(p. 227), "*religionskritiks*" (pp. 238, 240, 248, 252, 254), "Czesltaw Milosz" (p. 249), "sufficiently Westernized enough" (p. 278), references to "rhetorics," "logics," and "lores."

Kitagawa was an eloquent and influential propagator of the ideals expressed in this book. But it was not given to him to work them out as a full-fledged theoretical program. The value of the book lies in its breadth of vision, its convincing identification of the role of the religious traditions today and of the problems they are having in assuming this role, and the author's burning concern for the creation of solidarity among human beings. His criticisms of historical Christianity from an Asian perspective should contribute to deepening people's awareness of global and interreligious interdependence.

In the Way: A Study of Christian Missionary Endeavours

Kenelm Burridge
Vancouver, British Columbia: University of British Columbia Press, 1991.

Reviewed by John F. Howes
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THIS SEMINAL WORK should be read by anyone with an interest in missions, for in it Burridge analyzes the process by which Christians follow the injunction to spread their faith to all the corners of the world and what happens when they try. As a result, to borrow the words of a senior missionary to Japan, Burridge "makes me proud of my profession." He centers on the person of the missionary as an individual. Missionaries go in "the way" as set forth in John 14:6, but find themselves frequently "in the way" of those who try to live out their lives within the societies to which the missionaries go. This daily tension defines the missionaries and the success of their work. One can best start to understand the importance of Burridge's findings through a summary of what he says.

THE ARGUMENT

The enormity of Burridge's task and his systematic approach to it does not facilitate summary and his frequent challenges of preconceptions keep the reader alert. He warns the reader from the start when he notes the involvement of anthropologists with "missionaries as persons, respected, and what they do, disliked" (p. x). These mixed emotions are met "with courtesy mingled with a certain guardedness…" by the missionary who typically has "been in the area for some years before an anthropologist arrives…. Hence this book: an attempt to understand and to create understanding" (p. xi). Burridge later introduces his own conclusions which so differ from those of many other anthropologists. "One day, perhaps, all those who enjoy the parts of the Euro-Christian heritage may come to acknowledge how much the world owes to those men and women who are or have been Christian missionaries" (p. xi). Context indicates that Burridge's findings clearly result from an arduous inquiry into an intellectual and spiritual problem of great personal importance.

Missionaries are seen as *individuals* (Burridges's emphasis), men or women "who, standing apart from a given moral order, attempt to transcend it and communicate to others the vision of another and more satisfying moral order…and give themselves over to the critique and transformation of other peoples' business" (p. 3). In this identification with missionaries with what might be called "heroic individuality," Burridge builds upon his earlier work, *Someone No One: An Essay on Individuality.* (Princeton, Princeton University

Press, 1979). This important theoretical study concludes that Christianity alone among the world's religious traditions enjoins its adherents to stand apart from society and judge it radically from the point of view of their faith. Missionaries as *individuals* try to implement their beliefs among those who have grown up in cultures with radically differing assumptions.

Though missionaries rest secure in the spiritual origins of their own motivation and in the hope that they can convince others to share it, they see too much that needs to be done to concern themselves with religious questions alone. Most of them go to underdeveloped areas. There they tend the sick, teach, and counsel, all the time in basic disagreement with the religious assumptions of those among whom they work. They get in the way. Some, like Annie Lock who worked among Australian aborigines, die with no apparent affect on history. Others, like Francis Xavier and Albert Schweitzer, leave a distinct imprint on later events. Those who write about missionaries tend to adopt one of two extreme positions; hagiography, which views missionaries only in the warm reflection of their perfectionist aims or, in cntrast, damaging stereotypes. These commend little and criticize much, based largely on the undeniable truth that missionaries hope to improve what they encounter wherever they go.

An introduction to the cycle of missionary activity follows. Burridge starts with Christianity as a faith among the other faiths of world history. From decisions made by His followers shortly after Christ's death, Christianity has devoted itself to good works for others and so automatically tried to increase its influence. Themselves changed by the faith they have embraced, Christians try to change others whom they meet. They do not agree on attitudes toward society, "largely because in the reach towards God…and back again into culture, the emphasis on events and their meanings allows for, even demands, variations in expression and interpretation" (pp. 49–50). This acceptance of differing attitudes toward society results in part from the *individuality* of the missionaries. Each tries to change the moralities of those whom he encounters based on his understanding of the Bible. The combination of Christian individuality and contact with society makes Christians seem contrary to those who also try to mold society beginning from quite different assumptions.

Each missionary starts with a personal sense that one is led into the profession, some feeling that it is a simple culmination of their voyage toward maturity and others coming after lengthy struggle with their consciences and wills. The decision taken, they then must move out into society and begin the constant compromise that their affirmation entails. Missionaries try to convert individuals who will found communities of Christians that then must exist within the secular society. The resultant communities resemble the Amish or Hutterite groups in the Americas, but those in the new Christian missions differ from the inhabitants of these other small Christian enclaves in their desire to change the world around them. As the missions flourish, they tend to lose the insularity that resulted from their initial common devotion. The new Christians and their missionary leaders move on to form a local church at every step forced to compromise with the society around them.

Included among the compromises is a balance between the need for devotion to preserve one's own faith and affirmation of the secular society to assure a livelihood. If the new community moves to assure its economic strength, secular society usually takes over its work. If it tries to remain true to its devotional roots, it discovers tensions between the devotional roots and societies' attitudes. Their workshops, schools and hospitals provide a model of a new earth

and tempt those working in them to forget devotions. Too great tension leads to millennial movements. More commonly, either secularism or an attempt at renewed devotion results. The difficulties which culminate in either direction result in part from differing perceptions of evil which accompany the desire to deepen devotional wellsprings while working in society. In the subsistence community before missionaries arrive, sin is seen as resulting in appropriate misfortune, but in the complex society associated with the modern world no clear relation between wrongdoing and misfortune seems to exist. A conscience, independent of social constraints, must lead the individual to make up his or her own mind about evil. Only then can the Christian concept of forgiveness come into play. Marriage takes special place among the ethical problems new Christians face. In theory polygamy would seem desirable since it offers women the chance to specialize in the tasks of homemaking and child care as well as an enlarged sense of family security for the children. Yet Christians agree on the need for monogamy and its virtues.

The changes introduced by the missionary often result in the early enthusiasm and subsequent disenchantment of new Christians. Governments move in to take over the secular aspects of missionary communities, seeing them as unwelcome competition. Missionaries "exist to make themselves unnecessary" (p. 146), yet they find themselves constantly tempted to exercise their secular skills at the cost of increasing their own spiritual strength. Sometimes they find themselves experiencing metanoia, in this case arriving at a new understanding of the society to which they have gone, even as they encourage change away from that culture in others. Predictable personality changes among the converts lead to them express their new individuality in ways that shock other members of their society.

The tensions generated by the new faith foster millenarianism movements through which converts attempt to realize their new aspirations in society. At the same time, secularization sets in among both the missionaries and the converts to whom the new faith gradually seems less central. The missionary tries not to impose his values, but with little success. As the numbers of Christians increases, the local society begins to shape the new Christian group in subtle ways. This is as it has been since the beginning of Christianity. Missionaries try to change only those things which inhibit the development of the faith, and they act with care in the knowledge they may harm rather than help. But act they must, particularly in the case of caste differences which militate against the universal ideals of Christianity. As in the need for monogamy, missionaries agree that adaptation to local cultures cannot include anything which violates the central importance of the individual.

One would think that with two thousand years of experience there could be some science of missionary work, some accepted norms or standards by which the beginning missionary could pace his or her activities or others could judge them, but no such standards exist. "Missionaries are men and women of action, doers. Whatever the theory or principle of it they have to put it into action, speak to and engage with people as Jesus did" (p. 202). "What is really involved in a "missionary culture" is change, people changing: evoking varieties of subjective judgments" (p. 205). Such a profession resists categorization. Early missionary writings started the analysis of societies that would be developed and continued by anthropologists. As opposed to missionaries who constantly do what circumstances seem to require, anthropologists "reveal structures of order….The mystery of people and the intricate complexities of their lives are subservient to…elegantly articulated structures" (p. 216). In the early twentieth

century, as missionaries faced increasingly complex tasks and anthropologists refined their tools of analysis, the two groups drifted apart. The anthropologist never advocated change, the core of missionary activity. Missionaries in their constant activity responded to immediate needs. The ad hoc nature of their work makes any systematic missiology impossible. If one could be constructed, it could have no conceivable use, for the missionary always deals with unique individuals in the random situations of life. An accepted missiology would signal the end of the Christian leaven that has affected societies for two millennia, as missionaries communicated "the meaning and inspiration of Jesus Christ, putting on the new man" (p. 232).

Burridge concludes with the observation that what sets missionaries apart is a "devoted and indomitable perseverance" (p. 234), and that they seem to arise "from a peculiarly significant interaction between Christian commitment and the imperfections of culture or society" (p. 235). A "good measure of the missionary achievement is that so much of their work…has been appropriated by those who are not or do not think of themselves as Christians" (p. 244). They themselves know their own weaknesses and the numerous times that failures force them to start their whole enterprise anew.

ANALYSIS

With this broad summary in mind, we need to consider the methodological difficulties of this work and the applicability of Burridge's ideas to Japan. Reflection on what Burridge has written leads to the conclusion that the information contained here is refreshingly new. Studies of mission are usually undertaken from within the faith, so authors never question the relation between articles of belief, how they work on individuals, and how they in turn interact with other members of society. This one-sided approach completely ignores the relation between believers and members of the broader society implicit in the Christian message from the beginning. Any work which attempts to deal with this larger question opens fertile new ground and exposes its author to numerous hazards, as Burridge realizes.

His analysis relies on bimodalities, similar to the logic of a computer, breaking down problems which cannot be dealt with on a black-or-white basis to their components until one can deal with them in terms of simple on-off. His major pairings include distinctions between devotional and affirmative reactions to the Christian imperatives; subsistence and complex societies; personality types that contrast the doer with the analyzer; the differing professional assumptions of the missionary and anthropologist; the Appolonian and Dionysian expressions of devotion; the distinction between the person and individual; and the link between metanoia and mutual metanoia as the missionary communicates his faith. A reviewer would like to give further meaning to these distinctions, but to delineate the differences and how they work on the human psyche is Burridge's main point. Any attempt to summarize the distinctions would involve a restatement of Burridge's whole case. One can simply encourage those whose interest is whetted to get the original, where they can see the graphic representation of the relation between the various opposites in the diagrams presented on pages 63, 84, and 160. Here let us refer briefly to the results of the these polarities as they work on individuals. The necessary maneuvering between them creates psychic tensions both within both the missionary and the converts.

The mere mention of these dualities may suggest to a reader some of the more arid analyses favored by social scientists, but Burridge spares his reader this pain.

Instead, he introduces numerous references to the writings of missionaries themselves, studies of their work or references to them in literature. These specifics illustrate his theoretical points and with them produce a rich text which helps the reader understand the strains which each pair of polarities induces. One cannot help, as a result, but share Burridge's enthusiasm for the inventiveness displayed by missionaries as they grapple with the results of their intervention in the field. Far from what is familiar to them, they lack the psychic props provided by seminaries or colleagues for those who pursue their ideals closer to home.

Although Burridge's methodology clarifies many issues, the monumental nature of his task introduces its own difficulties. Let us look at three. Burridge writes for two audiences: the secular anthropologist and the convinced Christian. He has difficulty providing sufficient background information for each of them. One runs into numerous examples, particularly on pages with references to Biblical narratives. Burridge assumes a knowledge of the Bible far greater than a non-Christian could be expected to have and beyond the power of many Christians. Consider the following sentence, for example: "The decision of the first Christians after earnest debate in Jerusalem to carry their message outside the confines of Jewry and into the gentile world was hardly won" (p. 42). These words open the section on the history of Christian missions. No other information identifies to what Burridge refers. A secondary work mentioned in the next sentence would probably take the reader back to a Biblical reference, but few readers have that work close at hand. A simple reference to Acts 2.1–8.3 would have enabled both the inquisitive anthropologist and the Christian tentative in his knowledge of the Bible to locate the context upon which the succeeding discussion rests.

If anthropologists have to stretch to understand references to Christianity, those interested in Christian mission find themselves struggling to follow allusions to secular concepts. Take the case of the word "metaculture" which, according to the index, occurs thirty times. A senior American scholar who had worked with the church in China and Southeast Asia since 1936, and written numerous books on Old Testament studies found himself mystified by the concept when he read Burridge's work. Here are some of Burridge's references, taken at random, to the word. "I have called Christianity a *metaculture* because while the main elements of the faith are reasonably consistent and uniform, their inculturation or emergences into culture differentiate into denominational, sectarian, and culturally diversified versions, which then become 'religions'" (p. xiv). "The relevances of the metaculture become, as they must and should given that necessary affirmation of the world, inculturated or dressed with culture, a religion" (p. 154) …"a metaculture, a faith, in principle independent sociocultural conditions…" (p. 180). Having read the book a number of times, I conclude that Burridge writes out of his experience as an anthropologist against the anthropologist's definition of culture as the sum total of the ways that a given group of people order their lives. A metaculture then, for one who thinks in terms of Greek or Latin prefixes, is something, to follow Webster's *Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*, "more comprehensive: transcending" (p. 745) culture. Thus, when introduced into a community, Christianity as a metaculture takes the new believers beyond the elements of their native culture. In contrast to this expression in anthropological terms, one who works from Christian assumptions of mission sees in Christianity itself the basis of a new culture. To qualify it with the word "meta" seems to rob it of the central position that it takes in their lives.

Last, one should note that Burridge requires his readers to bring to their encounter with him a rich vocabulary and a willingness to expand it. Try, for instance, "Tetragrammaton" as in "are not so distant kin of the Tetragrammaton" (p. 163), undoubtedly a technical term for Biblical scholarship but otherwise not a part of most readers' working vocabularies. Although a reviewer mentions these points as a necessary component of a review, one does not want to dwell on the numerous points of this sort which appear, after all, simply because they provide Burridge with the necessary shorthand to cope with the complex issues that define his task.

While perhaps slowed by Burridge's cramped prose, the reader will enjoy the unexpected humor. For instance, he describes the way that the dynamics of missionary work confound the thought patterns of ecclesiastical bureaucrats by comparing their encyclicals on mission to "the elegant and unsinkable *Titanic*, a triumph of collected skills steaming into an iceberg" (p. 200). And finally, the reader will thank Burridge for his careful proofreading. Only one typo, on page 171, intruded itself into my consciousness.

One who has grown up with missionary assumptions will find numerous glimpses of understanding, perhaps akin to what Burridge calls "metanoia," as he works through the analysis. I for one first found myself concerned with the problem of the relation between missionary and anthropologist as a graduate student between 1950 and 1953. The kinds of questions anthropologists ask came naturally to mind, so that I sought out chances to discuss them with students of anthropology. I learned that missionaries were considered to have very little of value to say about native cultures. Yet what the students of India said about Indian rural society resembled very much the conversations that took place around the dinner table in our Chicago home as I grew up. At that time I heard that my grandfather, John Forman, was the one, among his sibling set of children born to a pioneer missionary to India, who specialized in rural evangelism. Only long after my graduate-school days did I discover that the authors of the great seminal anthropological study on Indian rural society, *Behind Mud Walls*, William and Charlotte Wiser, had gone to India recruited by my grandfather as young missionaries and had done their study while living in the same missionary compound with him. All this comes to mind as one reads Burridge on the relation between missionaries and anthropologists and how they began to drift apart early in the twentieth century.

BURRIDGE'S HYPOTHESES AND JAPAN

On first glance Burridge seems to say relatively little that resonates with missionary experience in twentieth-century Japan. A few months ago I described his conclusions for over an hour to a number of senior Protestant missionaries in Tokyo. As I finished, one of them commented that what I had discussed did not seem to fit at all the experience of his life work. Reading Burridge once again in the light of this remark leads to the conclusion that Japanese society in the nineteenth century quickly appropriated Christianity within its accepted societal categories. A few years after the arrival of the first Protestant missionaries in 1859, converts were demanding control of the young church, and the missionaries were agreeing with them. Early local control of the church distinguished the Japanese Protestant experience from that in many Asian countries. After World War II, the period covering the experience of those I had addressed, missionaries dispatched by mission boards to Japan came dedicated to serve the local church as its leaders felt appropriate.

The early control of the Church by native leaders was paralleled by government bureaucratic inclusionist attitudes toward Christianity. The Meiji Constitution of 1889 guaranteed freedom of religious belief "within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects," (Hugh Borton, *Japan's Modern Century*, p. 494) but official concern over unruly converts and their desire to change society led the police to use force to control them. The distinction that Burridge makes between "subsistence" and "complex" societies would seem to explain how the Japanese government systematically strengthened community pressure to ensure state control of what seemed to them radical Christian ideas. Some leaders influenced by Christianity paid with their lives as a result. In contrast to these outspoken reformers, most Christians had before World War I become an accepted part of society. One feels that Burridge would say that the Japanese church in return for the acceptance it craved had sacrificed its ability to act as a leaven in society.

In contrast, take the recent example of a couple of young obviously non-Japanese persons performing a street show on a Sunday afternoon in Yokohama's Chinatown. They might, if they stopped to consider Burridge's message, relate more to it than the senior missionaries I addressed. Painted up and dressed in the billowing pantaloons of circus performers, they continued their skit until they had gathered together a small audience before they switched into their evangelical message. Their poor Japanese made one wonder how much they might be communicating, but their energy and enthusiasm left no doubt as to their commitment. A thoughtful meal with them after their afternoon's work might have produced reflections more in line with the missionaries with whom Burridge talked in his field work.

And finally, to observe new converts to Christianity among contemporary young Japanese is to notice how they have become individuals, and begin to urge further individuality among others, losing their unquestioning respect for traditional constraints. One can imagine how the enthusiasm of their new faith will cause problems for those who have converted them, their families and themselves. They will become "in the way," at least until the constraints of adult Japanese responsibilities close in on them.

Burridge would not be surprised. He would note, one supposes, how the phenomenon of young Christians who seem to grow through Christianity on their way to adulthood demonstrates how Japanese society has in its own way provided a place for Christianity in the development of thoughtful young people. Though at first glance he thus seems to provide little of direct relevance to contemporary Japanese experience, Burridge provides all those interested in Christian growth with a stimulating and provocative look at what happens to Christians and their faith when they seriously try to provide a spiritual leaven for those they meet.