steve M. Schlissel, "The Reformed Faith and the Jews" in *Hal Lindsey and the Reformation of the Jews*, ed. Steve M. Schlissel and David Brown (St. Edmunton; Canada: Still Waters Revival Books, 1990) pp.17-61; Werner Keller, *Und wurden zerstreut unter alle Völker: Die nachbiblische Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes* (1966, repr. Wuppertal, Germany: R. Brockhaus, 1993) p. 490, discusses the attitude of the American Puritans. Hebrew, along with Greek and Latin, was one of the basic languages taught at Harvard College (later Harvard University) in 1636.

⁵⁸. Steve M. Schlissel, "The Reformed Faith and the Jews", op. cit., pp. 53-58. Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, op. cit., has the most detailed documentation on Reformed and Puritan theologians who believed in the future conversion of Israel. He includes Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Theodor Beza and the writers of the Geneva Bible. (Ibid., p. 41).

conversion of Israel notes the end of the world,⁵⁹ but as the beginning of the Millennium. R. J. Bauckham regards Brightman to be the “first influential exponent” of Postmillennialism.⁶⁰

Postmillennialism is, therefore, primarily a Reformed interest. Hans Schwarz writes:

“The Reformed tradition has often demonstrated greater closeness and support of the Postmillennial view than of other interpretations of history. To the most part, this is due to the Reformed emphasis on God’s sovereignty and on the faith that Christ is Lord over all human life. They are also convinced that the Holy Spirit empowers the Christian fellowship to achieve the thorough dissemination of the world with the Gospel and the change of culture and society according to the Spirit and the will of Christ.”⁶¹

For him, as well as for Gary DeMar,⁶² Postmillennialism is an optimistic variation on Amillennialism.⁶³ E. L. Hebden Taylor writes, “The Reformed faith of the Bible is future oriented.”⁶⁴ Richard Bauckham, apparently an opponent of Chiliasm, still assumes that Postmillennialism was more suited to the Reformation.⁶⁵

Therefore, it is not surprising, that Postmillennialism has been taught only in Reformed Confessions. Early Postmillennial overtones can be heard in Calvin’s notes on the second petition of the Lord’s Prayer in his Catechism of Geneva:

“268. What do you understand under the ‘Kingdom of God’ in the second petition? It consists basically of two things: the leadership of His own through His Spirit and, in contrast to that, in the confusion and the destruction of the lost, who refuse to submit to His rule. In the end, it will be clear, that there is no power which can resist His power.

269. How do you pray for the coming of this Kingdom? May the Lord increase the number of His believers from day to day, may he daily pour His gifts of grace upon them, until He has filled them completely; may He let His

⁵⁹. Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, op. cit., p. 45

⁶⁰. Richard J. Bauckham, “Millennium,” op. cit., p. 429.

⁶¹. Hans Schwarz, *Jenseits von Utopie und Resignation: Einführung in die christliche Eschatologie* (Wuppertal, Germany: R. Brockhaus, 1991) p. 205.

⁶². Gary DeMar and Peter J. Leithart, *The Reduction of Christianity: Dave Hunt’s Theology of Cultural Surrender* (Fort Worth, Texas: Dominion Press, and Atlanta: American Vision Press, 1988) p. 41.

⁶³. Hans Schwarz, *Jenseits von Utopie und Resignation*, op. cit., p. 206.

⁶⁴. E. L. Hebden Taylor, *Economics, Money and Banking* (Nutley, N. J.: The Craige Press, 1978) p. 151.

⁶⁵. Richard J. Bauckham, “Chiliasmus IV. Reformation und Neuzeit”, op. cit., p. 739.

truth burn more brightly, may He reveal His justice, which shall confuse Satan and the darkness of His kingdom and obliterate and destroy all unrighteousness.

270. Does this not happen today already? Yes, in part. But we wish that it might continually grow and progress until it reaches completion on the Day of Judgment, on which God alone will rule in the high places and all creatures will bow before His greatness; He will be all in all. (1 Cor. 15:28)⁶⁶

Charles L. Chaney sees Calvin's view of the progress of the Kingdom of God⁶⁷ in his eschatology⁶⁸ and belief in the personal responsibility of the individual Christian towards God's Word⁶⁹, the roots of the Calvinists' later missionary fervor.

The Great Catechism of Westminster expresses a similar view in the notes of the second petition of the Lord's Prayer:

“What do we pray for in the second petition? Answer: In the second petition (which is, Thy kingdom come), acknowledging ourselves and all mankind to be by nature under the dominion of sin and Satan, we pray, that the kingdom of Satan may be destroyed, the gospel propagated throughout the world, the Jews called, the fullness of the Gentiles brought in; the church furnished with all gospel officers and ordinances, purged from corruption, countenanced and maintained by the civil magistrate: that the ordinances of Christ may be purely dispensed, and made effectual to the converting of those that are yet in their sin, and the conforming, comforting and building up of those that already converted; that Christ would rule in our hearts here, and hasten the time of His second coming, and our reigning with Him forever and that He would be pleased so to exercise the kingdom of His power in all the world, as may best conduce to these ends.”⁷⁰

The Savoy Declaration of 1658, Article 26.5, also adopted by the American Congregationalists in 1680 and 1708, adds a note which expresses Postmillennial views more clearly:⁷¹

⁶⁶. Paul Jacobs, ed., *Reformierte Bekenntnisschriften und Kirchenordnungen in deutscher Übersetzung* (Neukirchen, Germany: Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins, 1949) p. 49.

⁶⁷. Charles L. Chaney, “The Missionary Dynamic in the Theology of John Calvin,” *Reformed Review* 17 (Holland: 1964) pp. 24-38.

⁶⁸. *Ibid.*, p. 34-37.

⁶⁹. *Ibid.*, p. 29-33.

⁷⁰. James E. Bordwine, *A Guide to The Westminster Standards: Confession of Faith and Larger Catechism* (Jefferson, Md: The Trinity Foundation, 1991) p. 353-354.

⁷¹. See Ernst Staehelin, *Die Verkündigung des Reiches Gottes in der Kirche Jesu Christi*, op. cit., p. 5-7. See also Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, op. cit., p. 53.

“As the LORD is in care and love for his Church, hath in his infinite wise providence exercised it with great variety in all ages, for the good of them that love him, and his own glory; so according to his promise, we expect that in the latter days, Antichrist will be destroyed, the Jews called, the adversaries of the kingdom of his dear Son broken, the churches of Christ being enlarged and edified through a free and plentiful communication of light and grace shall enjoy in this world a more quiet, peaceable, and glorious condition than they have enjoyed.”⁷²

C. C. Geon considers this as the “first creedal statement by any confessional group to embody definite millennial presuppositions.”⁷³

Iain Murray

Iain Murray has further demonstrated that the notable missionaries and mission leaders, Alexander Duff,⁷⁴ David Livingstone⁷⁵, Henry Martyn⁷⁶ and Henry Venn⁷⁷, were Calvinists and Postmillennialists. Murray notes that Postmillennial expectations can be heard in the addresses accompanying the founding of the London Missionary Society in 1795, the New York Missionary Society 1797 and the Glasgow Missionary Society in 1802. The same view influenced the Church Missionary Society in 1799.⁷⁸ The London Missionary Society, an Anglican equivalent of Carey’s Baptist mission, expresses Calvinistic Postmillennialism in all its documents.⁷⁹

Charles L. Chaney, in a study of the early American Protestant mission boards, writes, “Not a single sermon or mission report can be discovered that does not stress eschatological considerations.”⁸⁰

⁷². Philipp Schaff, David S. Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom: With a History and Critical Notes*, Vol. 3 *The Evangelical Protestant Creeds* (1931, repr. Grand Rapids, Md: Baker Book House, 1990), 723.

⁷³. C. C. Goen, “Jonathan Edwards: A New Departure in Eschatology”, *Church History* 28 (1959) pp. 25-40.

⁷⁴. Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, op. cit., pp. 165-171, 174-175 (Soteriology). p. 181 (Eschatology).

⁷⁵. Ibid., pp. 172-174 (Soteriology). pp. 181-183 (Eschatology).

⁷⁶. Ibid., pp. 153-154.

⁷⁷. Ibid., p. 153

⁷⁸. Ibid., pp. 153

⁷⁹. Ibid., pp. 146-149.

⁸⁰. Charles L. Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, op. cit., p. 269.

The early Protestant Mission Boards

All were Calvinist (Puritan, Anglican-Evangelical or Particular Baptist)

1649 The New England Company (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England)

as of 1732 Supported by Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian

Knowledge (founded 1701)

1762 Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge among the Indians in North America (did not last)

1787 Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among Indians and Others in North America

1787 Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen

1792 (Particular) Baptist Missionary Society

1795 London Missionary Society

1799 Church Missionary Society

since 1796 many American mission boards

The Postmillennialism of Spener, Francke and the Pietist Mission Work

None less than the ‘Father’ of German missiology, Gustav Warneck, considering the influence of eschatology on Reformed mission work, has also discovered that Lutheran eschatology hindered missions up to the rise of Pietism.⁸¹ Luther believed that the world was soon to end⁸² and that the apostles had already fulfilled the Great Commission.⁸³ Christianity waited for Christ’s return, but “expects nothing from this earth.”⁸⁴ This is true for Lutheran theology in general, as Helmuth Egelkraut has observed, “The

⁸¹. Gustav Warneck, *Abriß einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart* (Berlin: Martin Warneck, 1899) p. 10-18. See also: Helmut Eglkraut, *Die Zukunftserwartung der pietistischen Väter*, *Theologie und Dienst* 53 (Giessen: Brunnen Verlag, 1987) p. 11.

⁸². Julius Köstlin, *Luthers Theologie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und ihrem inneren Zusammenhange dargestellt*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf, 1901²) pp. 335-340

⁸³. See Norman E. Thomas, ed., *Classic Texts in Mission and World Christianity, American Society of Missiology Series* 20 (Maryknoll, N. Y.: Orbis Books, 1995) pp. 33-35. This is also true of the Lutheran missiologist, Philipp Nicolai (1556-1608), see *Ibid.*, pp. 43-46.

⁸⁴. Helmuth Egelkraut, *Die Zukunftserwartungen der pietistischen Väter*, *Theologie und Dienst* 53. Brunnen Verlag: Giessen, 1987) p. 11, describing Luthers eschatology.

nearness of the end of the world is and remains the orthodox conviction, which is not to be shaken.”⁸⁵

The close tie between Postmillennialism, the Reformed doctrine of salvation, and the awakening of Evangelical missionary thought can be observed in the German Evangelical movement as well as in America and England. Also Philipp Jakob Spener (1633-1705), August Hermann Francke (1663-1727)⁸⁶ and other Pietist fathers of missions were Postmillennialists.

Spener, the ‘Father of German Pietism’, was Lutheran and Postmillennialist. Helmuth Egelkraut writes:

“Should one wish to sort Spener into one of the common eschatological systems, one would have to consider him a Postmillennialist. But Spener refuses to set up a closed prophetic system.”⁸⁷

Many see the Reformed influences on Spener’s eschatology (and in his different view of orthodox Lutheranism).⁸⁸ Thus, Carl Hinrichs says: “Pietism in Germany helped the Puritan type to come out.”⁸⁹

Spener’s Postmillennialism inspired the first outbreak of Pietist-Lutheran world missions in the seventeenth century, particularly after the activity of August Hermann Francke, just as Puritan Postmillennialism inspired the beginning of Reformed world missions. “The enthusiasm for missions

⁸⁵. Ibid., p. 14. Will-Erich Peuckert, *Die große Wende: Geistesgeschichte und Volkskunde*, Vol. 2, (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966), pp. 545-555, has shown, that Luther’s eschatological view was based on medieval models.

⁸⁶. Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope.*, pp. 131-132. Murray wrongly adds Bengel, who will be dealt with later.

⁸⁷. Helmuth Egelkraut, *Die Zukunftserwartungen der pietistischen Väter*, op. cit., p. 27. Spener did indeed wish to set up a ‘system’. This does not stand in the way of a classification, for many representatives of the various systems did not define closed systems, and thus never classified themselves under any one school.

⁸⁸. See Wilhelm Goeters, *Die Vorbereitung des Pietismus in der reformierten Kirche der Niederlande bis zur labadistischen Krise 1670* (Leipzig; 1911); summarized by Johannes Wallmann, “Pietismus und Orthodoxie,” *Zur neuen Pietismusforschung, Wege der Forschung* CDXL; ed. Martin Greschat (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977) pp. 53-81, here pp. 53-57.

⁸⁹Carl Hinrichs, “Der Hallischen Pietismus als politisch-soziale Reformbewegung des 18 Jahrhunderts,” *Zur neuen Pietismusforschung, Wege der Forschung* CDXL; ed. Martin Greschat (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977) pp. 243-258, here p. 252.

shown in the early nineteenth century arose from the same eschatological expectations.”⁹⁰

Spener’s “Theological Thoughts” contain a short summary of his eschatological views.

“That Popery and the Roman Babylon will be completely cast down before the end of the world, but that the Jewish people will be again converted through the grace of God, so that the knowledge of God will be gloriously increased, the Christian church transformed into a more holy and glorious condition and that thus the fulfillment of all other divine promises belonging to this time will come to pass, which I believe to be the thousand years of the Revelation of St. John. This doctrine, which is so firmly founded in Scripture, and is in the most part held by not only the ancient, but also our teachers ...”⁹¹

Not only are Spener’s major works, “Pia desideria” (Pious Wishes) and “Theologisches Bedencken” (Theological Thoughts), determined by the expectation of a better future, but also his previous dissertation on Revelations 9:13-21⁹² and his book “The Hope for Better Times in the Future”⁹³ of 1696.

Martin Schmidt has noted that Spener’s Reform program can only be understood on the basis of his eschatological hope.⁹⁴ Johannes Wallman believes that one of Spener’s two major issues is the substitution of the Chiliast expectation of a better future prior to the Second Coming for the Lutheran⁹⁵ Amillennialist expectation of Christ’s immediate return.⁹⁶

⁹⁰. Helmuth Egelkraut, *Die Zukunftserwartungen der pietistischen Väter*, op. cit., p. 43.

⁹¹. Philipp Jakob Spener, *Theologische Bedencken*, 4 Parts in 2 Volumes, Vol. 3, (Halle, Germany: Verlegung des Waysen-Hauses, 1712-1715), pp. 965-966.

⁹². “Behauptung der Hoffnung künftiger Zeiten in Rettung des insgeheim gegen dieselbe unrecht geführten Spruches Luc XVIII vs 8” (1692/3), quoted by Helmuth Egelkraut, *Die Zukunftserwartungen der pietistischen Väter*, op. cit., p. 21.

⁹³“Von der Hoffnung zukünftiger besserer Zeiten”

⁹⁴. Martin Schmidt, “Spener’s ‘Pia Desideria’: Versuch einer theologischen Interpretation,” *Zur neueren Pietismusforschung*, op. cit., p. 113-166. See also Helmuth Egelkraut, *Die Zukunftserwartungen der pietistischen Väter*, op. cit., p. 16.

⁹⁵. Johannes Wallmann, “Vom Katechismuschristentum zum Bibelchristentum”, *Die Zukunft des Schriftprinzips, Bibel im Gespräch 2*, ed. Richard Ziegert (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994) pp. 34-38, 50. Wallmann also shows that whereas Luther held the catechism as essential to all, and substituted it for the Scriptures, Spener emphasized the use of whole Bible in church services and in the family, making the catechism merely a compendium for beginners.

⁹⁶. Johannes Wallmann, “Die Anfänge des Pietismus,” *Jahrbuch der Geschichte des Pietismus* 4 (1979) pp. 11-53; Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus. Die Kirche in ihrer*

“It is evident that Pietism won a new perspective on history, which lent it the scope necessary for that methodical, non-sectarian missionary affectivity, which we see in August Francke or Count Zinzendorf.”⁹⁷

Helmuth Egelkraut writes:

“The new element, the motor which gives its ideas power and drives it forward, is its eschatological center.”⁹⁸

“The time of God’s great deeds is not in the past – as Orthodoxy believes – but in the future.”⁹⁹

“An activity long unknown broke out in German Protestantism.”¹⁰⁰

Erich Beyreuter states, “In his ‘Behauptung der Hoffnung künftiger besserer Zeiten’, Philipp Jacob Spener radically separates himself from the dark historical view of later Orthodoxy.”¹⁰¹

Kurt Aland wants to refute this idea. Rather than Chiliasm, he believes that Spener taught the deferment of Christ’s return by the conversion of the Jews and the fall of the Roman Church.¹⁰² However, Aland fails to recognize that Spener did not believe that Christ would return immediately after these events, but that they would first introduce a period of better days. Wallman is correct when he writes about Spener, “The Scripture teaches a promised Kingdom of Christ on earth prior to the Last Judgment.”¹⁰³ This is a classical definition of Postmillennial doctrine. Martin Greschat and

Geschichte 0/1 (Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990) pp 47-50. Johannes Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie* 42 (Tübingen, Germany: 1986) pp. 307-335); Johannes Wallmann, “Pietismus und Chiliasmus: Zur Kontroverse um Philipp Jakob Speners ‘Hoffnung besserer Zeiten,’ *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 78 (1981) pp. 235-266. See also Dietrich Blaufuß, “Zu Ph. J. Speners Chiliasmus und seinen Kritikern,” *Pietismus und Neuzeit: Ein Jahrbuch zur Geschichte des neueren Protestantismus* 14 (1988); *Chiliasmus in Deutschland und England im 17. Jahrhundert*, pp. 85-108, which, however, does not believe Spener to have been a Chiliast.

⁹⁷. Johannes Wallmann, “Pietismus und Orthodoxie,” op. cit., p. 80.

⁹⁸. Helmuth Egelkraut, *Die Zukunftserwartung der pietistischen Väter*,” op. cit., p. 16.

⁹⁹. Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁰⁰. Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁰¹. Erich Beyreuter, “Evangelische Missionstheologie im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert,” *Evangelische Missions-Zeitschrift* 18 (1961) pp. 1-10, 33-43. (On Spener, see pp. 38-39. On Pietist criticism of Lutheran expectations of the immediate return of Christ, see pp. 39.)

¹⁰². Kurt Aland, “Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus,” *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte des Pietismus* 4 (1979) pp. 155-189.

¹⁰³. Johannes Wallman, *Der Pietismus*, op. cit., p. 49.

Gerhard Maier rightly point out that Spener's hope of a better future is an element completely foreign to Lutheranism, an element which, along with the New Birth, was the leading idea of the new movement.¹⁰⁴ Erich Beyreuter writes:

“Spener surprised his generation with his future expectations, which he had discovered in the New Testament ... He possessed with them the power, not to criticize the Lutheran orthodoxy, but to conquer it as an epoch.”¹⁰⁵

Peter Zimmerling expresses this achievement with the following words,

“This Chiliast-nurtured hope for the future conquered the pessimism of orthodoxy from within.”¹⁰⁶

August Hermann Francke, the second generation leader of Pietism in Germany, shared Spener's views to the most part¹⁰⁷, after Spener had helped him to give up his ‘enthusiastic’ “Chiliast expectations of the immediate return”¹⁰⁸ of Christ common to radical, spiritualist Pietism. Egelkraut writes about Francke:

“The faith in the better days of the future, which Spener had rediscovered, proved to be a world – transforming power. Zinzendorf is also to be found in its magnetic field.”¹⁰⁹

“Spener's vision of the future began to take shape: the mission to the Jews and to the heathen, the ministry to the poor and the dispossessed and that across denominational lines.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴. See Martin Greschat, “Die ‘Hoffnung bessere Zeiten’ für die Kirche,” *Zur neueren Pietismusforschung, Wege der Forschung* CDXL, ed. Martin Greschat (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977) Includes good documentation. Gerhard Maier, *Die Johannesoffenbarung und die Kirche, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 25* (Tübingen, Germany: J. C. B: Mohr, 1981) pp. 354-355 (See pp. 353-366 on Spener's eschatology).

¹⁰⁵. Erich Beyreuter, *Geschichte des Pietismus* (Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf, 1978) p. 95. See also Helmuth Egelkraut, *Die Zukunftserwartung der pietistischen Väter*, op. cit., p. 16-24.

¹⁰⁶. Peter Zimmerling, *Pioniere der Mission im älteren Pietismus, Theologie und Dienst* 47 (Giessen, Germany: Brunnenverlag, 1985) p. 11.

¹⁰⁷. Gerhard Maier, *Die Johannesoffenbarung und die Kirche*, op. cit., pp. 368-370, agrees that Francke's work can only be understood against the background of Spener's influence, but sees a certain extenuation of Spener's views in Francke's opinions.

¹⁰⁸. Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus*, op. cit., p. 68.

¹⁰⁹. Helmut Egelkraut, *Die Zukunftserwartung der pietistischen Väter*, op. cit., p. 31.

¹¹⁰. *Ibid.*, p. 29. See also Carl Hinrichs, “Der Hallische Pietismus als politisch-soziale Reformbewegung des 18 Jahrhunderts,” *Zur neueren Pietismusforschung*, ed. Martin Greschat, op. cit., pp. 243-258; Gerhard Bondi, “Der Beitrag des hallischen Pietismus

And Zimmerling summarizes Francke's pedagogies, which led to the founding of many private Christian schools:

“In his ‘Greater Essay’, Francke develops a thorough program for the raising and education of children, to effect a concrete improvement of the world.”¹¹¹

Egelkraut mentions that Francke communicated frequently with the members of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in London and with Cotton Mather, a Calvinist in Boston,¹¹² thus maintaining contact and communication with Reformed, Postmillennialist mission groups. (Mather was the author of the well-known biography of John Eliot.)¹¹³

Friedhelm Groth has thoroughly traced in detail¹¹⁴ the development of (Postmillennial) Chiliasm propagated by Spener and Francke to the Premillennialism of the Württemberg Pietism, which was closely related to Universalism.¹¹⁵ Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687-1752) was the bond. He assumed two millennia, one in Rev. 20:1-3 and the other in 20:4-6.¹¹⁶ The first of which corresponded to Spener's view, while the other postulated Christ's direct rule and contained all the elements typical of the Premillen-

zur Entwicklung des ökonomischen Denkens in Deutschland,” *Zur neueren Pietismusforschung*, op. cit., pp. 259-293 (particularly pp. 268-269 on the influence of the Pietist work ethic).

¹¹¹. Peter Zimmerling, *Pioniere der Mission im älteren Pietismus*, op. cit., p. 16.

¹¹². Helmut Egelkraut, *Die Zukunftserwartung der pietistischen Väter*, op. cit., p. 29. A. de Jong, *As the Waters that Cover the Sea*, op. cit., discusses the correspondence of 1714 on p. 102-103, 107. According to *Ibid.*, p. 85, Francke became a corresponding member of the S. P. C. K. in 1700.

¹¹³. Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, op. cit., p. 93.

¹¹⁴. Friedhelm Groth, *Die “Wiederbringung aller Dinge” in württembergischen Pietismus, Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus 21* (Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984).

¹¹⁵. See also Gerhard Maier, *Die Johannesoffenbarung und die Kirche*, op. cit., pp. 367-447.

¹¹⁶. Friedhelm Groth, *Die “Wiederbringung aller Dinge” in württembergischen Pietismus*, op. cit., pp. 72-74. See also Gerhard Maier, *Die Johannesoffenbarung und die Kirche*, op. cit., 432 (Maier considers this positive development); Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, op. cit., p. 132, wrongly considers Bengel one of the fathers of Postmillennial Pietism.

nial view and the ‘Restoration of all things’.¹¹⁷ The latter was a view opposite of Spener’s.¹¹⁸

Rufus Anderson

More than others, Rufus Anderson (1796-1880), the American mission leader, embodies the continuing ties between Calvinist Soteriology, Postmillennialism and active world missions a generation after Carey. After leading the oldest and largest American missionary society for decades, he accepted a position as professor of missiology at Andover Theological Seminary, the world’s first chair for missiology.¹¹⁹ The German *Lexikon zur Weltmission* calls him the “most influential figure in American missions”.¹²⁰ R. Pierce Beaver writes, that until the Second World War, all American Protestant missionaries owed at least lip service to Anderson’s goals.¹²¹ He exerted immeasurable influence on important leaders in world missions, such as Roland Allen, Robert E. Speer, John Nevius,¹²² Abraham Kuyper¹²³ and others.

In spite of his emphasis on the importance of the local church, Rufus, a Calvinist and a Congregationalist, taught the importance of evangelizing the heathen, because, as a Postmillennialist, he expected the conversion of whole nations.¹²⁴ R. Pierce Beaver is correct in deriving Rufus’ major mo-

¹¹⁷. Friedhelm Groth, *Die “Wiederbringung aller Dinge” in württembergischen Pietismus*, op. cit., pp. 76-88.

¹¹⁸. See Helmut Egelkraut, *Die Zukunftserwartung der pietistischen Väter*, op. cit., pp. 31-33.

¹¹⁹. Thomas Schirmacher, *Theodor Christlieb und seine Missionstheologie* (Wuppertal, Germany: Verlag der Evangelischen Gesellschaft für Deutschland, 1985) pp. 14-15.

¹²⁰. R. Pierce Beaver, “Rufus Anderson,” *Lexikon zur Weltmission*, ed. Stephen Neill, (Wuppertal/Erlangen, Germany: Brockhaus/Verlag, 1975), p. 27.

¹²¹. R. Pierce Beaver, *To Advance the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Rufus Anderson* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1967), pp. 9-10.

¹²². R. Pierce Beaver, “The Legacy of Rufus Anderson,” *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research* 3 (1979) pp. 94-97, here pp. 96-97.

¹²³. Jan Verkuyl, *Contemporary Mission: An Introduction*, (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1978) pp. 187 on Kuyper and the Netherlands.

¹²⁴. Thomas Schirmacher ed., *Die Zeit für die Bekehrung der Welt ist reif: Rufus Anderson und die Selbständigkeit der Kirche als Ziel der Mission*, Edition afem: mission scripts 3 (Bonn: Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft, 1993) [German selection of works by and on Rufus Anderson]. See particularly, Thomas Schirmacher, “Rufus Anderson und die Selbständigkeit der einheimischen Kirche: Auch ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis Glaubensmissionen und reformatorischen Bekenntnis,” pp. 9-36, and An-

tivation for missions to the greater motive of love of Christ rather than to his Postmillennial expectations¹²⁵. Nevertheless, this was only possible due to the prevailing Postmillennial attitudes in the U.S.A. at the time¹²⁶, naturally shared by Anderson, as demonstrated in two smaller works, "Promised Advent of the Spirit" and "Time for the World's Conversion Come".¹²⁷

Postmillennialism and The Great Commission Today

One of the most quoted verses in the Postmillennialist camp, nowadays as in Carey's time, is the Great Commission in Matthew 28:18-20.¹²⁸ For Postmillennialists this text teaches that evangelization and conversion have to come first, but have to also lead to a change in life-style and society through the keeping of divine Law. Above all, the Postmillennialist interpretation, in contrast to other explanations, sees these verses not only as a commission, but also as prophecy¹²⁹: Jesus' commandment will become reality. This reality is that one day all people will be converted and will keep God's Law. Kenneth L. Gentry, the author of a Postmillennial book about the Great Commission and the usual contemporary representation of Postmillennialism writes the following about the relationship between the Great Commission and Postmillennialism,

Anderson's Postmillennial sermon, "The Time for the World's Conversion of the World Come", pp. 115-128. See also R. Pierce Beaver, *To Advance the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Rufus Anderson*.

¹²⁵. R. Pierce Beaver, "Eschatology in American Missions," *Basileia: Walter Freytag zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Jan Heremlink, Hans Jochen Margul (Stuttgart: Evangelischer Missionsverlag, 1959) pp 60-75, here p. 70.

¹²⁶. *Ibid.*, p. 60-75; Peter Kawerau, *Amerika und die orientalischen Kirchen: Ursprung und Anfang der amerikanischen Mission unter den Nationalkirchen Westasiens*, op. cit., pp. 624-629.

¹²⁷. *Ibid.* pp. 624-629 includes detailed discussion of Anderson's Postmillennialism. See the text in pp. 70-72 and the complete texts in R. Pierce Beaver, *To Advance the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Rufus Anderson*, op. cit., p. 45-70

¹²⁸. See Kenneth L. Gentry, *The Greatness of the Great Commission* (Tyler, Texas: Institute for Christian Economics, 1990). See also the older version in the *Journal of Christian Reconstruction* 7 (Winter/1981) Vol. 2, Symposium on Evangelism, pp. 19-47; Greg L. Bahnsen, "The Prima Facie Acceptability of Postmillennialism," op. cit., pp. 48-105; Mark M. Kreitzer, "God's Plan for Christian South Africa: Dominion and Missions" (Capetown, Pretoria: Conference for Christian Action, 1990)

¹²⁹This idea can sometimes be found in nonreformed and premillennial writings, e.g. Millard J. Erickson, *Christian Theology*, one volume edition (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1990) p. 1207

“note, that the postmillennial view is the only one of the three major evangelical eschatologies that builds its case on the very charter for Christianity, the Great Commission (Matt. 28:18-20).”¹³⁰

Gentry bases his statement on one of the leading Postmillennialists of the last century, the Scottish Presbyterian theologian David Brown,¹³¹ who built his eschatology on the Great Commission. He also bases his statement on a Dispensationalist theologian, Charles C. Ryrie, who criticized the expectation of the Postmillennialists. He believed that, “The Great Commission will be fulfilled.”¹³²

Even today, there are Reformed denominations, such as the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland¹³³ or the Reformed Presbyterian Church in the United States,¹³⁴ that think completely in Postmillennial terms and derive their eschatology from the Great Commission.

Jordan has demonstrated that until 1930, almost all leading theologians and mission leaders of southern Presbyterianism were Postmillennialists.¹³⁵ The leading theologians of Princeton Theological Seminary, including Benjamin B. Warfield,¹³⁶ were Postmillennialists, as well. John Jefferson Davis writes, “I was struck by the fact that postmillennialism, now almost forgotten in conservative circles, was for much of the nineteenth century the dominant millennial understanding.”¹³⁷

¹³⁰. Kenneth L. Gentry, *He Shall Have Dominion: A Postmillennial Eschatology* (Tyler, Texas: Institute for Christian Economics, 1992) p. 223

¹³¹. Ibid, pp. 233-234 on David Brown, *Christ's Second Coming: Will it Be Premillennial?* (1887, repr. St. Edmonton, Canada: Still Waters Revival Books, 1990) p. 298.

¹³². Charles C. Ryrie, *Basic Theology* (Wheaton, Ill: Victor, 1986) p. 441. Cited by Kenneth L. Gentry, *He Shall Have Dominion*, op.cit., p. 234; similar Millard J. Erickson, *Christian Theology*, op.cit., p. 1206.

¹³³. D. MacLeod, “The Millennium,” *Free Presbyterian Magazine* 96 no. 8 (Edinburgh: Aug. 1991), p. 261-268; Lachlan MacKenzie, “The Millennium,” *Free Presbyterian Magazine* 97 no. 10 (Edinburgh: Oct. 1992) pp. 305-309.

¹³⁴. “The Reformed Presbyterian Church in the United States. A Church Burning with Vision” (Atlanta, Ga.: The Reformed Presbyterian Church in the United States).

¹³⁵. James B. Jordan, “A Survey of Southern Presbyterian Millennial Views Before 1930” *The Journal of Christian Reconstruction* 3, no. 2 (1976/1977) pp. 106-121. Compare Morton H. Smith, *Studies in Southern Presbyterian Theology* (Phillipsburg, N. J.: Presbyterian & Reformed Publ., 1987) pp. 180-181.

¹³⁶. Benjamin Warfield, “The Millennium and the Apocalypse,” *The Princeton Theological Review* 2 (1904) pp. 599-617 Repr. Benjamin Warfield, *Biblical Doctrines*, (1929, repr. Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1988) pp. 643-664.

¹³⁷. John Jefferson Davis, *Christ's Victorious Kingdom: Postmillennialism Reconsidered* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1986) p. 7, 10.

In 1909, W.O. Carver observed that the Postmillennial view was the most common motivation for missions.¹³⁸ This remained the case until the end of the First World War.

Was Calvin a Postmillennialist?

John Jefferson Davis observes that Calvin assumed that true religion and the glory of Christ's dominion would spread over the whole earth,¹³⁹ as he had repeated in numerous sermons and commentaries, as well as in his dedication of the *Institutes* to Francis I of France. Jefferson adds, "Calvin's outlook does not, of course, represent a fully articulated postmillennialism, but does foreshadow subsequent developments."¹⁴⁰ Positively stated, Davis says, "John Calvin ... had an understanding of the kingship of Christ that paved the way for the full flowering of the postmillennial view in English Puritanism."¹⁴¹

Iain Murray shares this view and demonstrates that Calvin, in contrast to Luther, expected a great future for the Kingdom of God.¹⁴² Charles L. Chaney also assumes that the Puritans, as well as Jonathan Edwards, built their Postmillennialism on Calvin's eschatology.¹⁴³ Calvin, says Chaney, had been familiar with the three steps of salvation history, the Age of the Apostles, the Age of the Antichrist (Calvin's day) and the Age of the Expansion of the Church among all peoples, whereby the Gospel would reach various nations at different times, according to divine election.¹⁴⁴

Walter Nigg, describing Calvin's eschatology, writes:

"Seeing the Kingdom of God in history is the new *motif* in Calvin's understanding of divine dominion. The Kingdom is not to be expected in its completion in the near future, it is in a state of development, in a mighty battle with the powers of Darkness."¹⁴⁵

In his belief that the Kingdom of God is involved in an historical wrestling match, Calvin implies that salvation history is closely bound to politi-

¹³⁸. W. O. Carver, "The Missionary Consummation-Prophecy of Missions," *Mission in the Plan of the Ages* (New York: Revell, 1909) pp. 213-282.

¹²⁴. John Jefferson Davis, *Christ's Victorious Kingdom*, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

¹⁴⁰. Ibid. p. 17

¹⁴¹. Ibid. p. 16

¹⁴². Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

¹⁴³. Charles L. Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, op. cit., pp. 32-35.

¹⁴⁴. Ibid., p. 270.

¹⁴⁵. Walter Nigg, *Das ewige Reich* (Berlin: Gebrüder Weiss, n d.) pp. 32-35.

cal events and hints at a definite “progressive” opinion.¹⁴⁶ Heinrich Berger has shown that Calvin did not express an expectation of the immediate return of Christ.¹⁴⁷

David E. Holwerda considers Calvin an Amillennialist,¹⁴⁸ opposing Millennialist views. This is because he assumed that since the Kingdom of God is already present in Christ, His rule on earth would be invisible.¹⁴⁹ Holwerda adds that this idea does not, however, contradict Postmillennial interpretation,

“But Calvin believes that the perfected kingdom already exists in Christ, that it is eternal and includes the renovation of the world. Consequently, Christ’s visible appearance can mean only the final revelation of the perfected kingdom.”¹⁵⁰

Georg Huntemann writes in his homage to Calvin’s¹⁵¹ view,

“The Millennium had, in the Reformation, experienced progress, had gone into action. Not only the Church, but the complete world order was to be brought into line with divine order.”¹⁵²

The premillennialist Millard J. Erickson proved that Reformed thinking theologians of all times, such as Augustin, Calvin, and Warfield, have been claimed for the amillennial as well as the postmillennial camp¹⁵³, which for him is not by chance, as both views cannot be clearly separated from each other. Nevertheless for him, those theologians belong to the postmillennial camp, because with true amillennialists (e.g. Lutheran theologians) the problem of being claimed for two camps never arose.

¹⁴⁶. Ibid., p. 229.

¹⁴⁷. Heinrich Berger, *Calvins Geschichtsauffassung, Studien zur Dogmengeschichte und Systematischen Theologie* (Zürich, Switzerland: Zwingli Verlag, 1956) pp-74-77.

¹⁴⁸. David E. Howerda, “Eschatology and History: A Look at Calvin’s Eschatological Vision,” *Readings in Calvin’s Theology*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1984) pp. 311-342. Also in *Calvin’s Theology, Theology Proper, Eschatology. Articles on Calvin and Calvinism* Vol. 9, ed. Richard C. Gamble (New York/London: Garland, 1992) pp. 130-160.

¹⁴⁹. David E. Howerda, “Eschatology and History: A Look at Calvin’s Eschatological Vision,” op. cit., p. 311-342.

¹⁵⁰. Ibid., p. 329

¹⁵¹. Georg Huntemann, *Der verlorene Maßstab: Gottes Gebot im Chaos dieser Zeit* (Bad Liebenzell: Verlag der Liebenzeller Mission, 1983) pp. 131-135.

¹⁵². Ibid., p. 131.

¹⁵³. Millard J. Erickson, *Christian Theology*, op. cit., p. 1212.

Premillennialism originally opposed to missions

The dissemination of Postmillennialism demonstrates the conflicts which developed with the growth of Premillennialism. John Nelson Darby, founder of Dispensationalism¹⁵⁴, expresses the Premillennial view of missions in a 1840 lecture in Geneva,

“I am afraid that many a cherished feeling, dear to the children of God, has been shocked this evening; I mean their hope that the gospel will spread by itself over the whole earth during the actual dispensation.”¹⁵⁵

The influential Pietism professor of Systematic Theology in Tübingen, Johann Tobias Beck (1804-1878), opposed the work of the Basel Mission and the spreading evangelical world mission movement in general. His objection was that Jesus must first return, so that missions would be carried out and succeed in the Millennium.¹⁵⁶ Theodor Oehler¹⁵⁷ and Hermann Gundert, representatives of the Basel Mission, confronted this opinion with a Postmillennial¹⁵⁸ reply, although using different terms¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵⁴. See the definition in Thomas Schirmacher, Hans-Georg Wüch, Stephan Zehnle, “Nachwort über die darbystische Lehre vom Dispensationalismus”, John F. Walvoord, Roy F. Zuck ed., *Das Alte Testament erklärt und ausgelegt. Bd. 1. 1. Mose – 2. Samuel* (Neuhausen: Hänssler, 1985) pp. 607-608. The best work on the theology of Darby is, to my knowledge, Erich Geldbach, *Christliche Versammlung und Heilsgeschichte bei John Nelson Darby* (Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1975³).

¹⁵⁵. *The Collected Writings of J. N. Darby. Prophetic*, Vol. 1, cited by Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, op. cit., p. 186.

¹⁵⁶. See Thomas Schirmacher, *Theodor Christlieb und seine Missionstheologie*, op. cit., pp. 34-36 and the literature listed in note 30, page 36; Helmut Egelkraut, *Die Zukunftserwartung der pietistischen Väter*, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

¹⁵⁷. Theodor Oehler, *Die Mission und die Zukunft des Reiches Gottes, Basler Missions-Studien 10* (Basel: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1902) pp.4-6 (contra Beck and his influential sermon of 1850).

¹⁵⁸. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10, esp. 9, demonstrates Oehler's Postmillennial view very clearly.

¹⁵⁹. This view is also taken by Helmut Egelkraut, *Die Zukunftserwartung der pietistischen Väter*, op. cit., pp. 40-43; Compare with the postmillennialism of the Basel Mission: Christine Schirmacher, *Mit den Waffen des Gegners: Christlich-Muslimische Kontroversen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 162 (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1992) pp. 33-34 with examples from the *Evangelischen Missionsmagazin*, the Journal of the Basel Mission, in the years 1826 and 1832. Both the founders Christian Friedrich Spittler (1782-1867) and his colleague, Nikolaus von Brunn (1766-1849), the pastor in Basel, already showed Postmillennial tendencies, see Helmut Egelkraut, *Die Zukunftserwartung der pietistischen Väter*, op. cit., pp. 40-43.

Oehler, however, experienced a change of opinion about the relationship between Premillennialism and missions. Whereas Premillennialism was an argument against hopes of evangelistic success for Darby and Beck, Premillennialist faith missions became one of the major mainsprings of the world's missions. Oehler describes the contrast between Beck and the new mission movements, ("For these, the expectation of Christ's immediate return has become the strongest motivation for missions."¹⁶⁰) but remarks critically,

“Here I must protest against the assertion of the Allianz Mission, namely the assumption that is our business to hasten Christ's return by our missionary activity.”¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰. Theodor Oehler, *Die Mission und die Zukunft des Reiches Gottes*, op. cit., p. 6

¹⁶¹. Ibid. p. 11.

2.2. Carey's Postmillennialism

Postmillennialism in the "Enquiry"

Let us examine the central indications of Carey's Postmillennialism in the 'Enquiry'.

Carey had two questions to answer about the Great Commission: 1. Was the Great Commission directed only to the apostles or is it valid for all Christians of all eras? 2. Can the Great Commission be fulfilled?

Answering the first question, Carey points out that the Great Commission is binding "even to the end of the age." (Mt. 28:20)¹⁶² One of his best arguments for the validity of the Commission is the fact that it includes the command to baptize that all churches and theologians consider valid.¹⁶³ If the Great Commission was directed only to the apostles, churches would have to stop baptizing people.

The answer to the second question arises from Carey's Postmillennial expectation of missions' final success. Premillennialism, which molded Post-Classical missions, did not assume such achievement, but only the conversion of a minority from each nation.

In his introduction, Carey expresses no doubts that God would build his kingdom on this earth to the same extent as the devil's present government:

"Yet God repeatedly made known his intention to prevail finally over all the power of the devil, and to destroy all his works and set up his own kingdom and interest among men, and extend it as universally as Satan had extended his."¹⁶⁴

Very early in the "Enquiry" Carey refutes objections to the continuing validity of the Great Commission on eschatological grounds:

"It has been said that some learned divines have proved from Scripture that the time is not yet come that the heathen should be converted; and that first the witnesses must be slain,¹⁶⁵ and many other prophecies fulfilled. But admitting this to be the case (which I much doubt¹⁶⁶) yet, if any objection is made

¹⁶². William Carey, "Enquiry", p. 9.

¹⁶³. Ibid., p. 9. See also James R. Beck, *Dorothy Carey*, op. cit., p. 63

¹⁶⁴. William Carey, "Enquiry", p. 5.

¹⁶⁵. Rev. 11:7

¹⁶⁶. (Footnote by Carey:) See Edwards on Prayer, on this subject lately re-printed by Mr. Sutcliffe.

from this against preaching to them immediately, it must be founded on one of these things; either that the secret purpose of God is the rule of our duty, and then it must be as bad to pray for them, as to preach to them; or else that none shall be converted in the heathen world till the universal down pouring of the Spirit in the last days. But this objection comes too late; for the success of the gospel has been very considerable in many places already.”¹⁶⁷

On one hand, he questions his own eschatological view, while on the other, he objects to any interpretation which prohibits the present carrying out of the Great Commission.¹⁶⁸ The Christian must make his decisions not according to the unknown mysteries of God's will but according to His clear, revealed commandment. Carey here follows Calvin's distinction between God's sovereign will, Providence, and His moral will, duty.¹⁶⁹

Carey drew his argument against the predominate view of the day, that the witness must first be slain, from Jonathan Edward's detailed discussion.¹⁷⁰

The other argument that Carey would have accepted against missions would have been the lack of converts in the heathen world. This, however, was refuted by reality. Interestingly, Carey fails to mention the expectation of the universal pouring out of the Holy Spirit, which was to initiate the great conversion of the heathen, which was, after all, his own opinion. Because this view also could be used against missions, he emphasized the role of the Great Commission as a commandment rather than eschatological opinions as the basis of our plans and actions.

Towards the end of the “Enquiry”, Carey defines his eschatological view more clearly, but the complete picture becomes clear only in the light of the Postmillennial views of the day. Carey emphasizes that the prophesied growth of the Kingdom of God should not make the believer passive, but increases the obligation to missions.

¹⁶⁷. William Carey, “Enquiry”, p. 12

¹⁶⁸. Compare the view outlined below, of Johann Tobias Beck, a few years later.

¹⁶⁹. See Johannes Calvin, *Unterricht in der christlichen Religion: Institutio Religionis Christianae* (Neukirchen, Germany: 1988) p. 129 (1st Book, Chapter 18, Paragraph 4) and 234f; similar Francis Turretin, *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, ed. by James T. Dennison, vol. 1 (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1992) pp. 220-222 and Thomas Schirrmacher, *Ethik* Vol. 1 (Neuhausen, Germany: Hänssler, 1994), pp. 723-732.

¹⁷⁰. Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, Vol. 2 (1834/1974, repr. Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1992) pp. 278-315). See also Peter Kawerau, *Amerika und die orientalischen Kirchen*, op. cit., pp. 72-73.

“If the prophecies concerning the increase of Christ’s kingdom are true, and if what has been advanced concerning the commission given by him to his disciples being obligatory on us, be just, it must be inferred that all Christians ought heartily to concur with God in promoting his glorious designs for he that is joined to the Lord is one spirit.”¹⁷¹

At the same time, he sees the first signs of the approaching expansion of the Kingdom of God in the social and political arena, but foremost, in the open doors.

“... yea, a glorious door is opened, and is likely to be opened wider and wider, by the spread of civil and religious liberty, accompanied also by a diminution of the spirit of popery; a noble effort has been made to abolish the inhuman Slave-Trade, and though at present it has not been so successful as might be wished, yet it is hoped it will be preserved in, till it is accomplished.”¹⁷²

In Carey’s view, Biblical eschatology does not refute God’s commandments, but supports them. Thus, while discussing future promises, he can also allude to Christian responsibility and failure.

“If an holy solicitude had prevailed in all the assemblies of Christians in behalf of their Redeemer’s kingdom, we might probably have seen before now, not only an open door¹⁷³ for the gospel, but many running to and fro, and knowledge increased¹⁷⁴; or a diligent use of those means which providence has put in our power, accompanied with a greater blessing than ordinary from heaven.”¹⁷⁵

Carey’s interpretation of Zacharia was inspired by Jonathan Edward’s¹⁷⁶ interpretation, which was popular at the time.

“It is as represented in the prophets, that when there shall be a great mourning in the land, as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon, and every family shall mourn apart, and their wives apart, it shall all follow upon a spirit of grace, and supplication.¹⁷⁷ And when these things shall take place, it is promised that there shall be a fountain opened for the house of David, and for the inhabitants of Jerusalem, for sin and for uncleanness,¹⁷⁸ –

¹⁷¹. Carey, “Enquiry”, p. 79.

¹⁷². Ibid., p. 79.

¹⁷³. Rev. 3:20

¹⁷⁴. Dan. 12:4

¹⁷⁵. Ibid., p. 80.

¹⁷⁶. See Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society 1792-1992*, op. cit., p. 13 and Frank Deauville Walker, *William Carey*, op. cit., p. 59.

¹⁷⁷. Zech. 12:11; 10:14.

¹⁷⁸. Zech. 13:1.

and that the idols shall be destroyed¹⁷⁹ and the false prophets ashamed of their profession.¹⁸⁰ Zech. xii. 10.14. – xiii. 1.6. this prophesy seems to teach that when there shall be a universal conjunction in fervent prayer, and all shall esteem Zion's welfare as their own, then copious influences of the Spirit shall be shed upon the churches, which like a purifying fountain shall cleanse the servants of the Lord. Nor shall this cleansing influence stop here; all old idolatrous prejudices shall be rooted out, and truth will prevail so gloriously that false teachers shall be so ashamed as rather to wish to be classed with obscure herdsmen, or the meanest peasants, than bear the ignominy attendant on their detection.”

The most glorious works of grace that have ever taken place have been in answer to prayer. It is in this way, we have the greatest reason to suppose, that the glorious out-pouring of the Spirit, which we expect at last, will be bestowed.”¹⁸¹

In the “Enquiry”, Carey not only thinks and argues from a Postmillennialist position, but also finds his examples among Postmillennialist missionaries and theologians.

The Calvinist (Puritan) missionaries mentioned as examples¹⁸² in the second and third chapters of the “Enquiry” were missionaries to the Indians, John Eliot (1604-1690)¹⁸³ and David Brainerd (1718-1747).¹⁸⁴ Carey's original models¹⁸⁵ came too from the sphere of Jonathan Edward's influ-

¹⁷⁹. Zech. 13:2.

¹⁸⁰. Zech. 13:4.

¹⁸¹. Carey, “Enquiry”, p. 78-79.

¹⁸². Carey. “Enquiry”, p. 35, 69, 70.

¹⁸³. See Wolf-Christian Jaeschke, “Der Indianermissionar John Eliot (1604-1698): Sein Denken und Wirken nach den ‘Magnalia Christi Americana’”, *Evangelikale Missiologie* 9 (1993) 1: 3-12; Gustav Warneck, *Abriß einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart*, op. cit., p. 46. On Eliot's Postmillennialist views, see Sidney H. Rooy, *The Theology of Missions in the Puritan Tradition*, op. cit., pp. 224-229; Neville B. Cryer, “John Eliot”, *Five Pioneer Missionaries* (London: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1965) pp. 171-231.

¹⁸⁴. See on Brainerd's theology and postmillennialism Norman Petit, “Editor's Introduction” to *The Life of David Brainerd*, by Jonathan Edwards, op. cit., pp. 24-70; John Thornbury, “David Brainerd”, *Five Pioneer Missionaries*, op. cit., pp. 13-91.

¹⁸⁵. See Ernest A. Payne, “Two Dutch Translations by Carey: An Angus Library Find”, *The Baptist Quarterly* NS 11 (1942) pp. 33-38; James R. Beck, *Dorothy Carey*, op. cit., pp. 53-59; Harald Schilling, “Der geistige und geistliche Werdegang William Careys ... “, op. cit., pp. 85-86. Schilling mentions also the writings by and on Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682-1719) and his colleague in Tranquebar, India, Heinrich Plütschau (1677-1746), as an influence on Carey. This influence cannot, however, be as well demonstrated, although Carey mentions Ziegenbalg.

ence. They both were Postmillennialists¹⁸⁶ and believed that numerous conversions would occur at the end of time (i.e., at the beginning of the Millennium, prior to Christ's return). (Carey read and continually re-read Edward's post mortem biography of Brainerd.)¹⁸⁷

The Postmillennialist,¹⁸⁸ John Edwards, the Calvinist evangelist and the leading American theologian of his day, called for a world-wide prayer chain for world missions in his pamphlet, "A Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union Among God's People in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion and the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth".¹⁸⁹ In referring to this work in the "Enquiry",¹⁹⁰ Carey mentions the British edition provided by John Sutcliffe in 1789, which together with the American edition of 1747 had strongly influenced the Baptists of Northumberland since 1784.¹⁹¹ In his arguments for Postmillennial hope in the "Enquiry", Carey sometimes used the same scripture quotations as Edwards, particularly those from Zecharia.¹⁹²

Besides Edwards, Eliot and Brainerd, the "Enquiry" also mentions the seaman, James Cook (1721-1779),¹⁹³ whose logbook he had studied diligently.¹⁹⁴ Cook's last voyage, partly described in his logbook of 1779, was

¹⁸⁶. See W. O. Carver, *Missions in the Plan of the Ages*, op. cit., pp. 213-282; Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, op. cit., pp. 93-103.

¹⁸⁷. See Frank Deauville Walker, *William Carey*, op. cit., p. 136 and James R. Beck, *Dorothy Carey*, op. cit., pp. 58.

¹⁸⁸. See C. C. Goen, "Jonathan Edwards: A New Departure in Eschatology", op. cit.; and on Edwards postmillennialism Sidney Rooy, *The Theology of Missions in the Puritan Tradition: A Study of Representative Puritans*, op. cit. The missionary awareness of Edwards and of the evangelistic, missionary movement he led is well depicted in Peter Kawerau, *Amerika und die orientalischen Kirchen*, op. cit., pp. 1-176.

¹⁸⁹. Boston, 1748; printed in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, Vol. 2 (1834/1974; repr. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1992) pp. 278-315.

¹⁹⁰. See Ernst A. Payne, "Carey's 'Enquiry': An Essay for the Ter-Jubilee", *International Review of Missions* 31 (1942) pp. 180-186; and Peter Kawerau, *Amerika und die orientalischen Kirchen*, op. cit., pp. 72-73.

¹⁹¹. Ernest A. Payne, "Introduction", in: William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens* (London: The Carey Kingsgate Press: , 1961) pp. i-xx, here pp. xii-xiii; James R. Beck, *Dorothy Carey*, op.cit., pp. 59-60 and Frank Deauville Walker, *William Carey*, op. cit., pp. 58-59; cf. Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, op. cit., pp. 151-152.

¹⁹². Frank Deauville Walker, *William Carey*, op. cit., p. 59.

¹⁹³. Carey, "Enquiry", p. 63.

¹⁹⁴. Frank Deauville Walker, *William Carey*, op. cit., pp. 49-50; James R. Beck, *Dorothy Carey*, op. cit., pp. 53-59; Harald Schilling, "Der geistige und geistliche Werde-

published in 1784, and in 1785, reprinted by the *Northampton Mercury* in a series of pamphlets.¹⁹⁵ Carey writes, “My attention to missions was first awakened after I was at Moulton, by reading the Last Voyage of Captain Cook.”¹⁹⁶

Carey also became aware of the immense possibilities for missions of the new expeditions in the geographical descriptions of the *Northampton Mercury*, one of the oldest English weekly newspapers.¹⁹⁷ Without question, world wide exploration and the new possibilities for travel inspired Postmillennialism as much as the rising of Protestant world missions did.

Not only Carey, but also his mission society and his team were Postmillennialists. A. Christopher Smith, writing about Carey, his colleague John Marshman and their representative at home, says:

“In mission theology, the Serampore Fraternity¹⁹⁸ members were at the fore in declaring that the world would be evangelized properly only after the Holy Spirit was poured forth. Rufus Anderson was perhaps even more sanguine and triumphalist in his millennialist expectations.”¹⁹⁹

The significance of Postmillennialism (and of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination) can also be seen in another aspect: “Another remarkable feature of the Enquiry is that the argument of ‘perishing heathen’ is never used.”²⁰⁰

Carey believed that the heathen were lost without Christ. He builds his arguments for missions, however, on positive ideas rather than on negative

gang William Careys bis zu seiner Veröffentlichung der Enquiry im Jahr 1782” *Fundierte Theologische Abhandlungen Nr. 5* (Wuppertal, Germany: Verlag der Evangelischen Gesellschaft für Deutschland, 1987) pp. 85-86; Ernst A. Payne, “Introduction”, “Enquiry” by William Carey, op. cit., pp. i-xx; Ernest A. Payne, “Two Dutch Translations by Carey: An Angus Library Find”, op. cit.; W. Bieder, “William Carey 1761-1834”, op. cit., p. 158.

¹⁹⁵. Frank Deaville Walker, *William Carey*, op. cit., p. 50.

¹⁹⁶. Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁹⁷. Frank Deaville Walker, *William Carey*, op. cit., pp. 22-23, 50-51; Ernst A. Payne, “Introduction”, op. cit., p. xii. Walker’s bibliography was the first to examine the significance of the *Northampton Mercury* for Carey’s development. See also Kellsye Finnie, *William Carey*, op. cit., p. 16.

¹⁹⁸. i. e.: Carey, Marshman and Anderson

¹⁹⁹. A. Christopher Smith, “The Edinburgh Connection: Between the Serampore Mission and Western Missiology”, *Missiology: An International Review* 18 (1990) 2 pp. 185-209.

²⁰⁰. Aalbertinus Hermen Oussoren, *William Carey, Especially his Missionary Principles*, op. cit., p. 129.

ones, which strongly distinguishes him from other methods of supporting missions.

3. Carey's Calvinism

Carey's Calvinism

Carey was a Protestant by conviction, as the anti-Catholic and anti-Papist tenor of his history of the church clearly demonstrates.²⁰¹ The turning point, he believed, was reached by the Reformers.²⁰² He names especially Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Bucer and Peter Martyr.²⁰³ He held the true Protestant dogma for essential to missions and to the missionary, for missionaries must, among other things, be “of undoubted orthodoxy in their sentiments.”²⁰⁴

Carey's theology is not only unusual for modern tastes in its Postmillennialism, but also in its Calvinist soteriology, for many now believe that the doctrine of predestination is extinguishing missionary effort rather than intensifying it. Carey, like most other Protestant missionaries and missionary leaders of his day, agreed with the Calvinist view.²⁰⁵

Up into our century, the English Baptists were divided into two groups, the Arminian ‘General Baptists’ and the Calvinist ‘Particular Baptists’,²⁰⁶ to which John Bunyan and C. H. Spurgeon belonged.²⁰⁷ The designations indicate the extent of Jesus' atoning death: ‘General Baptists’ believe that Jesus died for all, ‘Particular Baptists’ believe that He died only for the

²⁰¹. Carey, “Enquiry”, op. cit., p. 33-36. E. Daniel Potts describes the anti-Catholic attitude of the Serampore team in *British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837*, op. cit.

²⁰². Carey, “Enquiry”, op. cit., p. 35.

²⁰³. An Italian theologian influenced by Bucer, who in turn influenced the Calvinist nature of the English Reformation.

²⁰⁴. Carey, “Enquiry”, op. cit., p. 75.

²⁰⁵. See Andrew C. Ross, “Missionary Expansion”, in *Encyclopedia of the Reformed Faith*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox Press and Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1992) pp. 242-244.

²⁰⁶. Carey, “Enquiry”, op. cit., p. 84 (Carey uses this term for his own denomination.)

²⁰⁷. Compare with Spurgeon's journal, *Sword and Trowel*, or with the journal of the Calvinist Baptists, *Reformation Today*, which is printed in Liverpool (See Nr. 95 Jan./Feb. 1987).

Elect.²⁰⁸ Carey's Calvinist viewpoint is clearly demonstrated in various parts of his book.

Carey was not influenced by the Methodism of his day, as one might expect,²⁰⁹ but as a Calvinist,²¹⁰ his significance lies in his reconciliation between the theology of the Reformation, particularly Reformed theology, and the Church's responsibility for missions. Frank Deauville Walker writes,

“He could not harmonize the views of the hyper-Calvinists with the duty of calling men to Christ. On the other hand, the opposite doctrine of Arminianism held by the Methodists seemed to him to strike at the roots of belief in the grace of God.”²¹¹

Hyper-Calvinism²¹² is the opinion that the Calvinist doctrine of Predestination refutes missions, because God would save those He wished without human aid, so that the Great Commission is already fulfilled. Although not typical of Calvinism, this viewpoint was popular, particularly among the Particular Baptists Carey knew.²¹³

Carey's significance lies therefore in his harmonization of the Calvinist doctrine of soteriology with Calvin and with the Reformed Protestants of

²⁰⁸. See Thomas Schirmacher, *Ethik*, Vol. 1 (Neuhausen, Germany: Hänssler Verlag, 1994) pp. 646-654; and Thomas Schirmacher, *Römerbrief*, op. cit., pp. 252-256 for a chart showing the differences between the two views. Aalbertinus Hermen Oussoren, *William Carey, Especially his Missionary Principles*, op. cit., pp. 124-127, discusses the teachings of the Particular Baptists and the significance of their confession, the 'London Confession of Faith', a Baptist version of the Calvinist Westminster Confession. For a modern version, see; *The Baptist Confession of Faith 1689 with Scripture Proofs*, Updated with notes by Peter Masters (London: The Wakeman Trust, 1989). See also a modern commentary by Samuel E. Waldron, *A Modern Exposition of the 1689 Baptist Confession of Faith* (Durham: Evangelical Press, 1989). Cf. on the Particular Baptists Raymond Brown, *The English Baptists of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Baptist Historical Society, 1986) pp. 115-141.

²⁰⁹. Frank Deauville Walker, *William Carey*, op. cit., pp. 35-36. Carey mentions Wesley only briefly in the "Enquiry" on p. 37.

²¹⁰. James R. Beck, Dorothy Carey, op. cit., p. 136.

²¹¹. Frank Deauville Walker, *William Carey*, op. cit., p. 37.

²¹². Cf. Iain H. Murray, *Spurgeon & Hyper-Calvinism: The Battle for Gospel Preaching* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1995); Kenneth G. Talbot, W. Gary Crampton, *Calvinism, Hyper-Calvinism and Arminianism* (St. Edmonton, Canada: Still Waters Revival Books & Lakeland, Flor.: Whitefield Publ., 1990).

²¹³. Mary Drewery, *William Carey*, op. cit., p. 31.

the first and second generation. His precursor, according to Walker,²¹⁴ was his friend, Andrew Fuller, who had been a Hyper-Calvinist, but had reconsidered his position and, in his printed sermon, “The Nature of Importance of Walking by Faith” of 1784 and in his book, *The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation*, derived the responsibility for missions from the doctrine of predestination itself.²¹⁵ Robert Hall’s pamphlet, “Help to Zion’s Travelers” of 1781, which deeply influenced Carey,²¹⁶ also marks the transition from Hyper-Calvinism to missionary Calvinism.²¹⁷ In short, “Anglican and Baptist pastors such as Thomas Scott, Andrew Fuller, Robert Hall Sr. and John Sutcliffe ...²¹⁸ aided Carey in overcoming Hyper-Calvinism without surrendering the Calvinist view of salvation. A. Christopher Smith adds, “A neo-Puritan theology much indebted to Jonathan Edwards thus was mediated to Carey without his having to pore over theological tomes.”²¹⁹

This demonstrates that not only Carey advocated Calvinist soteriology (and Reformed Postmillennialism), but that the leaders of his British mission society, Andrew Fuller,²²⁰ John Ryland²²¹ and Thomas Scott, did that as well. Scott wrote “The History of the Synod of Dort” and a history of the origin of the five points of Calvinism. Carey used these works in India and thanks Scott for them expressly.²²²

The same is true of Carey’s colleagues in India. This is according to their ‘Form of Agreement’ of 1805, which gave them a common basis:²²³ “we are sure that only those who are ordained to eternal life will believe, and that God alone can add to the church such as shall be saved.”²²⁴

²¹⁴. Frank Deauville Walker, *William Carey*, op. cit., p. 52-53; See also Ernest A. Payne, “Introduction”, op. cit., p. xiii.

²¹⁵. Ibid., and James R. Beck, *Dorothy Carey*, op. cit., p. 42.

²¹⁶. Mary Drewery, *William Carey*, (with quote by Carey, p. 42); and James R. Beck, *Dorothy Carey*, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

²¹⁷. Ibid., p. 54-55.

²¹⁸. A. Christopher Smith, “William Carey”, op. cit., p. 247.

²¹⁹. Ibid.

²²⁰. See Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, op. cit., pp. 139, 146.

²²¹. Ibid. p. 145-146.

²²². Ibid. p. 145.

²²³. Aalbertinus Hermen Oussoren, *William Carey, Especially his Missionary Principles*, op. cit., pp. 274-284, reproduces the text. See Iain Murray’s comments in *The Puritan Hope*, op. cit., p. 145.

²²⁴. Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope*, op. cit., p. 145.

Election and Responsibility

Calvin's doctrine of predestination never denied human responsibility towards divine commandments, including the Great Commandment.²²⁵ Calvin was, after all, the first and perhaps the only Reformer to enjoin world missions. In 1556, he sent two missionaries to Brazil,²²⁶ although the mission was destined to fail. In contrast to Luther, Calvin and Zwingli believed the dissemination of the Gospel to still be under way.²²⁷

In 1995, Maurus Galm demonstrated that modern Protestant missions began in the Netherlands, where Calvinist theologians were inspired by the missionary efforts of the Catholic Church.²²⁸ Gisbert Voetius²²⁹ (1589-1656, 1634 Professor of Theology in Utrecht) discovered the connection between Reformed orthodoxy and the missionary orientation of Reformed Pietism²³⁰ and wrote a thorough missionary theology.²³¹

²²⁵. See Paul Jacobs, *Prädestination und Verantwortlichkeit bei Calvin* (Kassel, Germany: J. G. Oncken, 1937). For a modern Calvinist call for missions, see James I. Packer, *Prädestination und Verantwortung*, Neue Studienreihe 5 (Wuppertal, Germany: Brockhaus, 1964) [English title: *Evangelism and the Sovereignty of God*].

²²⁶. Henry R. Van Til, *The Calvinistic Concept of Culture* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1959) p. 93; Louis Igou Hodges, *Reformed Theology Today* (Columbus, GA: Brentwood Christian Press, 1995) pp. 101-104.

²²⁷. Gustav Warneck, *Abriß einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart*, op. cit., pp. 16, 19.

²²⁸. Maurus Galm, *Das Erwachen des Missionsgedankens im Protestantismus der Niederlande* (München: Franz Xaver Seitz and St. Ottilien: Missionsverlag St. Ottilien, 1915). See the restrictions in A. Goslinga, "Die Anfänge der Mission in Holland", *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* 49 (1922) pp. 56,63,79-85.

²²⁹. Jürgen Moltmann, "Voetius, Gisbert", *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* Vol 3, ed. Kurt Galling (Tübingen, Germany: J. C. B. Mohr, 1986); Wilhelm Goeters, *Die Vorbereitung des Pietismus in der reformierten Kirche der Niederlande bis zur labadistischen Krise 1670* (Leipzig: 1911) pp. 80-134; Ernst Bizer, "Die reformierte Orthodoxie und der Cartesianismus", *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 55 (1958) pp. 306-372, on Voetius' book 'Disputationen über den Atheismus' (1639) (Bibliographical information p. 308, note 2)

²³⁰. Jürgen Moltmann, "Voetius, Gisbert", op. cit., Col. 1432.

²³¹. On Voetius' missiology, see: Jan. A. B. Jongeneel, "Voetius' zendingstheologie, de eerste comprehensieve protestantse zendingstheologie", *De onbekende Voetius*, ed. J. van Oort et. al (Kampen, Netherlands: J. H. Kok, 1989) pp. 117-147; H. A. van Andel, *De zendingsleer van Gisbertus Voetius, De onbekende Voetius* (Kampen, Netherlands: J. H. Kok, 1912). On Voetius' theology in general, see: J. van Oort, ed., *De onbekende Voetius*, (Kampen, Netherlands: J. H. Kok, 1989); Ernst Bizer, "Die reformierte Orthodoxie und der Cartesaianismus", *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 55 (1958) pp. 306-372. Wilhelm Goeters, *Die Vorbereitung des Pietismus in der re-*

Gisbert Voetius (1598-1676), 1634-1676 professor of theology and Oriental languages in Utrecht, Netherlands, was an active member of the Synod of Dordt (1617/19) and a chief proponent of Calvinistic orthodoxy and the most influential Dutch theologian of the 17th century. At the same time, he was one of the spokesmen of the emerging mission oriented Reformed Pietism in the Netherlands and had personal contacts to English Puritans. His book 'Disputations on Atheism' (1639) and other books against philosophies of his time show him to be an evangelist to the well educated. Voetius is also the founder of the comparative study of religions for missionary purposes. Nearly all his books and tracts contain long sections on missions, which do not appeal and call to mission work but discuss all major problems of missions scientifically as a fourth part of Systematic Theology 'Theologica elenctica' beside Exegetical, Dogmatic and Practical Theology. Thus Voetius designed the first comprehensive mission theology written by a Protestant. He was well-read in Catholic mission literature. Following a distinction made in Reformed ethics, Voetius combines double predestination as God's absolute will with the conviction that God's moral will is world missions under Biblical promises.

The strict Calvinist, Dutch theologian Adrian Saravia (1531-1613), pastor in Antwerp and Brussels, as well as professor in Leyden (1582-1587), finally Dean in Westminster, according to Norman E. Thomas, , was the only Reformer who abandoned the view that the Great Commission had already been fulfilled by the apostles, an opinion already thoroughly refuted by Calvin.²³² He had, however, forerunners of importance, such as the Church Father, Aurelius Augustine, who was also the precursor of the Calvinist soteriological view of double Predestination.

Augustine, Aurelius (354-430), bishop of Hippo (North Africa), called the theologian of grace, is the most important theologian of the Roman Catholic Church and spiritual father of all major Reformers, especially Luther, Zwingli and Calvin. In most of his writings Augustine discusses problems of missions,²³³ as he was heavily involved in reaching heathen African tribal people and heathen Roman citizens. Gonsalvus Walter has

formierten Kirche der Niederlande bis zur labadistischen Krise 1670, op. cit., pp.80-134.

²³². Norman E. Thomas ed., *Classic Texts in Mission and World Christianity*, op. cit., pp. 41-43.

²³³. Gerhard Metzger, *Kirche und Mission in den Briefen Augustins*, Allgemeine Mission-Studien 20 (Gütersloh, Germany: C. Bertelsmann, 1936); and F. van der Meer, *Augustinus der Seelsorger* (Cologne: J. P. Bachem, 1958).

combined those quotations to a full-orbed theology of missions.²³⁴ Augustine reconciled the belief in double predestination with an urgent call, that it is the will of God to preach the Gospel everywhere. In his famous Letter No. 199,²³⁵ Augustine denies that the Great Commission was already achieved by the apostles because, exegetically, the commission goes “till the end of the world” and practically, he knows of “innumerable barbarian tribes in Africa to whom the gospel has not yet been preached.”²³⁶ God had not promised Abraham the Romans alone but all nations. Before the return of Jesus Christ the majority of nations and people will become Christians.²³⁷ This is a typical postmillennial²³⁸ viewpoint.

Chaney has emphasized that modern Protestant world missions began with two Calvinist groups: the chaplains of the Dutch East India Company and with the Puritans, who tried to reach the Indians of North America.²³⁹

Carey could already read Dutch well before writing the “Enquiry” and had translated two works which demonstrated missionary Calvinism.²⁴⁰

Of all of Carey’s precursors who denied the complete fulfillment of the Great Commission by the apostles, the most important was Augustine Aurelius,²⁴¹ whose theology already leaned toward Postmillennialism, and who is considered the father of Calvinist soteriology.

“Augustine predates by more than fifteen centuries William Carey’s analysis, that the apostles did not complete the Lord’s Great Commission to ‘go into all the world’.”²⁴²

²³⁴. P. Gonsalvus Walter O. M. Cap., *Die Heidenmission nach der Lehre des heiligen Augustinus*, *Missionswissenschaftliche Abhandlungen und Texte* 3 (Münster, Germany: Aschendorff, 1921).

²³⁵. Maurice Wiles and Mark Santer ed., *Documents in Early Christian Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975) pp. 259-264); Norman E. Thomas ed., *Classic Texts in Mission and World Christianity*, op. cit., p. 18.

²³⁶. Ibid. (both editions), Letter 199, Part 46.

²³⁷. Ibid. (both editions), Letter 199, Part 47-49.

²³⁸. This is the judgment of Millard J. Erickson, *Christian Theology*, op. cit., p. 1206.

²³⁹. Charles L. Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America*, op. cit., p. ix.

²⁴⁰. Ernest A. Payne, “Two Dutch Translations by Carey: An Angus Library Find”, op. cit. Payne’s object is to refute the criticism that Carey’s knowledge of so many languages could have been only superficial, his translations are sound. James Beck, *Dorothy, Carey*, op. cit., p. 53, supports this view.

²⁴¹. Norman E. Thomas ed., *Classic Texts in Mission and World Christianity*, op. cit., pp. 17-20. On page 18, Thomas quotes Augustine, “... that the Lord’s coming will take place when the whole world is filled with the gospel.”

²⁴². Ibid., p. 17.

Tom Nettles has, for example, shown that almost all eighteenth century Baptist theologians and mission leaders taught a Calvinist soteriology.²⁴³

The reason for the almost exclusively Reformed nature of Protestant world missions from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries was the rise of the Netherlands (The East Indian Trading Company was founded in 1602) and England as sea powers;²⁴⁴ two Protestant countries, whose churches had Reformed Confessions.²⁴⁵

Calvinism in the "Enquiry"

Carey derives the very possibility and the responsibility for missions from the doctrine of providence itself, while Hyper-Calvinism derived its belief from the doctrine of predestination, stating that the heathen were lost unless God brought them the Gospel without human assistance. 'Providence' in Calvinist theology describes God's sovereignty. Carey uses this term six times in the "Enquiry"²⁴⁶ and often in other writings²⁴⁷ as well. As a Calvinist Baptist, he believed in Providence unreservedly and continually based his belief in the necessity of missions on this idea.

"It has been said that we ought not to force our way, but to wait for the openings, and leadings of Providence; but it might with equal propriety be answered in this case, neither ought we to neglect embracing those openings in providence which daily present themselves to us. What openings of providence do we wait for? ... Where a command exists nothing can be necessary to render it binding but a removal of those obstacles which render obedience impossible, and these are removed already. Natural impossibility can never be pleaded so long as facts exist to prove the contrary."²⁴⁸

Even later, Carey never changed his view. James Beck adds,

²⁴³. Tom Nettles "Missionary Theology of the Early Southern Baptists", *Reformation Today* (1985), pp. 9-22.

²⁴⁴. Gustav Warneck, *Abriß einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart*, op. cit., p. 39.

²⁴⁵. Philip E. Hughes, "Thirty-nine Articles", *Encyclopedia of the Reformed Faith*, ed. Donald K. McKim, op. cit., p. 369. Hughes demonstrates that not only the Puritans, but also the Anglican Church was Reformed. The Thirty-nine Articles are Reformed in their view of the Scriptures, of salvation and of the sacraments. The standard commentary on the Thirty-nine Articles is W. H. Griffith Thomas, *The Principles of Theology: An Introduction to the Thirty-Nine Articles* (1930, repr. London: Vine Books, 1978) pp. xxxiii, xlix.

²⁴⁶. Carey, "Enquiry," op. cit., pp. 11, 67, 68, 80.

²⁴⁷. See the citations in James R. Beck, *Dorothy Carey*, op. cit., pp. 44, 45, 54, 184.

²⁴⁸. Carey, "Enquiry," op. cit., pp. 10-11.

“Carey never strayed far from his Calvinistic roots when reflecting on his God of providence. God was a God of order and control.”²⁴⁹

As we have already seen, in the “Enquiry” Carey distinguishes between God’s sovereign will, Providence, and his moral will, duty. Not only here does he prove himself to be a pupil of Calvinist ethics. His arguments, for example, distinguish between the moral and the ceremonial law,²⁵⁰ and discuss the question, what factors revoke a Biblical commandment, with reasoning typical to Reformed ethics.²⁵¹ In the churches he served prior to his departure for India, he exercised a strict church discipline typical of Calvinism,²⁵² and followed Puritan ethics in many minor decisions, such as journeys on Sundays.²⁵³

Carey’s Struggles for Social Change

Carey’s involvement in the battle against social injustice²⁵⁴ was also an element of his missionary work and was evident in the “Enquiry” through the texts cited above on religious freedom and the slave trade. These endeavors point to his Calvinist background, which considers possible the Christianization of a nation in ethical and in social-political concerns.²⁵⁵ Carey ate no sugar in England, since it was produced by slaves, and prayed throughout his entire life for the emancipation of slaves.²⁵⁶ Shortly after his arrival in 1802, he began an investigation on the commission of the governor into religious killings in Hindu India, and soon attained the prohibition of the ritual killing of children – babies were annually thrown into the

²⁴⁹. James R. Beck, *Dorothy Carey*, op. cit., p. 184.

²⁵⁰. Carey, “Enquiry,” op. cit., p. 9-10.

²⁵¹. Carey, “Enquiry,” op. cit., p. 9-10.

²⁵². Harald Schilling, “Der geistige Werdegang William Careys ...“, op. cit., p.88.

²⁵³. James R. Beck, *Dorothy Carey*, op. cit., p. 87.

²⁵⁴. Ibid., p. 136,170-172; E. Walroth, “William Carey,” *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* 14 (1887), pp. 97-123 (Particularly the article, “Careys Verdienste um Literatur und Humanität”); G. Schott, *William Carey, der Vater der gegenwärtigen Missionsbewegung*, op. cit., pp. 24-27.

²⁵⁵. Aalbertinus Hermen Oussoren, *William Carey, Especially His Missionary Principles*, op. cit., pp. 189-190.

²⁵⁶. Bruce J. Nichols, “The Theology of William Carey”. op. cit., pp. 121-122 proved, that this was founded in Carey’s theology as was the case with all his engagement in social affairs.

Ganges once a year on the Island of Saugor.²⁵⁷ After a lifelong battle, in 1826 he was able to obtain the prohibition of *sati*, the incineration of widows.²⁵⁸ Both prohibitions were by and large successful.

Carey was just as outspoken in his opinions on slavery²⁵⁹ and the caste system, which he in no case wanted to allow within the Church, even at the cost of advantages for his missionary efforts.²⁶⁰ In this point, he differed from the Halle-Danish mission and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), which retained the caste system even in the Lord's Supper. Carey insisted that the convert break with the system before being baptized.²⁶¹ He wrote,

²⁵⁷. E. Daniels Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837*, op. cit., pp. 141-144; Frank Deauville Walker, *William Carey*, op. cit., pp. 197-199; Basil Miller, *William Carey*, op. cit., p. 93.

²⁵⁸. The most detailed study can be found in E. Daniel Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837*, op. cit., pp. 144-157. Texts by Carey are printed in Pearce Carey, *William Carey*, op. cit., pp. 170-173. Cf. Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society 1792-1992*, op. cit., p. 44-45; A. Schillbach, "William Carey als Bahnbrecher der evangelischen Mission", op. cit., pp. 181-182; Frank Deauville Walker, *William Carey*, op. cit., pp. 199-201; Basil Miller, *William Carey*, op. cit., pp. 137-138; Kellsye Finnie, *William Carey*, op. cit., pp. 141-143; James R. Beck, *Dorothy Carey*, op. cit., 170-171; G. Schott, *William Carey, der Vater der gegenwärtigen Missionsbewegung*, op. cit., pp. 27-30.

²⁵⁹. Aalbertinus Hermen Oussoren, *William Carey, Especially His Missionary Principles*, op. cit., pp. 159-160; E. Daniel Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837*, op. cit., pp. 191-193.

²⁶⁰. E. Daniel Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837*, op. cit., pp. 158-159; Aalbertinus Hermen Oussoren, *William Carey, Especially His Missionary Principles*, op. cit., p. 195; Kellsye Finnie, *William Carey*, op. cit., p. 109; James R. Beck, *Dorothy Carey*, op. cit., p. 135-136; Mary Drewery, *William Carey*, pp. 104-105; A. Christopher Smith, "Myth and Missiology: A Methodological Approach to Pre-Victorian Mission of the Serampore Trio", *International Review of Mission* 83 (1994) pp. 451-475, pp. 461-463.

²⁶¹. Ruth Rouse, "William Carey's Pleasing Dream," *International Review of Missions* 38 ((1949) pp. 181-192. Graham Houghton, "Caste in the Protestant Churches: An Historical Perspective", *Evangelical Review of Theology* 12 (1988) 4, pp. 325-343 discusses the handling of the caste system by missionaries in India. See also *The India Church Growth Quarterly* 7 (1985) 2. Cf. for the modern situation *Gerechtigkeit für die Unberührbaren: Beiträge zur indischen Dalit-Theologie*, Weltmission heute no. 15 (Hamburg: EMW, 1997²)

“Perhaps this is one of the greatest barriers to conversion with which the devil ever bound the children of men. This is my comfort, that God can break it.”²⁶²

In this he was in harmony with his fellow workers. So Ward insisted that missionaries would dig the graves for missionaries and other Europeans. Thus, they did a job which was even forbidden for members of the lowest casts.²⁶³

Carey's achievements in translating the Scripture²⁶⁴ and in preserving²⁶⁵ Indian languages,²⁶⁶ particularly his grammars,²⁶⁷ are uncontested.²⁶⁸ He aided in doubling the number of Bible translations in the eighteenth century from thirty to nearly sixty, and played a major role in keeping these languages from dying out, by making them written languages.

²⁶². William Carey's diary, quoted in Mary Drewery, *William Carey*, p. 79.

²⁶³. According to S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey*, op. cit., pp. 223.

²⁶⁴. Aalbertinus Hermen Oussoren, *William Carey, Especially His Missionary Principles*, op. cit., p. 118, note 1, provides a table of the translations in the various languages with dates of appearance. James R. Beck, *Dorothy Carey*, op. cit., pp. 168-170 mentions six Bibles, 23 New Testaments and 10 parts as Carey's own achievements. Mary Drewery, *William Carey*, op.cit., pp. 155-158,192 lists six complete Bibles and 29 parts as Carey's work. In cooperation with his team, he also completed 19 Bibles and 17 parts. See also Frank Deauville Walker, *William Carey*, op. cit., pp. 219-232; S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey*, op. cit., pp. 385-394.

²⁶⁵. See as example from a speaker of those languages Ramesh Khattri, “William Carey – The First Publisher in Nepali”, *Dharma Deepika: A South Asian Journal of Missiological Research* 3 (1999) pp. 41-44.

²⁶⁶. E. Daniel Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837*, op. cit., pp. 79-113 provides the most thorough information. See also E. Wallroth, “William Carey”, *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* 14 (1887) pp. 97-123. On pages 114-116, the author lists the translations. “Careys Verdienste um Literatur und Humanität.”

²⁶⁷. Johann Schmidt, “Carlote Emilia von Rumohr und William Carey,” op. cit., p. 45 mentions particularly the Marathi Grammar of 1805, the Sanskrit Grammar of 1806, the Punjabi Grammar of 1817, the Karnatak Grammar of 1817, the Benali Grammar of 1818 and the Bengali Dictionary in 8 Volumes 1818-1830.

²⁶⁸. E. Daniel Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837*, op. cit., pp. 81-89 provides a modern discussion of the value of Carey's Bible translations. Potts also discusses the value of his grammars and the work on Bengali texts on pages 79-113, and describes the recognition of Carey's efforts to preserve Bengali and his publications of Bengali texts in books and journals. In 1830, William Greenfield, the renowned linguist of Cambridge University, defended Carey's translation efforts. See William Greenfield, *A Defence of the Serampore Mahratta Version of the New Testament*, London, 1830.

The team founded forty-five free schools²⁶⁹ with about 10,000 pupils²⁷⁰ of all social classes, the still extant Serampore College²⁷¹ and several newspapers in English and in native languages to further the education of the Indian people. Serampore College, modeled on the universities of Copenhagen and Kiel,²⁷² was India's first university.

Finally, through the Agricultural Society of India, founded in 1820,²⁷³ he did much to improve India's farming system. E. Daniel Potts writes, "Those who follow Colin Clark's lead in thinking that contributions to the development of India would ultimately be of far greater benefit than hand-to-mouth poor relief will applaud the advanced thinking of William Carey."²⁷⁴

In 1993, many Indian linguists, scientists and historians as well as theologians gathered for a jubilee symposium, emphasizing the great achievements of Carey for all branches of Indian society.²⁷⁵

Carey and his colleagues were, however, no instruments of the colonial government. Their activities "led them to cooperate or, more often, conflict with the constituted authorities."²⁷⁶

The "Enquiry" shows how Carey argued for native leadership,²⁷⁷ which aroused criticism not only in politics, but also in the church. In 1834, fifty missionaries (Six Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indians) were working in

²⁶⁹. E. Daniel Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837*, op. cit., pp. 115-129. See also G. Schott, *William Carey, der Vater der gegenwärtigen Missionsbewegung*, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

²⁷⁰. A. Schillbach, "William Carey: Eine Jubiläumserinnerung," op. cit., p. 49.

²⁷¹. E. Daniel Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837*, op. cit., pp. 129-136 on the college's early history.

²⁷². Johann Schmidt, "Carlotte Emilia von Rumohr und William Carey," op. cit., p. 49. Cf. for the theological faculty A. Christopher Smith, "Myth and Missiology: A Methodological Approach to Pre-Victorian Mission of the Serampore Trio", op.cit., pp. 458-460. According to p. 460, this faculty lost all importance after Carey and the Serampore-Trio.

²⁷³. G. Schott, *William Carey, der Vater der gegenwärtigen Missionsbewegung*, op. cit., pp. 30-34; E. Daniel Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837*, op. cit., pp. 70-75.

²⁷⁴. *Ibid*, p. 70-71.

²⁷⁵. J. T. K. Daniel, Roger E. Hedlund ed., *Carey's Obligation and Indian Renaissance* (Serampore, India: Council of Serampore College, 1993)

²⁷⁶. *Ibid.*, pp. 169-204 describes the relationship to the colonial government in detail.

²⁷⁷. See Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society 1792-1992*, op. cit., pp. 47-57 ("The Planting of a National Church") sees the planting of indigenous

Serampore with Carey's team of nineteen.²⁷⁸ The British General Baptists, in particular, criticized the Particular Baptists' preference for native workers, which hindered many good British missionaries from working in Serampore.²⁷⁹ Carey plead for the 'modern' principle that the missionary should be able to make decisions independent of their mission boards,²⁸⁰ which led to the most difficult crisis of the Serampore mission station and to a temporary dissolution of the ties between the station and the mission board.²⁸¹

churches under indigenenous leadership as the second pillar beside the belief in the sovereignty of God (pp. 36-47), on which the work of the Serampore-Trio rested.

²⁷⁸. E. Daniel Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837*, op. cit., p. 33.

²⁷⁹. Ibid. p. 34.

²⁸⁰. Basil Miller, *William Carey*, op. cit., pp. 62,128-130; Mary Drewery, *William Carey*, op. cit., pp. 170-171. Joshua Marshmann explains the situation in *Thoughts on Missions to India* (Serampore: 1825).

²⁸¹. A. Christopher Smith, "The Edinburgh Connection: Between the Serampore Mission and Western Missiology", op. cit., pp. 185-209; Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society 1792-1992*, op. cit., pp. 57-67.

4. Carey's Statistics

The significance of the statistic survey in the “Enquiry” is usually ignored, although the statistics and the geographical material take up most of the book.²⁸² W. Bieder writes, “Carey challenged Christianity to accept its responsibility to become familiar with the world’s religious condition. No missions without sufficient information! With astonishing accuracy, Carey drew up a sound statistic on world religion, thus recognizing the importance of statistics for mission activity.”²⁸³ The first German edition identified the geographical data necessary to evaluating Carey’s information and his graphs.²⁸⁴

Almost every new beginning in missions has been accompanied by statistical achievements, for statistics serve as the basis for prayer and orientation. Carey’s statistics, as well as those of Theodor Christlieb²⁸⁵ (1879) and Patrick Johnstone’s *Operation World*²⁸⁶ have been and still are excellent reference material for ‘secular’ interests, and it is no accident that Carey’s knowledge was almost unrivaled in his time, just as the ethnologists of Wycliffe Bible Translators know more than others about the languages of the present. His suggestion of 1806,²⁸⁷ that an international missions conference be held in 1810 in Cape Town, South Africa, was the logical result, even though it was not realized for a century in Edinburgh.

²⁸². An exception is Jim Montgomery, *Eine ganze Nation gewinnen: Die DAWN-Strategie* (Lörrach: Wolfgang Simson Verlag, 1990) pp. 101-103; engl. Original: 7 Million Churches To Go. William Carey Library: Pasadena (CA), 1979

²⁸³. W. Bieder, “William Carey 1761-1834,” op. cit. p. 161.

²⁸⁴. William Carey, *Eine Untersuchung über die Verpflichtung der Christen, Mittel einzusetzen für die Bekehrung der Heiden*, edition afem – mission classics 1, ed. and translated by Klaus Fiedler and Thomas Schirmacher (Bonn: Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft, 1993).

²⁸⁵. Thomas Schirmacher, *Theodor Christlieb und seine Missionstheologie*, op. cit., pp. 171-172. Christlieb’s survey of the mission situation in all parts of the earth, ‘Der gegenwärtige Stand der Heidenmission: Eine Weltüberschau’ (‘Protestant Missions to the Heathen’, 1880) was printed in several revised editions in German, and in several English editions in London, New York and Calcutta. It was also translated into French, Danish and Swedish.

²⁸⁶. Patrick Johnstone, *Operation World*, several edition since 1978. James Beck, *Dorothy Carey*, op. cit., p. 63 also compares Carey with Johnstone.

²⁸⁷. Ruth Rouse, “William Carey’s Pleasing Dream,” op. cit., pp. 181-192.

About the Author

Biography

Thomas Schirmmacher holds a chair in theology (ethics, missions, world religions), is rector of Martin Bucer Theological Seminary (Bonn, Hamburg, Berlin, Zurich, Innsbruck, Prague, Zlin, Istanbul), director of the International Institute for Religious Freedom (Bonn, Cape Town, Colombo) of the World Evangelical Alliance and president of Gebende Hände gGmbH (Giving Hands), an internationally active relief organisation, as well as owner of a publishing house and co-owner of a consulting company.

Born in 1960, Schirmmacher studied theology from 1978 to 1982 at STH Basel and since 1983 Cultural Anthropology and Comparative Religions at Bonn State University. He earned a Drs. theol. in Missiology and Ecumenics at Theological University (Kampen/Netherlands) in 1984, and a Dr. theol. in Missiology and Ecumenics at Johannes Calvin Foundation (Kampen/Netherlands) in 1985, a Ph.D. in Cultural Anthropology at Pacific Western University in Los Angeles (CA) in 1989, a Th.D. in Ethics at Whitefield Theological Seminary in Lakeland (FL) in 1996, and a Dr. phil. in Comparative Religions / Sociology of Religion at State University of Bonn in 2007. In 1997 he got honorary doctorates (D.D.) from Cranmer Theological House, in 2006 from Acts University in Bangalore.

He was pastor of the 'Protestant Society of Germany' in Bonn and Erftstadt, 1982 to 1986, co-theologian of the 'Evangelical Free Church' in Bonn 1992-1998, and 1998-2000 pastor of the Free Reformed Church in Bonn. Nowadays he is active in the 'Church on the Rhine' in Bonn.

Schirmmacher taught Missions, World Religions and Cultural Anthropology at FTA Giessen (Germany) from 1983-1989 and from 1990-1996 ethics, missiology, comparative religions and cultural anthropology at 'Independent Theological Seminary' in Basel ('Staatsunabhängige Theologische Hochschule Basel' – STH Basel). He held and holds different chairs, e.g. 1994-1999 'Philadelphia Theological Seminary' (PA, USA) (professor of missions), 1995-2000 at Cranmer Theological House (Shreveport, LA) (professor of missions and ethics), since 1996 at Whitefield Theological Seminary (Lakeland, FL) (professor of Systematic Theology and Apologetics), since 2000 at William Carey University (Bangalore, India) (professor of International Development), and since 2006 at State University of Oradea, Romania.

He is internationally active pro family and against abortion (as director of the Institute for Life and Family) and against persecution of Christians (as director of the Institute of Religious Freedom of the World Evangelical Alliance and as director of the Commission for Religious Freedom of the German and the Austrian Evangelical Alliance and member of the same commission of the World Evangelical Alliance).

He also is involved in all kinds of publishing activities. He has been editor of 'Bibel und Gemeinde' and editor of 'Evangelikale Missiologie', co-editor of 'Contra Mundum: A Reformed Cultural Review', and of 'Reflection: An International Reformed Review of Missiology'. Since 1986 he owns the publishing house 'Culture and Science Publ.' ('Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft'), which publishes scientific books on language, culture, religion and missions, and co-owns Consulting Schirmmacher GbR, a business and educational business company.

He has written or edited 74 books on ethics, missiology and cultural anthropology, which were translated into 14 languages. In 2002 he was named 'Man of Achievement' by the International Biographical Center Oxford for his achievements in the area of the ethics of international development.

He is listed in Marquis' Who's Who in the World, Dictionary of International Biography, International Who is Who of Professionals, EU-Who is Who, Who is Who in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 2000 Outstanding People of the 21st Century, 2000 Outstanding Intellectuals of the 21st Century, International Who's Who in Distance Learning, and other biographical yearbooks.

He is married to Dr. Christine Schirmmacher, professor of Islamic Studies and director of the Islam Institute of the German Evangelical Alliance, and author of a two-volume standard introduction to Islam. The couple has two children.

Books by Thomas Schirmacher in chronological order (With short commentaries)

As author:

Das Mißverständnis des Emil Brunner: Emil Brunners Bibliologie als Ursache für das Scheitern seiner Ekklesiologie. Theologische Untersuchungen zu Weltmission und Gemeindebau. ed. by Hans-Georg Wüch and Thomas Schirmacher. Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Weltmission und Gemeindebau: Lörrach, 1982. 54 pp.

[The misunderstanding of Emil Brunner] *A study and critique of Emil Brunner's ecclesiology and of the bibliology and hermeneutics of dialectical theology.*

Mohammed: Prophet aus der Wüste. Schwengeler: Berneck (CH), 1984¹, 1986², 1990³, 1996⁴. VTR: Nürnberg, 2006⁵. 120 pp.
[Muhammad] *A short biography of the founder of Islam and an introduction into Islam.*

Theodor Christlieb und seine Missionstheologie. Verlag der Evangelischen Gesellschaft für Deutschland: Wuppertal, 1985. 308 pp.
[Theodor Christlieb and his theology of mission] *A study of the biography, theology and missiology of the leading German Pietist, professor of practical theology and international missions leader in the second half of the nineteenth century. (Thesis for Dr. theol. in missiology.)*

Marxismus: Opium für das Volk? Schwengeler: Berneck (CH), 1990¹, 1997². 150 pp.
[Marxism: Opiate for the People?] *Marxism is proven to be a religion and an opiate for the masses. Emphasizes the differences between Marxist and Biblical work ethics.*

Zur marxistischen Sagen- und Märchenforschung und andere volkskundliche Beiträge. Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft: Bonn, 1991¹, 2003². 227 pp.
[On the Marxist View of Sagas and Tales and other essays in folklore and cultural anthropology] *10 essays and articles on the science of folklore and cultural anthropology in Germany. Includes a critique of the Marxist interpretation of tales and sagas, and studies on the history of marriage and family in Europe from the 6th century onward.*

„Der göttliche Volkstumsbegriff“ und der „Glaube an Deutschlands Größe und heilige

Sendung“: Hans Naumann als Volkskundler und Germanist unter dem Nationalsozialismus. 2 volumes. Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft: Bonn, 2 volumes, 1992¹, in one volume 2000². 606 pp.

[Hans Naumann as Anthropologist and Germanist under National Socialism] *Discusses the history of German cultural anthropology and folklore under Hitler, especially the leading figure Naumann, professor of German language, whose scientific theory is shown to be very religious in tone. (Thesis for a PhD in Cultural Anthropology.)*

War Paulus wirklich auf Malta? Hänsler: Neuhausen, 1992, VTR: Nürnberg, 2000² (together with Heinz Warnecke). 254 pp.

[Was Paul Really on Malta?] *The book shows that Paul was not shipwrecked on Malta but on another island, Kephallenia, and that the report in Acts is very accurate. The Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles is defended with theological and linguistic arguments against higher criticism.*

Psychotherapie – der fatale Irrtum. Schwengeler: Berneck (CH), 1993¹, 1994²; 1997³; 2001⁴ (together with Rudolf Antholzer). 150 pp.

[Psychotherapy – the Fatal Mistake] *A critique of secular psychotherapy, showing that psychotherapy often is a religion, and that most psychotherapists call every school except their own to be unscientific.*

Paulus im Kampf gegen den Schleier: Eine alternative Sicht von 1. Korinther 11,2-16. Biblia et symbiotica 4. Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft: Bonn, 1993¹, 1994², 1995³, 1997⁴ 168 pp. Revised: VTR: Nürnberg, 2002⁵
[Paul in Conflict with the Veil!?!] *Exegetical examination of 1. Corinthians 11,2-16, following an alternative view of John Lightfoot, member of the Westminster assembly in the 16th century.*

„Schirmacher argues that from the biblical teaching that man is the head of woman (1 Cor 11:3) the Corinthians had drawn the false conclusions that in prayer a woman must be veiled (11:4-6) and a man is forbidden to be veiled (11:7), and that the wife exists for the

husband but not the husband for the wife (11:8-9). Paul, however, rejected these conclusions and showed in 11:10-16 why the veiling of women did not belong to God's commandments binding upon all the Christian communities. After stating the thesis and presenting his alternative translation and exposition of 1 Cor 11:2-16, he considers the difficulties in the text, presents his alternative exposition in detail (in the form of thirteen theses), discusses quotations and irony in 1 Corinthians, and deals with other NT texts about women's clothing and prayer and about the subordination of wives." (*New Testament Abstracts vol. 39 (1995) 1, p. 154*).

Der Römerbrief. 2 vol. Neuhausen: Hänssler, 1994¹; Hamburg: RVB & Nürnberg: VTR, 2001². 331 + 323 pp.

[The Letter to the Romans] *Commentary on Romans in form of major topics of Systematic Theology starting from the text of Romans, but then going on to the whole Bible.*

Der Text des Römerbriefes: Für das Selbststudium gegliedert. Biblia et symbiotica 7. Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft: Bonn, 1994. 68 pp.

[The Text of the Letters to the Romans] *The text of Romans newly translated and structured for self study.*

Ethik. Neuhausen: Hänssler, 1994¹. 2 vol. 883 & 889 pp.; Hamburg: RVB & Nürnberg: VTR, 2001². 3 vol. 2150 pp.; 2002³. 8 volumes. 2850 pp.

[Ethics] *Major Evangelical ethics in German covering all aspects of general, special, personal and public ethics.*

Galilei-Legenden und andere Beiträge zu Schöpfungsforschung, Evolutionskritik und Chronologie der Kulturgeschichte 1979-1994. Biblia et symbiotica 12. Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft: Bonn, 1996. 331 pp.

[Legends of Galileo and other Contributions to Creation Science, Criticism of Evolution and Chronology of the History of Culture 1979-1994].

Völker – Drogen – Kannibalismus: Ethnologische und länderkundliche Beiträge 1984 – 1994. Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft: Bonn, 1997. 218 pp.

[Peoples – Drugs – Cannibalism] *A collection of articles on cultural anthropology, especially on Indians in South America, cannibalism and the religious use of drugs.*

Die Vielfalt biblischer Sprache: Über 100 alt- und neutestamentliche Stilarten, Aus-

drucksweisen, Redeweisen und Gliederungsformen. Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft: Bonn, 1997. 130 pp.

[The Diversity of Biblical Language] *A hermeneutical study, listing more than 100 specific language techniques in the Bible with several proof texts for each of them.*

Gottesdienst ist mehr: Plädoyer für einen liturgischen Gottesdienst. Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft: Bonn, 1998. 130 pp.

[Church Service is More] *An investigation into biblical proof texts for liturgical elements in Christian Sunday service.*

Gesetz und Geist: Eine alternative Sicht des Galaterbriefes. Reformatorische Paperbacks. Reformatorischer Verlag: Hamburg, 1999. 160 pp.

[Law and Spirit] *This commentary emphasizing the ethical aspects of Galatians wants to prove that Galatians is not only fighting legalists but also a second party of Paul's opponents, who were totally opposed to the Old Testament and the Law, and lived immorally in the name of Christian freedom, a view especially endorsed by Wilhelm Lütgert's commentary of 1919. Paul is fighting against the abrogation of the Old Testament Law as well as against using this Law as way of salvation instead of God's grace.*

Law and Spirit: An Alternative View of Galatians. RVB International: Hamburg, 2001. 160 pp.

English version of the same book.

God Wants You to Learn, Labour and Love. Reformation Books: Hamburg, 1999. 120 pp.

Four essays for Third World Christian Leaders on Learning with Jesus, Work Ethic, Love and Law and Social Involvement.

Dios Quiere que Tú Aprendas Trabajos y Ames. Funad: Managua (Nikaragua), 1999¹; 2000²; RVB International: Hamburg, 2003³. 70 pp.

[God Wants You to Learn, Labour and Love] *Spanish version of the same book.*

37 Gründe, warum Christen sich für eine Erneuerung unserer Gesellschaft auf christlicher Grundlage einsetzen sollten. Die Wende, 1999. 40 pp.

[37 reasons for Christian involvement in society and politics].

Christenverfolgung geht uns alle an: Auf dem Weg zu einer Theologie des Martyriums. Idea-Dokumentation 15/99. Idea: Wetzlar, 1999. 64 pp.

[The Persecution of Christians Concerns Us All: Towards a Theology of Martyrdom] *70 thesis on persecution and martyrdom, written for the International Day of Prayer for the Persecuted Church on behalf of the German and European Evangelical Alliance*

World Mission – Heart of Christianity. RVB International: Hamburg, 1999. 120 pp. *Articles on the Biblical and systematic fundament of World Mission, especially on mission as rooted in God's being, on 'Mission in the OT', and 'Romans as a Charter for World Mission'. Shorter version of German original 2001.*

Eugen Drewermann und der Buddhismus. Verlag für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft: Nürnberg, 2000¹; 2001². 132 pp. [Drewermann and Buddhism] *Deals with the German Catholic Author Drewermann and his propagating Buddhist thinking. Includes chapter on a Christian Ethics of Environment.*

Ausverkaufte Würde? Der Pornographie-Boom und seine psychischen Folgen. Hänssler: Holzgerlingen, 2000. (with Christa Meves). 130 pp.

[The Selling Off of Dignity] *The psychological results of pornography.*

Eine Sekte wird evangelisch – Die Reformation der Weltweiten Kirche Gottes. Idea-Dokumentation 11/2000. Idea: Wetzlar, 2000. 56 pp.

[A Cult Becomes Protestant] *Detailed report on the reformation of the Worldwide Church of God (Herbert W. Armstrong) from a sect to an evangelical church.*

Legends About the Galilei-Affair. RVB International: Hamburg, 2001. 120 pp. *Shorter version of the German book 'Galilei-Legenden' mentioned above with essays on the Galilei-affair and creation science.*

Human Rights Threatened in Europe: Euthanasia – Abortion – Bioethicconvention. RVB International: Hamburg, 2001. 100 pp. *Updated Lectures on euthanasia and biomedicine at the 1st European Right to Life Forum Berlin, 1998, and articles on abortion.*

Menschenrechte in Europa in Gefahr. RVB: Hamburg, 2001... 110 pp. [Human Rights Threatened in Europe] *Updated Lectures on euthanasia and biomedicine at the 1st European Right to Life Forum Berlin, 1998, and articles on abortion. See slightly different English version above.*

Aufbruch zur modernen Weltmission: William Careys Theologie. RVB. 64 pp.

[Be Keen to Get Going: William Careys Theology] *First discussion of Carey's theology in length, explaining his Calvinistic and Postmillennial background.*

Be Keen to Get Going: William Careys Theology. RVB: Hamburg, 2001. 64 pp. *Same book in English.*

Darf ein Christ schwören? RVB: Hamburg, 2001. 140 pp.

[May Christians Take an Oath?] *On Swearing and on its meaning for covenant theology. Taken from 'Ethik', vol. 1.*

Christus im Alten Testament. RVB: Hamburg, 2001. 84 pp.

[Christ in the Old Testament] *On Christ and the Trinity in the Old Testament and on 'the Angel of the Lord'. Taken from 'Ethik'.*

Wie erkenne ich den Willen Gottes? Führungsmystik auf dem Prüfstand. RVB: Hamburg, 2001. 184 pp.

[How to know the will of God] – *Criticizes the inner leading of the Spirit. Taken from 'Ethik'.*

Love is the Fulfillment of Love – Essays in Ethics. RVB: Hamburg, 2001. 140 pp. *Essays on ethical topics, including role of the Law, work ethics, and European Union.*

Mission und der Kampf um die Menschenrechte. RVB: Hamburg, 2001. 108 S.

[Mission and the Battle for Human Rights] *The relationship of world missions and the fight for human rights is discussed on an ethical level (theology of human rights) as well as on a practical level.*

The Persecution of Christians Concerns Us All: Towards a Theology of Martyrdom. zugleich Idea-Dokumentation 15/99 E. VKW: Bonn, 2001. 156 pp.

70 thesis on persecution and martyrdom, written for the International Day of Prayer for the Persecuted Church on behalf of the German and European Evangelical Alliance

Irrtumslosigkeit der Schrift oder Hermeneutik der Demut? VTR: Nürnberg, 2001. 82 pp.

[Inerrancy of Scripture or 'Hermeneutics of Humility'] *Debate with Dr. Hempelmann on the inerrancy of scripture.*

Beiträge zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte: Heiligenverehrung — Universität Gießen — Reformation / Augustin – Böhl — Spurgeon — Brunner. VKW: Bonn, 2001. 200 pp.

[Essay on the History of church and Dogma] *Articles on topics from church history like 'The beginning of the veneration of saints' and on the named theologians.*

Weltmission — Das Herz des christlichen Glaubens: Beiträge aus 'Evangelikale Missiologie'. VKW: Bonn, 2001. 200 pp.
[World Mission – Heart of Christianity] *Articles on the Biblical and systematic fundament of World Mission, especially on mission as rooted in God's being, on 'Mission in the OT', and 'Romans as a Charter for World Mission'. Shorter version of German original 2001.*

Säkulare Religionen: Aufsätze zum religiösen Charakter von Nationalsozialismus und Kommunismus. VKW: Bonn, 2001. 140 pp.
[Secular Religions] *Articles on the religious nature of National Socialism and Communism. Includes texts of prayers to Hitler.*

Paulus im Kampf gegen den Schleier!? VTR: Nürnberg, 2002⁵. 130 pp.
Revised version. See commentary on first edition 1993¹.

Paul in Conflict with the Veil!? VTR: Nürnberg, 2002¹; 2007². 130 pp.
Same book in English.

Hoffnung für Europa: 66 Thesen. VTR: Nürnberg, 2002
Official thesis and study of hope in the Old and New Testament for Hope for Europe of the European Ev. Alliance and Lausanne Europe.

Hope for Europe: 66 Theses. VTR: Nürnberg, 2002
Same book in English. Also available in Czech, Dutch, Spanish, Rumanina, Portugese, French, Russian, Italian, Portugese, Hungarian, Lettish, Latvian.

ABC der Demut. RVB: Hamburg, 2002
[ABC of Humility] *Notes and bible studies on humility in alphabetical order.*

Führen in ethischer Verantwortung: Die drei Seiten jeder Verantwortung. Edition ACF. Brunnen: Gießen, 2002
[Leading in ethical responsibility] *An introduction into ethics for economic and other leaders for the Academy of Christian Leaders.*

Der Papst und das Leiden: Warum der Papst nicht zurücktritt. VTR: Nürnberg, 2002. 64 pp.
[The Pope and Suffering] *A study of the writings of Pope John II. on suffering and an evaluation of their exegetical basis. Gives reasons why the pope does not resign.*

Erziehung, Bildung, Schule. VTR: Nürnberg, 2002. 88 pp.
[Instruction, Education, School] *The chapters on rising of children, example, education, and Christian school from 'Ethics'.*

Thomas Schirmmacher, Christine Schirmmacher u. a. Harenberg Lexikon der Religionen. Harenberg Verlag: Düsseldorf, 2002. 1020 pp.
[Harenberg Dictionary of World Religions] *In a major secular dictionary on world religions, Thomas Schirmmacher wrote the section on Christianity ('Lexicon of Christianity', pp. 8-267) and Christine Schirmmacher the section on Islam ('Lexicon of Islam', 'pp. 428-549).*

Studies in Church Leadership: New Testament Church Structure – Paul and His Co-workers – An Alternative Theological Education – A Critique of Catholic Canon Law. VKW: Bonn, 2003. 112 pp.
Contains the named five essays. The first essay is translated from vol. 5 of 'Ethics'.

Im Gespräch mit dem Wanderprediger des New Age – und andere apologetische Beiträge. VKW: Bonn, 2003. 210 pp.
[In Discussion with the Itinerant Preacher of the New Age] *Essays and reports on non-Christian religions, New Age, reincarnation, manicheism from two decades of apologetic debates.*

Verborgene Zahlenwerte in der Bibel? – und andere Beiträge zur Bibel. VKW: Bonn, 2003. 200 pp.
[Secret Numbers in the Bible?] *Essays and articles on Bible Numeric's, the importance of Hebrew studies, Obadiah, the Psalms and other Bible related topics from 2 decades of studies.*

Feindbild Islam. VKW: Bonn, 2003. 111 pp.
[Bogeyman Islam] *May Arab Christians call God 'Allah'? Is Allah the Father of Jesus? How Political Parties in Germany misrepresent Islam.*

Religijos mokslas. Prizmės knyga. Siaulai (Litauen): Campus Fidus, 2004. 106 pp.
[Secular Religions] *In Latvian: Essays on Religions, Marxism, National Socialism and the devil in Art and Literature.*

Bildungspflicht statt Schulzwang. VKW/VTR/idea: Bonn et. al., 2005. 90 pp.
[Compulsary Education or Compulsary Schooling] *A scientific evaluation of homeschooling.*

Der Ablass RVB/VTR: Hamburg, 2005. 144 pp.
[The Indulgences] *History and theology of the Catholic view on indulgences.*

Die Apokryphen RVB/VTR: Hamburg, 2005. 92 pp.
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