

**The Bible and Mission in Faith Perspective  
J. Hudson Taylor and the Early China Inland Mission**

**De Bijbel en Zending vanuit Geloofsperspectief  
J. Hudson Taylor en de vroege China Inland Mission**

Proefschrift

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door

Christopher E.M. Wigram  
geboren op 2 maart 1954  
te Letchworth, United Kingdom

Promotoren: prof.dr. Jan A.B. Jongeneel

prof. dr. Anthony N.S. Lane, London School of  
Theology, London

dr. Brian Stanley, Fellow, St Edmund's College,  
University of Cambridge.

prof. dr. Ruth Tucker Calvin Theological Seminary,  
Grand Rapids

Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, Zoetermeer

# Preface

Most missionaries would testify to the importance of some aspect of Biblical teaching in providing a motivation for their involvement in mission. Even if they subsequently serve in supportive roles, they still use the Bible for personal edification, guidance and a search for greater understanding of the ways of God. At the popular level, many consider this to be sufficient in itself to do mission.

At the beginning of my involvement with world mission I fitted into the above category. I was motivated by my reading of scripture and the supposed urgency of the task. The insistent clamour that the prolonged study of the Bible, in order to prepare for mission, was short-sighted in the light of eschatological realities was still a part of the mission context in some quarters. The pragmatic aspects of mission overrode any consideration of the need for biblical reflection. At this stage I had no theological foundation for ministry. Exposure to the many aspects of mission in South America, in the early eighties, opened up a variety of differing experiences among the various Christian communities that I encountered. There seemed to be a welcome exuberance that was manifested in rapid church growth, but I also noticed that the place of the Bible was not as prominent as it could have been for distinctively Christian communities. This gave cause for reflection.

After a period of theological study in Britain my family joined OMF International (UK) to work in the Philippines. The nine years that we served in the Philippines were fascinating as the country changed under the influences of globalisation and the more democratic structures after the end of the Marcos political era. The ministry there involved various aspects of theological education. Immersion in another context and culture is a great privilege but it often seemed that in the Philippines there was an over reliance on imported methods of doing theology and mission and not enough biblical reflection from within on the Filipino context, although there are some notable exceptions.

When we returned to the UK in 1998 in order to take up a leadership role with OMF I needed to gain a wider understanding of what was happening in East Asia rather than just the Philippines. I also wanted to delve into the history of our own mission and learn from it. Here was an opportunity to gain an historical perspective on the use of the Bible in mission through one specific missionary and to see to what extent the Bible functioned as a motivator within one particular mission. At a time when many other methodologies were proposed for mission, it seemed important to analyse the place and role of the Bible in the development of mission historically in order to try and better understand the present.

During the writing of this dissertation I have been greatly helped by the advice and observations of many people. I would particularly like to express my thanks to Prof. Dr. Jan Jongeneel of the University of Utrecht, for acting as my supervisor for the writing of this dissertation. He has provided a firm guiding hand in giving overall direction and avenues of study. It was a great privilege to meet him in his home in the Netherlands and also to host his visit to the UK where he joined a missiological forum. Dr. Brian Stanley of the Henry Martyn Centre for the study of mission and world Christianity in Cambridge has been my UK-based supervisor. He has continually provided encouragement and informed insights that have helped to steer me in the right direction. The visits to Westminster College for lunch and prolonged discussions were always stimulating and eagerly

anticipated. Prof. Dr. Ruth Tucker has also provided valuable insights and further stimulation for research from her perspective in the United States. Prof. Dr. Anthony Lane of the London School of Theology has also read the manuscript and given me time to discuss the text. His encyclopaedic knowledge of the development of Christian doctrine has been a great benefit especially in the historical areas of the study. None of the above can be blamed for any errors in understanding or perspective. Those faults lie squarely at my door.

I would also like to thank the staff at the British Library in London and at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) for providing the material with which to study and a place to do it. The latter have been fine custodians of the CIM Archives and the unfailing courtesy of the staff in dealing with the many requests for its use is greatly appreciated. My local Sevenoaks library have been assiduous in tracking down a huge variety of books and articles, maintaining efficiency in the midst of a major building project. Many of my colleagues both here and in East Asia have encouraged me along the way. They have provided a context that has esteemed further theological and missiological study as an essential part of the life of someone in leadership and I deeply appreciate that value in OMF International. My wife Susanne and our three children, Jessica, Michael and Stephanie have given me the time and space to pursue this project without which it would not have even begun.

## Abbreviations

BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
BIAMS	British and Irish Association for Mission Studies
BMS	Baptist Missionary Society
CES	Chinese Evangelization Society
CIM	China Inland Mission
CM	<i>China's Millions</i>
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CSAC	Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity
IBMR	<i>International Bulletin for Missionary Research</i>
IVP	Inter Varsity Press
JHT	James Hudson Taylor
LMS	London Missionary Society
LXX	Septuagint
NIV	New International Version
NT	New Testament
OMF	OMF International, formerly Overseas Missionary Fellowship
OP	Occasional Papers
OT	Old Testament
OUP	Oxford University Press
RTS	Religious Tract Society
RV	Revised Version of the Bible (1881-85)
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
WEF	World Evangelical Fellowship

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# 1

## Introduction

James Hudson Taylor (1832-1905, hereafter referred to as Taylor) was the founder and leader of the China Inland Mission (CIM) which began in 1865. He was a 'seminal' and controversial figure in mission history who forged a path that inspired many to work in China.<sup>1</sup> In 1905 the 'large and influential' CIM was described as an 'international octopus' with over eight hundred men and women working at sixty stations in fifteen out of the eighteen provinces of China.<sup>2</sup> The work of the CIM continues today under the name OMF International.<sup>3</sup> When Taylor died in 1905, one of his colleagues John Stevenson (1844-1918) wrote:

No thoughtful person can seriously contemplate the history of the CIM in the homelands or in China without being impressed with the statesmanlike tact and wisdom displayed by Mr Taylor in all his arrangements, and with the striking variety of ways in which he harmonised and conserved such a variety of different elements and interests into one common cause and aim - the glory of God and the salvation of the Chinese. The spiritual influence of his life on the home churches was very great, and it is no exaggeration to say that missionary enterprise throughout the world owes more to him than we shall in this generation ever be able to gauge.<sup>4</sup>

It is this man, James Hudson Taylor, that is the central focus of this study.

### 1.1 Stating the problem

It is often alleged that the historians of the Victorian church and of China have overlooked the contribution of the missionaries.<sup>5</sup> For example, a reviewer of a book about the spread of Christianity, noted that the writers fail to mention the contributions to mission thinking of either Taylor or his contemporary, John L. Nevius in discussing the planting of nationally run churches in China.<sup>6</sup> Professional historians have been cited for their neglect of the contribution of nineteenth-century missionaries from England,<sup>7</sup> often missing major dimensions of understanding the missionary movement.<sup>8</sup> Andrew Walls highlights this omission showing the importance of the modern missionary movement as a product of Western church history.<sup>9</sup> The work of the missionaries acted in a two-fold manner: taking the contribution of the western church to the non-western world as well as mediating

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Collins Reilly, *Spirituality for Mission: Historical, Theological, and Cultural Factors for a Present-day Missionary Spirituality* (New York: Orbis Books, 1978), p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Alwyn Austin, *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society 1832-1905* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), p. xxiv.

<sup>3</sup> John Pollock, *Hudson Taylor and Maria* (Ross-shire: Christian Focus, 1996), p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> John W. Stevenson, *China's Millions* (September 1905), pp. 118-119.

<sup>5</sup> Andrew F. Walls, 'Structural Problems in Mission Studies', *The Missionary Movement in Christian History* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark), pp. 143-144, see also Jan A. B. Jongeneel, *The Philosophy & Science of Mission in the 19th and 20th Centuries Part 1*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2002), p. 252. Chadwick acknowledges in passing that two Evangelical institutions, the CMS and the Bible Society showed a rise in numbers but fails to mention other significant developments in missions. Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church, Part 1* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1971), p. 446.

<sup>6</sup> John Marsh, reviewing Richard Harries and Henry Mayr-Harting, *Christianity: Two Thousand Years* (Oxford: OUP, 2001) in *Evangelicals Now*, March 2002.

<sup>7</sup> Edward V. Gulick, *Peter Parker and the Opening of China* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1973), p.vii; Alwyn Austin, 'Pilgrims and Strangers: the China Inland Mission in Britain, Canada, the United States and China 1865-1901', Ph.D. thesis (Ontario: York, 1996), p. 25.

<sup>8</sup> Judith Rowbotham, 'This is no Romantic Story: Reporting the Work of British Female Missionaries, c. 1850-1910', *Currents in World Christianity*, Position Paper 4 (Cambridge: 1996), p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Walls, 'The Eighteenth Century Protestant Awakening in its European Context', in Brian Stanley (ed), *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), p. 23.

back to the western church the religions and culture of these peoples. All this is a vital part of Western Christian history and yet Walls sees that 'it is not a well worked field'<sup>10</sup> often ignored by church historians. This reflects the perspective that even at its height, the missionary movement was always considered a 'marginal activity' pursued by a minority of Western Christians.<sup>11</sup>

Taylor and many other missionaries have been relegated to the sphere of popular biography which focuses on their ministerial exploits rather than on their missiological or theological significance. Although most missionaries were not theologians making a contribution to theology as a discipline, they nevertheless operated with theological assumptions and arguably were to have a more enduring influence on the developing church world-wide than the 'professional' theologians.

The tide may be turning. Eleanor Jackson raises the issue of the theological impetus behind many missionaries when she writes:

Just as there is little awareness of the sociology of Evangelical Missions, there is no appreciation of the level to which missionaries and their supporters were saturated in the Bible, not just the letter to the Romans ..... it is hard to grasp the degree to which missions were driven by a sense of transcendental reality.<sup>12</sup>

Brian Stanley also cues into this crucial background for an understanding of mission among Evangelicals:

It was because they were unambiguously people of the Book, men and women whose consciousness was soaked in the Bible and whose experience confirmed the scriptural testimony to the natural depravity of humanity and the sovereignty of divine grace.<sup>13</sup>

This direction is confirmed by Daniel Hardy, who argues that theological orthodoxy is 'central to the nature and practice of mission'.<sup>14</sup> He notes the tendency within the study of missions to focus on chronological factors, more easily researched, than on the theological propulsion for mission. Without this, the study of mission is often one-dimensional, for it pays little attention to the fundamental orientation that guides and sustains missionaries. Hardy argues for the study of the theological notions underlying the motivations and assurances of mission, 'so that the events can be seen within a theological context'.<sup>15</sup> He is unable to develop this theme but he lists a number of areas within which theological orthodoxy operates and through them he shows that the how and why of mission are driven dynamically by theological convictions.<sup>16</sup>

Although these signs may be encouraging, there is little agreement about where this restoration of a theology of mission might begin. Klaus Fiedler issues a challenge for the development of a contemporary missiology but neglects to include the important issue of the use of the Bible in mission. His list, although obviously not exhaustive, illustrates the tendency of evangelical research in the area of missions to shy away from specifically theological agendas in favour of the anthropological, the historical and the sociological perspective.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Walls, *Eighteenth Century Protestant Awakening*, p. 23.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p 24

<sup>12</sup> Eleanor Jackson, review of Stanley, *Christian Missions*, in Bi-ennial newsletter of BIAMS (March 2002), No 18.

<sup>13</sup> Stanley, *Christian Missions*, p. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Daniel W. Hardy, 'Upholding Orthodoxy in Missionary Encounters: A Theological Perspective', in *Christian Missions*, p. 198.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions* (Oxford: Regnum, 1994), p. 401.

It is in the light of this lack that Jan Jongeneel noted the need for a missionary theology, separate from systematic and practical theology.<sup>18</sup> It is an urgent issue because placing a theology of mission under other theological disciplines has emasculated the missionary emphasis of the church.<sup>19</sup> He concludes that there is little consensus about the right place for a missionary theology, so he suggests a way forward by linking a missionary theology in the first place with spirituality, devotion, meditation, contemplation, prayer and lifestyle.<sup>20</sup> These are all vital elements in the life of many missionary pioneers, including Taylor. They provide an opportunity to put praxis and reflection together. Fiedler agrees, noting that it is more productive to analyse what faith missions actually do in working out their theology than relying on their theological statements.<sup>21</sup> Here is a more useful starting point for any analysis of missionary theology which, by nature, is activist and practical, no matter what forms of reflection and meditation on issues are later required. Any understanding of Taylor's motives in the formation of the CIM cannot avoid these issues for his own spiritual formation stamped his Bible reading, his missionary outlook and his subsequent activities in mission. The contribution of a particular spirituality, moulded by a specific approach to the Bible, to the practice of mission has to be taken seriously.<sup>22</sup> This will increase comprehension of the milieu in which the modern missionary movement arose, and the spiritual dynamic that formed the character, person and theology of Taylor.<sup>23</sup>

Unfortunately, the link between the Bible and spiritual formation is another neglected area in the study of mission. David Bebbington notes this lack of exploration. He sees that the study of devotional attitudes can be profitable both in an understanding of spirituality and Christian history.<sup>24</sup> Wolffe goes further, suggesting that the investigation of the history of spirituality and individual religious experience has the potential to contribute to a better understanding of the pattern of mission history and its relationship to more general historical development. The description of personal spiritual experience usually found in other sources such as a diary, letter or memoir might shed light on areas that could combine with the work of the historian.<sup>25</sup> These experiences certainly gave the subject that which was needed to cope with the work given to him. Taylor recognised that in his early experience in China he struggled spiritually. He saw the need for a higher standard of the Holy Spirit's power as being a requirement for a missionary and often referred to his spiritual experience of 1869 as a pivotal event in his life and work.<sup>26</sup>

This was heightened by the expectations of spiritual life aroused by the Keswick holiness movement (see Chapter Three) and how its influence was felt in the life and ministry of Taylor. This examination of the personal life has been relatively neglected in the scholarship of the period.<sup>27</sup> Bebbington writes: 'The inward life, however, especially in the evangelical tradition, has not received

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<sup>18</sup> Jongeneel, *Philosophy, Science and Theology*, Part 1, p. 9.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>21</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 32.

<sup>22</sup> Stanley, *Christian Missions*, p. 3.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>24</sup> David W. Bebbington, Foreword to Ian M. Randall, *Evangelical Experiences* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1999), p. ix.

<sup>25</sup> John Wolffe, 'Historical Method and Christian Vision', in M. Hutchinson & O.Kalu (ed), *A Global Faith* (Sydney: Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, 1998), p. 96.

the attention it deserves'.<sup>28</sup> Holiness was a major aspect of the spirituality of the time for many churchgoers.<sup>29</sup> Bebbington concludes that 'holiness was intimately bound up with the spirit of the age' and goes further to argue that faith missions sprung from the same source as the holiness movement, being partly an expression of the Romantic spirit of the age.<sup>30</sup> He sees the Romantic movement as important for the development of spirituality in the nineteenth century:<sup>31</sup> it influenced the culture throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>32</sup> Bebbington and Alwyn Austin maintain that its initial impact on the churches was made in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, precisely the time that Taylor was a young man being moulded in the influences that were to shape his career. This period was a 'tumultuous period in the religious life of England' as society was transformed culturally under Romanticism and religiously under Evangelicalism.<sup>33</sup> Within the movement there was the stress on the power of the individual will, important in both conversion and in achieving holiness. Bebbington notes that this tended in some circles to dilute the emphasis on objective truth. It was an example of the elevation of experience over doctrine, which minimised ecclesiastical boundaries and downgraded doctrinal concerns.<sup>34</sup>

Prayer for mission was another important aspect of the spirituality of missionaries. The foundation for the expansion of mission was laid partly through the corporate prayer of those who were the fruits of pietism and other religious movements of the eighteenth century.<sup>35</sup> Stanley shows how important the American theologian Jonathan Edwards' teaching on prayer was in the lives of the young pastors who were crucial in the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society.<sup>36</sup> Issues like these cannot be ignored in missiological study,<sup>37</sup> for they are a part of mission spirituality that has been neglected in mission and church history.<sup>38</sup> John Mason notes the importance of prayer for an expansion of the kingdom of God in the period before the rise of the modern missionary movement.<sup>39</sup> Jongeneel makes five important points about prayer that contributed to vigorous mission. Firstly, he notes the vital role that prayer played in the establishment of the various missionary societies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Secondly, he describes, with reference especially to Taylor, the role that prayer played in recruiting missionaries. Thirdly, he focuses on the personal prayer of many missionaries that enabled them to endure great hardships for the spread of the gospel. Fourthly, he sees that prayer is

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<sup>26</sup> For one example, see Montagu Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing in Inland China* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1890), p. 18.

<sup>27</sup> Bebbington, *Holiness in Nineteenth-Century England* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000), p. 2.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 168.

<sup>31</sup> Bebbington, *Holiness*, p. 13.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>33</sup> Austin, 'Only Connect: the CIM and Transatlantic Evangelicalism' in Wilbert R. Shenk, *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory and Policy* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), p. 287.

<sup>34</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 179.

<sup>35</sup> James 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. 118.

<sup>36</sup> Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society 1792-1992* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1992), p. 4.

<sup>37</sup> Jongeneel, *Philosophy, Science, and Theology of Mission in the 19th and 20th Century*, Part II (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1997), p. 21.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>39</sup> John Mason, *The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England. 1760-1800* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2001), p. 61.

important for the practice of ministry. Fifthly, he confirms the role of publications specifically for prayer for missionaries.<sup>40</sup> If the above assertions are accurate, then some analysis of the part that prayer played in the formation and the ongoing work of the CIM will be helpful, for the practice of prayer was embedded in the commands of scripture and was seen as an essential outworking of a practical faith.

The study of the interplay between the Bible and spiritual formation is a task that cannot be undertaken without some understanding of some the theological presuppositions that provided the motivation for mission. Stanley outlines the distinctives of early nineteenth century Protestant mission which are important for this background. The first of these is the belief that all non-western peoples were 'heathen' and in need of salvation through Christ.<sup>41</sup> Hardy agrees:

The impulse to missions elsewhere arose among those who combined intensive awareness of the universal truth of the Christian message with a sense of urgency of bringing this truth – the truth of salvation – to those outside the usual spheres of Christianity.<sup>42</sup>

It was assumed that the message, appropriate in Britain, was easily adaptable to the minds of others anywhere in the world.<sup>43</sup> Secondly, following from this, there was a tendency to dismiss other religions as idolatry or superstition. Thirdly, this came with a belief in the superiority of western civilisation and its value in bringing liberation intellectually and technologically to less developed parts of the world. Fourthly, there was a confidence in the 'regenerative capacity' of rational knowledge when linked with Christian proclamation. Fifthly, these reasons contributed to an individualistic call to conversion.<sup>44</sup> This was Taylor's context but the theological impulses, previously neglected, that under-girded Taylor in mission need to be analysed to see to what extent Taylor conforms to or departs from the above patterns in looking at his theology and life.

Part of this task is to consider the influence of the biblical texts commanding mission which spurred Taylor on in his work and to see how they functioned in his theology and praxis. In considering the texts known as 'The Great Commission' and their impact on the church, John Wolffe helpfully dissects some of the key elements.<sup>45</sup> He shows how the authority of the text as found in Matthew's Gospel operates on two levels. The first is within the confessional context that takes the text as being part of the command of Christ to his church. This makes it an effective place from which to study the ethos and self-understanding of mission inspired by this text. He admits that even for those who are sceptical about this viewpoint the words still function as a 'key foundational statement' for the purpose of the Christian church from the beginning. How Taylor used these texts will help to give legitimacy to our observations of what he achieved in response to the 'Great Commission'.

Secondly, Wolffe analyses the clauses in turn and makes observations about mission. He observes that from the Great Commission many have appropriated a wide understanding of what it means to fulfil the mandate within history which has included personal conversion and societal transformation. 'Making disciples of all nations' Wolffe describes as the 'central focus of evangelical history'. This means that nurturing will be as important as mission and conversion.<sup>46</sup> Given that Taylor

<sup>40</sup> Jongeneel, *Philosophy, Science and Theology*, Part II, p. 32.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>42</sup> Hardy, 'Upholding Orthodoxy', p. 212.

<sup>43</sup> Austin, *China's Millions*, p. 5.

<sup>44</sup> Stanley, *Christian Missions*, p. 8.

<sup>45</sup> John Wolffe, 'Historical Method', p. 100.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

was criticised for emphasising the preaching of the gospel over all else there is a need to see if his strategy included any form of nurturing. In examining Taylor's use of scripture, attention must be given to Wolffe's comments on the promise of the presence of Jesus with the disciples until the end of the age. This is one example of the essential link between the text and the edification that flows from the text in spiritual formation. For it is precisely here that we have documentation left by and written about people who were sure that they had had intimate experiences with the risen Christ. Their theology and spirituality can be grounded in a specific context and thus becomes more open to analysis.

Some have downplayed the theology of the CIM, arguing that those who worked with Taylor were drawn to him because of his leadership rather than by any theological concerns. Thus, for Taylor, theology was 'non-essential'.<sup>47</sup> It is alleged that Taylor's flexible church position is proof of this and that this shows a weak commitment to any particular theology. In the early years of the CIM the challenges to Taylor were more pragmatic than theological. New theological thinking arrived within the CIM towards the end of the century. Moira J. McKay sees the importance of the common pursuit for holiness alongside the overriding interest in mission as being reasons for the lack of theological disputation within the CIM. Although there was theological controversy within the CIM, especially over the issue of eternal punishment, an assumed theology prevailed that was taken for granted until it was challenged. This lack of disputation was not necessarily a sign of weak theological commitment. However, it does raise the question of whether or not an essentially 'devotional' approach to scripture was rigorous enough in the mission context. By limiting this study to one missionary whose story is well told, there will be an advantage in trying to tie in the theological with the practical. Hardy warns that not all missions conform to the same orthodoxy and although missions are driven by 'passionate convictions that are ultimately theological in kind',<sup>48</sup> he notes the supple nature of biblical interpretation which issues in a variety of responses in mission and theological conclusions.

There is a need for a more penetrating theological analysis of Taylor and his resulting spirituality. Jongeneel has highlighted the area of missionary ascetics as the discipline that deals with the interaction between mission and spirituality.<sup>49</sup> Michael Reilly describes the following general characteristics. Firstly, a fascination with the love of God and Christ; secondly, an emphasis on union with God; personal holiness and the witness of Christian living; thirdly, active trust in God in mission; fourthly, these combine in loving service and humility.<sup>50</sup> These fall into the realm of personal spirituality. It is widely recognised that the CIM departed from previously existing models of mission. The distinctive hermeneutic and example of the founder shaped the collective spirituality of the CIM which eventually became a template for subsequent expressions of mission in the conservative evangelical tradition. Taylor's use of the Bible and consequent spirituality was to some extent influenced by what preceded him but he also forged the CIM with a different set of theological and philosophical presuppositions from those that informed earlier British Protestant missions. This study

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<sup>47</sup> Moira J. McKay, 'Faith and Facts in the History of the CIM 1832-1905', M.Litt thesis (Aberdeen, 1981), p. 138; Daniel Bacon, *From Faith to Faith: The Influence of Hudson Taylor on the Faith Missions Movement* (Singapore: OMF Books, 1984), p. 152.

<sup>48</sup> Hardy, *Upholding Orthodoxy*, p. 202.

<sup>49</sup> Jongeneel, *Philosophy, Science, and Theology*, Part II, p. 22.

<sup>50</sup> Reilly, *Spirituality for Mission*, pp. 119-122.

attempts to see why this happened by looking at Taylor's use of the Bible in his personal life and within the mission of the CIM.

## **1.2 Methodology**

There are three methods used in this study. Firstly, the historical method is used in chapters 2-7. This traces the use of the Bible in mission from the Reformation to the rise of the modern missionary movement in order to give an assessment of the ways in which the Bible has shaped interest and participation in mission. More specifically, this method aids the study of Taylor's immediate context and background in the nineteenth century as the influence of movements and important individuals are described. There are many published works that account for his life and work but the majority of them deal with his life chronologically. In order to build a picture of Taylor's use of scripture, the historical context into which he preached and taught is important. This involves examining the publications written by Taylor and by others who have published in the framework of the CIM. It is an approach that provides evidence for the life and impact of Taylor, as well as outlining the historical background and theological context in which Taylor interpreted scripture. It will also give the evidence for assessing Taylor's use of scripture in the overall framework of the mission and contribute to an assessment of his role within the world missionary movement and more specifically in Faith Missions.

Secondly, a thematic method is used in chapters 4-7 in an attempt to 'systematise' Taylor's use of the Bible and expression of faith and to group important topics within the CIM. Although there is little evidence for any kind of systematic theology from Taylor himself, his teaching and views on particular subjects culled from a variety of sources will be presented under the thematic headings for ease of understanding. This will help to evaluate Taylor's approach to scripture in the light of the evidence presented and enable an assessment of the impact of the Bible in his own life and in his teaching to others.

Thirdly, the comparative method is used mainly in chapters 4 and 5. The question of the extent to which Taylor's theology compares with other approaches to theology was raised above. His use of the Bible will be highlighted alongside those who have gone before him in the major movements preceding the modern missionary movement to assess the role the Bible played in stimulating mission. Taylor's work in China will be interpreted in the light of the rise of biblical criticism in the nineteenth century. His personal spiritual formation is described against the backdrop of the holiness movement. This will reveal to what extent he merely reflects or actively shapes aspects of contemporary spirituality. Taylor's own development as a mission leader will contrast with those who went before him in China and in the subsequent development of thinking within the CIM itself.

The spelling of Chinese cities and towns mentioned in the text are those found in the sources. If there is a change the contemporary name is given in brackets.

## **1.3 Structure of the Study**

Taylor's use of the Bible in his personal life and within the mission of the CIM is the centre of this study.

Chapter Two provides some background and describes some of the major streams operating from the Reformation onwards that influenced the impetus towards mission. This will include overviews of the use of the Bible in Roman Catholicism, Puritanism, Pietism, the Moravian Brethren and early Methodism. It will be important to look at the usage of the Bible in these movements and the effect that this had on mission activity. These summary observations of the use of the Bible in the centuries before Taylor will set the scene for more detailed work on Taylor.

Chapter Three gives a more detailed analysis of the specific influences on Taylor that contributed to his biblical understanding and the practice of mission. These will include movements and various individuals. Here it will be possible to distinguish between those influences on Taylor that came from the general flow of biblical thinking and those cultural elements that formed the Victorian era. This will provide the context for the use of the Bible by Taylor and an important foundation for the more detailed work on Taylor's use of scripture. This study will not include a biographical chapter on Taylor but a short chronology of Taylor's life is provided in the appendix. The most readable recent overview of Taylor's life can be found in Roger Steer's *A Man in Christ*, published in 1990.

Chapter Four has the elements of a theological biography as the role of the Bible in Taylor's personal life is assessed. Here aspects of his spirituality and piety will be displayed alongside his views on the importance of faith and how they moulded his approach to mission.

Chapter Five begins by surveying Taylor's use of the Bible and his convictions regarding it. This includes his views on the translation of the Bible, its function as the word of God and his use of allegory and typology. It will provide the foundation for an analysis of the place of the Bible in Taylor's own personal life and the hermeneutic by which he operated.

Chapter Six focuses on Taylor's work as a teacher, preacher and an evangelist. Building on the conclusions from his interpretation of scripture and views of the Bible there will be an attempt to bring together his teaching into systematic doctrines looking at some of the key issues in Christian doctrine as portrayed by Taylor. His reaction to the rise of critical theology and the impact on the CIM will provide some of the context.

Chapter Seven analyses the same material to describe and evaluate the ways Taylor's use of the Bible influenced the practice of mission. Here some key mission issues are considered to see how and to what extent particular texts functioned for mission practice and policy.

Chapter Eight summarises Taylor's understanding and use of the Bible, noting the formative influences under which he operated. The innovations that Taylor brought to mission will be seen against the background of those influences that preceded him and helped in his overall spiritual and personal formation. His particular approach to the Bible, within this specific parameter, will provide the foundation for an evaluation of his influences within the CIM itself and the overall contribution to world mission.

## **1.4 Sources For the Study**

Alfred J. Broomhall, a descendant of Taylor, commented that the bound volumes of the Chinese Evangelization Society's periodical *The Chinese Missionary Gleaner*, the *CIM Occasional Papers*, *China's Millions* as well as other CIM material preserve a lot of the necessary information and that there is 'no lack of source material'.<sup>51</sup> As usual, the source material can be divided into primary and secondary sources.

### 1.4.1 Primary Sources

The main sources for the study are the Hudson Taylor collection of papers, letters and other artefacts that are held by the School of Oriental and African Studies in London (SOAS) and by OMF International (UK) at their office in Borough Green, Kent, England. The official papers of the CIM give some of the background to the work of the CIM in the UK and later on in China. During his stays in the UK Taylor attended the meetings minuted by the London Council, otherwise they acted under his authority, a situation which at times led to friction and dispute over the exact authority they carried. The most helpful sources in the collection are the James Hudson Taylor Papers which contain records of his letters, journals and sermon notes. They reveal Taylor's use of scripture, often in note or anecdotal form, set within the context of his pastoral advice, practical administration or on his travels. Taylor also wrote a book stimulating interest in China, a devotional commentary on the Song of Songs, many editorials, expositions on Bible texts and articles in the *Occasional Papers* of the CIM (1867-1875) and later in *China's Millions*, the official publication of the CIM.

#### *China's Millions*

Taylor knew the value of good communication to publicise the work of the CIM in order to garner religious, political and financial support. Initially he published the *Occasional Papers* until they were deemed 'no longer the best mode for reaching our friends' replacing them with the magazine *China's Millions*<sup>52</sup> of which he was the editor.<sup>53</sup>

Benjamin Broomhall wrote at the end of Taylor's life that the best source for understanding Taylor was the record portrayed in the early monthly volumes of *China's Millions*, first published in July 1875. Here he believed the researcher would find a record of Taylor's true character and the evidence for his spirituality as shown in the comments that he made on Scripture. Whilst this would be true for the periodical as a whole, Broomhall highlighted the importance of a series that appeared under the heading of *China for Christ*.<sup>54</sup> For Broomhall these were 'faithful reflections of his missionary zeal - the faith - the prayerfulness which made Hudson Taylor what he was'.<sup>55</sup> He maintained that here the reader could identify the seed that sprouted into the fully-fledged CIM and that the wise person would learn that here was the evidence that God answered prayer and responded to the bold faith of his servants. Although in 1879 Taylor gave the responsibility of publishing the magazine to John McCarthy,<sup>56</sup> Taylor continued to edit the magazine until 1895; at least his name appears on the front of

<sup>51</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *Barbarians at the Gates* (Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton, 1981), p. 12.

<sup>52</sup> *China's Millions* (July 1876), p. 160.

<sup>53</sup> Bacon, *From Faith*, p. 74.

<sup>54</sup> These articles ran from July – November 1875 in *China's Millions*

<sup>55</sup> Benjamin Broomhall, *China's Millions* (July 1905), p. 92, Marshall Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor's Legacy* (London: CIM, 1931), pp. 163-164.

<sup>56</sup> Jim Cromarty, *It is not Death to Die: A New Biography of Hudson Taylor* (Ross-shire: Christian

the bound editions for the year until then. Certainly, for many years, the magazine was fully edited by him personally from wherever he was and the London Council appealed to Taylor in 1892 for more editing and general improvements to be made to it.<sup>57</sup> After 1895 until 1902 there is no mention of who edited the magazine but a section 'Editorial notes' appeared frequently in the various editions. Taylor handed over the gathering of information in China to Frederick Steven in 1898.<sup>58</sup> From 1901 onwards Marshall Broomhall was the editorial secretary.<sup>59</sup>

Taylor also pursued another agenda through the magazine, believing that it was needed, for Christianity in Britain had become too comfortable and introverted. He outlined his aims for it in a preface to the first bound editions of the magazine.<sup>60</sup> He wanted to make Qing China real to those at home as well as giving detailed information about the progress of the work so that the supporters of the work could join in giving thanks. He was keen to compare the situation in China with that in the UK, which he did with detailed comparisons that always showed the vast needs of the country and also through an interesting use of 'missionary arithmetic'.<sup>61</sup> All this was buttressed with scriptures appealing for help in the light of the perceived destitute spiritual condition of the country. Contributing to this destitution was opium addiction. Taylor used the pages of *China's Millions* to call for political changes in the British government's attitude towards the problem and permitted his London-based CIM leader, Benjamin Broomhall to take a major leadership role on the issue.<sup>62</sup> In publicising the habits and customs of the people, Taylor not only informed his public about the ethnic minorities in the country but also made it easier for the western reader to understand the Chinese.<sup>63</sup> One reader testified that *China's Millions* were 'very helpful in letting one see of the Lord's dealings among his own and how the work goes on'.<sup>64</sup> However, some complained about the content being more about travel and Chinese affairs. Taylor believed that factual knowledge aided understanding and did not draw a distinction between reporting their experiences and describing the work of the CIM.<sup>65</sup> He was eventually able to report responses to the magazine that showed some of his initial aims being met.<sup>66</sup> One supporter said of the magazine that *China's Millions* was 'quite outstanding among the missionary magazines of the time'.<sup>67</sup> Scholars now recognise the value of missionary magazines as a fertile area for research.<sup>68</sup> This gives confidence in using the *China's Millions* for material for this study.

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Focus, 2001), p. 341.

<sup>57</sup> China Inland Mission Archives: London Council, Minute Book 7 (1891-1894).

<sup>58</sup> *CIM Monthly Notes* (July 1898), p. 3.

<sup>59</sup> Marshall Broomhall, *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission* (London: Morgan & Scott, CIM, 1915), p. 224

<sup>60</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions*, preface to bound edition of July 1875 - December 1876.

<sup>61</sup> *China's Millions*, preface to 1883 edition is one example where Taylor notes that eight million Chinese have died during the year which is four times as many souls as there have been days from creation until the present.

<sup>62</sup> Norman Cliff, *A Flame of Sacred Love: The Life of Benjamin Broomhall Friend of China* (Carlisle: OM Publishing, 1998), pp 71-82 gives an overview of the influence of the CIM on this issue.

<sup>63</sup> Lauren Pfister, 'Re-thinking Mission in China: James Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard', *Currents in World Christianity*, Position Paper 68 (Cambridge: 1998), p. 20.

<sup>64</sup> Supporter letter from Perth, Scotland, 2<sup>nd</sup> January, 1892 in Marshall Broomhall, *Faith and Facts as Illustrated in the History of the China Inland Mission* (London: Morgan and Scott, CIM, 1909), p. 66.

<sup>65</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Assault on the Nine* (Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton, 1988), p. 154.

<sup>66</sup> *China's Millions*, preface, 1879.

<sup>67</sup> McKay, *Faith and Facts*, p. 177.

<sup>68</sup> T. Barringer, 'From Beyond Alpine Snows to Homes of the East - A Journey through Missionary Periodicals: the Missionary Periodicals Database Project', *IBMR* Volume 26, No 4 (October 2002).

The normal circulation of the magazine was around 12,000 copies but the ‘Cambridge Seven’ (Seven Cambridge University graduates who joined the CIM) issue topped 50,000 which proved insufficient for the demand.<sup>69</sup> In March 1885, 22,000 copies were printed. Taylor believed that the periodical made an impact, writing: ‘not a few of those who are in the field today were led out through a perusal of *China's Millions*’.<sup>70</sup> This tends to support Alwyn Austin's assertion that *China's Millions* was mainly ‘a devotional text to deepen the piety of its readers’.<sup>71</sup>

### *China's Spiritual Need and Claims*

When Taylor returned to England in 1860, he prayed for additional missionaries to go to Chekiang (Zhejiang) province and some responded to this call. He also wrote the book *China's Spiritual Need and Claims* (CSNC), first published in 1865, which according to Kenneth S. Latourette was nearly as influential as William Carey's *An Enquiry into the Obligation of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens* (1792) of seventy years previously.<sup>72</sup> It might actually have been more important as Carey's *Enquiry* did not sell as many copies or go into as many reprints as did *China's Spiritual Need and Claims*.<sup>73</sup> Austin sees it as important for making Taylor a celebrity more or less overnight and for stimulating the churches as to interest in China.<sup>74</sup> The book was an extended version of a similar work that had a very limited distribution but which attempted to stimulate interest in China twenty years earlier.<sup>75</sup> It was reprinted many times (the first after just three weeks) and proved a valuable resource in widening information about the work of missions in China as the statistics were updated. One family member commented ‘perhaps no book of modern times proved more effective in moving the hearts of the people of God’.<sup>76</sup>

CSNC was a ‘burning appeal’.<sup>77</sup> It stimulated interest in and knowledge of China for Victorian Christians. In a preface to a reprinted edition Taylor wrote of those who had responded to the book and were now working in China either with CIM or other missions.<sup>78</sup> The focus on inland China and the concern for the ‘unoccupied’ provinces of China showed Taylor's principal motivation. Taylor used the ‘solemn’ words of Proverbs 24:11-12 as his text to urge his readers to act for the ‘benighted Chinese’.<sup>79</sup> It was an appeal undergirded by the deep theological conviction of the lost state of mankind without Christ,<sup>80</sup> the validity of the Great Commission<sup>81</sup> and the Church's need for obedience to this mandate,

<sup>69</sup> *China's Millions*, preface to 1885 bound editions, (December 1885).

<sup>70</sup> J.H. Taylor, (April 1895), p. 50.

<sup>71</sup> Austin, *China's Millions*, p. 203.

<sup>72</sup> Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity: The Great Century in Northern Africa and Asia, AD 1800-1914* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1944), p. 328.

<sup>73</sup> We are indebted to Brian Stanley for this insight.

<sup>74</sup> Austin, *China's Millions*, p. 80.

<sup>75</sup> Evan Davies, *China and Her Spiritual Claims* (London: John Snow, 1845). A.J. Broomhall thinks Taylor read it. *Barbarians*, p. 357.

<sup>76</sup> H. Taylor, *Spiritual Secret*, p. 116.

<sup>77</sup> M. Broomhall, *The Jubilee Story*, p. 27 ‘The fire which burned within the heart of the writer is felt at almost white heat on every page’.

<sup>78</sup> Bacon, *From Faith*, p. 14.

<sup>79</sup> James Hudson Taylor, *China's Spiritual Need and Claims* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1865), p. 2.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

all of which were expressed in the book.<sup>82</sup> A report was given on how details outlined in the book were achieved thirteen years later.<sup>83</sup>

#### Other Publications by Taylor

Taylor's eagerness to communicate with his constituency led to the publication, in 1868, of the *Brief Account of the Progress of the China Inland Mission from May 1866 – May 1868*. He wrote an internal summary of the philosophy and practicalities of the mission in *The Arrangements of the CIM* in 1886, in which the first 'Principles and Practice' of the work were promulgated. Taylor wrote *Union and Communion* which was first published as a series in *China's Millions* from May 1891. This is an allegorical treatment of the Song of Songs. He also wrote two histories of the CIM, *Retrospect* (n.d.) and *After Thirty Years* (1895) which highlighted the main historical events of his life and the formation of the CIM. The *Retrospect* was translated into Chinese before Taylor's death and accounted for the rapturous welcome he received from Chinese Christians on his final journey through China.<sup>84</sup> Taylor's teaching on 'Living water' from John's gospel was gathered into a short, pamphlet *Unfailing Springs* (undated) by OMF.

#### 1.4.2. Secondary Sources

The secondary literature on Taylor is enormous.<sup>85</sup> Consequently, there is much repetition of the main events as books were compiled for different readers and new generations of Christians. This section surveys those who wrote as contemporaries of Taylor before considering those who came after him.

Geraldine Guinness, at the beginning of her book *The Story of the CIM*, published in 1900, mentioned that she wrote at the request of Taylor himself and how she had to lay down a year of missionary life herself to do it. She details three purposes in writing. Firstly, it was to raise 'a heart-felt Ebenezer' to encourage others in the provision for the work over so many years.<sup>86</sup> Secondly, the rapid increase in personnel from a wider constituency had made it necessary to bring them up to date about the earlier years of the work. Thirdly, it was intended to awaken people to the great needs of China. Guinness thanks Taylor and others for submitting themselves to frequent cross-examination as she pursued the story.<sup>87</sup>

Taylor, in his introduction to the same volume, wrote about his own personal experience over the preceding forty years and showed how the CIM members learned to ask God for money and the provision of personnel for the work as well as for the opening up of inland China. However, he recorded that it was not until much later that he personally learned the lessons of abiding in Christ, having his spiritual needs met and learning more of the keeping power through faith in Christ.<sup>88</sup> Taylor then testified that many in the mission had undergone new experiences of the Holy Spirit and that these were continuing to teach them. From this, Taylor concluded, that they had come to value missionary work not just for the sake of those who've never heard the Gospel but also as a 'spiritual education' for

<sup>82</sup> Bacon, *From Faith*, p. 16.

<sup>83</sup> *China's Millions* (July/August 1878).

<sup>84</sup> Geraldine Taylor, *CIM Monthly Notes* (June 1905), p. 4.

<sup>85</sup> Samuel H. Moffett, 'Hudson Taylor and Missions to China', *Christian History*, Issue 52, Volume XV, No 4 (1996), p. 46.

<sup>86</sup> Geraldine Guinness, *The Story of the CIM*, Volume 1 (London: Morgan & Scott, CIM, 1900.) p. viii.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. ix.

themselves as they learned to experience Christ in new and fresh ways. Taylor also maintained that great care has been taken to verify what is in the book.<sup>89</sup>

The books that have been written about Taylor concentrate mainly on events in his life and in the formation of the CIM. These tend to be popular and uncritical with more description than analysis. Set apart from this observation would be the seven-volume work by a CIM insider Alfred J. Broomhall, collectively entitled *China's Open Century* (1981-89). He had more sources to draw upon and sought to place Taylor within the context of the historical and political developments within China.<sup>90</sup> He also attempted to balance the description of a man who was passionate and emotional about God and the work that he had been called to do with his occasional dogmatic and authoritarian tendencies.<sup>91</sup>

John Pollock acknowledged the importance of the documented sources that verified the extraordinary life of Taylor and his first wife, Maria.<sup>92</sup> Initially, Taylor dictated much of his material for books and reports to her.<sup>93</sup> Kenneth S. Latourette says that it was tempting to linger over the story of the CIM but in his history of Christian missions in China the story had to be told 'all too briefly'.<sup>94</sup> Jongeneel criticises the notion of heroism in the descriptions of great missionary leaders and the temptation to touch up the sources to emphasise the positive and to hide the negative.<sup>95</sup> One example from the voyage of the first missionaries on board the *Lammermuir* will suffice. The strain of living together on the ship and the personal conflicts associated with the arrival of the party in China was such that Emily Blatchley wrote in her diary, 'Let the unhappiness of this journey, reaching a climax towards the close, go unrecorded'.<sup>96</sup> It is clear that this is a problem with evaluations of Taylor mediated through the popular volumes. McKay noted in her evaluation of the sources that financial difficulties were not reflected to any extent in the popular histories, being kept internally within private letters.<sup>97</sup> She also observed that there was no reference in the published sources to the German influence on the CIM, and that this was also neglected in the two-volume biography of Taylor by his son and daughter-in-law Howard and Geraldine Taylor. The latter volumes, 'treat the CIM in strict isolation and does not attribute its foundation to any outside influence'.<sup>98</sup> An example of this was the way that the authors attributed Taylor's initiative of hanging the banners depicting two biblical texts *Ebenezer* (1 Samuel 7:12) and *Jehovah Jireh* (Genesis 22:14) to Taylor 'in quiet communion with God' when sick. It is more likely that Taylor had got the idea from reading George Müller's book in 1852 when Müller mentioned he had engraved *Jehovah Jireh* on the window of his home. The word *Ebenezer* was also a favourite for Augustus Francke who was a great influence on Müller.<sup>99</sup> This study will try to highlight some of these outside influences.

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<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xii.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

<sup>90</sup> A. Broomhall, *Barbarians*, p. 10.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>92</sup> Pollock, *Hudson Taylor and Maria*, p. 7.

<sup>93</sup> A. Broomhall, *The Refiner's Fire* (Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton, 1985), p. 41.

<sup>94</sup> Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (London: SPCK 1929), p. 384.

<sup>95</sup> Jongeneel, *Philosophy, Science and Theology*, Part 1, p. 246.

<sup>96</sup> Emily Blatchley in A.J. Broomhall, *Survivor's Pact* (Sevenoaks: Hodder and Stoughton 1984), p. 234.

<sup>97</sup> McKay, 'Faith and Facts', p. 191.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>99</sup> Brian Stanley, 'Home Support Home Support For Overseas Mission in early Victorian England, 1838-1873', Ph.D thesis (Cambridge: 1979), p. 317.

Two other very different kinds of sources testify to Taylor's enduring influence. Firstly, Taylor and his influence on mission to China warranted an issue of the magazine *Christian History*.<sup>100</sup> Secondly, contemporary church leaders pay tribute to Taylor. Here is one perspective from Xu Yongze, a Chinese Christian leader,

This is why we are so thankful for the impact that Hudson Taylor made on our country. His example was one of single-minded passion to see God's kingdom come. Like a mighty soldier he marched into pioneer areas where the name of Jesus Christ had never been uttered before.<sup>101</sup>

And from a western evangelical perspective,

Perhaps the one that most touched my heart, the godly pioneer J. Hudson Taylor. His life was so impacted one day when God spoke to him on Brighton Beach that he began his great life's work, the CIM. I read both of Mrs Howard Taylor's classic volumes *The Growth of a Soul* and the *Growth of a Work of God*.<sup>102</sup>

There are few monographs on the CIM. A 1948 work by Hudson T. Amerding dealt with the CIM to date and concentrated on the variety of ministries across the mission.<sup>103</sup> He noted the growing cleavage over theological issues between the CIM and other religious agencies operating in China. Moira J. McKay's 1981 work on the CIM looked at some of the influences on the founding of the CIM and how they affected the early years of the work.<sup>104</sup> She shifted the emphasis away from the devotional to the historical and thus shed new light on the CIM by looking at the initial support base for the work in England.<sup>105</sup> She also noted some of the changes as the early influence of the Christian Brethren lessened. She looked at issues to do with the recruitment of missionaries and the financial issues that they faced and how this worked out in a faith mission. Alwyn Austin has produced two works on the CIM. The first one (1996) focuses on the work of the CIM and its influence on North America highlighting some of the oddities and idiosyncrasies of the developing organisation.<sup>106</sup> These are summarised in his article in the more general overview of Foreign Missions on the North American continent.<sup>107</sup> His work is salutary in attempting to look at some of the more bizarre aspects of Taylor and the CIM. It is an attempt to 'penetrate the silence of the CIM'<sup>108</sup> and to look at how a 'simple faith' is taken from one culture to another. Austin sees the importance of an analysis of such a movement in tracing the sources for fundamentalist theology in China. He perceives a direct link between the churches planted by the CIM and the present-day representation of Christianity in China, especially among the house churches.<sup>109</sup> He looks at the common ground between the message taken by the missionaries to China and the traditional beliefs that they encountered and sees a number of links between Protestant Christianity and Chinese folk religion that aided the communication of the

<sup>100</sup> Hudson Taylor & Missions to China, *Christian History*, Issue 52, Volume XV, No 4 (1996).

<sup>101</sup> Xu Yongze, in Paul Hattaway, *Back to Jerusalem* (Carlisle: Piquant, 2003), p. 7.

<sup>102</sup> Terry Virgo, *No Well Worn Paths* (Eastbourne: Kingsway 2001), p. 21.

<sup>103</sup> Hudson T. Amerding, 'The China Inland Mission and some Aspects of its Work', Ph.D thesis (Chicago: 1948).

<sup>104</sup> McKay, 'Faith and Facts'.

<sup>105</sup> Austin, *China's Millions*, p. 21.

<sup>106</sup> Austin, 'Pilgrims and Strangers: The China Inland Mission in Britain, Canada, the United States and China, 1865-1900', Ph. D thesis (Ontario: York University, 1996)

<sup>107</sup> Austin, 'Only Connect'.

<sup>108</sup> Austin, 'Pilgrims and Strangers', p. 7.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11,14.

message.<sup>110</sup> His second work,<sup>111</sup> heavily based on the first, looks at some of the personalities and the actual field work of the CIM with a concentration on the work of Pastor Hsi and the CIM in Shansi (Shanxi) Province. Austin's purpose is to shift the focus away from Taylor onto other factors.<sup>112</sup> This work covers a wide range of issues to do with preaching the gospel into Chinese culture, the use of the wordless book and Chinese folk religion. Although Austin takes note of some of the early interest in and practice of demonology in the context of mission, he is reluctant to deal with the supernatural motivation of many of the missionaries themselves that inspired them to leave their host culture. He describes the missionaries as 'mendicants' and questions their qualifications and ability wondering where they learned the secret of demonology when they had not been taught it in Britain.<sup>113</sup> He has perhaps failed to see that the practice of mission demands the learning of new disciplines that were not a part of the missionaries' original context.

In 1911 and 1918 respectively, the two volumes of Howard and Geraldine Taylor's work on the CIM were published with great success. However, these totalled over twelve hundred pages and it was recognised that there was a need for a shorter summary of the life of Taylor: hence the appearance of *The Man Who Believed God* (1929) by Marshall Broomhall. This work was read by Howard Taylor as it was an attempt to present Taylor's life from a different angle. Although the first two parts of this book were chronological, the third part made an attempt to get away from the history to a study of Taylor's character with the object of 'revealing the man himself' to the reader.<sup>114</sup> The writer admitted that in this study he was greatly assisted by a life that was 'rich in action and decisive deeds'. A comprehensive chronology was included at the end detailing Taylor's movements. M. Broomhall concludes that:

There can be no doubt but that Hudson Taylor's acts have helped to mould men's minds, and have given an impulse to missionary activity and methods. They have had an educational value of far reaching import, and have fructified and reproduced themselves.<sup>115</sup>

In Frank Houghton's book *The Fire Burns On*<sup>116</sup> one of the aims was to show that the 'worthies' mentioned, including Taylor, practised what they preached through excerpts from letters, magazines and books. Two areas were mentioned as important in pertaining to Taylor. These were Taylor's actions in the light of his teaching on the faithfulness of God and his determination to identify with the people.<sup>117</sup> A.J. Broomhall's comprehensive work showed that careful attention to detail and the verification of factual knowledge was a prominent feature. For example, there was 'careful enquiry' into the motives of a critic of the CIM, the CMS missionary George Moule. A. Broomhall summarised such incidents from the perspective of the personal growth they brought to Taylor and how they illustrated his pastoral gifts in the way in which he treated his colleagues. He goes on to warn commentators that this progressive aspect of Taylor's life is very important in making a judicious assessment of the man, for in many areas his thinking and praxis changed over the years. He also

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<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>111</sup> Austin, *China's Millions*.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> M. Broomhall, *The Man Who Believed God* (London: CIM, 1929) p. ix.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. x.

<sup>116</sup> Frank Houghton, *The Fire Burns On: CIM Anthology* (CIM/OMF 1965).

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

chides Latourette for a remark made about 'Taylor's advertising'<sup>118</sup> that could be misunderstood, if taken out of the context of Taylor's frequent recounting of God's faithfulness to the work of the CIM.

It must be admitted that the sources for study of Taylor and the CIM present some complex issues. There are differing interpretations of events within the mission given by its biographers and the line between myth, hagiography and reality is not always easy to discern. It is recorded that Dixon Hoste (then General Director of the CIM) gave this advice to Geraldine Taylor on the writing of her two-volume work on the life of Taylor. 'If you begin too much letting the public in behind the scenes you shake confidence'.<sup>119</sup> Austin casts doubt on their reliability by accusing the CIM of an 'impenetrable secrecy' which prevented outsiders from knowing what was going on. He criticises the work of Howard and Geraldine Taylor as hagiography and includes an admission from Mrs Taylor's niece that she described events as being much better than they in fact were.<sup>120</sup> In other words, there was artistic licence.<sup>121</sup> He maintains that the classic histories of the CIM ignore or play down the internal strife and that this now extends to the archives of the mission on the orders of Taylor himself.<sup>122</sup> He thinks that Taylor's experience with the political authorities in China and the London Council made him very secretive about his plans especially for controversial moves such as deploying women inland.<sup>123</sup> Along with McKay, he contends that the use of *China's Millions* for clear information about what is happening in China is 'equally frustrating' for the articles are out of date and suffused with an 'impenetrable devotional aura', full of coded language. He maintains that for Taylor it was vital to be seen to be making progress in China and that negative aspects such as disunity, dismissals and disagreement hardly featured in the magazine. It was a tool for the CIM's internal dialogue but lacked objectivity with a focus more on the interior spirituality and experiences of the missionary than the condition of the Chinese mind itself.<sup>124</sup> The lack of broad general information about the country is also frustrating,<sup>125</sup> although Austin concedes that the CIM did produce an Atlas and language textbooks of high quality.<sup>126</sup>

Daniel Bacon concludes that it was those who wrote about Taylor that did more than he himself in influencing others in providing 'an enduring set of perspectives' and showing the challenge of Taylor through their writings.<sup>127</sup> These writings have contributed to the wide dissemination of information about the CIM in particular but also faith missions in general. Bacon notes that the first books about the CIM published whilst Taylor was still alive are different from those published after his death.<sup>128</sup> However, the desire for perfection made the production of these works very slow and when they did appear they revealed the devotional thrust of the biographers.<sup>129</sup> James Taylor III observes in

<sup>118</sup> A. Broomhall, *Survivors Pact*, p 9-10 commenting on Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (London: SPCK, 1929), p 389; *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, Volume VI (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1944) pp. 326-7, 329.

<sup>119</sup> Timothy Smith, *John Stott: A Global Ministry* (Leicester: IVP, 2001), p. 11.

<sup>120</sup> Austin, 'Only Connect', p. 285.

<sup>121</sup> Austin, *China's Millions*, p. 16.

<sup>122</sup> Austin, 'Only Connect', p. 286.

<sup>123</sup> Austin, *China's Millions*, p. 18.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>125</sup> Austin, 'Only Connect', p. 286, note 15.

<sup>126</sup> Austin, *China's Millions*, p. 25.

<sup>127</sup> Bacon, *From Faith*, p. 130.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.

the foreword to a new 1988 edition of *The Growth of a Soul* that the authors' approach to biography was:

Neither romanticisation nor academic recounting of historical events, but rather a practical spiritual interpretation which created a devotional documentary.<sup>130</sup>

Bacon mentions other works produced about the CIM and Taylor and notes how Pollock in his writing about Taylor wanted to show a different picture of Taylor than had hitherto emerged. Pollock criticised the earlier history by Howard and Geraldine Taylor for being inhibited in their expression and for allowing the personality of the writer to dominate over the material at hand. More seriously, he charges, that she censors her father in law's sense of humour and completely ignores one and a half love affairs!<sup>131</sup>

Whilst recognising the strengths and weaknesses of the sources in matters of historical interpretation of the work of the CIM, it is worth reiterating that the primary focus of this study is on Taylor's use of the Bible. There is no evidence that the records most relevant to this aspect of Taylor's life have been tampered with or glossed over in any way. In fact, quite the reverse is the case, for many had an interest in circulating Taylor's teaching to a wider audience and they had confidence that what he said was biblical and an accurate record of his perspective. In the popular biographies there is plenty of emphasis on the fact that Taylor was a man whose whole life was suffused by scripture. However, very few have commented specifically on his use of scripture. Fred Baller, a fellow CIM member wrote three very short articles on Taylor as an expositor of scripture shortly after his death in 1908.<sup>132</sup> The Latin American missiologist Rene Padilla<sup>133</sup> has also commented on Taylor's hermeneutical principles. There is no single work that deals directly with the function of the Bible in Taylor's life and work. This study attempts to rectify this lack and to open new perspectives in the link between the Bible and mission.

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<sup>130</sup> James Taylor, III, foreword to 1988 Edition, *The Growth of a Soul* (Singapore: OMF Books, 1988).

<sup>131</sup> Bacon, *From Faith*, p. 136.

<sup>132</sup> Fred W. Baller, 'Mr Hudson Taylor as an Expositor of Scripture', *CIM Monthly Notes* (Shanghai, May – July 1908), pp. 1-2.

<sup>133</sup> C.Rene Padilla, 'Hermeneutics and Culture: A Theological Perspective' in John Stott & Robert Coote, *Down to Earth. Studies in Christianity and Culture: The Papers of the Lausanne Consultation on Gospel and Culture* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1981), pp. 63-64.



# The Bible in Mission before J. Hudson Taylor

## 2.1 Introduction

This background chapter presents an overview of the use of the Bible in some of the major movements from the Reformation until the nineteenth century before Taylor's era. It includes Puritanism, Pietism, the Moravian Brethren and Methodism and is preceded by a section on Roman Catholicism. These are selected for their overall impact on the development of Christianity, their use of the Bible and their practice of mission.

Each section is divided into two parts. Firstly, there is a short analysis of the place of the Bible within each movement. Secondly, an assessment of the role of the Bible in stimulating and shaping mission thought among these movements, which will contribute to an explanation of the origin of Protestant missions and Taylor's context.

## 2.2 Roman Catholicism

Although the emphasis in this chapter is on Protestant views of the Bible and its influence on mission it is necessary to have a brief overview of the situation in the Roman Catholic Church. Additionally, it is possible for Protestants to underestimate the influence of Rome's own mission efforts especially as the great majority of Christian work in China before Taylor was Catholic.

### 2.2.1 Roman Catholicism and the Bible

Recent scholarship has emphasised the continuity in biblical interpretation between medieval and Reformation exegesis.<sup>1</sup> In the population as a whole there was a demand from many for a better understanding of the Bible. People wanted to benefit from the fruits of the development in humanistic scholarship.<sup>2</sup> There was a move back to the study of the Hebrew and the Greek text with an emphasis on the literal meaning prominent. This can be seen in the work of scholars such as the French Franciscan Nicholas of Lyra (1270-1349) who was an exegete whose primary concern was to arrive at an exact understanding of the text.<sup>3</sup> He made extensive use of a literal approach to the text and believed that any research into the Bible was done to aid moral development.<sup>4</sup> He was reacting against an 'unchastened speculation'<sup>5</sup> in theology that arose from the use of allegory. He thought that the uncritical use of Jewish sources and the scholastic atomization of the text were unhelpful.<sup>6</sup> For Lyra, a literal approach was a necessary basis for doing theology and although he was not completely divorced from the interpretative methods of his contemporaries he had an enormous influence through the

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<sup>1</sup> Richard A. Muller, 'The View From the Middle Ages' in R. A. Muller & J. L. Thompson (eds), *Biblical Interpretation in the Era of the Reformation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Basil Hall, 'Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries' in Stanley L. Greenslade, *The West from the Reformation to the Present Day: Cambridge History of the Bible*, Volume III (Cambridge: CUP, 1963), pp. 38-39.

<sup>3</sup> R.L.P. Milburn, 'The 'People's Bible': Artists and Commentators' in Geoffrey Lampe, *The West From the Fathers to the Reformation: Cambridge History of the Bible*, Volume II (Cambridge: CUP, 1969), p. 305.

<sup>4</sup> Donald K. McKim, *Historical Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters* (Downers Grove: Inter Varsity Press, 1998), p. 118.

<sup>5</sup> Milburn, 'The 'People's Bible' p. 305.

<sup>6</sup> McKim, *Historical Handbook*, p. 118.

publication of the first ever printed commentary (*Postilla Litteralis*) on the biblical text. This set out the results of his Hebrew scholarship<sup>7</sup> and addressed a wide range of interpretative issues, contributing to the idea that the literal meaning of the text was a sufficient basis for theological argument and dogma. This became a standard work in the universities often being printed alongside the text of the Vulgate.

In an era that was characterised by doctrinal pluralism,<sup>8</sup> there were others who were drawing down the ire of the Church for their work on the Bible. John Wycliffe (1329-84) accepted the Bible's authority as the one sure basis for faith and wanted it available to the layman.<sup>9</sup> He emphasised the literal interpretation of the Bible and restricted his definition of the true Church to those that God had predestined to salvation.<sup>10</sup> He had an influence on the Czech nationalist Jan Hus (1374-1415), who stressed the authoritative role of scripture in the church and also called for vernacular translations of the Bible.<sup>11</sup>

In the Netherlands the Brethren of the Common Life flourished.<sup>12</sup> Geert Groote (1340-84) was the founder of this revival movement within the church. They wrote many spiritual tracts and believed that scripture was central to spiritual life. There was an attempt to re-capture the life of the early church.<sup>13</sup> They were keen to establish the authority of the original texts of scripture as the authority for their liturgies, the Vulgate and the teachings of the Church Fathers realising that the transmission of texts can lead to corruption.<sup>14</sup>

These movements indicate that there were signs of renewal of spiritual life in the Church which was usually associated with a partial recovery of the teaching of the Bible.<sup>15</sup> In England the Bible occupied a negligible place in the devotional works of the time.<sup>16</sup> Few people could read the Latin Vulgate Bible for themselves or knew what it taught. The printing of Bibles in English had been prohibited since 1408, unless sanctioned by the bishops.<sup>17</sup> Faith was expressed in assenting to the major doctrinal statements about God, man, the soul, grace and other subjects mediated by others. The text concealed spiritual teaching that only the enlightened could understand<sup>18</sup> thus ensuring that the interpretation of the Bible was mainly subject to the tradition and authority of the Church.

Another important figure was the Dutch Catholic scholar Desiderius Erasmus (1468-1536).<sup>19</sup> Although he did not know Hebrew, he applied himself to the study of the text of the Bible.<sup>20</sup> As a monk

<sup>7</sup> Beryl Smalley, 'The Exposition and Exegesis of Scripture in The Bible in the Medieval Schools' in Lampe, *Cambridge History of the Bible*, p. 208.

<sup>8</sup> Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: Reformation of Church and Dogma 1300-1700*. Volume IV (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1984), p. 10.

<sup>9</sup> A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), p. 22.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform 1250-1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), p. 166.

<sup>12</sup> Erica Rummel, 'Voices of Reform from Hus to Erasmus', in Thomas A. Brady, Jr. Heiko A Oberman, James D Tracy (eds), *Handbook of European History 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*. Volume II (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1995), p. 96.

<sup>13</sup> E.F. Jacob, 'The Brethren of the Common Life', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* Volume 24, No. 1 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, April 1940), p 9.

<sup>14</sup> Ozment, *The Age of Reform*, p. 97.

<sup>15</sup> Gerald Bray, *Biblical Interpretation: Past and Present* (Leicester: Apollon, 1996), p. 166.

<sup>16</sup> A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation.*, p. 9.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Bray, *Biblical Interpretation*, pp. 145-146.

<sup>19</sup> John C. Olin, *Catholic Reform From Cardinal Ximenes to the Council of Trent 1495-1563* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1990), p. x.

<sup>20</sup> Francis Bouyer, 'Erasmus in Relation to the Medieval Biblical Tradition' in Lampe, *Cambridge History of the Bible*, p. 492.

who served for a time in a monastery that was part of the Devotio Moderna movement, he had been impressed with the work of Groote as his influence worked its way through the congregations. This impressed upon Erasmus the need for a study of the Bible that could lead to interior transformation from which must spring the renewal of society.<sup>21</sup> He emphasised the need to read the scriptures in context but also paid attention to the texts of early church history to encourage greater accuracy of their usage within the church.<sup>22</sup> He established the importance of the grammatical sense of scripture and that the spiritual sense coming from the text must be expounded with a clear relationship to this grammatical sense.<sup>23</sup> His new Latin translation from the Greek was important for he thought that the Vulgate had obscured the teachings of Jesus and he wanted the New Testament to be as widely known as possible.<sup>24</sup>

Despite these differing views on the Vulgate it is important to note how it maintained its importance as a standard translation for both Catholics and Protestants until well into the sixteenth century<sup>25</sup> even though there was some doubts over it as an authoritative translation.<sup>26</sup> The Council of Trent re-affirmed the dominant position of the Vulgate in 1546 for the interpretation of scripture<sup>27</sup> and a reliable source for teaching and debate.<sup>28</sup> This was necessary in the face of many other translations of the scriptures.

According to Olin, the Council of Trent, which met in thirty-five sessions from 1545-1563, had three main aims. It needed, firstly to effect reform in the Church. Secondly it had to clarify and define disputed doctrine and condemn heresy. Thirdly it had to restore the peace and unity of the Church.<sup>29</sup> The Church had to clarify the value of tradition as contrasted with scripture.<sup>30</sup> The restored Catholic scholasticism and more narrowly defined authority of the Council meant that obedience to the authority of the church was re-established for interpreting the Bible over individual scholars' translations and preferences.<sup>31</sup>

### 2.2.2 Roman Catholicism and Mission

Both before and after the Reformation the Roman Catholic Church led the way in foreign mission providing a 'stimulant' and sometimes a 'worthy example' to Protestants.<sup>32</sup> The ministry of the Franciscans and the Dominicans had expanded to non-Christian parts of the world<sup>33</sup> and managed to

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. p. 497. Olin, *Catholic Reform*, p. 9.

<sup>22</sup> Bouyer, 'Erasmus', p. 498.

<sup>23</sup> Basil Hall, 'Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries' in S.L. Greenslade, *The West from the Reformation to the Present Day: Cambridge History of the Bible*, Volume III (Cambridge: CUP, 1963), p. 82.

<sup>24</sup> McKim *Historical Handbook*, p. 186.

<sup>25</sup> Muller, 'The View', p. 13.

<sup>26</sup> Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition*, p. 307.

<sup>27</sup> Basil Hall, 'Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries' in S.L. Greenslade, *The West from the Reformation to the Present Day: Cambridge History of the Bible*, Volume III (Cambridge: CUP, 1963), p. 77.

<sup>28</sup> F.J. Crehan, 'The Bible in the Roman Catholic Church from Trent to the Present Day' in S.L. Greenslade, *The West from the Reformation to the Present Day: Cambridge History of the Bible*, Volume III (Cambridge: CUP, 1963), p. 204.

<sup>29</sup> Olin, *Catholic Reform* p. 28.

<sup>30</sup> Crehan, 'The Bible in the Roman Catholic Church', p. 199.

<sup>31</sup> Hall, 'Biblical Scholarship', p. 77.

<sup>32</sup> Sidney H. Rooy, *The Theology of Missions in the Puritan Tradition* (Delft: W.D. Meinema, 1965), p. 11.

<sup>33</sup> A.J. Camps, 'The Catholic Missionary Movement from 1492-1789', in F.J. Verstraelen, (ed)

establish six mission fields (vicariates) by the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>34</sup> These efforts were ended by the Black Death plague, the growth of Islam and more hostile local governments.

The Portuguese expansion overseas began the process of the next stage of mission for the Catholic Church in the period 1550-1650. The Jesuits worked in Japan, Brazil, Ethiopia, the coast of central Africa, as well as in nearly every country in Europe. Their work was highly regarded and along with the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians they led the way overseas with many converts. The Jesuits' work in China in this period was regarded as one of the great 'might have beens' of history before papal criticism of their approach brought their work to an end including the suppression of recent Bible translations.<sup>35</sup>

One of the important developments for Catholic missions was the founding in 1622, by Pope Gregory XV, of the 'Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith' usually referred to as 'The Propaganda'.<sup>36</sup> The word 'propaganda' was used for the word 'mission' was not yet used in its modern sense.<sup>37</sup> This provided policies and an organisational structure that attempted to deal with some of the weaknesses of the rivalry between the various Catholic orders.

It was Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), the founder of the order of the Jesuits, whose members actually introduced the term 'missions' for the first time in connection with overseas ministries. Ironically, this term was used to describe the activities of the Counter Reformation spurred into action as a reaction to the Reformation.<sup>38</sup> It described the attempt to win back former Catholics to Rome, to revive faith in the general populace and to convert those who had not been baptised. Their main slogan was *extra ecclesiam nulla salus est*. This expansion of the influence of the Catholic Church went hand in hand with exploration and the increasing political influence of Europe on Asia and Latin America. There were those like Francis Xavier (1506-52) and the 'pivotal' Matteo Ricci (1552-1610)<sup>39</sup> who began to appreciate the positive elements of culture in their confrontation with the more advanced cultures of the East but this was a rarity.<sup>40</sup> When others took up a similar approach they met with a mixed reaction but progress was made in adapting to the cultures of those receiving the gospel. For some this level of indigenisation was too radical and the controversy over the methods of mission of the Franciscans and the Jesuits led to the decline of the Roman Catholic missions in the eighteenth century. They were revived in the nineteenth century through the re-establishing of the Jesuits in 1814, the formation of new orders including the Divine Word missionaries among others, and the encouragement of lay participation in mission.<sup>41</sup> This resurgence in Catholic missions paralleled Taylor's work in China and the use of lay people later became one of the marks of the CIM. This was a

*Missiology an Ecumenical Introduction: Texts and Contexts in Global Christianity* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1995), p. 213.

<sup>34</sup> Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1964), p.116.

<sup>35</sup> Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 32-33.

<sup>36</sup> R. Pierce Beaver, *The History of Mission Strategy*, in Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1981), p. 194.

<sup>37</sup> Camps, 'The Catholic Missionary Movement', p. 219.

<sup>38</sup> Steven Bevans, & John Nyquist, 'Roman Catholic Missions', in A. Scott Moreau (ed), *Evangelical Dictionary of World Mission* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2000), p. 837.

<sup>39</sup> Jenkins, *Christendom*, p. 31.

<sup>40</sup> David Bosch, *Transforming Mission* (New York: Orbis, 1991), pp. 449,479.

<sup>41</sup> Louis J. Luzbetak, *The Church and Cultures: New Perspectives in Missiological Anthropology* (New York: Orbis Books, 1988), p. 99.

significant shift, for until then it had been assumed that it was the responsibility of the Christian states and their political authorities to carry the message of the gospel or at least to facilitate its arrival in the lands that were being colonised or reformed.

It is important to recognise that the Roman Catholic initiatives in mission fostered different strategies although the practice of mission was often similar to Protestant missions in giving attention to the poor, the orphans and those in need of medical aid. The missiological thinking of the various orders led to different ways of working in the new lands and some showed a greater cultural sensitivity than others. Louis Luzbetak points out that the ecclesiology of these orders differed sharply from those of Protestant missions.<sup>42</sup> This more clerical approach and the overriding authority of the Papacy made the imposition of European doctrinal formulations on emerging communities more likely, despite notable Jesuit attempts to indigenise the gospel. These Euro-centric assumptions, which downplayed local culture, delayed the training of the indigenous population for nearly two hundred years.<sup>43</sup> Similar problems emerged in the later Catholic failure to adapt to the new pietistic movements which brought revival in Europe in the seventeenth century.<sup>44</sup>

The ‘significant omission’<sup>45</sup> in Catholic mission was the unwillingness to translate the Bible into the vernacular. The Council of Trent re-established the Vulgate in the face of other translations of scripture and insisted on the Church’s interpretation of the Bible. Catholic missionaries were reluctant to translate anything more than catechisms or portions of the gospels, although Robert Morrison’s (1782-1834) Bible translation into Chinese probably depended on some sections translated but unpublished by an unknown Catholic.<sup>46</sup>

The mission efforts of the Roman Catholic Church were displayed in the formation of the various orders and the attention that they gave to spiritual disciplines and the expansion of the Church. Eventually, the revival of Catholic missions at the beginning of the nineteenth century provided some personnel in China before Taylor’s era. Although their activities were proscribed by the Chinese authorities,<sup>47</sup> Taylor admired their tenacity and commitment whilst disagreeing with their theology and approach to mission.<sup>48</sup>

## 2.3 The Reformation

The Reformation began when Martin Luther (1483-1546) produced his ninety-five theses in October 1517 at Wittenberg that specifically challenged practices of the Catholic Church in Rome in the light of his understanding of the Bible. Luther brought to a head many of the political, cultural, sociological and religious changes of the preceding centuries. He had personal experience of how widely the

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<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>43</sup> Neill, *A History*, p. 209.

<sup>44</sup> W. Reginald Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), p. 110.

<sup>45</sup> Samuel H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, Volume II 1500-1900 (New York, Orbis, Maryknoll, 2005), pp. 83,166.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* p 302, note 26.

<sup>47</sup> Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (London: SPCK 1929), p. 207.

<sup>48</sup> James Hudson Taylor, *China’s Spiritual Need and Claims* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1865), p. 13.

church in Rome differed from the New Testament and added to this his new found perspective on the teaching of justification by faith.<sup>49</sup>

### 2.3.1 The Reformation and the Bible

The movement known as the Protestant Reformation assumed institutional form in 1529 when some of the German princes protested at curbs on Luther's movements.<sup>50</sup> Churches known as Protestant emerged although they took different forms. Lutheran churches emerged in Germany and Scandinavia, Calvinist churches in Switzerland and the Netherlands and the Church of Scotland under John Knox (1505-72).

Luther re-directed his received tradition in the light of his personal understanding and experience of the Bible.<sup>51</sup> He worked exegetically on the Bible forming the doctrines of the Reformation<sup>52</sup> and resisted allegorical interpretations of scripture, trying to maintain the focus on Christ as the central figure of the Bible. He gave much attention to the Old Testament to do this.<sup>53</sup> His expositions of the Psalms testified to the relationship between Christ, the Church and every Christian and of the importance of Christ crucified determining the believer's life.<sup>54</sup> He also translated the Bible into German and gave priority to preaching, giving 137 sermons in 1523 alone.<sup>55</sup> Luther as 'the Father of the Reformation' saw himself as responsible for the recovery of the Christian faith and for making sure there was some evangelical influence in the massive changes taking place in European life.<sup>56</sup> His understanding of the righteousness of God began the most significant part of his ministry.<sup>57</sup> The Bible was central for Luther and he wanted everyone to be able to read it, for it was 'the whole substance of the Christian religion'.<sup>58</sup>

One of the results of the Reformation was the elevation of the principle of *sola scriptura*, enabling the Bible to function in the life of the church and of the individual.<sup>59</sup> James Packer sees this principle as the 'essential motivation and concern...of the entire Reformation'.<sup>60</sup> The Reformers believed that God had spoken to humanity through the Bible and continued to speak through his word. John Calvin (1509-64) wrote: 'So scripture, gathering up the otherwise confused knowledge of God in our minds, having dispersed our dullness, clearly shows us the true God'.<sup>61</sup> The Bible was to determine belief and church practice and was the only hope of giving right and sound doctrine.<sup>62</sup> The Reformers held the creeds of the early church in the context of salvation by Christ alone and taught that the

<sup>49</sup> Bray, *Biblical Interpretation*, p. 166.

<sup>50</sup> Peter Marshall & Alec Ryrie, *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), p. 5.

<sup>51</sup> Alister McGrath, *In the Beginning: The Story of the King James Bible* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2001), p. 45.

<sup>52</sup> Bray, *Biblical Interpretation*, p. 172.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> Heiko A. Oberman, *Luther: Man Between God and the Devil* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 253.

<sup>55</sup> Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther in Mid-Career 1521-1530* (London: Dartman, Longman and Todd, 1979), p. 199.

<sup>56</sup> James I. Packer, *Honouring the People of God* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1999), p. 3

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>58</sup> Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition*, p. 187.

<sup>59</sup> Packer, *Honouring*, p. 121.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>61</sup> John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Volume I (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), p. 70.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

Christian comes into direct contact with Christ through relationship and union. This is through the power of the Holy Spirit and preaching. Bible translation into the vernacular was an important result.<sup>63</sup>

The hermeneutical principle of *sacra scriptura sui ipsius interpres* was a key issue that showed the discontinuity with the Catholic paradigm.<sup>64</sup> The Bible was important in providing a new starting point for theology centred around the doctrine of justification by faith on which ‘everything hinged’.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, there was a new perspective on the human condition that showed sin as rebellion against God<sup>66</sup> and the rise of the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers.<sup>67</sup> However, it took more than one and a half centuries for Luther’s teaching on the priesthood of all believers to find expression in the ministry of Philip Jacob Spener, the founder of Pietism (1635-1705).<sup>68</sup>

The Reformation re-stated the centrality of the Bible, rather than the Church, for all aspects of theology, doctrine and religious practice. This led to new streams in the development of Protestantism which would take time to formulate. These had implications for mission. It also stimulated a reaction in the Roman Catholic Church which acquired a new missionary dynamic during the Catholic Reformation.

### 2.3.2 The Reformation and Mission

Assessment of the influence of the Reformation on modern missions is clear but contradictory. Gustav Warneck noted how the Lutheran Reformers used scripture to limit the call to mission.<sup>69</sup> Others have rooted the modern missionary movement in various branches of Reformation theology,<sup>70</sup> illustrating how the Reformation unleashed forces that eventually led to mission.

The Reformers did not guide their churches towards a responsibility for world mission.<sup>71</sup> In the fifteenth century there had been little European awareness of other cultures although this was changing as the fruits of Iberian expansion became more widely known.<sup>72</sup> This had not developed greatly when the Reformation began and, apart from the Anabaptists, there was little stimulus to mission coming directly from the Reformation. Anabaptism was a lay-driven movement that emerged from the Reformation. They wanted a sharp distinction between church and state and emphasised personal devotion to Christ and a commitment to evangelism as expressed in Matthew 28:19-20.<sup>73</sup> Their flexibility in the face of opposition led to the spread of their message and encouraged mission at a time when most Protestants were ignoring it. In 1527 the Anabaptist leadership convened a meeting at

<sup>63</sup> Bray, *Biblical Interpretation*, p. 168.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 192.

<sup>65</sup> David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission* (New York: Orbis, 1993), p. 241.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242.

<sup>68</sup> W. Reginald Ward, *Faith and Faction* (London: Epworth Press, 1993), p. 177.

<sup>69</sup> Gustav Warneck, *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions from the Reformation to the Present Time* (London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1901), pp. 8-9; Marshall Broomhall, *China's Millions* (August 1902), p. 114.

<sup>70</sup> Rooy, *The Theology of Missions*, p. 11.

<sup>71</sup> John Caldwell Thiessen, *World Missions* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1961), p. 17. Railton, however, notes that there was some mission from Geneva to France in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Nicholas M. Railton, *No North Sea: The Anglo-German Evangelical Network in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 1. See also David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge, 1989), p.40.

<sup>72</sup> Ward, *Protestant*, p. 44.

<sup>73</sup> Franklin H. Littell, ‘The Anabaptist Theology of Mission’, p. 17, in Wilbert R. Shenk, *Anabaptism and Mission* (Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1984); A. Scott Moreau, ‘Anabaptist Missions’, in *Evangelical Dictionary*, p. 58.

Augsburg which sent out missionaries two-by-two across central Europe which resulted in new congregations being formed who, in turn, were taught the importance of mission.<sup>74</sup> Within the same overall context and reading the same Bible one group engaged in mission whilst others ignored it. David Bosch outlines some of the reasons why the Reformers did not emulate this example,<sup>75</sup> despite the missionary orientation of their theology and ministry.<sup>76</sup>

The Reformers were too busy establishing the Reformation against strong opposition in various parts of Europe. This process went on for many years as the gains and losses of the Reformation ebbed and flowed. The atmosphere was not one in which bold new mission initiatives could be undertaken. Often the struggle was for survival and establishment of the gains already made. For example the Reformation took about one hundred years to establish itself in Hanover.<sup>77</sup>

The context meant that the Reformers shared the presuppositions of Roman Catholic mission, seeing the expansion of Christianity in territorial terms backed by appropriate political powers. Correct doctrine and creeds that upheld Reformed orthodoxy needed enforcing by a state church. The Anabaptists broke with these ideas of Christendom influenced by their reading of scripture.<sup>78</sup> W.R. Ward notes how the Reformation led to increased state regulation and organisation that sought control over the churches and their activities.<sup>79</sup> In due course this control, when applied with excessive rigour, would lead to the emigration of persecuted Protestants which contributed to the spiritual revival that did eventually impact mission.<sup>80</sup>

The political threat of war facing many in Europe was a reality. The Thirty Years War eventually broke out which further diminished the prospects for Protestant mission initiatives to take place. After the war many princes saw renewed political opportunities in alliances with Catholicism<sup>81</sup> and the state churches managed to reconstruct themselves, helped by a systematic theology.<sup>82</sup> However, similar circumstances did not prevent Roman Catholic involvement in mission.

There were other formative factors stemming from the Reformation that would ultimately promote world mission. Ironically, contrary to the Reformation principle of a ruler being able to determine the religious affiliation of his area, one was church planting. A new interpretation of scripture meant that churches could begin without any necessary connection to any other geographical centre. The gospel could be taken to another country. Gisbertus Voetius (1589-1676), the founder of Utrecht University (1636) who was associated with the 'Second Reformation', regarded mission as a responsibility of the church. The overall goal was to convert the heathen, to plant churches and to glorify God.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Hans Kasdorf, 'The Anabaptist Approach to Mission', p. 55, in Shenk, *Anabaptism and Mission*, p. 615.

<sup>75</sup> Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, pp. 240-251.

<sup>76</sup> Bevans & Nyquist, 'Roman Catholic Missions', p. 244.

<sup>77</sup> Ward, *Protestant*, p. 208.

<sup>78</sup> Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 240.

<sup>79</sup> Ward, *Protestant*, p. 31.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>83</sup> Jan A.B. Jongeneel, 'The Missiology of Gisbertus Voetius: The First Comprehensive Protestant Theology of Missions', *Calvin Theological Journal*, 26 (1991), p. 77.

The desire to translate the Bible into the vernacular and the need to teach people from the Bible were also necessary preparations for the later world-wide missionary movement.<sup>84</sup> This alone was not sufficient to produce a dedicated missionary movement apart from those who took an anti-state church emphasis like the Anabaptists. There were contingent cultural, historical and religious factors that impeded the Reformers from the development of a global missionary vision but positively, the Reformation stimulated reflection on the Bible that issued in personal spiritual transformation that led ultimately to the emergence of figures such as Taylor who grounded the missionary obligation in the central message of scripture.

## 2.4 Puritanism

Puritanism was a diverse movement for reform<sup>85</sup> within the Church of England led by Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603) and William Perkins (1558-1602), ministers who built on the advances of the Reformation and who were influential on the European continent.<sup>86</sup> Their use of the Bible influenced important later developments within Protestantism.<sup>87</sup>

### 2.4.1 Puritanism and the Bible

The Puritans favoured the Geneva Bible,<sup>88</sup> first published as a whole in 1560, but had a hand in requesting the production of the Authorised Version that appeared in 1611.<sup>89</sup> They emphasised the experiential life with God, based on their view, use and interpretation of scripture.<sup>90</sup> The Bible was regarded as the final authority and as fully sufficient to transform the individual and society under the power of the Holy Spirit.<sup>91</sup>

Reading the Bible and hearing it taught were mandatory for the Puritans and the text provided the imagination, imagery and illustrations for spiritual life. They showed a special affinity for the Psalms and the teaching of the Pauline epistles.<sup>92</sup> Their focus was on the plain text of scripture with the literal sense prominent. Puritans insisted that scripture must be read in context, accompanied by prayer and meditation, for scripture was not neutral. Its aim was to confirm faith and to increase repentance as though each passage was addressed to the reader himself.<sup>93</sup> The Puritans would often focus on one verse of a text<sup>94</sup> but they acknowledged that the interpretation would be adjusted more to the listener than to the original hearers of the text, a characteristic of early modern Protestant individualism.<sup>95</sup>

The emphasis on expository preaching made certain that the Bible was

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<sup>84</sup> Thiessen, *World Missions*, p. 17.

<sup>85</sup> McGrath, *In the Beginning*, p. 135.

<sup>86</sup> Donald K. McKim, *Historical Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters* (Downers Grove: Inter Varsity Press, 1998), p. 144.

<sup>87</sup> Leland Ryken, *Worldly Saints: The Puritans as they Really Were* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan 1986), p. 137.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>89</sup> McGrath, *In the Beginning*, p.161.

<sup>90</sup> James I. Packer, *Keep in Step with the Spirit* (Leicester: IVP 1984), p. 75.

<sup>91</sup> John R. Knott, *The Sword of the Spirit: Puritan Responses to the Bible* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 4.

<sup>92</sup> Gordon S. Wakefield, *Puritan Devotion*, p. xxv .

<sup>93</sup> Irvonwy Morgan, *Puritan Spirituality* (London: Epworth Press, 1973), p. 21.

<sup>94</sup> Charles L. Cohen, *God's Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience* (New York: 1986, OUP), p. 183.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, for an example from Isaiah 1:18, p. 190.

central.<sup>96</sup> It was the preacher's responsibility to study the Bible and to wrestle with his own spirituality before exhorting the congregation over spiritual discipline. Preaching was a public interpretation of the Bible done by a minister who spoke to his congregation in the place of Christ.<sup>97</sup> The text had to be analysed and applied. Other scriptures were used as necessary. It was common for the Puritan preacher to divide the text into profitable doctrines, for which reasons were given before being applied to the congregation. The aim was to give accurate knowledge of the acts of God, for this was foundational to faith. This knowledge was then the motivation for good works.<sup>98</sup> All this would then be supplemented and enforced by a catechism.<sup>99</sup>

The straightforward application of scripture resulted from this high view of the Bible.<sup>100</sup> As the eternal word of God, the Bible was vital for the church and therefore could not be viewed solely as an historical document.<sup>101</sup> The Puritans had a very immediate understanding of the Bible and it led to an active devotional life.<sup>102</sup> They assumed that biblical characters were contemporaries with whom they shared common assumptions and beliefs.<sup>103</sup> The language of scripture was often applied to the self.<sup>104</sup> Meditation on Bible themes and verses was common and applied to all aspects of life.

The Puritans made full use of the imagery and figures of the Bible. Their view of the Old Testament was dominated by the possibility of gaining greater understanding of Christ by trying to see historical parallels between the testaments.<sup>105</sup> John Bunyan used biblical language and events from the Old Testament to inform his writings.<sup>106</sup> Cotton Mather often used typology.<sup>107</sup> This was linked to historical references but could also be applied 'at a level above history'.<sup>108</sup> This was possible because of the centrality of Christ as the focus of salvation history. The various Old Testament figures were mediated through the 'prism' of Christ's death and resurrection before they were related to Puritan experience.<sup>109</sup> The eschatological heavenly rest provided one impetus for Puritan preaching and justification for living an ascetic life on earth.<sup>110</sup> Puritan writers would allegorise the battles of the Old Testament and place the present day-believer in the middle of the war for the soul between Christ and Satan.<sup>111</sup> Details of the narrative were found to have a parallel in the lives of Christians.<sup>112</sup> Israel was a society to be imitated<sup>113</sup> and its history became Puritan history.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Ryken, *Worldly Saints*, p. 95.

<sup>97</sup> Morgan, *Puritan Spirituality*, p. 13.

<sup>98</sup> Owen C. Watkins, *The Puritan Experience* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 5.

<sup>99</sup> Morgan, *Puritan Spirituality*, p. 15.

<sup>100</sup> Watkins, *The Puritan Experience*, p. 211.

<sup>101</sup> Knott, *The Sword of the Spirit*, p. 199.

<sup>102</sup> Patrick Collinson, *The Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), p. 85.

<sup>103</sup> Cohen, *God's Caress*, p. 35.

<sup>104</sup> Dewey D. Wallace, *The Spirituality of the Later English Puritans* (Macon: Georgia: 1987, Mercer University Press), p. 30.

<sup>105</sup> Wakefield, *Puritan Devotion*, p. 20.

<sup>106</sup> Knott, *The Sword of the Spirit*, p. 136.

<sup>107</sup> Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Williamsburg: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), p. 34.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> Knott, *The Sword of the Spirit*, p. 82.

<sup>111</sup> Wakefield, *Puritan Devotion*, p. 132.

<sup>112</sup> Watkins, *The Puritan Experience*, p. 210.

<sup>113</sup> Knott, *The Sword of the Spirit*, p. 87.

<sup>114</sup> Wakefield, *Puritan Devotion*, p. 10.

Pilgrimage was seen as 'the principal metaphor running through Puritan spirituality and devotional practice'.<sup>115</sup> It was linked directly to their use of typology in that salvific significance was seen in some of the biblical stories of pilgrimage which could then be applied to the congregation.<sup>116</sup> The Old Testament often provided the model for this spiritual pilgrimage, but it was always mediated through the work of Christ, especially when a more explicit parallel could be drawn with particular elements in the life of Christ.<sup>117</sup> The imagery of pilgrimage was a part of spiritual experience, almost mystical, in which union with Christ was directly experienced. The Song of Songs was an important text for illustrating this. The imagery of the book seemed to chime with the spiritual experience of the Puritans as they sought to develop the Calvinistic theme of union with Christ in more experiential directions.<sup>118</sup> This union was the beginning of the pilgrimage and reinforced Christ's position as ruling over all things.<sup>119</sup> It gave the pilgrim what was needed to avail himself of the means of grace: the ministry of the word, the sacraments, prayer and sometimes fasting.<sup>120</sup>

The experience of knowing God and being assured of that knowledge was available through the means of grace as shown in the Bible.<sup>121</sup> Self-examination and the assumption that the Christian life was one of struggle lay behind much of their writings.<sup>122</sup> The Christian life was regarded as arduous and had to be taken seriously. Regeneration was foundational for this and many regarded it as the beginning of the holy war for the soul.<sup>123</sup> Puritans never tired of expounding the theme of conversion for it was the essential beginning for sanctification, within which words such as power, feeling and enjoyment were highlighted. Sanctification was defined as 'truth brought home to the heart with life and power.'<sup>124</sup> This spiritual experience was supported by the pastoral task and there was an expectation of progress but they never left their conversion experience behind; it needed to be re-enacted to encourage advance to higher levels of faith.<sup>125</sup>

For many Puritans the unseen world of the spiritual life was very vivid. They highlighted strict discipline, a desire for holiness and personal devotion to Christ. Prayer was also important. Biblical language, often quoted from memory, filled their literature. It was common for people to have lists of texts that were applied to their daily lives<sup>126</sup> and to write spiritual journals suffused with scripture. The life on earth was to be taken seriously as a preparation for heaven. It was an active response to the Bible that began with conversion and continued with a sanctified life that stressed election and assurance.<sup>127</sup> They developed a distinctive reformed spirituality<sup>128</sup> marked by a particular intense piety.<sup>129</sup> The Puritan emphasis on the inner life of the believer laid a foundation for the devotional

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<sup>115</sup> Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Piety*, p. 54.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>118</sup> Wallace, *The Spirituality*, p. xii.

<sup>119</sup> Wakefield, *Puritan Devotion*, p. 159.

<sup>120</sup> Hambrick Stowe, *The Practice of Piety*, p. 93.

<sup>121</sup> Watkins, *The Puritan Experience*, p. 229.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>125</sup> Cohen, *God's Caress*, p. 104.

<sup>126</sup> Wallace, *Spirituality*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>127</sup> Stanley J. Grenz, *Renewing the Centre: Evangelical Theology in a Post-Theological Era* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), p. 17.

<sup>128</sup> Wallace, *Spirituality*, p. xx.

<sup>129</sup> Cohen, *God's Caress*, p. 3.

attitude to biblical interpretation of those of the next century, exemplified by Matthew Henry. Taylor's intensely devotional approach to the Bible stands in a tradition that has its roots in Puritanism.

#### 2.4.2 Puritanism and Mission

Although many Puritans were not directly involved in mission, they did use the Bible in developing a theology of mission. Sidney Rooy, in his examination of key Puritan theologians, is able to entitle his chapters: the theological foundation of mission;<sup>130</sup> the development of mission;<sup>131</sup> and the establishment and progress of mission.<sup>132</sup> He notes three important principles that undergirded this: firstly, that the sovereign Lord is the Lord of mission; secondly, that there are divinely appointed means to accomplish mission including preaching and witnessing to the gospel; and thirdly, getting a response from people is the object of mission.<sup>133</sup> If there was one overall object of mission it was the glory of God.<sup>134</sup> Richard Baxter argued for the continuing validity of the commission of Matthew 28:18-20 as a part of a minister's work and encouraged 'unfixed' ministers who would preach the gospel in other areas.<sup>135</sup> However, the Geneva Bible, popular with the Puritans, contained no expository note at all on this key mission text.<sup>136</sup>

The entrance of the Puritans into mission among the North American Indians has been seen as one of the first Protestant initiatives that provided an inspiration and a model for later efforts.<sup>137</sup> The Puritan who is best known for his mission achievements was John Eliot (1604-90) in his mission to the North American Indians. His missiological teaching, when read back from the confessions of the Indians, reflects the main elements of a Puritan theology.<sup>138</sup> Along with Eliot, both Cotton Mather (1663-1728) and Jonathan Edwards (1703-58) had an emphasis on church planting in the colonies but this was not applied more broadly.<sup>139</sup> Soteriology was central in Puritan mission<sup>140</sup> and this included a desire to see the conversion of the population in the colonies as an expression of God's love to sinful humanity. This was for the glory of God and was thus connected with eschatology.<sup>141</sup> Bosch is positive in his estimate of the Puritans and mission. He sees their crucial role in the Netherlands, England, Scotland and the American colonies, noting John Eliot's 'outstanding' contribution.<sup>142</sup> R. Pierce Beaver agrees, seeing the Puritan contribution as important for emphasising preaching the Bible in evangelisation, the attempt to organise churches and the emphasis on Christian nurture through education. Although there were negative ramifications from their attempts to isolate their converts in towns, removing them from pagan influences, he also commends the Puritans for their use of the vernacular language, the translation of the Bible and the training of Indians as pastors and teachers.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Rooy, *The Theology of Missions*, p. 15.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 242.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>136</sup> David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 41.

<sup>137</sup> Beaver, *History*, p. 195.

<sup>138</sup> Rooy, *The Theology of Missions*, pp. 160-162, 236.

<sup>139</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 40.

<sup>140</sup> Rooy, *The Theology of Missions*, p. 310.

<sup>141</sup> Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 259.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256.

<sup>143</sup> Beaver, *History*, p. 197.

Despite this contribution, the concentration on the Bible in Puritan spirituality did not lead the Puritans into any wider mission enterprise beyond the confines of the North American colonies. They, like the Reformers before them, were often battling for their local agendas and were often reduced to a marginal role.<sup>144</sup> Although they would have a general long-term impact on the development of Evangelicalism,<sup>145</sup> it was rare to find many Puritans advocating mission unless it was to the outer environs of the British Isles or to British settlements in North America.<sup>146</sup> China remained a long way removed from their horizons.

## 2.5 Pietism

The Pietists were a renewal movement within Lutheranism who did not have the ecclesiological struggles of the Puritans and were able to devote full attention to the inward life and spirituality of the regenerate believer. They saw themselves as completing the work of the Reformation,<sup>147</sup> building on the achievements of the Puritans.<sup>148</sup> Dale Brown notes how the Puritan legacy of putting the Bible in the centre of life developed in Pietism<sup>149</sup> and became one of the ‘powerful influences’ that changed people’s thinking as it brought a new epistemology of religious experience into the lives of many.<sup>150</sup> Ernst Benz has also shown the connection between the Lutheran Tranquebar Mission in South India and the work of the Puritans in New England.<sup>151</sup>

A focus on the activities of ordinary people is necessary in understanding some of the major changes that took place in Europe after the Reformation. Ward’s book on the Protestant awakening in Europe shows how the tangled web of relationships, publishing houses, correspondence and migration all contributed to the spread of Pietism in the modern world.<sup>152</sup> It should be noted that Taylor’s mission both fed off and itself stimulated a similar international web of evangelical relationships.

### 2.5.1 Pietism and the Bible

The movement of Pietism within German Lutheranism is often dated from 1675 when Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705) published *Pia Desiderata*.<sup>153</sup> It was centred on Halle University where a Pietistic emphasis developed within the faculty of theology. Pietism has been seen as one of the origins of evangelicalism,<sup>154</sup> and was a reaction against the dead orthodoxy of the church.<sup>155</sup> Spener noted its moribund state and made suggestions for improving training and preaching for clerics. Erich Geldbach

<sup>144</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 18.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>146</sup> Beaver, *History*, p. 197.

<sup>147</sup> Grenz, *Renewing the Centre*, p. 41.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>149</sup> Dale W. Brown, *Understanding Pietism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), p. 64.

<sup>150</sup> Ward, *Protestant*, p. 1.

<sup>151</sup> Ernst Benz, ‘Pietist and Puritan Sources of Early Protestant World Missions. (Cotton Mather and A.H.Francke)’, *Church History*, Volume XX (June 1951), p. 1.

<sup>152</sup> Ward, *Protestant*, p. 7.

<sup>153</sup> Erich Geldbach, ‘Evangelisch’, ‘Evangelikal’ & Pietism. Some Remarks on Early Evangelicalism and Globalization from a German Perspective’, in Mark Hutchinson, and Ogbu Kalu, *A Global Faith* (Sydney: CSAC, 1998), p. 161.

<sup>154</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 39.

<sup>155</sup> Ward, *Faith and Faction*, p. 17; Newton Flew, *The Idea of Perfection in Christian Theology. An Historical Study of the Christian Ideal for the Present Life* (London: Humphrey Milton, OUP, 1934), p. 275.

traces the term 'Evangelical' back to Luther's rediscovery of the Gospel,<sup>156</sup> demonstrating the Reformation's connection to Pietism.<sup>157</sup>

The importance of the Bible in this movement cannot be overestimated. The Exodus provided theological justification for the path it had chosen to pursue as a group of people having to emigrate to find purity of religion. This movement produced 'pietistic songs of exile'.<sup>158</sup> From the beginning the Bible was at the centre of Pietism and led to the publication of commentaries and other biblical aids.<sup>159</sup> These, in turn, helped to reform theological education and to enable better preaching. The learning of the catechism improved the spiritual life of the pious. They fortified themselves with devotional nurture from both Catholic and Protestant spiritual traditions as well as a link with the Anabaptists who also had placed importance on the work of the Holy Spirit in a correct interpretation of the Bible.<sup>160</sup> Packer defines a Pietist 'as one who saw the practical devotion to the Father and the Son through the Spirit as the Christian's top priority'.<sup>161</sup> The key epistemological issue concerned the way to true knowledge. Pietism was running amok amongst the common people but the Orthodox were only accustomed to using the scripture principle as a controversial weapon against their opponents. They could not cope with this dilemma of trying to preserve the traditional against those, like Spener, who insisted on the new birth and the need for repentance as the surest foundation for Christian faith and theology.<sup>162</sup> Spener began his ministry in Berlin with sixty-two sermons on the new birth,<sup>163</sup> a basic doctrine of Pietism. This led to a practical outworking of faith in mission and good deeds, and to a new level of close fellowship among true believers. The outworking of the priesthood of all true believers was crucial. From this came the formative inclusive class meetings in which the faithful should teach, warn, convert and edify one another.<sup>164</sup> These gave opportunities for both sexes and all classes to develop an understanding of spiritual priesthood.<sup>165</sup> Spener was convinced that the Christian faith was best learned by doing. The class meetings became a badge of Pietism.<sup>166</sup> This encouraged lay participation and new religious experiences. The politicians and church leaders opposed them and promulgated many anti-Pietist edicts. They did not like those who had religious visions and revelations 'which led them to devalue scripture and pursue Christian perfection in this life'.<sup>167</sup>

The gap between profession of Christian faith and the actual outworking of that faith was a concern for the Pietists. It was not sufficient to define the church by word and sacrament alone. There needed to be a more experiential aspect to the forefront with an emphasis on individual holiness<sup>168</sup> typified by this viewpoint of the more radical pietist. 'He alone stands in the Christian faith who is

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<sup>156</sup> Geldbach, 'Evangelisch', p. 156.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>158</sup> Ward, *Protestant*, p. 7.

<sup>159</sup> Geldbach, 'Evangelisch', p. 161.

<sup>160</sup> Brown, *Understanding Pietism*, p. 20..

<sup>161</sup> Packer, *Honouring*, p. 46.

<sup>162</sup> Fred E. Stoeffler, *German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1973), p. 8.

<sup>163</sup> Brown, *Understanding Pietism*, p. 99.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>165</sup> Ward, *Faith and Faction*, pp. 178-180.

<sup>166</sup> Ward, *Protestant*, p. 58.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202.

<sup>168</sup> Flew, *Idea of Perfection*, p. 275.

united to Christ through faith, enters into the spirit and mind of Christ, denies the world and its desires, and in love shares everything in common with his fellow members'.<sup>169</sup>

Mark Noll acknowledges the Bible as one of the essential marks of Pietism. The Pietists took their standards and goals from it<sup>170</sup> and it gave Pietism its foundation for Christian living which issued in holiness and good works. Many of the leaders of Pietism were influenced by the reading of Luther's preface to Romans or his commentary on Galatians.<sup>171</sup> Bebbington adds that the later holiness school was drawn to any version of the faith that showed intense piety,<sup>172</sup> thus confirming the Pietistic influences within which Taylor was operating.

Eschatology also became more important as many passed through crisis experiences of migration and exile. The widespread reporting of these events fuelled the belief that they were living in the end times and although there were many different views on eschatology, they were all united in seeing the eschaton as a public event.<sup>173</sup> Many thought final judgement was near as they studied salvation history. Ward notes that Spener introduced chiliasm into the Lutheran world maintaining that the end would not come until all the promises were fulfilled.<sup>174</sup> He thought that the world might be improved through faith. Moira McKay sees Spener's eschatology as an example of the lessening of the importance of doctrine,<sup>175</sup> an accusation that Taylor later faced. The renewed prominence of eschatology suggests that a new theological environment was developing within which missions were to operate. It is ironic that the efforts of Halle with its plans for universal regeneration, plans to convert the Jews and the mission to the Tranquebar Coast was seen more as a sign of the end times than as a template of how future mission might be done.<sup>176</sup>

Augustus. H. Francke (1663-1727) is another important figure in Pietism. He was converted through reading Luther's preface to Romans and this preface played a central role in the literature of Pietism.<sup>177</sup> He was Professor of Greek and Oriental languages at the University of Halle<sup>178</sup> and founded the Halle orphanages whose foundation on 'faith' principles later influenced George Müller and, through him, Taylor himself.<sup>179</sup> Francke was a visionary and good organiser. His work involved social improvement, education and the Christian life. In the latter, he majored on the new birth and organised the Christian life into stages that progressed from conviction of sin and the law to working through fear of the wrath to come and a total breach with the old Adam. True faith should lead to real sanctification and he admitted that Halle was educating students towards conversion.<sup>180</sup> Halle became a centre for the

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<sup>169</sup> Ward, *Awakening*, p. 35.

<sup>170</sup> Mark Noll, 'Pietism', *Evangelical Dictionary*, pp. 855-56.

<sup>171</sup> Ward, *Awakening*, p. 49.

<sup>172</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 171.

<sup>173</sup> Ward, *Awakening*, p. 9.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>175</sup> Moira J. McKay, 'Faith and Facts in the History of the CIM. 1832-1905', M.Litt. thesis, (Aberdeen: 1981), p. 32.

<sup>176</sup> Ward, *Awakening*, p. 282.

<sup>177</sup> Ward, *Faith and Faction*, p. 29.

<sup>178</sup> Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine. Volume V. Christian Doctrine and Modern Culture since 1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 91.

<sup>179</sup> Geoffrey F. Nuttall. 'Continental Pietism and the Evangelical Movement in Britain', in J. Van Den Berg & J.P. Van Doren (eds) *Pietismus Und Reveil* (Leiden: E.J.Brill 1978), pp. 207-236.

<sup>180</sup> Ward, *Awakening*, p. 61.

supply of Bibles in many languages and other religious literature<sup>181</sup> sometimes to those to whom the Bible was forbidden. His outward look led him to try and create a new Halle at Teschen.<sup>182</sup> Here 'A Pietism which offered a programme for a church in decay but was not itself revivalist encountered Protestant religious revival for the first time'.<sup>183</sup>

The Bible was not always dominant. Austrian Pietists made use of hymn books and a limited range of literature. These included sermons of theologians and pastors as well as books of prayers and devotions helpful for sustaining spiritual life. The Bible came well down the reading list. Within the Bible the Book of Revelation was seen as particularly important, followed by the Psalms, the Gospels and Genesis. The letter to the Romans, the foundation of the Reformation, now seemed less important.<sup>184</sup> This shows a pragmatic utilisation of those scriptures which spoke most directly to their condition and were not too hard to read. The new Protestant communities could survive and prosper and generate an enthusiastic piety without church help and even with peasant preachers. Ward highlights the importance of this writing:

Revival is also the reason why secret Protestantism issues, not in the Lutheran Orthodoxy of even Schaitberger, and certainly not in the Pietism of Halle or Württemberg, but in 'an awakened Christianity' of a rather unconfessional character, a religion strong enough after all its trials to be capable, with foreign help, of creating a church system, and providing the substance of its life till the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>185</sup>

'An awakened Christianity' of a rather unconfessional character was equally the spiritual milieu which nurtured Taylor and characterised the mission which he founded.

### 2.5.2 Pietism and Mission

The strong influence of Pietism on the later development of the 'Faith Missions' has been acknowledged.<sup>186</sup> Klaus Fiedler describes Pietism as 'the first great revival movement after the Reformation' and notes that the first Protestant missions had their roots in pietism.<sup>187</sup> Donald Lewis indicates two important factors in the flourishing of Pietism from 1675-1725. These were the advent of cross-cultural missions amongst Lutherans and eschatological beliefs that gave a high priority to Jewish evangelism, for the Jews were seen as having a special place in salvation history.<sup>188</sup>

Francke also gained a global missionary perspective through the Tranquebar mission, work in the Baltic inspired by his concern for Swedish prisoners of war and North America.<sup>189</sup> It was Halle Pietists who published news of the revival among children in Silesia.<sup>190</sup> They also built a church as a base for mission in the region. Johann A. Steinmetz (1689-1762) built on the revival with class meetings, prayer meetings and good pastoral care. Francke was behind all this with advice and encouragement and kept in touch with the political authorities whilst sending literature through

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<sup>181</sup> Brown, *Understanding Pietism*, p. 65.

<sup>182</sup> Stoeffler, *German Pietism*, p. 81.

<sup>183</sup> Ward, *Awakening*, p. 63.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>186</sup> McKay, 'Faith and Facts', p. 31.

<sup>187</sup> Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions* (Oxford: Regnum, 1996), p. 20.

<sup>188</sup> Donald M. Lewis in letter to the author.

<sup>189</sup> Benz, *Pietist and Puritan*, p. 31.

<sup>190</sup> Ward, *Awakening*, p. 72.

Teschen to other places including Moravia.<sup>191</sup> The Pietists were able to help Protestants in areas where there was Catholic opposition in a way which the Orthodox had not. They used lay people and their practical preference for scripture and preaching over dogma led to revival in Bohemia.<sup>192</sup>

Pietism was now a 'decisive spiritual force' and Francke used every opportunity to stimulate faith by distributing literature. This had a particular impact upon Swedish prisoners of war in Siberia.<sup>193</sup> He tried to consolidate his efforts through education. Pietism had an impact and even where a Pietist movement failed it often opened up the door to a local revival, although Pietism did not always set the tone.

Religious persecution was a familiar reason for emigration. The dramatic departure from Salzburg in 1731-32 was an important event. Remnants from this expulsion travelled as far as Georgia accompanied by ministers from Halle.<sup>194</sup> Josef Schaitberger (1658-1733), who based his ministry on Spener's method of instruction, led a revival which was opposed.<sup>195</sup> From exile he comforted and encouraged his compatriots and advised them how to express their faith in the face of persecution which included active attempts to proselytise the Catholic population. This was mission springing from a revival that included women preaching.<sup>196</sup> The news that these exiles had been positively received by favourable politicians was reported widely and this encouraged them to think that this could be repeated. The fact that the Salzburg Protestants had turned their back on home for the sake of the gospel was inspirational.<sup>197</sup> People noted that the Kingdom of God could flourish anywhere without the paraphernalia of an established church. There was an alternative to a state church. Spener's informal cultivation of religion was vindicated. This contributed greatly to religious revival and paved the way for preachers of the new religious appeal who saw conversions. New paradigms for church and mission were appearing.<sup>198</sup>

Halle was an important centre for the spread of the missionary movement.<sup>199</sup> In 1699 students of Francke<sup>200</sup> initiated the Tranquebar Mission in India. This enterprise has been seen as a bridge between a denominational and a faith mission. It combined missionaries with similar theological convictions and specific 'faith' principles for doing mission,<sup>201</sup> similar to Francke's running of his orphanages.<sup>202</sup> Ward writes: 'To Francke, Halle and the Prussian state were.....a basis for a mission of universal regeneration.'<sup>203</sup> There was a new release of Christian energy that issued in mission that knew few limits geographically<sup>204</sup> and which also exported the particular biblical emphases of the Pietists.

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<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>194</sup> Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity. Volume III. Three Centuries of Advance 1500-1800 AD* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1939), p. 212.

<sup>195</sup> Ward, *Awakening*, p. 97.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>197</sup> Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield and the Wesleys* (Leicester: IVP, 2004), p. 58.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>199</sup> Donald M. Lewis, 'Globalisation: The Problem of Definition and the Future Areas of Historical Enquiry', in Hutchinson & Kalu (eds), *A Global Faith*, p. 41.

<sup>200</sup> Andrew F. Walls, *The Eighteenth Century*, p. 32.

<sup>201</sup> McKay, 'Faith and Facts', p. 32-33, 36.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>203</sup> Ward, *Faith and Faction*, p. 28.

<sup>204</sup> Neill, *History*, p.125.

One of the important contributions of Pietism to mission and Christianity was the rethinking of the idea of calling or vocation. This highlighted their belief that God called individuals to exercise their spiritual gifts and thus be open to seeing their use in mission. This was the basis of the Tranquebar mission.<sup>205</sup> Warneck notes the importance of the involvement of the laity in the missions movement for widening the ministry of the church outside of the official activities of the denominations. Here was the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers in action<sup>206</sup> and it was aided by the revivals. Three elements made up this mobilisation force: a personal relationship with God, the fellowship of real Christians, and the territorial aspects of Christendom from which they came. These factors were also true of pietistic groups who were the forerunners of the modern missionary movement.<sup>207</sup> Walls summarises: 'Continental Pietism had a missionary consciousness long before British evangelical consciousness fully developed'.<sup>208</sup> Initially the British missionary societies relied on German-speaking pietists for their missionary force. They had created an international alliance of Protestant activists who knew what each other was doing and had international mission as a priority.<sup>209</sup>

Francke developed links with the SPCK and when he sent Anton W. Böhme (1673-1722) to England he was able to persuade the Society to adopt the Tranquebar Mission and to support a number of Francke's projects including translations of the Bible into Arabic and the relief of persecuted Protestants.<sup>210</sup> Böhme kept the Tranquebar Mission reports up to date as well as making available Pietist texts and news of the revivals on the continent. His translations from Francke were formative reading for all the leading early evangelicals, especially John Wesley.<sup>211</sup>

This emphasis on ordinary lay Christians being responsible for taking the gospel to other areas emerged initially with the Anabaptists and then in a much fuller expression with the Pietists. Taylor gave similar emphasis to the applicability of the missionary obligation to all Christians. As with the Pietists before him, mission was not an activity to be undertaken through official church structures, but rather a matter of individual response to the word of the gospel.

## 2.6 The Moravian Brethren

Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-60), one of the few who have been described as the 'Father of Modern Missions',<sup>212</sup> was the controversial leader of the Moravians noted for his missionary zeal.<sup>213</sup> He grew up in the Lutheran tradition and was educated at Halle<sup>214</sup> and Utrecht. He was able to use his position and resources to help a marginalised church send workers with no visible means of support to Greenland and the West Indies in response to hearing of the poor conditions there.<sup>215</sup> From these early beginnings the Moravians were involved in early global mission. All this was built on the

<sup>205</sup> Lewis, 'Globalisation', p. 40.

<sup>206</sup> Warneck, *Outline*, pp. 53-54; *China's Millions* (August 1902), p. 114.

<sup>207</sup> Walls, *The Eighteenth Century*, p. 30.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>209</sup> Paul Jenkins, 'The CMS and the Basel Mission', in Keith Ward & Brian Stanley, *The Church Missionary Society and World Christianity 1799-1999* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), p. 50.

<sup>210</sup> Ward, *Awakening*, p. 304.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 310.

<sup>212</sup> McKay, 'Faith and Facts', p. 37.

<sup>213</sup> John Caldwell Thiessen, *A Survey of World Missions* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1961), p. 20.

<sup>214</sup> Stoeffler, *German Pietism*, p. 133.

<sup>215</sup> Thiessen, *World Missions*, p. 21.

new understanding of the Bible unleashed by the Reformation and developed in both Puritanism and among the Pietists.

### 2.6.1 The Moravian Brethren and the Bible

Zinzendorf was a lawyer, not a theologian, and he led a community made up of peasants and artisans. His use of the Bible often caused problems for himself and his community. He faced opposition in both the Netherlands and North America, especially from orthodox Protestants, who found his ideas of a supra-confessional church disturbing, and on account of his tactless appeal for believers to leave their congregations and to congregate under his leadership.<sup>216</sup> The Moravian 'Renewed Unity of the Brethren' in Herrnhut were a mixed group. Religious refugees attracted to the freedom there found German-speaking believers from Bohemia and Moravia united with others from around the continent. He learned from his own experience that the church was broader than any one confession. New forms of church were developing, especially in North America, and Zinzendorf became a Lutheran pastor for a while in Philadelphia.<sup>217</sup>

Zinzendorf saw Christology as central and being 'in Christ' as essential for the believer. When the Protestants left Salzburg he made contact with them insisting that unless they had a living experience of Jesus in the soul their migration would be futile. Those outside of this experience were atheists.<sup>218</sup> Nevertheless he had problems over the doctrine of the Trinity<sup>219</sup> and doubts which suspected systems of faith and philosophy which did not give room for an active faith. He differed from Protestant orthodoxy over the inspiration of scripture, noting the apostles' use of the LXX as proof that they did not hold to the doctrine of verbal inspiration.<sup>220</sup> This Christology accentuated the ideas of the Herrnhut community as a chosen people, very different from the normative national churches of the time<sup>221</sup> although they were recognised as evangelicals and accepted as Protestant in 1749 by the British parliament.<sup>222</sup> It was the Bible that gave them their impetus for mission and they noted the importance of the Great Commission texts which they were expected to obey.<sup>223</sup>

Conversion was one area where Zinzendorf resisted the systematization of doctrine. He taught that a person was to be regarded as a child of God as soon as he had received the forgiveness of sins and showed evidence of the fact in the heart and life. The new birth was an essential aspect of his teaching and in mission this 'religion of the heart' was to prove influential.<sup>224</sup> Many thought this too daring and he was accused of mixing justification with sanctification, which opened the door to antinomianism.<sup>225</sup>

Zinzendorf's obvious debt to the pietism of Spener and Francke was supplemented with a strand of mysticism stemming from the more radical Gottfried Arnold (1666-1714). Zinzendorf

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<sup>216</sup> Ward, *Awakening*, p. 273.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>219</sup> Stoeffler, *German Pietism*, p. 146.

<sup>220</sup> Ward, *Awakening*, p. 123.

<sup>221</sup> John C.S. Mason, *The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England 1760-1800* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2001), p. 8.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

<sup>225</sup> Ward, *Awakening*, p. 232.

developed mystical leanings<sup>226</sup> and even contended that he could live without sin.<sup>227</sup> He seemed to regard his own religious experience as normative even for the exegesis of scripture. His attitude to the Bible deteriorated as he leaned increasingly towards mysticism.<sup>228</sup> He was accused of being incompetent in the scriptures. Later, he led his followers into a mystical spirituality and an esoteric secret language which caused more trouble and had to be replaced by more orthodox approaches.<sup>229</sup> The Moravians were also noted for an eccentric use of the Bible in trying to determine the will of God.<sup>230</sup>

Zinzendorf reinforced Christo-centrism in his theology but the Moravians did not add anything new to existing Protestant biblical teaching only developing what had gone before. For example, eschatology was important to the Moravians who lived with an expectation of the imminent return of Christ.<sup>231</sup> This was one impetus for world evangelisation. An article in *The Gleaner* in 1851 admired the frugal lifestyle of Zinzendorf and the impact of his congregation but noted that without this missionary interest the Moravians probably would have become extinct.<sup>232</sup> Their example of single-minded devotion became the basis for a call for prayer, issued in the same article, for missionaries to be sent to China in 1851.<sup>233</sup>

## 2.6.2 The Moravian Brethren and Mission

There was a geographical link between the Anabaptists and the community in Moravia.<sup>234</sup> The 1727 revival within the community at Herrnhut brought an emphasis on preaching, fervent prayer, the organisation of Bible classes<sup>235</sup> and diaspora work.<sup>236</sup> This helped to bring reconciliation, unity and discipline to the community. Ward sees the 'particular genius' of Zinzendorf as being able to divert all this into a mission to the world. He maintains that the political threat to their existence gave them 'no option but to become a missionary body'.<sup>237</sup> The first foreign mission to St Thomas in the Danish West Indies followed in 1732 and Greenland a year later.<sup>238</sup>

Mason observes that the distinct form of spirituality and community of the Moravian missionary movement provided a model for the emerging Protestant missionary movement of the nineteenth century.<sup>239</sup> It was rooted in Pietism<sup>240</sup> and stressed the importance of a direct personal relationship with Christ, not just an assent to orthodoxy. This in turn led to the living of a disciplined life and the emergence of a faith that engaged the heart. The model the Pietists provided illustrated that

<sup>226</sup> Stoeffler, *German Pietism*, p. 142.

<sup>227</sup> Ward, *Awakening*, p. 121.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>230</sup> Roy Hattersley, *A Brand From the Burning: The Life of John Wesley* (London: Little Brown, 2002), p. 147.

<sup>231</sup> *The Gleaner*, No 1 (March 1850), p. 1, Mason, *The Moravian Church*, p. 61.

<sup>232</sup> *The Gleaner*, No 3, (August 1851), p. 18.

<sup>233</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *Over The Treaty Wall* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1981), p. 36.

<sup>234</sup> Kasdorf, *Anabaptism and Mission*, p. 64, James M. Stayer, 'The Radical Reformation', in Brady, Oberman, Tracy *Handbook of European History 1400- 1600 Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*. Volume II (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1995), p. 259.

<sup>235</sup> Stoeffler, *German Pietism*, p. 139.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>237</sup> Ward, *Awakening*, p. 129.

<sup>238</sup> Mason, *The Moravian Church*, pp. 1,5.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175, Lewis, 'Globalization', p. 40.

<sup>240</sup> Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions*, p. 20.

it was possible to do missionary work overseas without the support of any specific ecclesiastical or colonial structure. It was the domain of ordinary Christians who would respond to the leading of the Spirit in the matter. The Moravians were the first to implement mission on this basis and to widen the potential pool of missionaries by allowing artisan involvement. It was this ‘democratisation’ of mission that laid the foundation for faith missions of the Taylor era. They also led the way in community living, self-support and the sharing of a common purse.<sup>241</sup>

Zinzendorf established a network of relationships and although his initial mission to the Indians was unsuccessful, his time in North America strengthened the Moravians.<sup>242</sup> They also had various links with those affected by the revivals in Switzerland who gave support to early Moravian missions in 1748 and 1756. Zinzendorf’s death is an important marker in assessing the Moravian contribution to mission. Mason shows how the poor reputation of the Moravian church at the time of Zinzendorf’s death was rehabilitated by their dedication to mission<sup>243</sup> and how this influenced those involved in founding the BMS, the CMS and the LMS at the end of the century.<sup>244</sup> They showed an effective model for sustained overseas missionary work.<sup>245</sup> Although there is no doubt that Zinzendorf’s leadership and his emphasis on Christology and the sufferings of Christ were vital in the success of their missions, it is also noticeable that his ‘first fruits’ teaching nearly scuppered the project. Mason reports that when the missionaries adopted this aspect of Zinzendorf’s teaching they stopped evangelising and there were fewer baptisms.<sup>246</sup> It was not until this doctrine was denounced in 1749 that missionary activity once again resumed with zeal. Those who followed Zinzendorf built on this change with other important innovations that aided the missionary effort. These included a reforming general synod,<sup>247</sup> guidelines for doing mission,<sup>248</sup> periodicals that publicised their work<sup>249</sup> and the development of a doctrine of mission.<sup>250</sup> Zinzendorf’s extremes were eventually rejected.<sup>251</sup>

The Moravians were prime movers in bringing Pietistic thoughts and practices to the English-speaking world. This happened through their influence on John Wesley who disseminated Pietistic views.<sup>252</sup> The interplay between Wesley’s work in Oxford and the continental revivals was important for fusing together the revival and missions.<sup>253</sup> The need for the Moravian community to find political stability and escape from persecution gave them, without knowing it, just those qualities needed to weld them into a missionary force. Ward sees these as being people self-selected on the basis of religious zeal, the willingness to leave a homeland, and flexibility in movement.<sup>254</sup> The missionary

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<sup>241</sup> Richard Tiplady, ‘Moravian Spirituality and Mission’, in William Taylor (ed), *Global Missiology for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Grand Rapids: WEF, 2000), p. 503.

<sup>242</sup> Ward, *Awakening*, p. 144.

<sup>243</sup> Mason, *The Moravian Church*, p. xi.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96. This was Zinzendorf’s belief that only a few, very select number of potential converts existed among the heathen for their time had not yet come.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>252</sup> Geldback, ‘Evangelisch’, p. 174.

<sup>253</sup> Ward, *Awakening*, p. 4.

<sup>254</sup> Ward, *Eighteenth Century Mission*, p. 116.

strategy was to preach Christ from the outset,<sup>255</sup> in the local language in order to plant the Christian faith within new cultures.<sup>256</sup>

Alfred Broomhall says of the Moravians, ‘if concerted action to make Christ known counts most...theirs was the first modern mission’.<sup>257</sup> Bebbington widens the perspective saying that they were ‘decisive’ for the emergence of Evangelicalism,<sup>258</sup> teaching John Wesley that a direct experience of God was possible.<sup>259</sup> He notes that Wesley went to visit the Moravian settlements in Germany to investigate the Moravian view of the doctrine of assurance.<sup>260</sup> James Gordon comments ‘it was from such experiences of personal conversion that the powerful stream of Wesleyan spirituality began to flow outward into mission’.<sup>261</sup>

Taylor knew about the missionary activity of the Moravians through his reading of *The Gleaner*<sup>262</sup> and reports from Tibet, published in *China’s Millions*.<sup>263</sup> There are other parallels between Zinzendorf and Taylor in that both were evangelical mystics whose commitment to mission derived from their passionate love for Christ. Certainly Taylor would have admired Zinzendorf’s zeal and emphasis on a Christo-centric understanding of scripture. His position as a lay leader involved in mission provided one template later emulated by Taylor who highlighted the importance of conversion and the new birth in Christian experience.

## 2.7 Early Methodism

John Wesley (1703-91) was one of the leaders of the evangelical revival<sup>264</sup> and provided a link between the Reformation and the development of Evangelicalism.<sup>265</sup> John and his brother Charles Wesley (1707-88) had both been inspired by contact with the Moravians who functioned as ‘midwives’ to the Methodist movement.<sup>266</sup> Their growth in the eighteenth century was ‘phenomenal’, emphasising inner spiritual renewal in the pietistic tradition.<sup>267</sup>

### 2.7.1 Methodism and the Bible

The Wesleys imbibed their biblical piety from their High Anglican upbringing and the commitment of their parents to teaching them.<sup>268</sup> They were exposed to the work of the Anglican religious societies and

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<sup>255</sup> Ward, *Awakening*, p. 158.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>257</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *Barbarians at the Gates* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1981), p. 79.

<sup>258</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, pp. 39,77.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>261</sup> James Gordon, *Evangelical Spirituality* (London: SPCK, 1991), p.15.

<sup>262</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *Over The Treaty Wall* (Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton, 1982), p. 47.

<sup>263</sup> *China’s Millions*, March 1879, p. 29.

<sup>264</sup> Scott Jones, ‘Wesley, John’, in McKim, *Historical Handbook*, p. 385.

<sup>265</sup> Mark Noll, *Turning Points: Decisive Moments in the History of Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), p. 224.

<sup>266</sup> Michael C. Reilly, *Spirituality for Mission: Historical, Theological, and Cultural Factors for a Present-day Missionary Spirituality* (New York: Orbis Books, 1978), p. 90.

<sup>267</sup> Nigel Aston, *Christianity and Revolutionary Europe 1750-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 56, 70 respectively.

<sup>268</sup> John Kent, *Wesley and the Wesleyans* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), pp. 54, 60; Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, p. 60.

to the Puritan writings but their spiritual formation also drew on other sources.<sup>269</sup> At Oxford University they formed a 'Holy Club' to study together and to care for the poor which led to them being labelled as 'Methodists'. John Wesley's subsequent spiritual development turned on two events connected with the Moravians. These were his meeting with them on the voyage to Georgia and their fearless spirituality and confidence in God in the face of danger, and his later experience with them in Fetter Lane when his heart was 'strangely warmed'.<sup>270</sup> Although he later disagreed with the Moravians on their interpretation of the biblical evidence on the outworking of the Christian life, he learned much from their initial teaching and example especially over the assurance of salvation.<sup>271</sup>

Wesley took his commitment to the Bible<sup>272</sup> beyond the accepted patterns of his day when he began to preach outdoors with the aim of converting his hearers.<sup>273</sup> He believed that the purpose of the exposition of the Bible was to speak the oracles of God and his sermons were littered with texts that illustrated the points he wished to make.<sup>274</sup> Wesley maintained that he designed truth for ordinary people and that he 'set down... what I find in the Bible concerning the way to heaven'.<sup>275</sup> He welded those who responded into small groups for spiritual edification and instruction and trained lay preachers to carry on the work of preaching to reform the nation and to spread 'scriptural holiness'.<sup>276</sup> Initially Methodism grew as a reform movement within the Anglican Church, whose authority he fully supported.<sup>277</sup> Eventually Wesley's methods and the opening of a branch in America led to Methodism becoming a church in its own right. His standard sermons became part of the foundation for Methodist theology.<sup>278</sup>

Wesley's use of the Bible stood in the Reformation tradition and he described himself as a man of one book. The Bible was the final authority for Wesley's understanding but he supplemented this with plenty of other reading. He acknowledged his debt to the Lutheran and Puritan traditions<sup>279</sup> but drew deeply on a wide range of Catholic and other mystical writers.<sup>280</sup> Finding a biblical foundation for these experiences was important for Wesley and he once wrote to Zinzendorf rebuking him for depending more on mystical writers than scripture.<sup>281</sup> His theology focused on soteriology<sup>282</sup> and sanctification in which he stressed the new birth and the assurance of faith. Here was the opportunity for the direct awareness of God made available to all.<sup>283</sup> He believed in the capacity of the poor to fully understand his teaching and to be able to respond and grow in spiritual maturity. Scripture was to be

<sup>269</sup> Jones, 'Wesley, John', p. 385

<sup>270</sup> Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, pp. 77, 89-90 respectively.

<sup>271</sup> Donald Thorsen, *The Wesleyan Quadrilateral: Scripture, Tradition, Reason and Experience as a Model of Evangelical Theology* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990), p. 54.

<sup>272</sup> Roy Hattersley, *A Brand From the Burning*, p. 53.

<sup>273</sup> Noll, *Turning Points*, p. 222.

<sup>274</sup> Jones, 'Wesley, John', p. 387.

<sup>275</sup> John Wesley, in Edward H. Sugden, (ed) *Wesley's Standard Sermons, Volume 1* (London: Epworth Press, 1935), p.32

<sup>276</sup> Richard P. Heitzenrater, *The Elusive Mr Wesley: John Wesley. His Own Biographer* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1984), p. 145.

<sup>277</sup> Jones, 'Wesley, John', p. 386.

<sup>278</sup> Wesley, *Wesley's Standard Sermons*, p. 7.

<sup>279</sup> William Leary, 'Man of One Book. A Study of John Wesley's Reading', *Wesley Historical Society Lecture No. 53*, 1987 (Cheshire: Bankhead Press, 1987), p. 23.

<sup>280</sup> Thorsen, *The Wesleyan Quadrilateral*, p. 50.

<sup>281</sup> Scott Jones, *John Wesley's Conception and Use of Scripture* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995), p. 86.

<sup>282</sup> Thorsen, *The Wesleyan Quadrilateral*, p. 217; Noll, *Turning Points*, p. 221.

<sup>283</sup> Kent, *Wesley*, p. 31.

interpreted for the ordinary believer and the preaching of the text was the foundation.<sup>284</sup> This was based on his understanding of humanity created in the image of God, the reality of original sin, the gift of justifying faith and their ability to repent and to be sanctified by the grace of God.<sup>285</sup> He stressed the experiential, present aspect of the work of the Bible in a spiritual life begun with regeneration and the need for a holy life.<sup>286</sup> He used his pastoral letters and pamphlets to support his preaching believing that the emphasis on the will and the emotions would lead to true religion in the transformation of the believer.<sup>287</sup> He preached over 40,000 sermons and wrote over 400 publications.<sup>288</sup>

Whilst endorsing the major emphases of Protestantism that had gone before, Wesley's Arminianism<sup>289</sup> provided a new slant on the work of sanctification.<sup>290</sup> He longed for intimate experiences of God.<sup>291</sup> He held that God's grace restored free will to lost humanity and that those who believed could either lose their salvation through deliberate sinning or alternatively, that they had the capacity to be free from any conscious sin in thought, word or deed. It was a mark of Wesleyan piety that real Christians took sin seriously.<sup>292</sup> He stressed 'entire sanctification' which was different from regeneration. It was a distinct 'second moment' or crisis experience.<sup>293</sup> This emphasis on holiness had roots in a variety of mystical traditions which proved to Wesley that genuine experiences of God could cross denominational boundaries<sup>294</sup> and even be found in areas where prejudice might prevail.<sup>295</sup> It was based on the teaching of Jesus and the recorded experiences of the work of the Holy Spirit in the life of the early church but made vivid in the present through the lives of the regenerate. It was a real consciousness of God in daily experience involving the intellect working out the ethical implications of a holy life in a sinful world.<sup>296</sup> Although individualistic and sometimes instantaneous in reception, the experience was expected to lead to involvement within the energetic class meetings.

For Wesley, as for Taylor, the Bible was the foundation of his ministry. Both men were able to combine this commitment with a stress on spiritual experience backed up with effective organisational skills which enabled them to weld together new groupings of Christians that became influential in the developing of new streams for mission.

### 2.7.2 Methodism and Mission

Methodism was part of a wider awakening and missionary movement that rediscovered the importance of conversion.<sup>297</sup> Wesley's family were interested in missions.<sup>298</sup> John Wesley's understanding of the

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<sup>284</sup> Jones, 'Wesley, John', p. 387.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> Kent, *Wesley*, p. 192; Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, p. 13.

<sup>287</sup> Gordon, *Evangelical Spirituality*, p. 12.

<sup>288</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 11.

<sup>289</sup> Henry Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* (London: Epworth 1989, 2002), p. 388.

<sup>290</sup> Noll, *Turning Points*, p. 224.

<sup>291</sup> Eamon Duffy, 'Wesley and the Counter-Reformation', in Jane Garnett & Colin Mathew (eds), *Revival and Religion since 1700: Essays for John Walsh* (London: Hambledon, 1993), p. 8.

<sup>292</sup> David Bebbington, *Holiness in Nineteenth Century England* (Carlisle: Paternoster 2000), p.52.

<sup>293</sup> Thorsen, *The Wesleyan Quadrilateral*, p. 121.

<sup>294</sup> Duffy, 'Wesley and the Counter-Reformation', p. 19.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid., p. 18; Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, p. 121.

<sup>296</sup> R. Newton Flew, *The idea of Perfection in Christian Theology. An Historical Study of the Christian Ideal for the Present Life* (London: Humphrey Milford OUP, 1934), pp. 319-320.

<sup>297</sup> Johannes Van den Berg, *Constrained by Jesus Love: An enquiry into the motives of the Missionary Awakening in Great Britain, 1698-1815* (Kampen: J.H.Kok, 1956), p 87.

Bible initially made him an overseas missionary. His motivation for going to Georgia, sent by the SPG,<sup>299</sup> to work amongst the native Americans was wrapped up with his own internal need to express his understanding of the gospel as a debt to be repaid and the desire to save his own soul.<sup>300</sup> It only revealed the paucity of his own spiritual experience.<sup>301</sup> He was unsuccessful. Despite this experience overseas his focus on the United Kingdom made him personally reluctant to diversify into a foreign mission effort. Generally, Methodists did not distinguish between home and foreign missions.<sup>302</sup> Wesley considered that all who have experienced the call of God should be involved in mission for all Christians are to glorify God. He took some of the strands from Puritanism and Pietism and forged a radical new ministry that focused on the burgeoning needs of the poor in the early industrial revolution whilst drawing from the Moravians the enthusiasm and energy necessary for this. For him the new social conditions present within the British Isles were a sufficient mission field as many lost their connection to an ecclesiastical background and those within the Anglican church displayed the marks of a nominal Christianity.<sup>303</sup> For Wesley mission embraced involvement in the social problems of the day and he was involved in campaigns against slavery, poverty and illiteracy.<sup>304</sup> Inadvertently, Wesley's decision to send workers to the new colonies in America to establish and nurture the emerging Methodist movement led to mission activity among the populace there with a Society being founded in 1819.<sup>305</sup>

Thomas Coke (1747-1814) was the most important figure to stimulate Methodist overseas mission. He published a commentary on the Bible.<sup>306</sup> He first appealed for a mission to Africa in 1778<sup>307</sup> and wrote a plan for mission, without Wesley's knowledge, in 1783.<sup>308</sup> As one of Wesley's most trusted aides, Coke was sent to America in 1784 and this gave him further opportunities to develop thinking about Methodist missions. In 1786 he wrote the first Methodist missionary tract which called for the raising of funds to support mission work overseas<sup>309</sup> and the first Methodist preachers were sent as missionaries to Nova Scotia and Antigua in the same year.<sup>310</sup> The inclusion of Scotland, where there was no home mission, was supported by Wesley but he had strategic and theological objections to venturing further afield believing that the focus on the British Isles was

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<sup>298</sup> Norman E. Thomas, 'John Wesley', in Gerald H. Anderson (ed), *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Mission* (New York: Simon and Schuster, Macmillan, 1998), p.723; John Vickers, 'One Man Band: Thomas Coke and the Origins of Methodist Missions', *Methodist History*, 34 (1996), p. 136.

<sup>299</sup> Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 278.

<sup>300</sup> Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, p. 472.

<sup>301</sup> Hattersley, *A Brand From the Burning*, p. 125.

<sup>302</sup> John Vickers, *Thomas Coke: Apostle of Methodism* (London: Epworth Press, 1969), p. 131; Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p 278.

<sup>303</sup> Vickers, *Thomas Coke*, p. 131.

<sup>304</sup> Thomas, 'John Wesley', p. 724.

<sup>305</sup> Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity 1800-1914: Northern Africa and Asia* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1944), p. 122; Dean S. Gilliland, 'Methodist Missions', in Moreau, *Evangelical Dictionary*, pp. 618-619.

<sup>306</sup> Vickers, *Thomas Coke*, p. 327.

<sup>307</sup> Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, p. 181.

<sup>308</sup> John Vickers, 'One Man Band', p. 140.

<sup>309</sup> Thomas Coke, *An address to the Pious and Benevolent, proposing an Annual Subscription for the Support of Missionaries in the Highlands and adjacent lands of Scotland, The Isles of Jersey, Guernsey and Newfoundland, the West Indies, and the Provinces of Nova Scotia and Quebec* (London: 1786).

<sup>310</sup> John Vickers, 'One Man Band', p. 136.

sufficient.<sup>311</sup> He expected that the conversion of the rest of the world would follow on from a general awakening of Christianity.<sup>312</sup> With little support from Wesley, circumstances landed Coke in the West Indies where he gained his initial experience, and in 1790 he was named as the head of the first Methodist missionary committee.<sup>313</sup> Coke argued in his tract that when there was an ‘open door’, as there was in America, then it was strategic to send in more labourers than usual to take advantage of it wherever it was in the world.<sup>314</sup> The work of the early Methodists in America was crucial.<sup>315</sup> Accounts of the work of the missionaries would be published annually.<sup>316</sup> Using Romans 12:14 for support, he argued for the highest importance to be given to the preaching of the gospel because Satan was so evidently ruling in a great part of the world. He commended the Roman Catholics for their work in China but saw it as impure and hoped that the Methodist Connexion would become a source for new workers.<sup>317</sup> In 1804 he published a report of the work so far, seeing it as essential to account to those who had supported the work.<sup>318</sup> This defended the high cost of mission and exhorted the readers to have kingdom concerns to the forefront.<sup>319</sup> In 1813 the Methodists organised their first mission society in the Leeds District.<sup>320</sup> Coke volunteered to go on this first expedition to India and died on the way there. From these beginnings workers were sent to other West Indian islands, Sierra Leone, Nova Scotia, Ireland, France and eventually all over the world.<sup>321</sup>

The Methodists with their high view of the Bible took the message of the gospel to the neglected masses of the British Isles. Scorning ecclesiastical convention and spurred on by scriptural ‘enthusiasm’ they made the Bible available to many people and then nurtured them in small groups. It is no accident that Taylor emerged from this Methodist heritage building on the work of the Wesleys and Thomas Coke who played an important role in the development of Protestant mission.

## 2.8 Conclusion

This overview of the Bible in mission before Taylor shows that the development of mission is not necessarily rooted in the proclamation of ‘sola scriptura’. The Reformers moved away from the allegorical and spiritual view of scripture to an approach that gave priority to the historical context; centred on the literal sense and the importance of preaching. This alone was not sufficient to produce a dedicated missionary movement although the Anabaptists, reading specific mission texts which others considered no longer valid, pursued mission. They saw no role for the state in carrying out mission. The Reformers shared the presuppositions of Roman Catholic mission, seeing the expansion of Christianity in territorial terms backed by appropriate political powers. Furthermore, the extent of the

<sup>311</sup> Coke, *An Address to the Pious*, pp. 3-5.

<sup>312</sup> Van den Berg, *Constrained by Jesus Love*, p. 90.

<sup>313</sup> Thomas, ‘John Wesley’, p. 143.

<sup>314</sup> Coke, *An Address to the Pious*, p. 9.

<sup>315</sup> Vickers, *Thomas Coke*, p. 116; Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, p. 185.

<sup>316</sup> Coke, *An address to the Pious*, p. 10.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>318</sup> Thomas Coke, *An Account of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the Methodist Missions* (London: Conference Office, 1804), p. 3.

<sup>319</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>320</sup> John Vickers, ‘One Man Band’, p. 147.

<sup>321</sup> Cyril Davey, *Mad About Mission: The Story of Thomas Coke. Founder of the Methodist Overseas Mission* (Basingstoke: Marshall Pickering, 1985), pp. 120-121 gives the details.

ecclesiastical schism at the time of the Reformation, which increased as Protestantism developed, meant that existing Catholic models of mission did not act as a spur to Protestant mission.

Catholic mission in the sixteenth century was carried out through the work of the various Orders of Friars as a necessary extension of the authority of the Church. Whilst they translated church liturgies and catechisms into the vernacular they did not give much attention to the place of the Bible and translated only small portions of it. Although there were theologians who desired a greater role for the Bible in the life of the church, the Council of Trent re-established the authority of the Latin text and the sole right of the Church to interpret it in the face of other translations.

The Puritans built on many of the emphases of the Reformation in highlighting dependence on the plain text of scripture with the literal sense prominent. They insisted that scripture must be read in context, accompanied by prayer and meditation. They aimed to bring a deeper, more systematic piety among lay people, to confirm faith and to increase repentance. Their emphasis on union with Christ and development of the inner life made an important contribution to the development of a devotional approach to biblical interpretation. Their lack of assurance jeopardised the development of any specific missionary attempts apart from those intertwined with the migrations to America.

The centrality of the Bible for Pietism led to the publication of commentaries and other Biblical aids. These, in turn, helped to reform theological education and to enable better preaching. The learning of the catechism improved the spiritual life of the pious. They fortified themselves with devotional nurture from both Catholic and Protestant spiritual traditions and maintained a line from the Anabaptists who also placed importance on the work of the Holy Spirit in their interpretation of the Bible. The Pietists recovered two important emphases. These were the need for the new birth or personal conversion and the development of the concept of the priesthood of all believers through the class meeting. This led to a practical outworking of faith in mission and good deeds. This began to remove the responsibility for mission from the colonial, national or clerical authority and eventually contributed to the impetus for international mission.

The Moravian Brethren under Zinzendorf renewed a Christo-centric approach to the Bible and continued the emphases that had preceded them. They were pivotal in their expression of mission. Their desire to send their members to difficult places in the world provided a model that inspired others. They also widened the potential pool of missionaries allowing artisan involvement. It was this 'democratisation' of mission that laid the foundation for later developments in missions. They brought many of the salient aspects of pietism to the English-speaking world through their spiritual influence on the Wesley brothers.

Wesley, influenced by the Moravians, gave a high priority to the Bible and subsequent spiritual experience. Drawing on a variety of spiritual influences and with an overwhelming desire for authentic expressions of the Christian life, Wesley took the Bible out onto the streets, making it widely available. He continued the emphasis on the importance of conversion and the reality of sanctification. Although he gave priority to the British Isles, the development of Methodism in the eighteenth century and especially its expansion to America, gave opportunities for the full expression of Methodist mission through Thomas Coke. Coke, often without Wesley's specific support, pioneered Methodist mission for many years before a distinctively Methodist missionary society was formed in 1813.

The joining together of Christians with a shared experience rather than any particular denominational allegiance was an important feature within Protestantism. These movements became the main spring for the modern missionary movement. The emphasis on the Bible coalesced in the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) in 1804 with the aim of stimulating translation projects overseas. The principle of providing vernacular translations of the Bible, inspired by the Reformation, was a fundamental policy of the missionary movement from the English-speaking world. This work was to provide an essential starting point for mission work in many countries and provided evidence of cooperation between Christians concerned about mission and the availability of the scriptures around the world.

Taylor concluded that one of the reasons for the failure of earlier mission in China was a failure to give the Bible to the Chinese people.<sup>322</sup> His book, *China's Spiritual Need and Claims*, was centred on the needs of China rather than on commenting on recent developments in mission. Nevertheless, he was fully aware of Roman Catholic contributions to mission in China and admired them for their tenacity and commitment. He gave statistics for their work<sup>323</sup> but criticised the Jesuit view of the cross of Christ, which he considered was obscured with ornamentation.<sup>324</sup> He was also aware of the Pietistic, Moravian and Methodist contributions to mission.<sup>325</sup> His attention to Protestant mission was confined to recent efforts in China. He stood in the streams that flowed from the Reformation which led to the emphasis on the inner spiritual life and its eventual outworking in a holy life and a concern for mission. This included his emphasis on personal conversion and the necessity of new churches being formed outside of denominational control.

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<sup>322</sup> James Hudson Taylor, in James Johnston (ed), *Report of the Centenary Conference on Protestant Missions of the World* (London: J. Nisbet, 1888), p. 174.

<sup>323</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Spiritual Need*, p. 14.

<sup>324</sup> J. H. Taylor in Montagu Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing* (London: Morgan and Scott 1890), p. 30.

<sup>325</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *Barbarians at the Gates* (Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton, 1981), pp. 285-286. For the Moravians see p. 35 above.



## The Immediate Influence of Movements and Individuals on J. Hudson Taylor

### 3.1 Introduction

Taylor and the CIM, founded in 1865, built on the work of many mission-minded predecessors, some of whom had ministered in China. This chapter looks at some of the more specific influences on Taylor. It covers the wider cultural ramifications of the Enlightenment and Romanticism on Taylor's era, his Methodist heritage and the influence of the holiness movement with its important Mildmay and Keswick conventions. These are followed by a description of four specific individuals who influenced his thinking about the Bible and mission.

### 3.2 Enlightenment and Romanticism

The varying sources of cultural and religious change make precise assessment a hazardous exercise.<sup>1</sup> Simplistic observations of the Enlightenment have to give way to a more nuanced evaluation. W.R. Ward sees the term as almost meaningless unless given closer definition<sup>2</sup> and although defining the Enlightenment as a 'body of human knowledge resting upon foundations whose truth is self-evident to any rational human being'<sup>3</sup> might be an adequate description, it does not summarise completely an influential era. The Enlightenment was more than just rationalism for it also involved the gradual removal of religion from the authority of the state and the public arena. This accords with Brian Stanley's view that there were several stages of the Enlightenment throughout the eighteenth century<sup>4</sup> and calls into question the usefulness of the Enlightenment for interpreting Protestant mission, as there were few pre-enlightenment models to compare with.<sup>5</sup> Bebbington argues that the emergence of the Evangelical version of Protestantism came from the Enlightenment.<sup>6</sup> Although it was 'experimental' in religious experience, it was, nevertheless, based on intellectual foundations with reason prominent.<sup>7</sup> He argues that it is a mistake to see the evangelical movement purely as a reaction against the Enlightenment. What happened in the Enlightenment was that the already existing Protestant tradition was moulded by certain emphases in Enlightenment philosophy to aid the rise of Evangelicalism in the eighteenth century.<sup>8</sup> It was one example of the Enlightenment's tendency to organize all human activity and knowledge into discrete categories of intellectual discipline, each with their own rules of procedure. It also contributed to the maintenance of the idea of European superiority in relation to the rest of the world.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harold A. Netland, *Encountering Religious Pluralism* (Leicester: Apollos, 2001), p 75.

<sup>2</sup> William R. Ward, *Faith and Faction* (London: Epworth Press, 1993), p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Paul Helm, 'Religion and Philosophy' in *Dictionary of Contemporary Religion in the Western World* (Leicester: Inter Varsity Press, 2002), p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> Brian Stanley (ed), *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 74.

<sup>7</sup> David W. Bebbington, *Holiness in Nineteenth Century England* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000), p. 35.

<sup>8</sup> David W. Bebbington, 'Evangelical Christianity and the Enlightenment', in Martyn Eden & David Wells (eds), *The Gospel in the Modern World* (Leicester: IVP, 1991), p. 70.

<sup>9</sup> Stanley, *Christian Missions*, p. 10.

The rise of Pietism with its emphasis on personal religious experience through the new birth provided an important background. The Enlightenment enhanced this process, changing the ways in which truth could be received.<sup>10</sup> Experience could now be relied on directly as a source of knowledge. Heart-warming experiences were an important motivation for evangelism and mission as the preaching of the new birth moved into central place. Those influenced by the Enlightenment adapted the new thinking to their own constituency.<sup>11</sup> Bebbington notes that the evangelical doctrine of assurance, itself an outworking of Enlightenment empiricism,<sup>12</sup> gave the confidence necessary for wide proclamation of the gospel as the Bible and personal religious experience combined. This became a powerful driver for mission.<sup>13</sup> Taylor, for example, never showed a hint of doubt about his own salvation although there was plenty of introspection about the state of his interior spiritual life.

All areas of religion and philosophy including mission were affected by the Enlightenment. Stanley sees the modern missionary movement as ‘unruly’ and ‘vigorous’ in its outworking of its Enlightenment presuppositions, as there was both reaction to and accordance with Enlightenment thinking.<sup>14</sup> Clearly, the theological roots of modern Christian mission, continually grounded in the Bible, stem from well before the Enlightenment. The Bible, especially Pauline theology, formed thinking about humanity and other cultures resulting in ‘a biblical insistence upon the unity of humanity in sin and grace’ and a response to idolatry that was based on scripture rather than anything else.<sup>15</sup> The new birth, though restated in the post-Reformation era, was a part of the rediscovery of an essential biblical foundation, bringing the conviction that there was the possibility and potential for the ‘heathen’ to be met by Christ and regenerated. This could never be the result of the ability of human knowledge and rational argument alone, although reason, education and other instruments of civilisation had a limited but nevertheless important role to play.

The individualism of the call to conversion meshed with the Enlightenment elevation of the autonomy of the individual. This trend was exacerbated with the loosing of the binds of the state church as the locus of Christian commitment moved to the voluntary society of ‘true’ converted believers with the formation of class meetings and eventually whole communities like the Moravians. These formed the basis for new societies who pursued mission both within formal Christendom and beyond it. The focus on the individual tended to remove religion from the public sphere and heightened the isolation from the important cultural issues of communal identity and allegiance. This thinking was exported overseas as the missionary movement was ‘both the product and promoter of this voluntarization of religion’.<sup>16</sup> This jeopardised missionary understanding of collective responses to the gospel.<sup>17</sup>

The technological progress characteristic of the Enlightenment also helped to shape the organisational structures necessary for mission, which needed logistical support and the use of printed information to spread the message more widely. William Carey, the Baptist missionary to India, wrote his *Enquiry* (1792) and made an appeal to rational deductive thinking, urging Christians to use all

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<sup>10</sup> James M. Gordon, *Evangelical Spirituality* (London: SPCK, 1991), p 8.

<sup>11</sup> Bebbington, ‘Evangelical Christianity’, p. 73.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Stanley, *Christian Missions*, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

available human means to achieve the divine purpose.<sup>18</sup> Whilst Taylor's *China's Spiritual Need and Claims* (see Chapter One) marshalled all the elements of reason to compare the needs of China with that of Britain, its style was very different. It was aimed at the emotions, and above all the imagination, rather than reason as the claims of China were considered.

Romanticism was another movement which deeply influenced the religious and cultural life of the nineteenth century. It arose in the late eighteenth century as a reaction to the rational philosophy of the Enlightenment. The leading German Romantic theologian, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) had his roots partly in Spener's brand of Pietism, and stressed feeling and experience in direct dependence on God.<sup>19</sup> As the father of nineteenth-century liberal theology, his views meshed with others in influencing attitudes to the Bible. Bernard Reardon sees the Romantic poet, critic and philosopher, Samuel Taylor Coleridge 1772-1834), as particularly important for theological developments. Coleridge, in his posthumously published, *Confessions of An Inquiring Spirit* (1840) showed his impatience with the various contemporary efforts to defend or attack the Bible with rational argumentation.<sup>20</sup> For Coleridge the sources of truth and power that the Christian found in the Bible could meet his every need through the direct application of the Holy Spirit to the believer's experience at the time.<sup>21</sup> Coleridge had no background as a biblical scholar but maintained that when the Bible was read like any other book it could meet spiritual needs directly. This showed that it was unlike any other book when approached with prayer and expectation.<sup>22</sup> His own personal experience was decisive and it enabled him to overcome all the supposed difficulties of the higher critics.<sup>23</sup> For Coleridge the highest activity available to man was communion with the living God,<sup>24</sup> so prayer and Bible reading were important. Although he allowed a place for reason in looking at the Bible, the deepest spiritual truth could only be apprehended subjectively as coming 'by intermittent flashes of insight'.<sup>25</sup> This subjectivity was an essential part of religious belief<sup>26</sup> and was the way in which truth was received by the individual. There was an elevation of experience over reason, which explained why personal Christian profession could be combined with critical thinking about the Bible.<sup>27</sup>

Bebbington notes the unforeseen effects of Romanticism on British Calvinists that had longer term implications.<sup>28</sup> Experience was elevated over doctrine in a bid to adapt to the prevailing culture. Not all evangelicals were Calvinists but under the influence of Romanticism there was a more general dilution of the doctrine of the total depravity of humanity. Evangelicals were not immune to this trend but those from a pietistic background tended to hold firm to this doctrine.<sup>29</sup> Taylor upheld the more

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Anthony Lane, 'Friedrich Schleiermacher', *The Lion Concise Book of Christian Thought* (Tring: Lion Publishing, 1984), p. 171.

<sup>20</sup> S.T. Coleridge, *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit* (London: William Pickering, 1840).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10,13.

<sup>22</sup> Bernard Reardon, *From Coleridge to Gore: a Century of Religious thought in Britain* (London: Longman 1971), pp. 81-82.

<sup>23</sup> Coleridge, *Confessions*, p. 85.

<sup>24</sup> Bernard Reardon, *Religious Thought in The Victorian Age* (Essex: Longman, 1995), p. 56.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>28</sup> Bebbington, *Holiness*, p. 46.

<sup>29</sup> Gerald Bray, *Biblical Interpretation Past and Present* (Leicester: Apollos, 1996), p. 256.

traditional position outlined in his views of Romans 1.<sup>30</sup> The Romantics who dabbled in theology wanted the Bible to be understood in literary not scientific terms as a book that could change peoples' lives.<sup>31</sup>

The Romantic movement was critical for the development of nineteenth-century spirituality. Its cultural influence lasted throughout that century and into the twentieth century.<sup>32</sup> It reacted to the rationalism of the Enlightenment, emphasising will, emotion, intuition and mystery, although also sharing some of its characteristics.<sup>33</sup> Timothy Stunt notes that the thrust of Edward Irving's important 1824 sermon to the LMS, with its emphasis on the primitive apostolic ideal, shares the Romantic emphasis of trying to recapture the simplicity of the past.<sup>34</sup> Romanticism was also a popular movement. Its initial impact on the churches was made in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, precisely the time that Taylor was a young man being moulded in the influences that were to shape his career.<sup>35</sup> The years of Taylor's childhood, the 1830s and 1840s, were a 'tumultuous period in the religious life of England' as society was transformed culturally under Romanticism and religiously under Evangelicalism.<sup>36</sup> Bebbington contends: 'The chief explanation for the transformation of Evangelicalism in the years around 1830 is the spread of Romanticism'.<sup>37</sup>

Although Romanticism was one of the streams for the formation of the holiness movement,<sup>38</sup> it did not make great strides among Methodists<sup>39</sup> as they were outside the elite of the evangelical movement, being more working-class. Taylor moved on from Methodism when he went to Hull. His concern for China brought him into contact with more influential Evangelical Anglicans who were more deeply affected by Romantic cultural influences.<sup>40</sup> Bebbington concludes, 'The leaders of Evangelical opinion were swayed by the fashionable romantic assumptions of their day. The gospel was being remoulded by the spirit of the age'.<sup>41</sup> Taylor also brought with him his firm grounding in Methodist holiness teaching and in some way provided a fusion between the two. The holiness experience was for many a post-conversion experience and although various holiness leaders developed teaching to account for it, its variety defied tight doctrinal definitions. This was one of the impacts of Romanticism on theology. It not only affected particular doctrines, for example, views on eternal punishment, but changed the context in which theology was done.<sup>42</sup> Whilst Taylor's views on eternal punishment remained orthodox (See Chapter Seven), he brought the immediacy of spiritual experience, expressed through dependence on the Holy Spirit to the foreground. This power, expressed in

<sup>30</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (1887), p. iv.

<sup>31</sup> Bray, *Biblical Interpretation*, p. 256.

<sup>32</sup> Bebbington, *Holiness*, p. 12.

<sup>33</sup> Netland, *Encountering Religious Pluralism*, p. 75.

<sup>34</sup> Timothy F. C. Stunt, *From Awakening to Secession: Radical Evangelicals in Switzerland and Britain 1815- 1835* (Edinburgh: T & T Clarke, 2000), p. 95.

<sup>35</sup> Bebbington, *Holiness*, p. 13.

<sup>36</sup> Alwyn Austin, 'Only Connect: The China Inland Mission and Transatlantic Evangelism', in Wilbert R. Shenk, *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory and Policy* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), p. 287.

<sup>37</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 103.

<sup>38</sup> Bebbington, *Holiness*, p. 68.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>40</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 177.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p.104.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p.144.

dependence on God, made the evangelisation of China a possibility although one of his contemporaries, Griffith John (1831-1912), questioned if it was realistic.<sup>43</sup>

These Romantic influences did not completely dominate Taylor's approach. He still displayed the characteristically Evangelical confidence in the ability of ordinary Christian people to deduce the 'facts' of divine revelation from Scripture. His insistence that the meaning of Scripture was plain and accessible to every Christian was typical of the empiricism which, as Bebbington has shown, was foundational to evangelicalism.<sup>44</sup> This demonstrates ambiguity, for even Taylor's empirical approach to scripture was modified to some extent by his insistence on the role of the Spirit in illumining the believer's reading of Scripture. The move to recapture the supposed apostolic simplicity of the past, as seen in Irving's 1824 sermon and once observed of the CIM,<sup>45</sup> was seen as a 'commonplace' view within the Romantic movement.<sup>46</sup> At the same time, many missionaries also had a future eschatological emphasis and were also noted for their active involvement in social issues<sup>47</sup> demonstrated within the CIM with the ongoing concern over the opium problems in China.

There were implications from Romanticism for Taylor's use of scripture. One was the elevation of the subjective or intuitive over reason. Taylor, in his use of the Bible, often left the historical or 'reasonable' explanation behind in order to seek for the spiritual experience that lay behind the text. Knowledge of the truth came more from personal experience which was then imposed upon the interpretation of scripture. In early 1883 Taylor went through a number of trials which included the pain of prolonged separation from his wife and later on revealed that during this time he had received much spiritual comfort from the Old Testament text of the Song of Songs.<sup>48</sup> He expounded the book at a conference. The hearers were impressed with the love of Christ presented and how, in the light of that, their lack of trust seemed such a betrayal. They were sufficiently encouraged to devote the final day of the meetings in fasting and prayer. These talks formed the basis for Taylor's book *Union and Communion* (1894) which had a wide readership.<sup>49</sup> This work on the Song of Songs has caused him to be described, like his Calvinistic contemporary the Baptist preacher Charles H. Spurgeon,<sup>50</sup> as one of the 'true mystics of the church'.<sup>51</sup> His psychological state influenced his interpretation of the text. This approach to scripture merged with the cultural influence of the rise of Romanticism which emphasised reading the Bible as literature capable of bringing change into people's lives.<sup>52</sup> The emphasis on mystery gave impetus to the move away from a rationalistic interpretation of scripture and the development of a more intense and inward spirituality. Religion could take its place in analysing the non-rational side of human nature. The display of emotion or 'enthusiasm' was now understood as a

<sup>43</sup> Noel Gibbard, *Griffith John* (Bridgend: Bryntirion Press, 1998), p. 46.

<sup>44</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 53.

<sup>45</sup> *China's Millions* (July 1888), p. 77.

<sup>46</sup> Reardon, *Religious Thought*, p. 7.

<sup>47</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 81.

<sup>48</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *Assault On the Nine* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1988), p. 309.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 309.

<sup>50</sup> Spurgeon was described as a mystic for the theme of union with Christ was prominent in his preaching. He tended to spiritualise the interpretation of the Old Testament and it was in the Song of Songs that he found the love and imagery capable of conducting the powerful current of his spiritual love for Christ. Gordon, *Evangelical Spirituality*, p. 162.

<sup>51</sup> Marshall Broomhall, *The Man Who Believed God* (London: CIM, 1929), p. 138.

<sup>52</sup> Bray, *Biblical Interpretation*, p. 256.

legitimate response and pietistic preaching contributed to the revival movements of 1858-59. These 'awakenings' are an important background to understand Taylor and the CIM, and had a strong influence on the theology and spirituality within faith missions as they linked with the wider holiness movement. One of the results of the revivals was to give the opportunity for lay people to be involved in ministry.<sup>53</sup> People untrained in theological thinking took prominent roles and contributed to the idea that progress is made through the insights and heroism of charismatic visionary leaders rather than through some form of democratic process of discerning the popular will. Many of these groups were orthodox in their theology but this merging of doctrine with experience began a process of leading evangelicals away from doctrinal precision.<sup>54</sup> Rather ironically, Taylor shares this influence with others of his day who helped to shift the subject matter of theology from divinely revealed truths to human religious experience.<sup>55</sup>

Although the Romantic movement defies precise characterisation as it operated within a changing intellectual climate,<sup>56</sup> it is possible to identify some of the ways in which it influenced Taylor. Stanley highlights the way that missionary giving changed.<sup>57</sup> In the classical missions, as Fiedler calls them, there were rules, systems and methods for raising money that were backed by ideas of Christian duty rather than feelings or impulse. However, some missionaries like Anthony N. Groves (1795-1853) began to place increasing emphasis on God as the Father of his spiritual children. This helped to move the focus from the communal to the individual and from usual methods of Christian giving to direct reliance on divine provision. The CIM rarely emphasised the place of the church as a community supporting a worker. Taylor propelled the individualism of mission finance to a wider public as each individual depended on God for their needs. For this reason Taylor began the CIM with minimal structure in the UK for it was only to act as a conduit for funds from the individual supporters to the work. Taylor has been described as the 'embodiment of evangelical romanticism'. This was seen in his early life with his often extreme experiments in living by faith, his intense devotion to Christ, vividly portrayed in his interpretation of the Song of Songs and his liking for female company.<sup>58</sup>

This emphasis on direct unmediated personal experience influenced Taylor's use of the Bible. It enabled him to inspire many others to world mission. Taylor and many others like him were keen to interpret their experiences and to show a biblical foundation for them.

### 3.3 Methodism

The previous chapter noted some aspects of the interaction between Pietism and John Wesley. Taylor was a child of the Methodist revival<sup>59</sup> from the section of Methodism 'which retained the clearest imprint of pietistic influence'.<sup>60</sup> Methodism was a distinct strand within Protestantism: being Arminian

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<sup>53</sup> Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions* (Oxford: Regnum, 1996), p. 113.

<sup>54</sup> Bray, *Biblical Interpretation*, p. 255.

<sup>55</sup> James I. Packer, *Fundamentalism and the Word of God* (Michigan: Eerdmans, 1958, reprinted 1988), p. 148.

<sup>56</sup> Reardon, *Religious Thought*, p. 7.

<sup>57</sup> Brian Stanley, 'Home Support Home Support For Overseas Mission in early Victorian England, 1838-1873', Ph.D thesis (Cambridge: 1979), p. 333.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 336.

<sup>59</sup> M. Broomhall, *The Man*, p. 44.

<sup>60</sup> Stanley, 'Home Support', p. 335.

in theology believing that salvation was available to all who believed, not just the elect,<sup>61</sup> and noted for its activism.<sup>62</sup> Taylor's family were Wesleyan Methodists who joined the Wesleyan Reform movement which split the denomination in the middle of the century. The Methodists sent missionaries around the world but gave no priority to China, a fact which mystified Taylor's father.<sup>63</sup> The Bible and the importance of preaching were emphasised in his childhood and Taylor learned to study scripture and to help his parents in their preaching work.<sup>64</sup> In 1851 he preached his first sermon just before leaving Barnsley<sup>65</sup> and was, from an early age, involved in evangelism.

Holiness teaching was prominent in Methodism before spreading elsewhere.<sup>66</sup> When Taylor's family sided with the Reformers in the split of 1849 they joined the group wanting to restore the original holiness teaching of Wesley.<sup>67</sup> Taylor read widely on the subject and portrayed an intense desire for holiness in his letters to his family based on his Bible reading.

Taylor's church background became a contentious issue in later years. It was noticeable that when he moved to Hull he alarmed his parents by breaking away from his denomination.<sup>68</sup> Although in later years he could be found in Wesleyan churches from time to time,<sup>69</sup> he joined a congregation of the Open Brethren, a movement that arose in reaction to disillusionment with the Anglican state church and with a desire to see the return of Christ more to the forefront of church life.<sup>70</sup> Here Taylor was helped by the Bible teaching and evangelistic outreach that he received there. It was here that Taylor first heard of the principles by which George Müller ran his ministry.

Taylor received a very firm foundation in the Christian faith from his Wesleyan background. This background prepared him well for the emphasis on holiness in the nineteenth century, and its involvement in world mission at least opened up possible vistas for him. Wesley also recognised and used female evangelists who were also prominent within the later holiness movement.<sup>71</sup> Taylor gave women freedom to minister in China (See Chapter Seven), not because he modified his theological position on women in ministry, but because he gave overriding priority, like Wesley, to evangelism and mission above all else.<sup>72</sup>

### 3.4 Holiness Movement

The holiness movement of the early nineteenth-century, rooted in earlier Wesleyan teaching, was a key formative factor for an understanding of Taylor's brand of spirituality. Chapter One showed that the inward life has tended to be neglected by scholars, being prominent only in popular biographies that

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<sup>61</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 27.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>63</sup> M. Broomhall, *The Man*, p. 21.

<sup>64</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *Barbarians at the Gates* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1981), p. 353.

<sup>65</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *Over the Treaty Wall* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1982), p. 30.

<sup>66</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 153.

<sup>67</sup> Klaus Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 216.

<sup>68</sup> A. J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 52.

<sup>69</sup> China Inland Mission Archives, CIM/JHT Box 7, Diaries 128, Volume 11, Taylor preached and attended a Wesleyan Chapel in Bow when in London 1865.

<sup>70</sup> Harold Rowdon, *The Origins of the Brethren* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1967), p. 2.

<sup>71</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 295.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 296.

emphasised the personal spiritual life which often ignored the wider context.<sup>73</sup> Methodism had a long-standing emphasis on sanctification but the development of the holiness movement required particular personalities who popularised teaching that emphasised the need for holiness among all Christians so that they could work together in effective evangelism.<sup>74</sup>

David Bebbington traces the holiness teaching back to roots in North America and the experience of ‘rest’ among the Quakers who associated this with holiness.<sup>75</sup> Holiness became a major aspect of the spirituality of the time for many churchgoers who also emphasised pre-millennial advent teaching, sanctification and the faith mission principle.<sup>76</sup> In other words, holiness teaching came from new reflections on the Bible read under the cultural influences of both the Enlightenment and the Romantic movement.<sup>77</sup> Holiness teaching ‘was intimately bound up with the spirit of the age’ and the spring from which the faith missions, exemplified by the CIM, came into being.<sup>78</sup>

The ministry of the American Methodist Phoebe Palmer (1807-74) in the United Kingdom illustrated two important features of the time. Firstly, the distinction between ministers and lay people had been eroded by the desire for holiness teaching. Secondly, the holiness meetings united believers from different church backgrounds.<sup>79</sup> Palmer saw that there was an important link between holiness and world evangelisation in giving organisation and vision for the task.<sup>80</sup> There was an expectation that if Christians would emulate the example of the early church and focus on the power of the Holy Spirit there was no reason why they should not see the completion of world evangelisation and herald the return of Christ.<sup>81</sup> The desire for holiness was not understood in a passive sense but was marked by ‘ceaseless activity’.<sup>82</sup> The holy life began with conversion, it was sustained by the power of the Cross, fed by Bible reading and issued in activity.<sup>83</sup> Promoting personal holiness was vital for evangelicals and the prime purpose of the pursuit of holiness for the early faith missionaries was not a focus on the inner life but the need for power for service.<sup>84</sup> However, there was not a seamless transition from holiness to world evangelisation. Many of the conferences for spiritual edification taking place within the British Isles had little concern for world mission.

Conferences that highlighted Bible teaching drew many Christians together in an atmosphere of expectation. There were four aspects to the teaching of the holiness movement as commonly exemplified. Firstly, sanctification often came to people after a long search. Secondly, the experience was to be obtained, not by effort, but by faith. Thirdly, it was only available through an experience similar to conversion and it produced a great change in the interior and exterior life of the believer. Fourthly, there would be discernible results in the spiritual life issuing in more zeal or offering for

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<sup>73</sup> Chapter 1, p. 6.

<sup>74</sup> Valerie A. Abbott, ‘The Influence of Phoebe Palmer’s Ministry upon The Evangelical Community in Mid-Nineteenth Century Britain: An Assessment of her Itinerant Ministry in Britain 1859-1863’, M. Litt (Bristol: 2000), p. 153.

<sup>75</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 76.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>79</sup> Abbott, ‘Phoebe Palmer’, p. 13.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>82</sup> David Bebbington, *Holiness*, p. 40.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>84</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 226.

Christian service and a shunning of anything to do with the world.<sup>85</sup> Bebbington concludes that: 'Sanctification was a decisive stage in the Christian pilgrimage'.<sup>86</sup> Christians had to realise that in union with Christ they had all that was needed for a powerful spiritual life, for it rested totally on what Christ had done for them and would do through them.<sup>87</sup> Faith was important in working this out on a daily basis.<sup>88</sup> The Open Brethren also had a part to play in the teaching on holiness. In their bid to form ecclesiastically pure groups of Christians they emphasised the readiness or holiness of the church for the return of the Lord.

The emphasis of holiness as a separate experience was a flexible concept within missions. The 'Principles and Practice' of the CIM had nothing to say on the subject.<sup>89</sup> It was an assumed background. It brought with it varied terminology which included phrases like 'the higher life', 'the deeper Christian life' and 'the victorious Christian life', all of which follow conversion and may be a specific crisis experience or a working out of conversion by faith.<sup>90</sup> Within the CIM these terms came to be replaced by 'the exchanged life' or 'union with Christ' or just 'union'.<sup>91</sup> While everyone else was longing for this experience Taylor's first wife, Maria, seemed already to possess it and provided an impressive example for others to attain to.<sup>92</sup> In the latter half of the nineteenth century holiness became the generic term for a wide variety of second-stage spiritual experiences.<sup>93</sup> The holiness movement was international and helped to lay the ground for international co-operation in mission. It was important in the area of training. People gravitated towards the training institutions in Britain that were influenced by the holiness movement.<sup>94</sup> The main places where CIM missionaries were trained were Mildmay Park (see below), Spurgeon's College and the East London Training Institute begun by Henry Grattan Guinness (1835-1910).<sup>95</sup>

This internal focus on the inner spiritual life was criticised for being 'too other-worldly'<sup>96</sup> and lacking in transformation in attitudes to the world. The individual emphasis also tended to neglect the wider Christian community and the sense of the Church as the corporate body of Christ.<sup>97</sup> Within the movement there was a stress on the power of the individual will, important in both conversion and in achieving holiness. This emphasis on the will led some to confine their view of sin to disobedience to the will which could dilute the emphasis on objective truth in knowing what exactly was right and wrong. It was an example of the elevation of experience over doctrine<sup>98</sup> and encouraged the use of

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<sup>85</sup> Bebbington, *Holiness*, p. 64.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>87</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *Refiner's Fire* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1985), p. 213.

<sup>88</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 157.

<sup>89</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 210.

<sup>90</sup> Abbott, *Phoebe Palmer*, p. 26. Abbott also notes that although Palmer thought she was teaching the doctrine of holiness from a Wesleyan perspective that after she left Britain the Wesleyan language had been superseded by different terms like 'higher life', 'the baptism of the Holy Spirit' and the 'rest of faith'.

<sup>91</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Refiner's Fire*, p. 211.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>93</sup> Abbott, *Phoebe Palmer*, p. 45.

<sup>94</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 134.

<sup>95</sup> Alwyn Austin, 'Only Connect', p. 283.

<sup>96</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 176.

<sup>97</sup> Laura Jane Carson, 'The Nineteenth Century 'Disappearance of God': Perceptions of God in Hardy and Hopkins', Ph.D. thesis (Edinburgh, 2000), p. 46.

<sup>98</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 168.

holiness theology in a 'non-dogmatic way'.<sup>99</sup> There was also a tendency to over-emphasise holiness as a panacea. In frustration over hearing of one missionary who had taken to alcohol, Taylor wrote, 'May God make us a holy mission..., a united and loving mission, and then we shall be a successful mission'.<sup>100</sup> This focus on the inner spiritual life in the second half of the nineteenth century did not prevent the CIM, along with many other Christians, being actively involved in famine relief, relieving poverty and campaigning over the opium issues in China.

### 3.4.1 Mildmay Conferences

In addition to more formal channels of training, the holiness movement was resourced by many meetings and conferences around the country. The Perth conference at which Taylor spoke in 1865 was a holiness conference. Such meetings were an important network for people like Taylor to make the CIM more widely known. Those who attended were those quickened by the revivals and awakenings of the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>101</sup> The interdenominational Mildmay conference was one that involved Taylor and had a missions focus. These were first held at Barnet from 1856 and then moved to Mildmay Park in 1864 when William Pennefather (1816-73) moved to St. Jude's Anglican church in Mildmay. The Bible teaching centred on the main themes of foreign and home missions, the second advent<sup>102</sup> and holiness,<sup>103</sup> centred around the main idea that the union of the believer with Christ was primarily a spiritual union, a view that Taylor endorsed.

Taylor attended the Barnet conference in 1861 and met William Pennefather.<sup>104</sup> They became good friends and Taylor preached at Catherine Pennefather's (1818-93) funeral. Taylor found them 'so eminently spiritual'.<sup>105</sup> It was to be near them that Taylor selected Mildmay for his own residence and the London base of the CIM.<sup>106</sup> Eugene Stock described Pennefather as 'the George Müller of the Church of England', who depended on God for all his needs and experienced answers to prayer.<sup>107</sup> He was from an upper-class background and strongly pietistic with a keen interest in promoting the work of the Holy Spirit<sup>108</sup> in working out the sanctification received at conversion.<sup>109</sup> The evening meetings at his conferences were given over to missions and later on these became a place from which Taylor exercised spiritual influence.<sup>110</sup> Taylor and Pennefather in 1864 were supporting a mission to foreigners in London with finance and advice.<sup>111</sup> Bebbington notes that Pennefather was instrumental in

<sup>99</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 216.

<sup>100</sup> Taylor, in A. J. Broomhall, *Assault*, p. 154.

<sup>101</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 161.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 192 In 1884 A session of the Mildmay conference was given over to premillennial teaching and the advent hope was a major part of the Keswick platform.

<sup>103</sup> Bebbington, *Holiness*, p. 74.

<sup>104</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *Survivor's Pact* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1984), 'The George Müller of the Church of England' yet drew Christians from a wider constituency, p. 85.

<sup>105</sup> *A Record of Mildmay Missions*, No 11. Volume XIV (Feb 1893), p. 41.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *If I Had A Thousand Lives* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1982), p. 390.

<sup>108</sup> Bebbington, *Holiness*, p. 75.

<sup>109</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 160.

<sup>110</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 385.

<sup>111</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Thousand Lives*, p. 384.

expanding teaching about holiness beyond the Methodists and in providing a pool of zealous Christian workers with a concern for holiness.<sup>112</sup>

The Mildmay conferences were influential for those early CIM candidates who attended them whilst living with Taylor.<sup>113</sup> When William Rudland (1836-1912), who later joined the CIM, attended the Mildmay Conference in 1864 it opened up a new world to him in relations with Christians of differing denominations. The conferences were also an arena for publicising the work of the CIM. On October 26<sup>th</sup> 1865 Taylor breakfasted with Pennefather and was given permission to sell his pamphlet about China and to speak about China in the evening.<sup>114</sup>

The distinctive characteristics of the Mildmay Conferences reflected Taylor's position after his second-stage holiness experience of 1869. The attraction of the conference was its interdenominational nature and its focus on oneness in Christ. Taylor gave the opening address in 1872 among leaders like Dwight Moody (1837-99) and others involved in the movement for scriptural holiness.<sup>115</sup> Taylor was able to have some influence on other evangelical leaders<sup>116</sup> and the place of the CIM at the Mildmay Conferences in 1876 showed how its reputation was growing. Taylor spoke at Mildmay in 1878, when he gave a very strong closing exhortation,<sup>117</sup> and again in 1883 and 1884.<sup>118</sup> His closing address to the Mildmay conference on 'The Knowledge of God' in 1884 was reproduced in *China's Millions*.<sup>119</sup> Sometimes the CIM held its anniversary and valedictory services there,<sup>120</sup> and observers described the CIM as reaching a state of 'spiritual elevation'<sup>121</sup> compared to other missionary societies and as a 'truly apostolic' work.<sup>122</sup>

### 3.4.2 Keswick Convention

The Keswick convention, first held in 1875, developed out of meetings 'for the promotion of scriptural holiness' addressed by Robert and Hannah Pearsall Smith (1827-98 and 1832-1911 respectively) in 1874 and 1875.<sup>123</sup> Taylor attended the latter meeting in Brighton, a holiness convention. The aim was to promote practical holiness and Keswick became important in the wider desire for holiness that was a marked feature of the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>124</sup> In 1883 Taylor spoke at Keswick and at least one person was inspired for China but generally world mission was thought to be 'apt to detract the minds of the friends from the central object of the meetings'.<sup>125</sup> However, from 1886 onwards the Keswick convention helped to promote world mission with fringe events permitted until in 1888 they became part of the programme.<sup>126</sup> Bebbington argues that some of the prominent themes of Keswick

<sup>112</sup> Bebbington, *Holiness*, p. 75.

<sup>113</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Survivor's Pact*, p. 83.

<sup>114</sup> *China's Millions* (January, 1888), p. 2.

<sup>115</sup> Howard and Geraldine Taylor, *Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission: The Growth of a Work of God* (London: CIM & RTS, 1918), p. 223.

<sup>116</sup> Howard Taylor, *Hudson Taylor's Spiritual Secret* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1932), p. 189.

<sup>117</sup> *China's Millions* (May 1881), p. 57.

<sup>118</sup> CIM Archives, JHT/CIM, Box 11, 271-277.

<sup>119</sup> *China's Millions* (August, 1884), p. 99.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1876), p. 156, also 1888, 1889, valedictory (April 1879), p. 52.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1876), p. 156.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1888), p. 77.

<sup>123</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 151.

<sup>124</sup> Gordon, *Evangelical Spirituality*, p. 203.

<sup>125</sup> Walter B. Sloan, *China's Millions* (September 1901), p. 127.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

were heavily influenced by Romanticism that led to new devotional practice.<sup>127</sup> These were the crisis experience of sanctification and the teaching on faith. Müller and Taylor both emphasised faith in their teaching and example of full dependence on God for the running of their organisations. Faith was prominent in Keswick teaching. There was also an emphasis on peace, rest and victory over sin when God would always defeat the enemies of the soul. Finally, its pre-millennial eschatology anticipated the hope in the future.<sup>128</sup>

These became the foundations of Keswick teaching and when linked with the holiness teaching of the convention inspired many towards missionary work and the necessity of preaching the Gospel to every people before Christ returned.<sup>129</sup> The teaching at Keswick attracted many women who responded to these Romantic qualities displayed and they were often the ones who responded to the call for involvement in mission.<sup>130</sup>

Bible readings were a prominent part of the Keswick tradition and the conference was associated with a uncritical understanding of the Bible.<sup>131</sup> This led to creativity and flexibility in interpretation. Owen Chadwick notes in general that Evangelical piety was biblical and puritan and Keswick focused more on a gospel of indwelling than on one of objective atonement.<sup>132</sup> It had a huge impact on Evangelical spirituality from the movement's inception in 1875.<sup>133</sup> It was the Keswick branch of the holiness movement that was the most important for faith missions and to some degree institutionalised the holiness movement.<sup>134</sup> There were three crucial elements: full surrender to Christ, being filled with the Holy Spirit, and power for service.<sup>135</sup> All of life must be surrendered to doing God's will and the individual believer is then filled with the Holy Spirit by faith. This issues in power for service. In Taylor, this combined the activity of a very busy man with an attitude of calm trust and tranquillity which demonstrated the reality of the 'rest of faith'. For the Keswick movement full surrender was the important post- conversion aspect that puts the Christian life on a higher plane. A minister in Melbourne thought that Taylor was the embodiment of Keswick teaching.<sup>136</sup> Another Australian was initially disappointed when he met Taylor. However, after a few hours with Taylor he changed his opinion as he was able to 'see the beauty of a life lived in abiding fellowship with the Lord Jesus'.<sup>137</sup>

Taylor was able to harness holiness teaching not only as a personal motivator for mission but as a power to inspire others over whom he had authority.<sup>138</sup> It was not surprising that Taylor went straight to Keswick in the summer of 1892<sup>139</sup> on his return from China. It was significant that the first

<sup>127</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 175.

<sup>128</sup> Bebbington, *Holiness*, p. 79-84.

<sup>129</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 192.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>132</sup> Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church: Volume II* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1971), p. 471.

<sup>133</sup> Ian Randall, *Evangelical Experiences: A Study in the Spirituality of English Evangelicalism 1918-1939* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1999), p. 6; Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 156.

<sup>134</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 116.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215.

<sup>136</sup> H. Taylor, *Spiritual Secret*, p. 227.

<sup>137</sup> H. Taylor, *The Growth*, p. 496.

<sup>138</sup> Jan A. B. Jongeneel, *Philosophy, Science and Theology of Mission in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries* Volume II (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1997), p. 45.

<sup>139</sup> CIM Archives, London Council, Minute Book 7, (1891-1894).

public announcement of the appointment of the Rev. William W. Cassels (1858-1925) as the Bishop of Sichuan Province was made at the missionary meeting at Keswick.<sup>140</sup> In 1898 Taylor reported on an initiative agreed with Keswick leaders to send a deputation from the convention to China to attend conferences and through translation impress upon the Chinese Christians the need for the filling of the Holy Spirit and for power to aid in the evangelisation of the country. For Taylor it was essential that anyone who wished to work in China should be equipped spiritually, which for him meant being filled with the Holy Spirit.<sup>141</sup> It was his hope that some of the teaching of Keswick might be brought to China. Once again Taylor resorted to missionary arithmetic.<sup>142</sup> Taylor estimated that if the Holy Spirit was able to inspire those interested in the Gospel and the kingdom of God then maybe a quarter of a million Chinese would be available to evangelise. These new resources for the evangelisation of China would help the missionaries who would need wisdom to use them as local missionary evangelists. The local churches would be able to support the local workers and those in the West support those who went out with the CIM. He then appealed for prayer to ward off the attacks of the evil one against such a great proposal.<sup>143</sup>

Keswick created a common spirituality of Christian experience that revitalised many congregations and led many to offer for missionary service, some of whom served with the CIM. It spawned other conferences and training institutes for preparation for Christian service along theological lines endorsed by Taylor.<sup>144</sup> The inter-denominationalism of the conference added to the already existing movement in this direction partly encouraged by the CIM. This broadened the outlook of many Christians. It also accentuated the privileging of subjective experience over doctrinal considerations and blurred traditional ecclesiastical boundaries.<sup>145</sup> This latter point meant that in theory the CIM had greater freedom and flexibility in developing new forms of church in China outside of traditional denominational structures.

### 3.5 George Müller and the Open Brethren Movement

The importance of the European continent for an understanding of the development of mission has been highlighted in Chapter Two. These influences reached Taylor in the person of the German, George Müller (1805-98). Taylor reported in a letter from Hull in 1852 how a book on Müller's life had been 'rich to me, blessed indeed' in strengthening his own faith. Müller and Taylor shared a literal, experiential understanding of the Bible that took certain texts at face value. Müller considered that any Christian work in debt would not be honoured by God.<sup>146</sup> Taylor determined not to borrow money from anyone, preferring to trust in the biblical promises of Matthew 6:25-34 and Psalm 37:3-6.<sup>147</sup> He picked

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<sup>140</sup> Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Volume 3* (London: CMS, 1899), p. 579.

<sup>141</sup> James H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (May 1898), p. 69.

<sup>142</sup> Pat Barr, *To China with Love: The Lives and Times of Protestant Missionaries in China 1869-1900* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1972), p. 4. This is Barr's quaint description for Taylor's obsession with numbers and statistics.

<sup>143</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (February 1898), p. 24.

<sup>144</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 179.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>146</sup> Moira J. McKay, 'Faith and Facts in the History of the CIM: 1832-1905', M.Litt. thesis (Aberdeen: 1981), p. 55.

<sup>147</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT 3, Letters 1851-1853.

up the usage of the title 'Jehovah Jireh' and 'Ebenezer' from Müller. (See Chapter One)<sup>148</sup> Müller has been seen as 'the grandfather of faith missions'.<sup>149</sup> Müller became a faithful supporter of Taylor's work when he heard of his implementation of scriptural practices.<sup>150</sup> Taylor admired Müller as a man of prayer, a wise man and a 'thorough man of business'.<sup>151</sup> Müller supported Taylor when he was with the Chinese Evangelization Society (founded 1852).<sup>152</sup>

Augustus Francke's important influence in the Pietist movement provided the context for Müller, who studied at Halle in Germany and read the biography of Francke.<sup>153</sup> Here he learned his faith principles<sup>154</sup> which Taylor would later apply to mission. Jennie Faulding, later to be Taylor's second wife, was another who was inspired by reading about Francke's life and his living by faith in God.<sup>155</sup> Richard Pierard sees the 'incomparable vision' of the Halle Pietists and the Moravians as providing Protestantism with the inspiration for mission.<sup>156</sup> At Halle, Müller also read Groves' biography.<sup>157</sup> Groves' was important for formulating a theology of dependence on God, an important influence on the faith emphasis of Müller and Taylor. It was Francke who ran his orphanages on the same principles. Müller absorbed these for his orphanages in Bristol. Brian Stanley sees Francke's dependence on God the provider as coming from his pietistic theology which supplied the model for later faith missions and the expectation of 'vivid answers to prayer'.<sup>158</sup> Müller helped to fuse continental pietism with British Evangelicalism.<sup>159</sup>

The London-based Scottish preacher Edward Irving's teaching on faith was important for the 'discernment of the supernatural'.<sup>160</sup> Taylor had part of Irving's 1824 lecture reproduced in *China's Millions*.<sup>161</sup> It overturned conventional practice in doing mission<sup>162</sup> and showed a combination of influences from Francke and the early Open Brethren. Taylor, who also flirted with the Open Brethren, was able to transfer such faith teaching to mission when he founded the CIM in 1865, where prayer played a major part in the origin and subsequent support of the mission. Bebbington sees it as legitimate to trace Taylor's policy to a trend that surface in Evangelicalism around 1830 when the desire to rely wholly on God was prominent.<sup>163</sup> Many of the Open Brethren were influential in the formation of the CIM and provided key personnel and some of the initial financial support.<sup>164</sup>

<sup>148</sup> Samuel H. Chao, 'Hudson Taylor and Missions to China', *Christian History*, Volume XV, No 4 (1996), p. 2.

<sup>149</sup> Austin, 'Only connect', p. 289.

<sup>150</sup> Jim Cromarty, *It Is Not Death to Die* (Ross-shire: Christian Focus, 2001), p. 144.

<sup>151</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Thousand Lives*, p. 428.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 446. In 1865 Müller recorded that he supported 122 people.

<sup>153</sup> Arthur T. Pierson, *George Müller of Bristol* (London: James Nisbet & Co, 1899), pp. 46, 103, 121 & G. Fred Bergin, *The Autobiography of George Müller* (London: James Nisbet & Co, 1905), p. 16.

<sup>154</sup> Pierson, *George Müller*, p. 137.

<sup>155</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Survivor's Pact*, p. 82.

<sup>156</sup> Richard Pierard, 'Viewing Denominational Histories in Global Terms', in M. Hutchinson & O.Kalu, *A Global Faith* (Sydney: CSAC, 1998), p. 141.

<sup>157</sup> Bergin, *Autobiography*, pp. 62, 80.

<sup>158</sup> Stanley, 'Home Support', p. 312.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 312.

<sup>160</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 93.

<sup>161</sup> *China's Millions* (October 1885).

<sup>162</sup> Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester UP, 2004), p. 192.

<sup>163</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 94.

<sup>164</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 171.

Anthony N. Groves (1795-1853), a missionary to Baghdad, was a serious student of the Bible with a determination to put into practice the lessons that he learned from it especially in the area of a simple lifestyle.<sup>165</sup> Stanley outlines the importance of Groves to Müller and Taylor in noting the changed theology contained in his pamphlet *Christian Devotedness* published in 1825.<sup>166</sup> Stunt notes the parallels between this and Edward Irving's earlier appeal of 1824 to the LMS for a return to a more apostolic method of doing mission.<sup>167</sup> This was a challenge to Christians to a literal reading of the Sermon on the Mount. Groves' tract emphasised the fatherly care of God and the response to that of childlike dependence especially for daily spiritual and temporal provision. He believed that to store up finance for the future was a lack of faith and he eventually went to Baghdad on this basis. This was quite different from the prevailing evangelical practice of prudence and planning in financial affairs. Stanley sees this as a major theological change in understanding the government of God that was 'the essence of Taylor's later spirituality' forty years before the founding of the CIM.<sup>168</sup> Groves was one of the first to adopt faith principles and passed them on to the Bristol-based ministers Henry Craik and George Müller. The latter married Groves' sister. This emphasis on faith also appeared in the life of Taylor, outwardly expressed in trusting God for all his needs.<sup>169</sup> Müller and Craik became Open Brethren leaders in Bristol. Müller travelled with Groves in 1835<sup>170</sup> and records how his testimony of going to Persia trusting in the Lord for his temporal supplies made such an influence on him.<sup>171</sup> When Müller got married he and his wife agreed to renounce a regular salary and rely on the voluntary giving of their congregation for support. This was based on a social concern for his people but also on James 2:1-6.<sup>172</sup> This became a vital pattern for the rest of their lives together.<sup>173</sup> They also refused to incur debt basing it on Romans 13:8 and paid anything they owed well before time.

Müller was also well known for his emphasis on biblical instruction which led to the foundation of the Scriptural Knowledge Institution (1834).<sup>174</sup> It aimed firstly to show clearly that every believer should be involved in some way in the cause of Christ<sup>175</sup> and, secondly to aid missionary efforts 'whose proceedings appear to be most according to the scriptures'.<sup>176</sup> He was determined to follow scripture and based his institution on faith principles, prayer and the avoidance of debt. It was to be an example to the church and also highlight the hope of the return of Christ.<sup>177</sup> For Müller the only way to prove God's faithfulness was to rest solely on his promises.<sup>178</sup> Psalm 81:10 became one of his life mottoes as he contemplated opening an orphanage without any appeals for money.<sup>179</sup> In time the publishing of his miraculous stories gave publicity which provided financial support and became

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<sup>165</sup> George Lang, *Anthony Norris Groves* (London: Thynne & Co, 1939), p. 76.

<sup>166</sup> Stanley, *Home Support*, p. 310.

<sup>167</sup> Stunt, *From Awakening to Secession*, p. 128.

<sup>168</sup> Stanley, *Home Support*, p. 310.

<sup>169</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 171.

<sup>170</sup> Bergin, *Autobiography*, p. 69.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 62.

<sup>172</sup> Pierson, *George Müller*, p. 69.

<sup>173</sup> Frederick R. Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1968), p. 38.

<sup>174</sup> Rowdon, *Origins*, p. 202.

<sup>175</sup> Bergin, *Autobiography*, p. 54.

<sup>176</sup> Coad, *History*, p. 46.

<sup>177</sup> Rowdon, *Origins*, p. 2.

<sup>178</sup> Pierson, *George Müller*, p. 148.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

surrogate appeals for money.<sup>180</sup> He also maintained that the believer was to be truly at rest and happy in God.<sup>181</sup> These two aspects are important in the theology of Taylor. In China, Taylor and his CES missionary colleague, John Jones (d. 1863), both followed Müller's principles of never going into debt using only whatever cash they had to hand.<sup>182</sup> When Taylor severed his association with the CES it was Müller who wrote and encouraged him testifying to the fact that he had proved God's faithfulness for twenty-seven years. He also sent him forty pounds!<sup>183</sup>

Taylor visited Bristol in the years before the formation of the CIM. He took advice from Müller on the Ningbo Bible translation and on education. He also visited the orphanages, the Scriptural Knowledge Institution, preached at the chapel and met Craik and Mrs Groves.<sup>184</sup> In August 1865, just after the official launch of the CIM, Taylor and Müller conversed in Bristol 'on the call and spirit of the missionary; on the consecutive reading of scripture; on prayer and faith in God; on obstacles and thorn hedges.' Müller advised Taylor on practical matters and also promised to pray for them.<sup>185</sup> Müller supported many in the CIM,<sup>186</sup> especially at times of bad publicity, and eventually visited Taylor in China.<sup>187</sup> In 1883 Müller spoke at the anniversary of the CIM and testified to his long association with Taylor and the CIM and the high esteem he had of the mission. He was a powerful preacher.<sup>188</sup> He mentioned that the great object of the mission was the glory of God and the testimony of waiting on God for the funds was a vibrant testimony in a sceptical world.<sup>189</sup> The shift to a miraculous emphasis on giving was noted by Müller himself when he said of the CIM: 'No, the Lord is spoken to, and it is left to the state of the heart of beloved brethren and sisters in Christ who are acquainted with the CIM'.<sup>190</sup> Müller disliked the solicitation of funds by Christian organisations and the practice of honouring those who gave.<sup>191</sup>

Whilst living in London (1860-66), Taylor attended a variety of churches and Christian meetings including those of the Open Brethren.<sup>192</sup> In the 1830s they were an innovative revival movement with a wide influence beyond their own ranks.<sup>193</sup> Nicholas Railton notes how they played a key role in the developing relationship between English and German evangelicals. They highlighted the issues of ecclesiology and eschatology and were noted for their 'radical spirit' and hope in the second coming of Christ.<sup>194</sup> They contributed three distinctives that united with faith missions. Firstly, they promoted a sincere love for the Lord. Secondly, they gave latitude in doctrinal views on secondary matters and thirdly they loosened denominational concerns.<sup>195</sup> They saw ministry in terms of God's call

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<sup>180</sup> Rowdon, *Origins*, p. 132.

<sup>181</sup> Pierson, *George Müller*, p. 257.

<sup>182</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Thousand Lives*, p. 110.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>184</sup> CIM Archives, CIM/JHT 128, Journal 1862-1865, JHT CIM/JHT Box 7, Diaries 128.

<sup>185</sup> CIM Archives, CIM/JHT 128 Journal 1862-1865, Volume 11.

<sup>186</sup> Cromarty, *It Is Not Death*, p. 269.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 398.

<sup>188</sup> Pierson, *George Müller*, p. 101.

<sup>189</sup> George Müller, *China's Millions* (September 1883), p. 118.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>191</sup> McKay, 'Faith and Facts', p. 54.

<sup>192</sup> CIM Archives, CIM/JHT Box 7, No 128, (12<sup>th</sup> May 1864).

<sup>193</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 169.

<sup>194</sup> Nicholas M. Railton, *No North Sea: The Anglo-German Evangelical Network in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 148-149.

<sup>195</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 170.

and the outworking of that in bearing spiritual fruit rather than in ordination. This allowed differing views on baptism, church order and other beliefs so prominent with denominations.<sup>196</sup> These influences were important in the early days of the CIM, but Taylor eventually distanced the CIM from the Open Brethren, especially when their ideas conflicted with the urgency of world evangelisation. Although they had been linked with overseas missionary work from the beginning<sup>197</sup> they were not in favour of a society through which to do their missionary work. They deemed such a society unsuitable and unscriptural in violation of dependence on God alone. Their motivation was the imminent return of Christ and their leadership exemplified this.<sup>198</sup> Müller's pre-millennial eschatology<sup>199</sup> saw the world as growing steadily worse, maintaining that it was too optimistic to look for the conversion of the world<sup>200</sup> as a whole but that the preaching of the gospel world-wide was essential.<sup>201</sup>

Alfred Broomhall analyses the relationship between Taylor and the Open Brethren in an appendix designed to play down the supposed connection. He argues that Taylor himself repudiated close connections with the Open Brethren and that those who contend that Taylor was in cahoots with them have only a limited knowledge of his broader church associations.<sup>202</sup> Although for a short time Taylor was associated with Westbourne Grove Baptist Church in Paddington he was not a Baptist either. Broomhall comments, at the time of the arrival of William Parker in 1854 in China, that in comparison to Parker's Presbyterian allegiance, Taylor was neither a Methodist nor a Baptist nor Open Brethren although he held to believer's baptism; baptism, however was a secondary issue for Taylor. His preference was for a diminishing of denominational labels.<sup>203</sup> Broomhall does acknowledge the early influence of the Open Brethren on Taylor.<sup>204</sup> He shows how the Methodist split of 1849 caused many to find a new home with the Open Brethren as Taylor did in Hull. When he moved to London he associated with many people who were in the Open Brethren movement, but Broomhall cautions against reading back a later view of them as a denomination onto these earlier meetings.<sup>205</sup> Their aim was to show the brotherhood of all believers and it was Taylor's association with these groups that partly formed his outlook on interdenominational co-operative work which was such an important part of the CIM. Taylor was respected in Open Brethren circles<sup>206</sup> and it was George Pearse of the CES who introduced Taylor to the Brethren meeting at Tottenham.<sup>207</sup>

Alvyn Austin raises the controversial issue of the extent to which the CIM was dominated by Open Brethren influence.<sup>208</sup> Whilst Broomhall denies that the CIM was overly connected with them he does acknowledge that some of the emerging principles of the mission were influenced by them.<sup>209</sup> However, Moira J. McKay in her thesis shows that there was a heavy Open Brethren influence among

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<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172.

<sup>197</sup> Rowdon, *Origins*, p. 185.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>199</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 273.

<sup>200</sup> McKay, *Faith and Facts*, p. 54.

<sup>201</sup> Pierson, *George Müller*, p. 247.

<sup>202</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Thousand Lives*, p. 447.

<sup>203</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 206.

<sup>204</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Thousand Lives*, p. 447.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 449.

<sup>206</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Survivor's Pact*, p. 134.

<sup>207</sup> H. Taylor, *Growth*, p. 115.

<sup>208</sup> Austin, 'Only Connect', p. 289.

<sup>209</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Thousand Lives*, pp. 447-450.

the Council members and referees in the first decade of the CIM (1865-75).<sup>210</sup> William Berger, who dealt with the administration and the distribution of money, was from this background too. However, after Berger's resignation the appointment of Benjamin Broomhall as the London Home Director helped to move the mission away from its Open Brethren connections.<sup>211</sup> Austin maintains that, despite emerging doctrinal differences between the CIM and the Open Brethren, the latter continued to have an influence behind the scenes, especially in the dominating beliefs over premillennialism.<sup>212</sup>

Whatever the nuances of Taylor's connections with the Open Brethren, there is no doubt that they provided one significant strand in the overall development of biblical teaching in the nineteenth century. Their eschatological expectation led to a desire for holy living. They emphasised a sanctification that was achieved at conversion as an immediate result of faith.<sup>213</sup> Bebbington argues that both the immediacy and the stress on faith were to be characteristic of the holiness movement but that the Keswick movement loosened this mooring from initial conversion to a subsequent stage of 'full surrender'.<sup>214</sup> Whilst there were differences between the various groups over all this, Bebbington nevertheless concludes that the Open Brethren played a major role in 'fostering expectations of higher attainments in practical holiness'.<sup>215</sup> This was Taylor's context.

### 3.6 Andrew Jukes

When Taylor left Barnsley for Hull he did not settle in a Wesleyan chapel but joined a congregation of Independent Brethren led by Andrew Jukes (1815-1901). Jukes had seceded from the Church of England over the issue of infant baptism<sup>216</sup> and then gathered his own Brethren-style church which collapsed over his new teaching on the non-eternity of punishment.<sup>217</sup> He even tried to return to the Church of England after this. He was known for his Bible teaching and described as 'a man of culture and spiritual illumination'.<sup>218</sup> He met the Pearsall Smiths and was involved in the Broadlands Conferences for a while.<sup>219</sup> He was an accessible preacher being uncomplicated and using many illustrations and repetition but he also advocated a wide use of typology, arguing that there is deeper truth beyond the surface reading of the Bible.<sup>220</sup> This came under the rubric of mystery.<sup>221</sup> He also argued for a Christological approach to the nature and inspiration of scripture, writing that 'the mystery of the incarnate word...is the key and the only sufficient one to the mystery of the written word'.<sup>222</sup> Taylor had this emphasis too. He testified to the help and encouragement he was getting in Jukes'

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<sup>210</sup> McKay, 'Faith and Facts', p. 290.

<sup>211</sup> Austin, 'Only Connect', p. 291.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>213</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 158.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159.

<sup>216</sup> Andrew Jukes, *'The Way Which Some Call Heresy' or, reasons for separation from the Established Church: A letter to the Christians of Hull* (London: Hull, 1844).

<sup>217</sup> Herbert H. Jeaffreson (ed), *Letters of Andrew Jukes* (London: Longmans & Co, 1903), p. xxxiv.

<sup>218</sup> H. Taylor, *Growth*, p. 113.

<sup>219</sup> Jeaffreson, *Letters of Andrew Jukes*, p. xxxvi.

<sup>220</sup> Andrew Jukes, *The Law of the Offerings in Leviticus 1 -VII* (London: James Nisbet & Co, 1847, Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1966), p. 11.

<sup>221</sup> Andrew Jukes, *The Mystery of the Kingdom Traced Through The Four Books of Kings* (London: James Nisbet and Co, 1849).

<sup>222</sup> Andrew Jukes, *The Second Death and the Restitution of all Things* (London: Longmans & Co, 1867), p. 4.

church but he was 'unsettled' over the teaching he received on baptism and was re-baptised.<sup>223</sup> His letters to his mother, full of biblical language, appeared a little extreme to her.<sup>224</sup> Jukes also had a very speculative eschatology which influenced Taylor pragmatically when he went through his possessions giving away everything that he deemed non-essential in the light of the imminent return of the Lord. Later on, it was Taylor's eschatology that spurred him on to seek more missionaries for the work of the CIM.<sup>225</sup> It was a time when he learned to experiment with trusting God and also increased his intense desire to be a missionary to China. The church supported the Chinese Union and provided Taylor with his first link with the CES when they were visited by George Pearse of the Chinese Society although Taylor himself was away that weekend.<sup>226</sup> Taylor's time in Hull under Jukes can be seen as the first steps in widening his experience of other Christians.

Taylor had further links with Jukes when he was in London after his first period in China.<sup>227</sup> He also read his work on Genesis.<sup>228</sup> A. Broomhall describes Jukes as 'the ultra-independent and eccentric preacher and writer'.<sup>229</sup> This was illustrated in Jukes' book about the non-eternity of punishment, *The Second Death and the Restitution of all Things* (1867) which influenced William Berger and was contrary to Taylor's expressed beliefs in *China's Spiritual Need and Claims* (1865) and against what the majority of Evangelicals believed. Taylor found Jukes' book 'inconclusive'<sup>230</sup> but the issue caused disruption and Taylor feared that it might hinder the work in China.

According to the Baptist Charles H. Spurgeon (1834-92), Jukes was one who used his devout mind to construct an elaborate allegorical and symbolical theory about the historical books of the Old Testament. Although commending the principle of noticing the overall message in a biblical book, Spurgeon warned about Jukes' fanciful and ingenious interpretations and his tendency towards mysticism,<sup>231</sup> an accusation that Jukes himself recognised.<sup>232</sup> There is no doubt that Taylor was influenced by Jukes for a season and that Taylor on returning to England took opportunities to hear him preach and talk with him. As time progressed and Jukes demonstrated more unorthodox beliefs, his reputation was diminished in the eyes of Taylor, who always demonstrated little time for theological speculation when he recognised it.

### 3.7 Karl F.A. Gützlaff in China

One man who was a key figure in China antecedent to the CIM was the German Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff (1803-51) who served in the Netherlands Missionary Society. Taylor read about him in the *Gleaner*.<sup>233</sup> He was proficient in Chinese and familiar with the literature, customs and culture of the

<sup>223</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 172.

<sup>224</sup> Cromarty, *It Is Not Death*, p. 63.

<sup>225</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 277.

<sup>226</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 51.

<sup>227</sup> CIM Archives, CIM/JHT 128, Journal (1862-1865).

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.* This was probably A. Jukes, *The Types of Genesis* published in London 1858.

<sup>229</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *The Refiner's Fire* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1985), p. 317.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*, p 318.

<sup>231</sup> Charles H. Spurgeon, *Lectures to My Students* (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1954), pp. 103-104.

<sup>232</sup> Jukes, *The Second Death*, p. 5.

<sup>233</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Barbarians*, p. 28. The *Gleaner* was the magazine of the CES.

people as well as in the biblical languages.<sup>234</sup> He was known in China by the title 'Lover of the Chinese people'.<sup>235</sup> Taylor acknowledged the role that Gützlaff had had in the initial formation of the Chinese Evangelisation Society (CES) after his visit to England.<sup>236</sup> The CES was a 'classical specialised mission' because its aim was not to plant churches but rather to evangelise the whole of China through the spread of literature<sup>237</sup> and to prepare the Chinese to do this ministry. Some of them managed to travel inland.<sup>238</sup> Despite its overall failure, the CES was described by Taylor as exactly representing the plan of operation of the CIM.<sup>239</sup> It launched Taylor and others on their careers in China.

Bacon describes Gützlaff as a 'significant pioneer' in China, having a 'special influence' on Taylor.<sup>240</sup> Originally sent as a missionary from the Netherlands to Indonesia, he switched to work in China in 1831.<sup>241</sup> He had an official role as a translator for the East India Company in Hong Kong. He travelled along the coast of China distributing Christian literature<sup>242</sup> and worked on a translation of the Bible into Chinese. As a Lutheran he had a high view of the Bible and gave time to preaching and distributing it. He sought to find ways of evangelising the Chinese which resulted in the formation of the Chinese Christian Union in 1844, a forerunner of the CES. Gützlaff believed that Chinese Christians needed to play a major part in the evangelization of the country and he depended on recruiting over three hundred colporteurs to do the work.<sup>243</sup> This work became embroiled in a controversy over the competency of the colporteurs as well as over methods of evangelism, facing ecclesiastical differences over the concept of mission. It was exacerbated by Gützlaff's independence of others and his Moravian, pietist background which highlighted the call for individual conversion.<sup>244</sup> This was described as 'restless and superficial'.<sup>245</sup>

Gützlaff testified that his experience of the reality of idolatry in a temple at Batavia had provoked him to mission service.<sup>246</sup> In 1831 he donned Chinese dress in his ministry.<sup>247</sup> He also was one of the first to appeal for women missionaries to reach the women of China<sup>248</sup> and wrote one of the earliest tracts on Jesus' relationship with women.<sup>249</sup> Gützlaff appealed for European missionaries to

<sup>234</sup> *The Gleaner* (January 1854), p. 57.

<sup>235</sup> *The Gleaner* (July 1<sup>st</sup> 1858), p. 127.

<sup>236</sup> China Inland Mission: Summary of Operations. End of bound edition of *Occasional Papers* (1870-1872), p. 5.

<sup>237</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 21.

<sup>238</sup> *The Gleaner* (September 1852), Volume II, No 4.

<sup>239</sup> J. H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (March 1876), p. 111.

<sup>240</sup> Daniel W. Bacon, *From Faith to Faith: The Influence of Hudson Taylor on the Faith Missions Movement* (Singapore: OMF Books, 1984), pp. 4, 10: Bacon notes that Gützlaff's influence on Taylor was in the area of lifestyle identification with the Chinese in clothing and manners.

<sup>241</sup> *China's Millions* (May 1876), pp. 131-132.

<sup>242</sup> Karl F.H. Gützlaff, *Journal of Three Voyages Along the Coast of China, in 1831, 1832 & 1833, with Notices of Siam, Corca and the LooChoo Islands* (London: Westley & Davis, 1834).

<sup>243</sup> *China's Millions* (May 1876), pp. 131-132.

<sup>244</sup> Jessie & Ray Lutz, 'Karl Gützlaff's Approach to Indigenization; The Chinese Union', in Daniel H. Bays, *Christianity in China. From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp 279-280.

<sup>245</sup> Gary Tiedemann, 'Indigenous Agency, Religious Protectorates and Chinese Interests: The Expansion of Christianity in China 1830-1880', *Currents in World Christianity*, Position Paper 36, (Cambridge: 1997), p. 18.

<sup>246</sup> *The Gleaner*, No. 3 (May 1850), p. 38.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>249</sup> Pui-lan Kwok, *Chinese Women and Christianity 1860-1927* (Atlanta: Georgia Scholars Press, 1992), p. 47.

work with him in China and there was some response from continental societies.<sup>250</sup> He wanted to attract young men who could handle the languages required and would be prepared to travel inland.

Something of the flavour of the man can be seen in his reaction to the opening up of the Treaty Ports in 1842:

My heart throbs with mighty joy that the way to China now lies open. When one considers the prejudices of the people, the intensity of their attachment to a law which has kept them for so long a period cut off from the rest of the world, and then sees this people submit to necessity, then what was accomplished on August 29<sup>th</sup> 1842 seems like a dream, which the strongest imaginative power of hope would never have been able to conjure up.<sup>251</sup>

Although the Chinese Union failed, with Gützlaff being taken advantage of by his colporteurs and facing accusations of dishonesty which caused great damage to Gützlaff's reputation, Taylor reminded people that their prayers and labours were not in vain as the CIM was the fruit of those earlier efforts. He saw the unfortunate events surrounding the Chinese Union as an example of God's word not returning to Him void. (Isaiah 55:11) Taylor called Gützlaff 'The grandfather of the CIM.'<sup>252</sup> It was his courage, originality, adventurous nature and adaptability to the Chinese that spurred on Taylor. Gützlaff's experience with the failure of his native helpers<sup>253</sup> led the *Gleaner* to argue that the supervision of the foreign missionary was vital,<sup>254</sup> something which the CIM implemented in the initial stages of itineration in China.

There were more specific influences of Gützlaff on Taylor which are important for the CIM. A. Broomhall points out some aspects of Gützlaff's ministry which were similar to those recommended by William Carey.<sup>255</sup> These included the need to preach the gospel as widely as possible supported with the distribution of the scriptures in local languages with the aim of establishing a church as soon as new believers emerged. This required an understanding of the thought and culture of the people and the need to train local believers at the earliest opportunity. In addition there were three further principles of Gützlaff which were emphasised within the CIM: to maintain that Chinese should evangelise Chinese; to keep the church in Europe informed about progress in mission; and to encourage their participation through prayer and responsible financial involvement.<sup>256</sup>

In November 1851 the *Gleaner* reported the death of Gützlaff. The report credited him for awakening a fresh interest in China, for his strategic thinking as well as for his translation of the Bible. Although his plan to use Chinese nationals in mission failed, it was innovative. Gützlaff was merely naïve in trusting in those he recruited.<sup>257</sup> He was described as 'having accomplished more for China than any other individual'.<sup>258</sup> Latourette notes Gützlaff's important role in propagating mission to China in the Protestantism of continental Europe.<sup>259</sup> Fiedler describes Gützlaff as 'the first important faith

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<sup>250</sup> Bacon, *From Faith*, p. 70.

<sup>251</sup> Karl Gützlaff in Stephen Neill, *Colonialism and Christian Missions* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1966), p. 135.

<sup>252</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Barbarians*, p. 9.

<sup>253</sup> For an account of the scandal see *The Gleaner* (June 1<sup>st</sup> 1858), p. 74.

<sup>254</sup> *The Gleaner* (Nov 1<sup>st</sup> 1858), p. 140.

<sup>255</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Barbarians*, p. 349.

<sup>256</sup> *The Gleaner* (February 1<sup>st</sup> 1859), p. 15.

<sup>257</sup> *The Gleaner* (November 1851), p. 41.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>259</sup> Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity 1800-1914: Northern Africa and Asia* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1944), p. 300.

mission missionary',<sup>260</sup> but others preceding him could also claim this title. Stanley rejects this description of Gützlaff<sup>261</sup> for although the latter managed to build up international interest and support for work in China, it was an appeal to those who already had financial resources to use them there. Gützlaff was salaried through his work and the CES had the apparatus of a mission preceding the faith missions.<sup>262</sup> His importance to Taylor can be found in the area of strategy rather than mission operation.

### 3.8 William C. Burns in China

William C. Burns (1815-68) grew up in Scotland, but was sent out by the Presbyterian Church in England.<sup>263</sup> He arrived in China in 1847, with previous experience of revival in Scotland, Canada and Northern England, which affected Barnsley.<sup>264</sup> He was recognised as a competent Bible teacher.<sup>265</sup> He translated Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* into Chinese (1853)<sup>266</sup> and edited a collection of hymns in Chinese (1853)<sup>267</sup> which showed a certain aptitude for the language. In China much of his work was evangelistic. As early as 1850 he had written letters appealing for more workers. He was concerned with the spirituality of the worker rather than formal qualifications and saw the varied needs of the work.<sup>268</sup> This became a part of the later recruiting policy of the CIM. In 1851 Burns appealed for churches to be led with indigenous leadership.<sup>269</sup> He worked in Amoy where he found he could travel freely and conducted acts of mercy after severe fighting in the city, which led to an opening up of the gospel.<sup>270</sup> He helped in founding a church there.

Eventually Burns moved to Shanghai and began to build a relationship with Taylor.<sup>271</sup> They found that they had much in common, although they differed over the eschatological teaching on the return of Christ<sup>272</sup> and began to itinerate together in 1855.<sup>273</sup> Later on Burns was disappointed when Taylor decided to remain in Ningbo instead of rejoining him in Swatow (Shantou),<sup>274</sup> but was content to rely on Taylor's discernment of God's will in the matter.<sup>275</sup> Taylor used a letter from Burns for authentication in his desire to persuade Maria to marry him although Burns seemed surprised when the event actually took place.<sup>276</sup>

Taylor and Burns communicated when Taylor was back in England. The incessant demand for more workers inspired Taylor to try and meet what was needed for China.<sup>277</sup> Burns described Taylor's

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<sup>260</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 24.

<sup>261</sup> Stanley, 'Home Support', p. 307.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 308.

<sup>263</sup> Islay Burns, *Memoir of the Rev W.C. Burns* (London: James Nisbet & Co, 1870), p. 292.

<sup>264</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Barbarians*, p. 286.

<sup>265</sup> Burns, *Memoir* has many examples of his preaching in Scotland.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 397.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 399.

<sup>268</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Thousand Lives*, p. 394.

<sup>269</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Assault*, p. 412.

<sup>270</sup> Burns, *Memoir*, p. 378.

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 446.

<sup>272</sup> *China's Millions* (August 1905), p. 114.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*, (November 1887), p. 136.

<sup>274</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Thousand Lives*, p. 35.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>276</sup> Burns, *Memoir*, p. 470.

<sup>277</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Thousand Lives*, p. 250.

plans for the CIM in putting workers in every province of China 'a noble one'.<sup>278</sup> He gave some advice as to strategy and highlighted some of the barriers that Taylor would face in achieving his plan. He foresaw difficulties in locating and maintaining missionaries permanently inland.<sup>279</sup> He considered the possibility of working alongside the CIM but thought many of them were 'under-educated' for the work to be done in China.<sup>280</sup> He eventually moved north, to other unreached areas and told Taylor that when the CIM was ready to send workers he would do all he could to help them.<sup>281</sup> Burns acknowledged that he had learned a lot from Taylor, especially in seeing how valuable Chinese dress was for Taylor in getting closer to the Chinese.<sup>282</sup> He was prepared to maintain it, for it was inconvenient to return to European dress but was never fully convinced of its value.<sup>283</sup> Many years later three CIM members on their pioneering journeys were encouraged to meet a Christian who had been converted through the ministry of Taylor and Burns in Wuchang (Wuhan) twenty years before.<sup>284</sup>

Burns made an important contribution to the early career of Taylor in China and his thinking about the CIM. Taylor testified of his indebtedness to Burns for the evangelistic practices 'which have been developed and carried out to a considerable extent in the formation and working of the CIM'.<sup>285</sup> Despite occasional bouts of loneliness in Swatow when he worked with Burns, Taylor acknowledged how rich the friendship had been and how he had been impressed with Burns' dedication to the task. He had the courage to go directly into places of vice and confront the people with their lifestyle.<sup>286</sup> Taylor also recorded his many happy months of fellowship with Burns and especially the prayer that they had together which had helped in the formation of the CIM.<sup>287</sup>

Not only did Burns help Taylor spiritually but he also stimulated his thinking as to the practice of mission. This was a practical lesson as Burns pursued a strategy of beginning from the outskirts of a town and working towards the centre.<sup>288</sup> Taylor also learned other lessons from Burns that were to be important in his future ministry. These were, firstly, God's purpose in permitting his servants to undergo frustration and suffering in the work they are called to do. Secondly, the vital importance of evangelism, and thirdly, the place of the 'lay evangelist' within the church which he considered to be in great neglect.<sup>289</sup> He also argued for opportunities for women to be involved in missionary work.<sup>290</sup> Later on Taylor drew on his experience with Burns when he saw that itinerant evangelism if it was to be effective needed the support of a residential missionary to follow up new converts. This would help to form an effective church in which the Chinese could be trained in evangelism before encouraging them to locate inland to carry on the work supported by missionaries.<sup>291</sup>

<sup>278</sup> *China's Millions* (December 1875), p. 69; (April 1879), p. 42.

<sup>279</sup> Burns, *Memoir*, p. 588.

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 588.

<sup>281</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Survivor's Pact*, p. 393 .

<sup>282</sup> Burns, *Memoir*, p. 446.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 519, 590.

<sup>284</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Assault*, p. 119.

<sup>285</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (April 1879), p. 42.

<sup>286</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 324.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14 .

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 324.

<sup>289</sup> *China's Millions* (November 1887), p. 136.

<sup>290</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Survivor's Pact*, p. 48.

<sup>291</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Refiner's Fire*, p. 351.

### 3.9 Conclusion

The movements and individuals mentioned in this chapter are important for assessing some of the specific influences on Taylor. They contribute to an understanding of the context from which he emerged and build on the observations of Chapter Two that highlighted the important contribution of the Puritans, Pietists and Methodists in elevating spiritual experience. Some were more influential than others. There is a difference between the cultural and religious movements whose effect was all-encompassing and people such as Müller, Jukes and Burns who gave help, example and inspiration at specific times to Taylor.

Both the Enlightenment and Romanticism contributed to the rise of new attitudes to the Bible and changed the context in which theology and mission took place. Taylor displayed a dependence on the Enlightenment in that his understanding of faith was very much a matter for the individual. As an assured Victorian Christian he was confident that the kind of spiritual experience that he was familiar with was sufficient to bring conversions in China. This belief overrode any need to submit either to the civil authorities or existing ecclesiastical institutions in carrying out his mission. At the same time Taylor's intense spirituality of devotion transcended all of the specialities and professionalisms of the Enlightenment by making simple devotion to Christ central. For Taylor spiritual experience was something to be experimented with and lauded when found in others. Although Taylor was prepared to use reason in advocating the cause of China, his appeal was more to the heart and imagination than reason; there is no evidence of him accepting the conclusions of a modern theology rooted in the Enlightenment. His immediate formation was against the background of a culture that was being shaped by Romanticism. Whilst remaining conservative theologically, Taylor embraced the Romantic emphasis on personal experience and on ideas of immediate dependence on God in reading the scriptures; often this resulted in giving priority to the 'spiritual' meaning of the text over its obvious natural sense. He drew spiritual comfort from his reading of the Song of Songs and shared his findings widely but his interpretation was strongly shaped by his prior psychological state and previous readings of the book as an allegory of Christ and his church.

Taylor's Wesleyan background was foundational. Methodism contributed to a 'Second Reformation' which placed the Bible in a prominent position in bringing reform. His family provided an environment in which spiritual nurture was important and an opportunity to hear about Methodist mission. It also gave him initial holiness experiences before the rise of the holiness movement which \* provided a basis for a mystical element in his make up. The heightened expectation of immediate spiritual experiences elevated the subjective over the rationalism of the Enlightenment as a source of knowledge of God. This contributed to the weakening of denominational distinctions as Christians gathered around new teaching on sanctification and subsequent holiness experiences. This context was more conducive to a wider recruiting base for the fledgling CIM and Taylor took advantage of the many meetings and networks centred around holiness to promote mission. These included the important Mildmay and Keswick conventions.

The above streams and traditions have added to our understanding of Taylor's context in highlighting romanticism, mysticism, the development of faith principles and dependence on God. Within this framework Taylor's missionary formation is moulded by his spirituality, praxis and

theology all of which stimulate a very personal, subjective, authoritative approach to the Bible and mission.

Specific individuals contributed to Taylor's formation at different times. Andrew Jukes helped to widen Taylor's youthful spiritual experience as he moved away from Wesleyanism. Jukes' provocative and stimulating preaching inspired Taylor in his own reading of the Bible and illustrated a wide use of typology which influenced Taylor's principles of biblical interpretation. Jukes also provided the link to George Müller who gave personal encouragement to Taylor, and displayed the faith principle in his running of the orphanages in Bristol that Taylor was later to make a vital part of the running of the CIM. Müller and the Open Brethren, who shared a pietistic heritage, were both willing to experiment with ideas of faith as sources for new ecclesiastical life and missionary activity based on a literal reading of the Bible. When Taylor moved to London in 1852 his contact with the Open Brethren played an important role in providing early stability for the CIM in England, although later on he was to mingle with more influential evangelicals from other traditions to the benefit of the CIM.

Gützlaff and Burns, who held high views of the Bible, played important but different roles for Taylor in China. Gützlaff provided an example that captivated Taylor and some principles for mission in China that Taylor was able to learn from and then put into practice within the CIM. Burns' influence was more immediate in providing Taylor with fellowship, friendship and the joy of working with a like-minded ally when he was often isolated in his initial mission experience in China. He also provided help in the areas of strategy, the use of lay evangelists and agreement with the overall thrust of the CIM.

These movements and personal relationships illustrate the increasingly fluid picture of Christian allegiance in the nineteenth century. New groupings loosened denominational allegiance. The various awakenings and movements brought to prominence those in leadership who were not theologically trained and made the way possible for men like Taylor to take on major responsibility in Christian leadership. Although formative for Taylor's understanding of the Bible and thinking about mission, they were not confining, for he was always able to move beyond them in his application of them to his pioneering work. The CIM, being a new instrument in world mission, brought further development in Taylor's life and ministry. His eclectic nature drew on the resources he needed for the task that would dominate his entire life. His journals show that he supplemented this with reading about China, medical issues, geography and travel. He tried to keep abreast with political and religious developments and was aware of the Islamic insurrections in the west of the country.<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>292</sup>*China's Millions* (July 1897), p. 87. The 1862-1876 rebellion cost 'millions of lives'. Wing-tsit Chan, *Religious Trends in Modern China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), p. 210.

## The Bible in J. Hudson Taylor's Spirituality

### 4.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter has shown how Taylor's worldview is rooted in his spirituality. He was brought up in a deeply pious Wesleyan family and although he knew the scriptures well, he was also moulded by his context; especially the emphasis on holiness that was such an important feature of Methodism and the later holiness movement in the Victorian era. This chapter aims to understand Taylor's spiritual formation and teaching and highlights this priority in analysing his use of the Bible.

### 4.2 Basic Insights

The following reflections begin with a consideration of Taylor's conviction that the Bible yielded enduring principles to live by before considering his desire to glorify God in his personal life. This leads to an examination of the important role of prayer in Taylor's life and that of the CIM.

#### 4.2.1 Spiritual Science

Taylor's successor, Dixon Hoste (1861-1946), described Taylor as a man who took the New Testament 'as the one and only standard of discipleship'. This, thought Hoste was rare, as many 'gradually yielded to the deadening influences of conventional standards and practices taught and practised around them'.<sup>1</sup> Taylor, although in many ways a typical product of the holiness movement, was also unconventional. He was able to take the lessons that he learned for his own spiritual life and to transfer them to the CIM. His appeal to the Bible formed an important part of his authority as a leader. He used the Bible to encourage Christians to continue to grow spiritually by drawing, for example, on Paul's prayer in Ephesians 1:18-23 or texts like Philippians 3:8 which in his opinion advocated radical self-denial. Spiritual growth, taught Taylor, was a fruit of union with Christ; Christians needed the desire to go beyond present experience and 'win Christ'<sup>2</sup> which was connected to entire consecration and submission to the will of God with joy in any circumstance.

Taylor's practical theology was based on his belief that in the Bible spiritual principles for all times can be discerned. The unchanging nature of God meant that his principles of action were precisely the same in the present as they were when the Bible was written. This certainty over divine things applied to prayer,<sup>3</sup> to obedience leading to blessing and negatively, to the self-seeking that led to failure in spiritual life.<sup>4</sup> He called this approach 'Spiritual Science'.<sup>5</sup> For Taylor, Victorian scientism was an ally of faith, not an enemy. As scientific observation yielded rewards in nature so did theological examination in the spiritual realm of grace. This grace was revealed in the Bible as the action of God was noted. God could be known, loved and revered, through the illumination of the Holy

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<sup>1</sup> Dixon Hoste in Howard Taylor, *Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission: The Growth of a Work of God* (Sevenoaks: OMF Books, 1988), p. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> Marshall Broomhall (ed), *Hudson Taylor's Legacy: A Series of Meditations* (London: CIM, 1931), p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> James Hudson Taylor, *China's Millions*, preface to the 1887 bound volumes.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, (September 1875), p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, (February 1885), p. 13.

Spirit, as the Bible was studied.<sup>6</sup> God was supremely seen in Christ. This did not lead to an extinction of mystery in spiritual experience. A key demand was the consecration of the Christian and a willingness to learn and obey in benefiting from spiritual formation.<sup>7</sup> There were conditions of success in spiritual things which could not be ignored. The work of God was never advanced by those who chose to work in a worldly or self-seeking way. The *kenosis* of Christ, shown in Philippians 2:5-11, was always the model for candidates for the CIM to follow.<sup>8</sup>

Taylor's priority was to make practical application of the biblical message. He wrote, 'what is needed is the humble, prayerful meditation of those who are determined to do the will of God'. This appeal was often dominated by the mission texts of scripture. 'When will it dawn on the Lord's people that God's command to preach the Gospel to every creature was not intended for the waste paper basket?'<sup>9</sup> Frederick Baller (1852-1922) a close CIM colleague, showed the importance of this point when he wrote on Taylor: 'To admire the truth and to hold it as a creed is one thing, but it is in applying it that we feel its power and are sustained by it.'<sup>10</sup> Marshall Broomhall maintained that studying the role that the Bible played in the life of Taylor was crucial to understanding him.<sup>11</sup> Taylor had a thorough and methodical approach to scripture with disciplined habits that aided his overall grasp of the Bible.

Taylor was keen to ensure that the principles and plans of the CIM accorded with these insights and drew on his own personal experience in forming them. For him, his split with the CES in 1857 over the issue of debt (See Chapter Seven) was a touchstone as to whether or not a work could be blessed by God. A qualified appraisal of this incident elsewhere does not detract from the impression given that this was a key element in Taylor's spiritual formation and in his understanding of God.<sup>12</sup> He stated twenty years later: 'Faith has often been tried during that time, but God has ever made these trials of faith such a real blessing to me that they have been among the chief means of grace to my own soul, as well as the chief helps to my work'.<sup>13</sup>

#### 4.2.2 Doxology

For Taylor, knowing God was a 'glorious reality' for He was 'the great Father, the source of all fatherhood, of all protection, of all that is blessed here and true, and noble, and good, and of all the glories to which we look forward in the future'.<sup>14</sup> It was the task of the Christian to give glory to God in all that was done. Taylor was dismissive of a merely intellectual knowledge of God. For him the practical application of the Christian life was a daily reality.<sup>15</sup> In commenting on John 17:3 on the link between eternal life and the knowledge of God, Taylor insisted that the knowledge of God was obtained by acts of obedience, done in the light of the faithful use of the knowledge that the disciple

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> J. H. Taylor in M. Broomhall (ed), *Hudson Taylor's Legacy*, p 17.

<sup>9</sup> J. H. Taylor in Montagu Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing in Inland China* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1890), p. 11.

<sup>10</sup> Fred W. Baller, *Monthly Notes* (June 1908), p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Marshall Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor: The Man Who Believed God* (London: CIM 1929), p. 196.

<sup>12</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (July/August 1878), p. 98.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1884), pp. 123-124.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, (August 1884), p. 99.

has been given so far. These were inseparable, for the Christian only knew and understood those experiences through which he had passed.<sup>16</sup> Progress in knowing God personally was essential, and Taylor maintained that it had its peak in a concern for mission, for only there was it possible to understand something of the heart of God for people.<sup>17</sup> Taylor considered that he learned more about the incarnation when he saw his mother's anguish on their initial parting in 1853 and when giving thanks over the grave of his young daughter.<sup>18</sup> In these sad incidents he managed to identify in a small part with the God who sent his own son into this world. He had learned to love the Chinese despite losing family and colleagues in the task. He reflected that these lessons were not easily learned in the ease and comfort of ordinary life. 'This is why God so often brings us through trying experiences'.<sup>19</sup>

There were a number of attributes of God that Taylor emphasised in his reflections. The God of the Bible was a God of love. As a missionary, Taylor learnt how to get close to the Chinese. However, God's love was more extensive than that; it was his love for every part of creation that he has made. This caused God to open his mighty hand and to satisfy the desires of every living heart. He was generous with his love and it was displayed on a wide tapestry.<sup>20</sup> His wisdom and mercy were dispensed with all of the resources at his disposal. One of Taylor's motivations in mission was to educate the Chinese about the love of God, the Father, hence the importance of the name of God in Chinese. This emphasis on the 'fatherly character' of God was an important aspect of the teaching of A.N. Groves who, before Taylor, emphasised radical dependence on God, the provider. Faith that could not trust God for the practicalities of life was an assault on the character of God and the knowledge of Him.<sup>21</sup>

The fatherhood of God was mediated through Jesus' own union with God, the Father. Union with Christ was only achieved when there was a relationship established with Jesus that made his Father the Christian's Father, and his death and life the Christian's death and life.<sup>22</sup> Taylor's illustrations clarified this. He compared reluctant Christians and their understanding of God with children who greedily desire all they can from their parents but show little consideration for them.<sup>23</sup> Taylor meditated on the joys and privileges of having Christian parents and then compared this dim and imperfect reflection with that of having God as Father.<sup>24</sup> He compared this with the sun which is only a small fraction of the creating power of the living God. A Christian must ensure that they were living in the light of the sun and not permitting darkness or disorder to rule in any part of life. God the Father was also a shield who protected Christians in dangerous environments where life was fragile. God's sovereignty included China and this knowledge removed fear of the unknown for the potential missionary. This emphasis on God's sovereignty was combined with his Methodist belief, rooted in Arminianism, that salvation was open to all.

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<sup>16</sup> J.H. Taylor in Roger Steer, *Lessons in Discipleship* (Crowborough: Monarch, 1995), p. 53.

<sup>17</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 105.

<sup>18</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (August 1884), p. 101.

<sup>19</sup> J. H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 105.

<sup>20</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 100.

<sup>21</sup> A.N. Groves in George H. Lang, *Anthony Norris Groves* (London: Thynne & Co, 1939), p. 295.

<sup>22</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (April 1885), p. 40.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, (November, 1884), p. 135.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1884), p. 122.

Like most evangelicals of his day, Taylor saw God's sovereignty in the opening up by the western powers of inland China for the gospel.<sup>25</sup> He seemed to ignore the impetus that this gave to the sale of opium, to which he was opposed, and other negative effects on China.<sup>26</sup> In reflecting on the death of a colleague, Harold Schofield, in 1883 he mentioned that it was a disciple's duty to acquiesce in each loss and each cross; a sign of the Father's love which he ordained.<sup>27</sup> For the Christian everything has to be surrendered in the service of Christ and that surrender should be agreed to as part of the love of the Father for the disciple. Taylor reckoned that it was on the path of sacrifice and obedience that God revealed himself most intimately.<sup>28</sup> He found it difficult to describe some of his personal experiences of God in times of sorrow, but he saw that through them he knew more of God as Father and thought that this response brought joy to the Father. Taylor also saw God as a shepherd<sup>29</sup> and gave thanks to God, *El Shaddai*, (God Almighty) who had supplied all their need.<sup>30</sup>

God was majestic and glorious for Taylor. He meditated on these attributes and once wrote a letter to his sister about the majesty of God, pondering why Christians linger over this attribute.<sup>31</sup> It was because they have caught a faint glimpse of 'the brightness of his glory', seen the image of God in the face of Jesus and have learned through the cross that God is love. In thinking about these attributes Christians learned to respond to God in faithful service so that they can in turn give glory to God.<sup>32</sup> Although the Calvinistic expression *solī Deo gloria* does not occur in Taylor's writing it is clear that doxology was a fundamental feature of his life and worship.

### 4.3 Prayer

This section looks at Taylor's understanding of the nature of prayer, prayer and fasting, the object of prayer and unanswered prayer. It was noted in Chapter One that the origins of the faith missions can be traced to the earlier corporate prayer of others, before Taylor, who shared his convictions about mission.<sup>33</sup> One supporter remarked of the CIM that 'the success in work is in direct proportion to the amount of prayer bestowed upon it.'<sup>34</sup>

#### 4.3.1 The Nature of Prayer

Taylor regarded prayer as vital in developing the work of the CIM. He inherited the mantle of those, such as A.N. Groves, who preceded him in trusting God for their needs in mission. He was very active in trying to discern the will of God for his plans in China. He knew from scripture that God was faithful (2 Timothy 2:13), but realised that before leaving England he needed to learn how 'to move man,

<sup>25</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Spiritual Need and Claims* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1865), pp. 16,45.

<sup>26</sup> Samuel H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia, 1500-1900*, Volume II (New York, Maryknoll: Orbis, 2005), p. 297.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1883), p. 132.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, (August 1884), p. 102.

<sup>29</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, No 38 (October 1874), p. 204; Steer, *Lessons*, p. 70.

<sup>30</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (June 1902), p. 72.

<sup>31</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 159.

<sup>32</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (June, 1879) p. 81.

<sup>33</sup> Chapter One, p. 4.

<sup>34</sup> *China's Millions* (July 1876), p. 157.

through God, by prayer alone'.<sup>35</sup> This was an important part of his preparation in Hull.<sup>36</sup> In London he reinforced this lesson in prayer through trusting God for financial provision for his training.<sup>37</sup>

The new desire in British evangelicalism to be seen to rely wholly on God had crystallised around 1830.<sup>38</sup> George Müller provided an example in running his orphanages on similar principles. Taylor's contribution was to transform this limited focus into organisational mission, and make prayer the basis for it all. Taylor became a 'populariser' of this approach on a world-wide scale. Ministers testified to the power of this prayer-based approach to recruiting which seemed to be a new method of ministry.<sup>39</sup> A Wesleyan observed in 1923 that the biography of Taylor helped him as a directory and example of prayer which often encouraged him in times of despondency.<sup>40</sup> Müller, in teaching on prayer, quoted Taylor who said: 'Satan, the hinderer, may build a barrier about us, but he can never roof us in, so that we cannot look up'.<sup>41</sup> Spiritual consolation was one result of the prayer meetings. A friend of the CIM remarked: 'Last night's prayer meeting left a good savour on my spirit'.<sup>42</sup> This emphasis, that highlighted the work of the Holy Spirit, was behind Taylor's observation in 1891 that without prayer no amount of structural organisation could facilitate the spreading of the Gospel. On occasion he wondered about suspending the operations of the work to wait upon God for the filling of the Holy Spirit and a new endowment of power.<sup>43</sup>

### 4.3.2 Prayer and Fasting

From the beginning of the CIM prayer and fasting were important disciplines. Each New Year's Day was set aside for it. They prayed and fasted over crucial decisions over where to locate<sup>44</sup> and especially when the China Council met in session.<sup>45</sup> They taught the practice of fasting to the Chinese Christians and although many disliked it, it was recognised as a 'means of grace'.<sup>46</sup> Taylor thought that often the greatest hindrance to the work was the 'imagined strength' of the missionaries. Fasting helped them to experience weakness as they fasted when there were serious difficulties. This was an object lesson to others. Taylor noted that the original idea for the recruitment of a hundred new missionaries was suggested to them in times of prayer and fasting.<sup>47</sup> Part of Taylor's confidence in launching that campaign was based on the promises of John 14:13 in prayer.<sup>48</sup> He was certain that God had led them to this figure and was confident of meeting the target. He knew too that many were united in prayer for this objective. This confident expectation became something that the CIM taught to others. The work of the CIM was undergirded by the weekly prayer meeting held in London. After one of these meetings at the Mildmay Conference Hall a stranger observed: 'I never was in a meeting like that before. They pray

<sup>35</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (September 1886), p. 114.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1886), p. 125.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>38</sup> David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge 1989), p. 94.

<sup>39</sup> *China's Millions* (June 1899), p. 81.

<sup>40</sup> Frank Houghton, *The Fire Burns On: 1865-1965* (London: CIM/OMF, Lutterworth Press, 1965), p. 135.

<sup>41</sup> Arthur Tappan Pierson, *George Müller of Bristol* (London: James Nisbet & Co, 1899), p. 145.

<sup>42</sup> *China's Millions* (May 1897), p. 35.

<sup>43</sup> H. Taylor, *God's Man in China* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1965), p. 325

<sup>44</sup> *Occasional Papers*, No 13 (May 1868), p. 126.

<sup>45</sup> *China's Millions* (September 1887), p. 110.

<sup>46</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (July/August 1887), p. 93.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*,

for just what they want and expect to get it'.<sup>49</sup> Taylor considered these meetings to be at the centre of the work and reported them in the magazine where summary details of the content of prayers for personnel and important issues can be found.<sup>50</sup> He was not afraid to make specific needs known as prayer requests; for instance, the request for a bigger room in which to meet for prayer. The present facilities were hampering interested supporters from praying.<sup>51</sup> He then appealed for prayer for guidance and direction in the work within China. This included the selection process of candidates and their placement in China. Taylor was well aware of the stress that came on missionaries from living in an alien environment. This was a source of moral and spiritual danger and so he always appealed for prayer for them.<sup>52</sup> Taylor never underestimated the opposition that they faced and realised that constant exposure to such an environment could undermine the faith of some.<sup>53</sup> Later experience with theologically unstable workers proved his point.

Another cause for prayer and encouragement was that the income of the mission had increased to meet the higher costs of more personnel. The income for 1884 was sufficient to cover all the arrivals in China but would have been inadequate if the new workers had all arrived early in the year.<sup>54</sup> Taylor urged his readers not to 'relax their prayers' for income and then mentioned a number of subjects for which he requested prayer. These included protection in time of war, supplies for the work, health and spiritual blessing and the new premises in Shanghai. Prayer was vital too in times of instability. In 1895 Taylor decided to stay in China rather than to leave for England due to unstable political conditions, although the work of the CIM was far away from where the disturbances were. He urged prayer for the government and for the situation in Shantung (Shandong) which 'brought the war nearer to us'. He admitted that the protection of the government was necessary for missionary work to proceed. Prayer was also needed for the native Christians who were very poor. Despite this desperate situation among the 'native Christians', Taylor was more concerned for the plans of the CIM in Chefoo and how they might be affected.<sup>55</sup>

### 4.3.3 Prayer for Special People

Prayer was not purely a matter of spirituality. There was a theological impetus. Prayer was, in Taylor's view, the power behind the revivals and awakenings; it led to people being concerned about the spiritual state of others who were unconverted. It resulted in action on their behalf across the world. Taylor encouraged prayer for China and the world. The Ningbo church had a prayer meeting every Monday evening and once a month would pray for the world.<sup>56</sup> Testimonies highlighted the importance of prayer in the conversion of the Chinese.<sup>57</sup> When Taylor worked on the translation of the Ningbo New Testament in London, a huge map of China hung on the wall above the translators. This inspired

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<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, (February 1894), p. 27.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, (May 1885), p. 52.

<sup>52</sup> J.H. Taylor in Alfred J. Broomhall, *Assault on the Nine* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1988), p. 189.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (May 1885), p. 52.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, (April 1895), p. 43.

<sup>56</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *If I Had A Thousand Lives* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1982), p. 160.

<sup>57</sup> *China's Millions* (July 1875), p. 3.

them from time to time to stop and pray that God would send the gospel all over the country.<sup>58</sup> George Andrew remembers Taylor pouring over the map of China, noting the provinces untouched by the gospel and praying for the nation before moving on to pray for Mongolia, and Tibet.<sup>59</sup>

Taylor's communication abilities were critical for his role as a populariser in bringing new teaching on prayer. He took every opportunity to report what was happening and what the prayer requests were. Writing from China in 1878,<sup>60</sup> Taylor gave many reasons for his readers to rejoice at what had been accomplished and concluded by citing the appeal for prayer in 1 Thessalonians 5:25. He then rounded up the list of those he wanted prayer for. These included members of the London Council, the officers of the mission as well as all the missionaries. He asked for prayer for the candidates about to leave for China, for the Chinese co-workers, Chinese Christians, students in training, scholars in the schools, and orphans and the destitute in refuges. This was a fairly typical list. He requested prayer for himself, for as the work expanded more workers looked to him for guidance and he needed wisdom and understanding.<sup>61</sup> For Taylor, prayer was a vital part of joining in the work of the CIM even for those who could not go to China.

Taylor's spirituality prioritised prayer. It was his first resource whether in crisis or normality. On observing the Chinese Christians praying, Taylor cited a line from a James Montgomery's hymn, that 'prayer was the Christian's vital breath, the Christian's native air'.<sup>62</sup> For Taylor, prayer was a part of his experience of union with Christ which were inseparable.<sup>63</sup> Petitions were made in Christ's name and came with his full authority as illustrated by the power of an attorney. Christ authorised all prayer in accordance with his revealed will and actually chided his servants for not praying like this more often. Taylor supported this by quoting John 16:24, noting that the prayer made in faith could anticipate the joy to be received when the answer came. The close connection between the incarnate and written word was again important. One of the verses from which he drew this teaching was John 15:7, which he used to prove the connection between a full knowledge of the Bible and successful prayer.<sup>64</sup> Prayer must always be in harmony with the Bible. The Bible helped believers to pray in the light of its promises and enabled prayer with faith and confidence. Taylor illustrated this with an example from banking concerning the authority of a cheque presented for payment. A Christian who was fully united with Christ could pray in the name of Jesus. Anything asked within the extent of Christ's credit, a tolerably wide limit, was acceptable. Prayers offered in the name of Jesus and according to the will of God were heard and were a part of the Christian's privilege.<sup>65</sup>

Taylor's own conversion experience was important for his understanding of prayer, for it was directly linked with the prayers of some of his family.<sup>66</sup> Their commitment to pray for his conversion<sup>67</sup> made a deep impression upon him. He wrote:

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<sup>58</sup> A. Broomhall, *Thousand Lives*, p. 336.

<sup>59</sup> George Andrew, *Personal Reminiscences of the Rev J. Hudson Taylor*. (Chefoo) CIM Archives CIM/JHT Section 5, Publications, No 104, p. 5.

<sup>60</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (November 1878), p. 165.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, (March 1885), p. 27.

<sup>62</sup> J.H. Taylor in Alfred J. Broomhall, *Over the Treaty Wall* (Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton 1982), p. 312. Montgomery's hymn was 'O Thou by whom we come to God'.

<sup>63</sup> J.H. Taylor in Houghton, *The Fire Burns On*, p. 147

<sup>64</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (December 1894), p. 163.

<sup>65</sup> J.H. Taylor in H. Taylor, *Growth*, p. 176.

<sup>66</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (May 1886), p. 54.

You will not think it strange that one brought up in such a circle, and saved under such circumstances, was led to feel from the commencement of his Christian life that the promises were very real, and that prayer was, in sober matter of fact, transacting business with God, whether on one's own behalf, or on the behalf of those from whom one sought for blessing.<sup>68</sup>

Taylor's habit was to pray until he had some understanding of the action to be taken. The opening up of China for the gospel was the main objective when the CIM was formed. The missionaries prayed that God would open up a way for them to go inland. Stephen Neill notes that the 'unequal' treaties that forcibly opened up the country, were seen by people like Gützlaff and Taylor as answers to prayer despite the negative repercussions mentioned above. These answers were the basis on which he called the CIM 'inland' for further prayer could open up the rest of the country.<sup>69</sup>

Taylor led the mission in praying for new workers. When he returned to England in 1860 he prayed successfully for additional missionaries to go to Chekiang province. He determined that prayer would find the workers.<sup>70</sup> The apostolic way was to go and do the work, trusting in God's word.<sup>71</sup> He also wrote *China's Spiritual Need and Claims* to inform and stir up prayer.<sup>72</sup> As the CIM grew, there also needed to be prayer for the orderly departure and arrival of the candidates. The arrival of 'The Seventy', another of Taylor's specific recruitment projects, needed to be phased in over three years in order to facilitate logistical matters in China. The provision of these workers within the specified years became the prayer request.<sup>73</sup>

Prayers were to be uttered in the 'name of our Lord Jesus Christ' and were made with confidence of success.<sup>74</sup> Taylor used this opportunity 'for the benefit of some of our younger readers' to explain the difference between praying in the Name of Christ and just merely adding the words 'for Christ's sake' to the end of a prayer. The former implied a conscious oneness with him in whose name a believer acts. This gave the Christian authority as he prayed in accordance with the will of the Father. Taylor thought that Christians too often limited themselves to making requests in prayer. They denied themselves the joy of experiencing other aspects of praying. Taylor reckoned that in the conference at Wuchang (Wuhan) when the idea of 'The Seventy' first materialised, that their prayers expanded their faith. They gave thanks for the answering of those prayers that evening.<sup>75</sup> Taylor also noted that the content of the prayer was for 'willing, skilful' men and women; those who had met them and seen them in action believed that the prayer had been answered in great measure.<sup>76</sup> Taylor elaborated on the meaning of prayer offered in the name of Christ.<sup>77</sup> This was not just a vague hope that petitions might be answered but the very nature of the authorisation with which Christ had enriched his church at the close of his earthly ministry. It depended on the importance of abiding in Christ and allowing his word to abide in the believer. On that basis requests were made and answered.<sup>78</sup> Within this understanding of

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<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> Stephen Neill, *Colonialism and Christian Missions* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1966), p. 135.

<sup>70</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (July 1876), p. 158.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, (January 1888), p. 2.

<sup>72</sup> M. Broomhall, *The Bible in China* (Edinburgh: R & R Clark, 1934), p. 328.

<sup>73</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (February 1885), p. 20.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

prayer, Taylor used the prayer of Jabez in 1 Chronicles 4:10 and applied it directly to the doubling of CIM stations from four to eight.<sup>79</sup>

#### 4.3.4 Unanswered Prayers

Taylor dealt with the issue of unanswered prayers in an article on 2 Corinthians 12:9. He received understanding through study of the life of Christ and the Apostle Paul.<sup>80</sup> He quickly dismissed three types of prayer that are unanswered because they are, 'asked amiss, contrary to God's revealed will or unmixed with faith'.<sup>81</sup> However, what about appropriate prayers that are asked in faith that receive no answer? In 2 Corinthians 12 Paul had a great need which was not removed from him. Instead God gave him the power and grace to bear suffering joyfully and the incident became a source of victory rather than defeat. This was significant for it gave Paul the resources to cope with future similar trials. If the burden had been removed in answer to prayer, then Paul would have been exposed to the same problem when the next issue arose.

Taylor applied scripture directly to prayer ignoring the original setting of the text. He used Psalm 28:6 as an assurance to himself that God would hear his prayer. This was firstly, as a request for God to open up nine inland provinces and secondly to ask that there would be tangible results from the itinerant ministry. Taylor then showed, how in the last three months of 1882, the financial needs of the mission were supplied and how the shortfall had driven them to pray.<sup>82</sup> These reports in *China's Millions* functioned as an appeal to the constituency which included influential people who had the power and resources to help to provide answers to these prayers in the future. Taylor maintained that the prayer in Psalm 72:18-19 was still the prayer of the church today, recognising that it showed the situation 'between the times'. The thanksgiving for what God was doing currently was tempered by the reality that there were still many who had not heard the gospel. For those who are involved in mission it was necessary to seek closer fellowship with God in doing evangelism.<sup>83</sup> Taylor experienced the importance of prayer both corporately and personally. He wrote:

The very existence of the CIM is a standing testimony more forcible than words, to God's faithfulness in answer to prayer. The mission was born of prayer, nourished by prayer and is still sustained from month to month only in answer to earnest prayer.<sup>84</sup>

His colleagues and family commented on the importance of prayer for Taylor.<sup>85</sup> One described him as a man of prayer and saw this arising out of his close, intense relationship with God to whom he would bring every need.<sup>86</sup> John Stevenson said that Taylor fulfilled the instruction 'to pray without ceasing'.<sup>87</sup> Prayer was the atmosphere in which he lived and it was natural for him to bring any daily difficulty to God. This was the 'secret of his success'. Elizabeth Wilson (1830-1878), a CIM colleague, recalled the

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<sup>79</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China Inland Mission: Summary of Operations*. End of bound edition of *Occasional Papers* (1870-1872), p. 10.

<sup>80</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (May 1889), p. 60.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, (August 1883), p. 95.

<sup>83</sup> J.H. Taylor, M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 160.

<sup>84</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (January 1897), p. 1.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1905), p. 92.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, (August 1905), p. 105.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, (September 1905), p. 118.

element of fervent, unfailing prayer for his fellow workers that impressed her. He would pray three times a day for them by name although at that time there were over seventy.<sup>88</sup>

It is clear how important prayer was for Taylor. He demonstrated leadership in prayer, taught about it and based his own personal prayer on the scriptures, often applying them literally to his own life and work. His prayer life was an outworking of his understanding of abiding in Christ and his final recorded words as General Director of the CIM emphasised the importance of prayer.<sup>89</sup>

## 4.4 Spirituality

The spirituality of Protestant mission leaders has often been the subject of popular biography rather than missiological reflection. This has led to unchallenged assumptions in assessing their contribution to mission. This limited approach has meant that their diversity of spiritual experience, doctrinal emphasis and personal temperament has been neglected<sup>90</sup> or confined to their role overseas in preaching the gospel.<sup>91</sup> This section considers Taylor's personal experience of God, entire consecration and the all encompassing theme of holiness, respecting the dominance of this theme in the nineteenth century.

### 4.4.1 Self-surrender to God

The spirituality of a person in Christian leadership is particularly important for he or she has to work closely with other people from a variety of backgrounds. The quality of life displayed by people like Taylor 'exerted a major influence over others'.<sup>92</sup> His successor, Dixon Hoste, wrote about Taylor's inspiration, strength and guidance to others and how these qualities inspired the love and confidence of his colleagues. He describes Taylor's courtesy and deferral to the judgement of others in being willing to drop plans that were not agreed to by others.<sup>93</sup> This attitude was a part of his 'intense love and sympathy' which he mustered for others with whom he was able to communicate the 'deep feelings of his heart' and for whom he was willing to deny himself when there was a particular need.<sup>94</sup> This self-denial and communion with God was also noted by those outside the CIM who saw Taylor as ideally suited to the work that God had given him.<sup>95</sup> The German mission historian Gustav Warneck stated:

The founder of the CIM was a physician, J.Hudson Taylor, a man full of the Holy Ghost and of faith, of entire self-surrender to God and his call, of great self-denial, heartfelt compassion, rare power in prayer, marvellous organising faculty, energetic initiative, indefatigable perseverance, and of astonishing influence with men and withal of childlike humility.<sup>96</sup>

George Andrew in his own personal reminiscences listed thirteen qualities seen in Taylor. He added to the common observations about Taylor's faith, his breadth of outlook, humour, humility and yielding

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<sup>88</sup> H.Taylor, *Growth*, p. 307.

<sup>89</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 92

<sup>90</sup> James M. Gordon, *Evangelical Spirituality* (London: SPCK, 1991), preface vii, ix.

<sup>91</sup> Jan A.B. Jongeneel, *Philosophy, Science and Theology of Mission in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, Volume II, 1997), p. 23.

<sup>92</sup> David Bebbington, *Holiness in Nineteenth Century England* (Carlisle: Paternoster 2000), p. 91.

<sup>93</sup> Hoste, *China's Millions* (September 1905), p. 117.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>95</sup> W.G. Lewis, *China's Millions* (July 1879), p. 89.

<sup>96</sup> Gustav Warneck, *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions from the Reformation to the Present Time* (London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1901), p. 102.

spirit.<sup>97</sup> Others noted his ambition, his inclusiveness in attitude to other Christians, his biblical orientation and his charismatic personality.<sup>98</sup> Taylor was a spiritual help to many who came in contact with him<sup>99</sup> whether through public meetings or personal letter.<sup>100</sup> He was esteemed for his kindness in dealing with the Chinese.<sup>101</sup> These illustrate his pastoral and evangelistic gifts.<sup>102</sup>

Taylor's spirituality was widely recognised<sup>103</sup> and set the tone and standard for the work of the CIM as a whole. Stanley Smith, one of the Cambridge Seven, was attracted to the CIM because of its uncompromising spirituality and its tolerance of differing denominational viewpoints as well as its aims to preach the gospel inland.<sup>104</sup> When Henry Frost, the North American leader of the CIM, arrived in England at the CIM headquarters he was impressed by the simple spirituality displayed.<sup>105</sup> This fortified Taylor's conviction that the CIM in itself was a spiritual object lesson. The promises of the Bible were to his mind essential for the formation of the CIM because of the barriers then present to working inland.<sup>106</sup> Mission to China was a task to be done for the glory of God and Christ. In a world where spiritual realities were dim, the freshness of the missionaries' spiritual experiences were interpreted as 'fresh evidence of the reality of His deep, unseen, blessed government which we who are here all rejoice in and hold to so firmly'.<sup>107</sup> The CIM was tangible proof that the 'Lord God Omnipotent Reigneth' and should direct the life of a Christian.<sup>108</sup> George Müller saw the implementation of the financial policy without solicitation of funds as very important for the church in an age of scepticism.<sup>109</sup> Taylor who was aware of the current challenges to faith responded to this by making faith central (See 4.5). He taught a new dimension of spiritual potential unfamiliar to many Victorian Christians.

#### 4.4.2 Perfect Holiness

Taylor was determined to show that it was a full part of the responsibility of any disciple to take the Gospel to 'every creature' and that mission was the obvious, outward focus of a life that was holy and consecrated to God. Taylor outlined what it meant to be godly by a consideration of Christology. The kenotic example of Christ showed that Christ gave up what he naturally deserved in order to serve mankind in bringing salvation. If holiness means being conformed to the Spirit of promise, then the disciple will be prepared to take the very lowest place in order to bring salvation to others. This would bring joy to the Father and avoided grieving the Holy Spirit.<sup>110</sup>

From an early age Taylor professed a genuine desire for holiness. Intense internal analysis of his own spiritual life was clearly something with which Taylor wrestled. In a letter to his sister Amelia

<sup>97</sup> George Andrew, *Personal Reminiscences*, p. 6.

<sup>98</sup> Daniel W. Bacon, *From Faith to Faith: The Influence of Hudson Taylor on the Faith Missions Movement* (Singapore: OMF Books 1984), pp. 150-153.

<sup>99</sup> Frank Houghton, *The Fire Burns On*, p. 31.

<sup>100</sup> A. J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 42.

<sup>101</sup> *The Chinese Recorder* No 37, p. 369. 'Letters from an old missionary to his nephew: On manners'.

<sup>102</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 70.

<sup>103</sup> James Packer, in Steer, *Lessons*, preface.

<sup>104</sup> John Pollock, *The Cambridge Seven* (Basingstoke: Marshall Pickering/OMF Books, 1985), p. 63.

<sup>105</sup> Howard Taylor, *'By Faith' Henry W Frost and the China Inland Mission* (London: CIM 1938), p. 63.

<sup>106</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (July/August 1887), p. 83.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, (June 1883), pp. 63-64.

<sup>109</sup> George Müller, *China's Millions* (September 1883), p. 119.

<sup>110</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions*, (November 1884), p.136.

on Dec 2nd 1849, a letter full of Bible verses, Taylor wrote, 'I am apt to be too frothy or giddy and I sometimes give way to my teasing disposition. Pray for me...I am seeking entire sanctification'. He then mentions Ezekiel 36:2, writing:

Oh that I could take hold of the blessed promises of God's holy word. My heart longs for this perfect holiness. I have read a very interesting paper on the beauty of holiness in the Wesleyan magazine for November. What a happy state it must be....The earnest desire of my heart is that he will sanctify me wholly and make me useful in his cause. I cannot help wishing that instead of a light cold I had got some sickness which would take me to heaven. I have a desire to depart and be with Christ which is far, far better.<sup>111</sup>

The phrases 'entire sanctification' and 'perfect holiness' originate from Taylor's Wesleyan background and are typical of the Methodist 'particular schematisation of the religious life' happening after conversion.<sup>112</sup> 'Entire sanctification' or 'perfect love' was a sought-after specific experience of communion with God which, though based on historical revelation of Christ and wider biblical teaching, also acted as a validifying experience as to the existence of God. It was a gift of faith and could be passed on to other people. Newton Flew describes 'entire sanctification' as 'being the perfection of the regenerate state',<sup>113</sup> but it did not imply sinlessness. It often came by faith after a long search and in Wesleyan understanding it was an experience similar to conversion that issued in perceptible results in the devotional and ethical life of the believer.<sup>114</sup> Taylor outlined his own process of deep spiritual struggle accompanied by feelings of unworthiness and much prayer, fasting and meditation on the Bible.<sup>115</sup> It was, he said, while reading John 4 in 1869 that what had always seemed to be interesting ancient history 'became a present message to my soul' and he learned how to drink of the living water by faith not based on any feeling. Taylor thought that this critical experience was followed by new spiritual power in his Bible readings and a sense of the Spirit's help in dealing with the perplexities of running the early CIM.<sup>116</sup> It was a fairly typical holiness experience though there is no evidence that Taylor regarded it as one of 'entire sanctification'.

In another letter to Amelia, dated September 19th 1850 from Barnsley, Taylor wrote:

O my dear sister, keep very close to Jesus. Try in Him to live and move and have your being. Endeavour to realise a constant sense of the presence of God and let a desire to please and fear to grieve him be your actuating motives.

He then advised Amelia about having a clean heart, which he insisted must be possible on the basis of Jesus' appeal to perfection in Matthew 5:48. To maintain this state in every circumstance needs, 'constant circumspection, much watchfulness and prayer to get and to keep this state of grace'. In an 'unguarded moment' Taylor admitted his fall from grace, when he focused too much on himself rather than on Christ. He realised that sin always had and will have power over Christians.<sup>117</sup>

Taylor wrote to his other sister Louise that, 'my earnest wish is, that your lives may not be spent as mine has in vain struggles and longings after holiness. It must be obtained by faith, not works,

<sup>111</sup> Letter to Amelia, 2<sup>nd</sup> Dec 1849, China Inland Mission Archives, CIM/JHT 3 Letters 1851-1853;

See *The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (November 1849), pp. 1114-1150.

<sup>112</sup> Newton Flew, *The Idea of Perfection in Christian Theology: An Historical Study of the Christian Idea for the Present Life* (London: Humphrey Milford, OUP 1934), p. 316.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 320.

<sup>114</sup> Bebbington, *Holiness*, p. 64.

<sup>115</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (November 1902), p. 146.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> CIM Archives, CIM/JHT 3, Letters 1851-1853. *Letter to Amelia* (2<sup>nd</sup> December 1849).

as salvation is'. He recommended reading William Boardman's *Higher Christian Life* which was published in 1858.<sup>118</sup> This book encouraged progress in spirituality, obtained by faith and widened the influence of the teaching on sanctification through faith.<sup>119</sup>

It is evident from the biographies of Taylor that he was conscious of a constant struggle with the issues of sin and holiness in the light of his personal weakness and failures. This was at a time when there was heightened interest in the holiness movement in the UK with many articles and booklets being produced.<sup>120</sup> He was very exercised with the need for greater holiness in his own life and that of the CIM. Although he tried to attain this through various disciplines, he always regarded himself as having failed and felt constantly defeated. The aim of being holy eluded his grasp, and even though he knew he was a child of God, he was unable to live in the light of those privileges. He struggled with the issue of faith and the fact that he was unable to take God at his word. He felt guilty of the sin of unbelief. When Taylor had his definitive holiness experience in 1869 it was under the influence of specific reading about the subject by the American holiness teacher Robert Pearsall Smith (1827-98), whom he later met in 1875.<sup>121</sup> There was a profound change in Taylor after this experience which was noticeable to others and continued into his public ministry and administrative duties. He immediately shared his new insights with all and sundry,<sup>122</sup> stressing that faith can only be increased through dwelling on Christ. He had learned to cast everything on God. He now knew that resting, an emphasis of Pearsall Smith's ministry, and not striving, was what was required. Now Taylor was enabled to believe, on the basis of Romans 6, that he was 'dead to sin'. Although he admitted to sinning since learning this new truth, he maintained that he did not need to have sinned.<sup>123</sup> The heightened awareness of his conscience towards sin meant that it had been instantly confessed.

Taylor's overall spiritual experience fits in with the general 'populist' cause of sanctification taking place in his lifetime. His Methodist background contributed to his leadership of the movement. The early CIM was formed within this context and became important in disseminating similar teaching in the missions context as well as UK churches. Taylor's leadership made him a catalyst for the link between holiness teaching and mission. He was even invited to speak at Keswick as a holiness teacher before mission became prominent.<sup>124</sup> The Keswick movement became an important supporter of missions around the world and brought together Christians to enjoy the experience of victory over sin.<sup>125</sup> An important part of the new teaching was 'the rest of faith' (See 4.5.3 below), an idea that linked closely with the teaching of the CIM in its appeal to the trustworthiness of God.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> CIM Archives, CIM/JHT 17, Letters 1869-1874.

<sup>119</sup> Bebbington, *Holiness*, pp. 76-76.

<sup>120</sup> M. Broomhall, *The Man*, p. 156.

<sup>121</sup> Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions* (Oxford: Regnum, 1996), p. 216; A.J. Broomhall, *Assault*, p. 36.

<sup>122</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (November, 1902), p. 146.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, (June 1883), p. 64.

<sup>124</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 216.

<sup>125</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Assault*, p. 383. John Stevenson was one of Taylor's colleagues who was changed by attending Keswick.

<sup>126</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 152.

### 4.4.3 Entire Consecration

The organised activity of passing on spiritual experiences was a feature of the holiness movement, vital for understanding the context of late nineteenth century evangelicalism.<sup>127</sup> Taylor, as a holiness teacher, spoke at conferences for the deepening of the spiritual life where he would sometimes give the Bible readings.<sup>128</sup> His international ministry became the venue to offer spiritual challenges to others. This would often focus on the reality of the sufficiency and fullness of Christ in personal experience, often modelled on the bride in the Song of Songs.<sup>129</sup> A participant at the Detroit missionary conference in 1894 remarked that Taylor 'quickenened our spiritual lives'.<sup>130</sup>

There was one feature arising from the holiness movement that Taylor repeatedly emphasised: the concept of 'entire consecration'. This particular usage by Taylor shows the nature of the development from the classic Wesleyan model of 'entire sanctification'. The late-nineteenth-century holiness movement spoke of 'entire consecration' which fitted in with a notably more activist approach exemplified by Taylor and others. Taylor saw his initial spiritual experience, a few months after his conversion in 1849, when he devoted himself to God as a 'very practical consciousness'<sup>131</sup> and as an act of consecration.<sup>132</sup> He led particular meetings for consecration<sup>133</sup> and saw the lack of it as a reason explaining why missionaries failed to endure with the CIM writing, 'for without full consecration and strong faith, the connection of the workers with us will surely prove temporary'.<sup>134</sup> Taylor once explained what he meant by 'full consecration' by using Malachi 3:9-10, although many other texts would suffice. There was full blessing for those who gave everything to God, whereas even small reservations would hinder this outpouring and lead to leanness of soul.<sup>135</sup> These twin themes of full consecration or hindered communion were highlighted in his teaching from Numbers 6 about the Nazarite vow of separation, probably influenced by his involvement with the Open Brethren and Andrew Jukes. For Taylor this showed something of the loving heart of God that he permitted such separation under the old covenant, but there must be no defects.<sup>136</sup> The act of consecration was often linked by Taylor to world evangelism and was a repeatable experience. Taylor wrote: 'His by creation, His by redemption, we have again and again yielded ourselves to him by our own glad consecration'.<sup>137</sup> Furthermore, he considered that the failure of Christians to be entirely consecrated was linked to their misunderstanding of the doctrine of God and eschatology. In concentrating on the coming kingdom, many neglected the fact that Christ should also determine their life in the present. He had promised them all power for their work but they had never considered 'unreserved consecration' as an option and in doing so have laid themselves open to 'bloodguiltiness'.<sup>138</sup> This was a favourite phrase for Taylor, indicating the location of guilt for those who neglected world mission.

<sup>127</sup> Bebbington, *Holiness*, p. 91.

<sup>128</sup> *China's Millions* (February 1891), p. 16.

<sup>129</sup> Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 85.

<sup>130</sup> Bacon, *From Faith*, p. 165

<sup>131</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (June 1886), p. 65.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1893), p. 91.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, (March 1882), p. 26.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, (February 1878), p. 23.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, (June 1893), p. 71.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, (January 1893), p. 1.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, (December 1884), p. 150.

#### 4.4.4 'Higher Plane'

Bebbington has shown that understandings of spirituality were shaped by more than solely theological influences on the holiness movement. Holiness was seen either as steady progress<sup>139</sup> or as following certain spiritual habits. Taylor believed that progress in spirituality was possible and it was based on Bible reading, prayer and self-denial.<sup>140</sup> He also testified to at least two seminal holiness experiences; in 1849 and 1869. The mystical tradition in Evangelicalism was present in Taylor with his 'sensible experience of the presence of God'.<sup>141</sup> The 1849 holiness experience, one of personal consecration to God, was formative in defining his call to China<sup>142</sup> and was tinged with elements of mysticism. It was followed up with an application to the CES and practical preparation for that role. The connection between mysticism and holiness was evident in Taylor as one who expected direct divine guidance from the Bible about what to do in life.<sup>143</sup> He experimented with his faith, sometimes putting his own health in jeopardy when he did not have the resources to care for himself properly. Once on his return to London after an illness his parents asked him to give his experiments with faith a rest!<sup>144</sup> William A.P. Martin (1827-1916), an American Presbyterian missionary in China who knew Taylor in his early career, described him as a 'mystic absorbed in religious dreams, waiting to have his work revealed to him'.<sup>145</sup> Taylor wanted his married life with Maria to be an 'ascending plane' that did not rest on anything so far attained and his high expectations of his Christian experience led to frustration that he was not able to attain them. He thought that the church taught and expected only a low level of Christian experience that left many Christians dissatisfied when, in his estimation, there was unlimited spiritual potential available to them. There was a sense of inadequacy both in what they had achieved and in their expectations of God. To meet this lack they needed to get on a 'higher plane of thought altogether'. Alfred Broomhall suggests that in 1851 Taylor 'had been lifted onto a higher plane and there he stayed'.<sup>146</sup> This hagiographical assessment must be doubted in the light of Taylor's later experience in 1869 which was seen as an important turning point for the CIM, still only a fledgling mission.

Alfred Broomhall observes that the effects of the current revival movements in parts of Britain and America were being felt in Ningbo where Taylor was working in 1859.<sup>147</sup> These movements were undoubtedly important for the CIM<sup>148</sup> and Taylor's *Lammermuir* party were affected by them.<sup>149</sup> Although there are different assessments of these revival movements, they clearly led some Christians to a quickening of the spiritual life that included self-denial in the cause of mission. Austin sees Taylor as translating some of the benefits of revivals into a different context, resulting in lay leadership,

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<sup>139</sup> Bebbington, *Holiness*, p. 92.

<sup>140</sup> Michael Collins Reilly, *Spirituality for Mission: Historical, Theological, and Cultural Factors for a Present-day Missionary Spirituality* (New York: Orbis Books, 1978), p. 120

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>142</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (June 1886), p. 65.

<sup>143</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 214.

<sup>144</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 73.

<sup>145</sup> M. Broomhall, *The Man*, p. 185.

<sup>146</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *Barbarians at the Gates* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1981), p. 356.

<sup>147</sup> Al. J. Broomhall, *Thousand Lives*, p.192.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>149</sup> Alwyn Austin, *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society. 1832-1905* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2007), p. 83.

intensive evangelism and the importance of deepening the spiritual life of the missionary.<sup>150</sup> Nevertheless, Taylor was still troubled by the apathy and comfort of English Christians that he faced on his return to Britain in 1860.

### *Higher Life*

The holiness movement became the dominant evangelical spirituality of the day. The Keswick convention led many overseas who shared similar experiences and convictions which can be loosely described under the rubric of the 'higher life' or the 'exchanged life'. The 'second blessing' experience taught at Keswick became an important feature of the CIM.<sup>151</sup> In this way spirituality became a unifying impetus for world mission. Information about the holiness movement in the UK was disseminated to many of the stations of the CIM in China through the magazine *Revival*, which was renamed *The Christian* in 1870.<sup>152</sup> Hence the issue of the deeper spiritual life was kept to the forefront in missionary work. Many in the CIM seemed to be hungering for fuller experiences in their lives. The crucial issue was victory over sin and a deeper relationship with Christ and a series of articles on *The Way of Holiness* set the tone.<sup>153</sup>

The teaching mentioned above chimed with Taylor's yearning for a deeper spirituality, yet the work of the CIM was becoming more complex.<sup>154</sup> In the midst of emerging frustrations Taylor mourned over his spiritual state and urged others to pray for him that he would learn how to imitate Christ. Although a note of dissatisfaction with current spiritual attainment was almost a prerequisite for involvement in the holiness movement, it only served to heighten it. In one of his early articles, Taylor assumed that his readers were 'burdened'. He oscillated between mortification over his own unworthy heart and his desire to be a faithful servant in the work to which he was called. He believed it was God's will that the Christian should at all times reflect something of this relationship with God. The Christian was not to copy the master but to reflect him, and to do this the Christian needed to meditate on Christ. He said: 'it is only in the continual sunshine of His countenance that we shall have that brightness which we ought to have before the world'.<sup>155</sup>

Taylor sought the elusive goal of authentic Christian expression. His devotional habits helped him in this regard. He would rise between six and seven, sing a hymn, read scripture and pray. He often struggled both with his own soul and weakness and with events around him. His spiritual anguish can be seen in his correspondence,<sup>156</sup> in which he wavered between turning his cares over to God and taking them back on himself in anxiety and fear of what might happen. He wanted the truths of scripture to form deep convictions and spirituality. Mere knowledge was not sufficient.<sup>157</sup> This in turn

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<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>151</sup> Moira J. McKay, 'Faith and Facts in the History of the CIM 1832-1905', M.Litt. (Aberdeen 1981), p. 68.

<sup>152</sup> James E. Orr *The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain*. (London Marshall, Morgan and Scott: 1949), p. 221.

<sup>153</sup> H. Taylor, *Growth*, p. 164.

<sup>154</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (August 1875), p. 17.

<sup>155</sup> J.H. Taylor, M. Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 52.

<sup>156</sup> Fred W. Baller, *The Late J.Hudson Taylor as a Correspondent* (London: CIM & Morgan & Scott, 1905). Baller notes Taylor's use of scripture as being an important feature of his letter writing.

<sup>157</sup> M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p.10.

caused him to attend to his own soul and drove him back to the Bible.<sup>158</sup> The Bible was the source for all of his guiding principles and the foundation for his obedience.<sup>159</sup> This influenced his practice of prayer and illustrates his strongly instrumental and practical hermeneutic. When it came to contemporary issues of his day such as temperance, his concern was to avoid ‘any appearance of evil’ which he advocated as a more powerful motivation than just signing a pledge as many Christians were doing.<sup>160</sup> He admired and noted the role of the Bible in the spirituality of William Burns that issued in a reverential life and communion with God. This was very satisfying to Taylor.<sup>161</sup>

#### 4.4.5 Consolations of Christ

Taylor’s immediate hermeneutic enabled him to find in biblical characters parallels with contemporary spiritual experience a feature seen in the analysis of the Puritan use of the Bible in Chapter Two. The apostle Paul was a favourite. Taylor saw Paul’s desire to know Christ and the power of the resurrection in Philippians 3:10-11 as an important foundation for Paul’s expression of his spirituality. He argued that Paul was not referring to the general resurrection on the last day or even his sharing in the first resurrection. Paul puts the emphasis on the possibilities of the present life. It was possible for this apostle to attain to resurrection life and power so that while in the world he could live as one who was above and beyond its influences.<sup>162</sup> This process was perfected in him through sufferings, which, as they intensified, also intensified his ‘consolations of Christ’. As Paul gave up much, he also received much, was Taylor’s summary.

What Paul received was something very recognisable. From his conversion onwards he received many special revelations which strengthened him in ministry. These revelations had incipient dangers within them<sup>163</sup> but he was kept from pride by the path he had to follow in his ministry. Taylor noted that in 2 Corinthians 12:9 Paul was assured that God’s grace was sufficient for him. Taylor saw in this admonition something that was very helpful to those who might be fearful at the thought of serving Christ.<sup>164</sup> When Paul prayed for the removal of the ‘thorn in the flesh’, he received an unexpected answer. According to Taylor, the answer Paul received was better, for it ‘at once delivered him from all the oppression of the present and of all future similar trials’.<sup>165</sup> Paul was able to rejoice in weakness, drawing strength from Christ. This was a protection for Paul and a template for any disciple. Paul could now take pleasure in these weaknesses for Christ’s sake. Taylor argued that this should be an encouragement for all Christians for it would enable them to cope with inadequacy and to take steps of faith. Paul himself illustrated this.<sup>166</sup>

#### 4.4.6 Praise and Glory to God

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<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>159</sup> M. Broomhall, *The Man*, p. 127.

<sup>160</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 52.

<sup>161</sup> James Hudson Taylor, *Retrospect* (London: OMF Books, Eighteenth Edition, 1974), p. 65.

<sup>162</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (May 1889), p. 59.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, (February 1894), p. 16.

An important part of the evangelical spirituality of the time was the singing of hymns. When Taylor sailed for China in 1853 aboard the *Dumfries*, part of the farewell included singing 'How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds'.<sup>167</sup> Taylor in his early evangelism with John Burdon (1826-1907) mentioned how they encouraged one another with the promises of scripture and the singing of hymns.<sup>168</sup> He also had a copy of Wesley's hymn book sent to him in China.<sup>169</sup>

The holiness movement brought music to greater prominence, and hymn singing was an important feature of the Christian conference circuit.<sup>170</sup> The Romantic emphasis on purity and love in many hymns of the time was mirrored by Taylor in his allegorical treatment of the Song of Songs. Unhindered communion between the bridegroom and the bride was the aim for those who abided in Christ and this was graphically depicted in a current popular hymn which Taylor cited: 'Both thine arms are clasped around me and my head is on thy breast; And my weary soul has found thee, Such a perfect, perfect rest! Blessed Jesus, Now I know that I am blest'.<sup>171</sup> In 1875 Keswick produced its own hymn book, *Hymns of Consecration and Faith*, which added to the popularity of hymn singing.<sup>172</sup> Hymn singing was an important part of the life of the CIM in China; from the beginning, the mission urged Chinese believers to have both a Bible and a hymn book.<sup>173</sup> Baller reported the singing of the gospel hymns 'Jesus Loves Me', 'Rock of Ages' and 'Guide Me O Thou Great Jehovah' as part of his team's outreach to boat women. Baller observed that the hymns enjoyed at home were also enjoyed by the Chinese for the hymns 'minister to their hearts',<sup>174</sup> an observation which endorses the newer emphasis on personal feelings produced by many hymns of the day.<sup>175</sup> One unidentified female missionary was described as teaching the gospel through explaining the hymns<sup>176</sup> and Taylor refers to an early Chinese-language hymn book used by missionaries in teaching reading. Although Taylor gave a Chinese translation of William Cowper's hymn, 'There is a fountain filled with blood', it is not clear whose translation it was.<sup>177</sup>

The right use of the lips was important for Taylor: hymns, prayers and Christian poetry all aided in this endeavour. Taylor wrote of a sevenfold sequence of the use of the lips which culminated in praise to God.<sup>178</sup> Taylor would often include in his writing and in his preaching references to popular hymns of the day that added to the points he was making. He used well-known ones such as 'When I Survey the Wondrous Cross'<sup>179</sup> as well as less familiar ones.<sup>180</sup> He took the words of 'That Great City' which was written by the Brethren hymn writer and poet S. Trevor Francis for London and applied it to China.<sup>181</sup> In commenting on the word 'surely' in Psalm 23:6, Taylor highlighted the definite aspect of

<sup>167</sup> H. Taylor, *In Memoriam: Rev. J. Hudson Taylor* (London: CIM, 1906), p. 7.

<sup>168</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Retrospect*, p. 55.

<sup>169</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 283.

<sup>170</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, pp. 174-175.

<sup>171</sup> James Hudson Taylor, *Union and Communion* (Ross-shire: Christian Focus, 1996), p. 80.

<sup>172</sup> Scotland, *Evangelical Anglicans*, p. 358.

<sup>173</sup> *China's Millions* (June 1876), p. 144.

<sup>174</sup> Fred W. Baller, *China's Millions* (May 1882), p. 99.

<sup>175</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 174.

<sup>176</sup> *China's Millions* (August 1882), p. 99.

<sup>177</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Spiritual*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>178</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (May, 1881), p. 54.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1883), p. 132.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, (May, 1889), p. 60.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, (May 1882), p. 87.

this assurance. It was not presumption to believe and the Christian might well sing ‘Jehovah I boast as my shepherd attending, no want shall distress me’.<sup>182</sup> In introducing his annual report in 1885 he drew attention to the words of the well known hymn ‘To God Be the Glory, Great Things He Has Done’.<sup>183</sup> This Fanny Crosby hymn had become well known through being included in *Sacred Songs and Solos* published in 1874 for the visit of Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey to Britain.<sup>184</sup>

A favourite device of Taylor’s was using the words of a hymn concerning the kingship of Jesus to challenge the singers as to their response to it: were they willing to obey what the king says?<sup>185</sup> Specifically, this meant a commitment to those who had never heard the gospel. Taylor had the words and the music of the ‘spirit- stirring hymn’, ‘Tell It Out Among the Heathen’ composed by the late Frances R. Havergal (1836-79), printed in *China’s Millions* with an endorsement from her sister. When this was sung at the close of the Mildmay Conference in 1878, he used it as an exhortation to appeal for more labourers for China, pressing the congregation to consider whether what they had sung was really true or not in their experience.<sup>186</sup> Failure to understand this lay at the root of the failure of world mission. Taylor complained that the phrase ‘The Gospel of the Kingdom’ had been used meaninglessly, with the demands of the kingdom being ignored, and went on to quote a verse from an Isaac Watts hymn, ‘Blessings Abound Where’er He reigns, the Prisoner Leaps to Loose His Chains....’ to make his point.<sup>187</sup> Although Havergal was the darling of the Evangelical Victorian hymn writing scene, Taylor was still able to critique her words in the light of his understanding of the faithfulness of God.<sup>188</sup>

Taylor’s spirituality, which was such an important aspect of his mission leadership, was congruent with some of the prevailing cultural emphases of his time. The CIM provided an important outlet of missionary service for those whose lives were affected by the holiness movement. Taylor was able to appeal to an assumed common theology from which the teaching on entire consecration and the higher life came. It provided a coherent spiritual foundation for the work of the CIM. Taylor’s intense personal experiences of God place him partly in the mystical tradition. He attempted to find contemporary parallels in the lives of characters in the Bible and participated fully in the passion for hymn singing which was so popular in the Victorian era.

## 4.5 Faith

Faith is one of the qualities that Taylor is most noted for<sup>189</sup> and was a foundation for his spirituality.<sup>190</sup> It was a frequent topic in his preaching; the existence of the CIM was proof of that faith.<sup>191</sup> He drew his dependence on God from his use of the Bible, especially verses like 1 Peter 5:7.<sup>192</sup> The faith principle was most frequently applied to those two indispensable preconditions of mission: the provision of

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, (September 1884), p. 112.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, (June, 1885), p. 81.

<sup>184</sup> John R. Watson, *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1997), pp. 490, 496.

<sup>185</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China’s Millions* (May 1881), pp.57-58.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, (March 1886) p. 28. The last line of which is ‘and all the sons of want are blessed’.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, (December 1887), p. 151.

<sup>189</sup> H. Taylor, *In Memoriam*, p. 74.

<sup>190</sup> Reilly, *Spirituality for Mission*, p. 106.

<sup>191</sup> H. Taylor, *In Memoriam*, p. 31.

<sup>192</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, No 39 (February 1875), p. 246.

workers and financial support.<sup>193</sup> This section looks at Taylor's exercise of faith, God's faithfulness and how that ensued in the rest of faith.

#### 4.5.1 Exercising Faith

Taylor made the exercise of faith in God a foundation for his personal life and that of the CIM at a time when biblical criticism was eroding confidence in the biblical texts for some Christians. According to Taylor faith was fundamental for Christian service, for it was God alone who prospered a work.<sup>194</sup> The human agents were relatively insignificant, yet all of them were termed 'faith workers'. Taylor distinguished between those who worked overseas and those who remained at home in the possible lessons to be learned by faith. The dangers and difficulties, the personal weaknesses and failures to which the missionary was exposed were elements that were more likely to bring God very near to the missionary. Taylor hence saw the missionary's weakness as being a source of strength. In times of need the individual was driven to rely on God and to put all her trust in him. CIM members, who had no guaranteed income, had an extra, additional link with the heart of God.

Faith for Taylor was always more than sight. Sight can only reveal the outward aspect of things, whereas faith had real substance, for it fed on the indwelling Christ who imparted his life and power to the believer.<sup>195</sup> This focus on Christ was the way to increase faith, as Christians appropriated more of Christ for themselves and ceased from striving after faith. Appropriated faith, whether for conversion or spiritual growth, was the 'top stone' of the building.<sup>196</sup> Taylor had learned this through personal experience. The assurance of faith was part of the legacy that Taylor left behind him. This was the 'dominant message' of his life, buttressed by the familiar scriptures of Mark 11:22 and others. Although he made a varied contribution to the Christian Church, some have considered that the outstanding feature was that 'faith in God was the strength of his life and the explanation of his achievements'.<sup>197</sup>

There was an ethical imperative attached to faith, for the Christian had all that was required for life, including happiness. Faith accepted from God all that had already been given and delivered the disciple from desiring more. Dissatisfaction in any form was actually 'practical atheism', for it suggested a lack of trust in God, and moreover removed the Christian from God's protection.<sup>198</sup>

#### 4.5.2 Faith in God's Faithfulness

The application to foreign mission of the faith principle had been pioneered by earlier missionaries, notably A. N. Groves. Influenced by Müller and others, Taylor first experimented with the faith principle in his own life before making it the basis of the operations of the CIM. He frequently reminded his constituency that this was the foundational principle on which the CIM was run<sup>199</sup> and maintained as it grew in size.<sup>200</sup> His frequent updates on the work of the CIM and his own personal

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<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 246.

<sup>194</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (September 1889), p. 130.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, (March 1882), p. 26; Roger Steer, *A Man in Christ* (Sevenoaks: OMF Books, 1990), p. 237.

<sup>196</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives CIM/JHT Box 10, Sermon notes 1881

<sup>197</sup> M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 49.

<sup>198</sup> J.H. Taylor in Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 90.

<sup>199</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (July/August 1878), p. 88.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

experiences added to the corporate story of the organisation as one that relied on God's faithfulness,<sup>201</sup> which became a powerful testimony to others.<sup>202</sup> It was often, but not always, connected with financial provision. It is worth noting that financial shortfalls were often caused by Taylor and his colleagues using up the funds ministering to the needs of the many hungry and needy around them.<sup>203</sup>

Taylor's view on faith was rooted in his understanding of the Bible. He noted how men had studied the works of God in order to advance understanding of natural laws and through this they had made major strides in scientific development. Taylor hankered after a parallel from the Bible that showed equally certain spiritual laws. Taylor wrote: 'the life of faith is no dubious uncertainty, the path of faith is no hazardous speculation'. Lack of faith in God was the problem for Israel in the Old Testament, just as it was in Taylor's era where external factors were often more easily appreciated than the power and working of the Holy Spirit.<sup>204</sup> Whatever the situation, trust in the faithful God was essential. This was closely connected to Taylor's view of the verbal inspiration of scripture.<sup>205</sup> God was faithful and this was not dependent on whether or not there was a response in faith. He said: 'It is not our faith that makes him true, it is his truth that makes him true.'<sup>206</sup> In the course of his experience in China, Taylor also learned lessons about the exercise of faith and the use of means. He was concerned about some of the errors of faith healing and maintained that the use of means was not contrary to faith for those means were also given by God to carry out his purposes.<sup>207</sup>

For Taylor, Jesus' exhortation to his disciples in Mark 11:22, 'Have faith in God' was a key verse as he wondered how to increase his faith in God. He often preached on this text.<sup>208</sup> Reading the Greek text helped him to see something new.<sup>209</sup> He saw that the emphasis was not on the human response of faith but on the reality of God's faithfulness which was entirely reliable. He commented: 'It is not so much great faith that we need as faith in a great God'. Marshall Broomhall, commenting on Taylor's use of Mark 11:22, said that 'such passages clearly show where lay Hudson Taylor's strength'.<sup>210</sup> Taylor explained himself further in an article in 1875. He translated Mark 11:22 as follows: 'Hold God's faithfulness,' justifying it from a consideration of other New Testament passages.<sup>211</sup> He argued that the rendering 'God's faithfulness' could be justified from Romans 3:3 where Taylor saw the 'faith of God' referring to 'his faithfulness'. To understand the verb 'echo - hold,' Taylor used Matthew 21:26, Mark 11:32 and Luke 20:6. In Matthew, where the verb 'hold' is similarly translated, Taylor argued for the meaning that 'all hold John as a prophet' as a parallel use that brings out his meaning. In Mark the word is rendered 'count' but in Luke a different Greek verb is used (*peithō*) which 'well illustrates the meaning'. Taylor concluded that the evidence of Mark 11:22 shows, 'that in theory we hold that God is faithful, that in daily life we count upon it and that at all

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<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1905), p. 95.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, (December 1887), p. 151.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, (November 1889), p. 158.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1893), p. 95.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, (June 1887), p. 70.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, (May 1894), p. 62 for one example.

<sup>209</sup> H. Taylor, *Growth*, p. 278

<sup>210</sup> H. Taylor, *In Memoriam*, p. 20.

<sup>211</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (May 1875), p. 55.

times and under all circumstances we are fully persuaded of this blessed truth'.<sup>212</sup> Taylor saw these few words as an excellent creed to live by that was all encompassing.<sup>213</sup> The Christian looked to God for temporal and spiritual sustenance. He then quoted a number of other texts to bolster his argument.<sup>214</sup> For Taylor lack of trust was at the root of so much failure in the Christian life; the way to escape from it was to observe God's faithfulness. Man's faith was the reflection of God's faithfulness and when a person understood this, he would wish to obey the commands of God in every affair of life no matter how foolish they might appear. Taylor then cited a number of biblical examples of faith.<sup>215</sup> This faith is not unopposed. It is the work of Satan to cause Christians to doubt God's word and to dilute obedience to such a command. This had ramifications for those who do not believe at all and also for those Christians whose whole life was marred because they could not rely on God's faithfulness. Taylor wrote: 'all God's giants have been weak men, who did great things for God because they reckoned on His being with them'.<sup>216</sup> This was the basis of his appeal for more missionaries who would be fortified in every circumstance if they could grasp this truth.

John Stott, in commenting on Taylor's use of this verse, admits that Taylor's paraphrase is not exegetically exact but that it is theologically correct.<sup>217</sup> Stott sees nothing radical in trusting the God who is faithful, rather 'it is plain, sober common sense'.<sup>218</sup> He noted that Taylor's rendering of the phrase 'the faith of God' in Romans 3:3 as referring to the faithfulness of God, was the rendering used in the NIV one hundred years later.<sup>219</sup> M. Broomhall, the editor of *Hudson Taylor's Legacy* (1931) included supporting evidence for Taylor's interpretation from Bishop Lightfoot's commentary on Galatians.<sup>220</sup>

It was this emphasis on the character and attributes of God that moulded Taylor's use of scripture. Taylor often quoted the command in Philippians 4:6 about prayer requests.<sup>221</sup> Obedience to God's will meant that God would supply the workers and then the means to keep those workers. To sustain this argument, Taylor drew on the character of God as one who knows the needs of his people. Many biblical examples from both Testaments testified to this truth for the Christians' benefit. Any lack of faith was an opportunity for further spiritual self-analysis on the part of Christians, knowing that God was always faithful, for this is his character. This was especially true in discerning God's purposes for the future which was often unclear.<sup>222</sup> Thus, the Christian was called to trust and express faith in the words of Mark 7:37 knowing that God's leading was always beneficial. He quoted Luke 17:5-6 to make his point. Faith expected God to keep his word and to do what he had promised.<sup>223</sup>

Full consecration and strong faith were expected of every CIM member. In commenting on some Davidic Psalms, Taylor argued that each individual could have the same appropriating faith as

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<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.* Abraham, Moses, Joshua, The Apostles, Early Christians; Hebrews 11.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>217</sup> John Stott in Steer, *Lessons*, p. 13.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>220</sup> Joseph B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1876), pp.154-158.

<sup>221</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (May 1881), p. 63.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*, (February 1886), p. 15.

<sup>223</sup> J.H. Taylor in Steer, *Lessons*, p. 44.

David had in taking the Lord as his shepherd. This was conditional on full consecration.<sup>224</sup> Only those who looked to the Lord for guidance could bear the strain of the work. He often asked CIM supporters to pray for a strengthening of faith for those already at work in China.<sup>225</sup> There were often trials of faith<sup>226</sup> and the missionary needed full faith in seeing the invisible God. (Hebrews 11)

Another important verse in the development of Taylor's understanding of the faithfulness of God was 2 Timothy 2:13. This was a truth repeated *ad infinitum* to all those who worked with the CIM and was a verse that he recalled frequently when his health failed towards the end of his ministry.<sup>227</sup> For many years Taylor struggled with the need to have more faith and how to achieve this.<sup>228</sup> Eventually struggle gave way to the 'rest of faith' as he applied this verse to his life. He said of this verse: 'He (God) cannot deny himself, he would not be God if he did'.<sup>229</sup> This was worked out in Taylor's experience in applying to himself the promise of Matthew 28:20. He said: 'I have striven in vain to rest in [Christ]. I'll strive no more. For has he not promised to abide with me – never to leave me, never to fail me?'<sup>230</sup> This did not mean that Taylor was free from doubt, for although he knew the truth of 2 Timothy 2:13 that God was faithful, it was a very real question if he had the faith to warrant his acting on his call to China.<sup>231</sup>

#### 4.5.3 The Rest of Faith

Taylor's life was characterised by continual struggles for greater faith. He eventually found the solution to this problem through 'the rest of faith', a contemporary phrase which he drew from holiness teaching. This was the ability to stop struggling in personal spirituality and to find rest through a trusting dependence on God. Discovering the secret of the rest of faith led the believer to enter into the 'higher life'.<sup>232</sup> This was a characteristically Romantic emphasis with its desire to escape from the world, to seek inner harmony and peace, though contemporaries criticised this aspect theologically.<sup>233</sup> Taylor attributed his changed understanding to the realisation that faith itself had real substance and was not merely a shadow. Taylor used Hebrews 11:1-3 to illustrate this change, saying that such faith is one that can be rested upon and fed upon because it has real substance.<sup>234</sup>

At the end of his life Taylor was described as a man who had a restful realisation of the Lord's companionship.<sup>235</sup> Yet, like many of his time, he refined his spirituality in a very active life. He maintained that the only true rest was to be found in following Jesus and labouring for him.<sup>236</sup> In a letter Taylor wrote: 'While I long for quiet, even now, after a week of it, I long to be at work again, speaking of Jesus love'.<sup>237</sup> For Taylor the rest of faith was encountered in mission. As the work of the

<sup>224</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, 39 (February 1875), p. 204.

<sup>225</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (March 1882), p. 25.

<sup>226</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, 39 (February 1875), p. 246.

<sup>227</sup> H. Taylor, *In Memoriam*, p. 76.

<sup>228</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (October 1886), p. 114.

<sup>229</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Barbarians*, p. 287.

<sup>230</sup> J.H. Taylor quoted in Steer, *Lessons*, p. 85.

<sup>231</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (October 1886), p. 114.

<sup>232</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 166.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170.

<sup>234</sup> J.H. Taylor in H. Taylor, *Growth*, p. 177.

<sup>235</sup> *China's Millions* (July 1905), p. 92.

<sup>236</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 151.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

CIM grew so did the complexity that demanded experiencing rest.<sup>238</sup> The rest of faith was in fact a spur to more activity rather than a passive acceptance of the status quo. The coming to Christ for fresh spiritual resources was always followed by the command to go out in mission.<sup>239</sup>

Taylor believed that his discovery of the rest of faith sprang directly from his reading of scripture. He wrote to his mother in April 1853: 'I have been much blessed today while reflecting on that passage (Hebrews 4:9) there remaineth therefore a rest for the people of God'.<sup>240</sup> This shows that Taylor was thinking about the theme of rest before he came into contact with other influences such as William Boardman and the Pearsall Smiths. Taylor used Old Testament narratives to teach the principle of the rest of faith and criticised contemporary hymns that compared crossing the river Jordan with death and entry into Canaan with entry into heaven. For Taylor the Canaan rest was something to be enjoyed in the present. Each battle for the Christian should be won and each foe should be defeated. The entry into Canaan was a picture of the Christian life. As the armies of Israel were under Joshua, so the Christians are under the command of Jesus, described as 'our victorious Joshua'.

Using Psalm 114, Taylor emphasised the fact that the Psalm described the action of God, and ignored that of human agents, although they are prominent in the historical record.<sup>241</sup> He also commented on there being no mention of the wilderness in this Psalm which has disappeared with those who rebelled. For Taylor there could be no wilderness in the life of faith. The wilderness is a picture of the unbeliever who refused to enter into the rest provided by faith and preferred to follow their own instincts rather than the will of God. It was God's control that was important. Psalm 23 emphasised this and Taylor argued that the reference to the Lord in v 1 is the key to understanding the Psalm.<sup>242</sup> Applying verse 2 to the need for rest, Taylor put the emphasis on the Lord, who makes the disciple lie down and gives needed rest. The lying down suggested 'sweet rest' to Taylor, and not just rest but also satisfaction.<sup>243</sup> This enabled the Christian to cope by faith in the midst of trials but there was a war going on between nature and the living God. The Christian was involved in this war in the daily battles of life. There should be victory for the Christian. However, the salutary example of Achan (Joshua 7) showed that disobedience was still a possibility. This led to a loss of rest, which in itself was another proof that the Canaan rest was a type of the rest of faith to be enjoyed on earth by the Christian. It was a rest that may be lost whereas the heavenly rest could never be lost.<sup>244</sup> This typological approach was typical of Taylor's understanding of the Old Testament. For Taylor, the Old Testament was written for Christians and their present spiritual experience of its message should take priority over its original meaning.

Taylor's spirituality was coloured both by the intensity of his personal experience and by the heavy responsibilities that he carried. He claimed to have found rest when he understood his full identification with Christ in carrying out God's will for his life. For Taylor God's resources were always equal to the task ahead. He testified to enjoying a deeper level of rest when he learned to put

<sup>238</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (January 1890), p. 2.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1875), p. 41.

<sup>240</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT 3, *Letters* 1851-1853.

<sup>241</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (January 1887), p. 16.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*, (March 1884), p. 27.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, (March 1884), p. 28.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, (January 1887), p. 16.

into practice 1 Peter 5:7.<sup>245</sup> There was an important link here between prayer and the rest of faith. Taylor wrote: 'You will see that it would have been one of constant and wearing anxiety, but for the privilege, the precious resource, of casting the daily and hourly burdens on the Lord as they arose; but his love has made it one of much peace'.<sup>246</sup> God's sovereignty covered all things so the Christian could accept circumstances as he found them and rest content. The Christian was not only promised rest on the basis of Matthew 11:28-30 but also promised real spiritual sustenance through passages like John 7:37-39.

Prayer was crucial in enabling all Christians to live in the freedom and rest given by Christ. Taylor said: 'The Lord's will is that all his people should be an unburdened people, fully supplied, strong, healthy and happy'.<sup>247</sup> A part of achieving this was by praying Philippians 4:6 and then living in the ensuing peace. If this principle of 'taking everything to and accepting everything from God' was a sound one, should there not be more evidence in individual lives, he asked. In an editorial he stated: 'it is the will of the Father that His children should be absolutely without carefulness'.<sup>248</sup>

For Taylor, as for other holiness teachers, the rest of faith was bound up with entire consecration. It was because many Christians did not accept the rule of Christ in their lives as prince and saviour (Acts 5:31) that they did not have the rest, peace and joy of salvation. Holding only one thing back from God, even if trivial, was a spiritual disaster for the person concerned.<sup>249</sup> In this light he often questioned his readers as to their own spiritual state, particularly concerning whether or not they had experienced rest. He extended this to their houses which needed to be put into Christ's hand, 'with unspeakable restfulness and certainty of blessing'.<sup>250</sup> The lack of entire consecration was the reason for partial success in applying the Bible to life. It often seemed in Taylor's estimation that the majority of Christians never arrived at the highest points of spirituality as determined by his own experience and the teaching of the time. Taylor applied Philippians 4:6-7 to the rest of faith. Here was a commandment with a promise.<sup>251</sup> Highlighting the contemporary trend of dissatisfaction in spiritual life, Taylor conceded that, although the believer may have had some success in applying this teaching, it was still not a daily reality. Did the life of a Christian actually show the reality of this promise or was it to be considered a practical impossibility? Why was there failure? According to Taylor, one reason for this was that the individual believer himself has tried to obey this command without realising it is the power of God alone that can aid him in order to obey it. The believer must be fully committed to God and put his whole life in the hands of God, yielding all to God. Once this was done then he would be able to keep this promise. Taylor considered this to be quite simple and actually a relief, as the whole of a life was under the power and control of God. This was the normal Christian life, not some aspect of high attainment in spiritual reality. The rest of faith is to be received in the same way that initial faith in Christ was received at conversion.

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<sup>245</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, No 39 (February 1875), p. 246.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>247</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (February 1884), p. 13.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>249</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Legacy* p. 137; *China's Millions* (March 1886), p. 28.

<sup>250</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (March 1886), p. 28.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*, (May 1881), p. 63.

Taylor once responded as follows to a query about how he coped with his many responsibilities and difficulties: 'I couldn't possibly get through the work I have to do without the peace of God which passes all understanding'.<sup>252</sup> This central doctrine of holiness teaching enabled Taylor to experience rest from the trials of leading the CIM and was the basis of his extraordinary spiritual equanimity.<sup>253</sup> His understanding of the faithfulness of God enabled him to write: 'I have never known greater freedom from anxiety and care'.

## 4.6 Faithfulness

The frustration and self-perceived spiritual poverty that marked Taylor's initial experience in China was not uncommon in the context of the holiness movement. He focused on his internal spiritual life, maintaining that there was a need for a higher standard of the Holy Spirit's power as being a requirement for a missionary. His first wife's consistency<sup>254</sup> was a constant challenge to him, but he failed to understand her explanations for her spirituality when she attributed it all to God's faithfulness. She enjoyed God's rest, learned through abiding in Christ, something that Taylor emphasised in accordance with his preference for finding direct spiritual experience from the Bible.

### 4.6.1 Enjoying God's Rest

Taylor's understanding of abiding in Christ coloured his interpretation of John 15 and John 6:35 which were central texts for his teaching. Structurally, he saw John 15 as holding the central place in the last discourse of Jesus.<sup>255</sup> Essential to the correct interpretation of the passage was to notice that it was spoken to the disciples. This he expanded to include all Christians who needed to become more fruitful and increase in their experience of joy. Many Christians, although familiar with the passage, were ignorant of this aspect. Taylor admitted: 'during the first twenty years of our Christian life we were reading our thoughts into the chapter instead of simply gathering from it Christ's meaning'.<sup>256</sup> This referred to his life up until 1869.

Taylor considered the meaning of the true vine in John 15, to be not true in the sense of true/false but real as distinct from what is lacking in substance. Taylor compared this with other descriptions of Christ in the New Testament.<sup>257</sup> Christ as the vine was not just an apt illustration. It was created in order to reveal the relationship of Jesus Christ to those who would respond to his message and bear fruit. This relationship pre-existed in the mind and purposes of God. This gave special significance to the vine<sup>258</sup> and helped the reader to see its importance, 'to see in many other earthly things, not merely God's good gifts, but blessed revelations also of the graces and beauties of the Creator Himself'.<sup>259</sup>

Taylor understood that in the Old Testament the vine referred to Israel but the people were unable to bear the fruit required and were punished with invasion and exile. He observed that the vine

<sup>252</sup> J.H. Taylor in Steer, *Man in Christ*, p. 320.

<sup>253</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, No 39 (February 1875), p. 249.

<sup>254</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (January 1887), p. 9.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1894), p. 127.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*

tree had little use other than as a fruit bearer in nature. It was only beautiful when it was doing this and once it had borne fruit then the branches needed to be removed. In Psalm 80:15-17 Taylor observed that the word for 'branch' in v 15 is the same as the word for 'son' in v 17 which he saw as a reference to Jesus Christ.<sup>260</sup>

How to apply the truth of Christ as the vine was initially perplexing for Taylor. He wrote: 'I knew full well that there was in the root, the stem, abundant fatness but how to get it out into my puny little branch was the question'.<sup>261</sup> Taylor saw that faith played a part in this and, after help from a colleague struggling with similar issues, Taylor understood the futility of attempting to try and get anything out of the vine. Instead he saw that Jesus is the whole vine not just the root. Taylor gives prominence to the words 'I AM the vine'. For Taylor 'I AM' was the key to bearing fruit. The name of Yahweh revealed in the deliverance of Israel from slavery in Egypt was the same title claimed by Christ in delivering creation from the bondage of sin. The emphasis in abiding is never on what the believer is or does but rather in whose hands the believer is, with the Father treating the vine according to his wisdom.<sup>262</sup> Correct Christology is what matters, not the response of the disciple. The Christian in union with Christ enjoys all his fullness. As at the Exodus there was a paschal lamb for every household, so now there is a whole Christ for every believer. The Christian needed to appropriate everything that she already has in Christ. Jesus has not given life as a gift but has become life for the Christian (Colossians 3:4). Fruit-bearing was impossible outside of this scenario.<sup>263</sup>

Taylor highlighted John 15:3 to explain what abiding in Christ was. He noted that the words used in the chapter for abiding were passive. Words like 'remain', 'continue' and 'dwell' were used. For him there is no sense of struggle or attainment here but rather rest. This was very important for Taylor:

Failure to recognise this simple fact lies at the root of many of the fallacies which hinder Christian people from enjoying the rest of God, abiding in Christ.<sup>264</sup>

Taylor testified that he had mistaken abiding for feeding in a desire to be conscious of the presence of Christ in everything that he did. This had led to discouragement and bewilderment.<sup>265</sup> Light dawned when Taylor distinguished between abiding and feeding; the latter was a conscious act whereas abiding requires no effort at all. It was a fact, 'a state that faith recognises, and the reality of which is proved by its results'.<sup>266</sup>

#### **4.6.2 Abiding in Christ**

Taylor admitted that for many years he had little understanding of what abiding in Christ meant. It was only when he understood in 1869 the link between salvation and its outworking that he made progress

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<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128

<sup>261</sup> J.H. Taylor in Steer, *A Man in Christ*, p. 234.

<sup>262</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (October 1894), p. 128

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*

and abiding became an essential part of his spirituality.<sup>267</sup> His aim in teaching the Song of Songs was to help his readers to abide in Christ and to understand what union with Christ involved.<sup>268</sup>

Taylor considered how a Christian abides in Christ. He argued that the double form of the expression 'Abide in Me, and I in you' (John 15:4) conveys 'union and identification'. There was 'mutual indwelling' which needed maintaining. This paralleled Jesus' teaching in John 14:10-11 to show his union with the Father.<sup>269</sup> Taylor immediately rejected complaints that this level of union was impossible for the Christian by drawing attention to John 14:12. This verse showed the infinite possibilities of those who were in this union. In John 15:1 the overall emphasis of abiding was on the 'I AM' and this meant that the life of Christ flowed in and through the disciple. This enhanced the importance of abiding for Taylor, for there was no fruit unless the branch abiding in the vine was full of that vine which gave growth and development. This was a challenge to all believers to evaluate just how much of their lives were produced by the work of the indwelling Christ; of this truth many were ignorant and unbelieving.<sup>270</sup>

Taylor taught that it was vital to realise that Jesus was the whole vine. It was mistaken to think that Christ was only the root and that Christians were the branches who have to get something out of the root in order to have power. He wrote: 'The branch gets nothing out of the vine, it enjoys all in the vine'.<sup>271</sup> This was confirmed when Taylor considered the word 'in'. This implied union with Christ, not something small being contained in something bigger, but rather implying a vital connection with its object. The branch was organically linked with the vine as any part of the body was linked with the rest of the body. Christians were truly members of 'His body, of His flesh and of His bones'. In the light of this the word 'abide' conveyed the idea of rest rather than labour. Abiding in Christ was a result of conversion received by faith.<sup>272</sup> The words of Jesus in John 15:4 presupposed this relationship and directed the believer to live 'in the power and enjoyment of this union'. Taylor took issue with those who had separated the clauses, causing a conditional element to be introduced into the abiding. He rejected the reading, 'If you abide, I will abide in you' as 'critically indefensible', preferring the promises to be wholly unconditional. This assertion was made on theological grounds. Taylor insisted that the clauses must not be separated as 'the twofold expression indicates a mutual indwelling'. This indicated that the Christian is 'in Christ' as the branch is in the vine and that Christ is in the believer, just as the life pervading the whole vine is in the branch.<sup>273</sup>

For Taylor, the believer abides in Christ through faith. The Christian must not be occupied by faith itself but by the object of that faith, namely Christ. He argued that a person who sees a beautiful landscape does not concentrate on the laws of optics or the construction of the eye. So it was with faith. The individual must look outwards, not inwards, to Christ. Faith here means accepting in all their fullness the statements of abiding in scripture. The use of the present tense in John 15:5 showed that it

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<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1905), p. 92.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.*, (June 1891), p. 69.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid.*, (November 1894), p. 145.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1894), p. 129.

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1880), p. 128.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*

was not necessary to strive forwards for attainment but rather to luxuriate in the already established relationship with Christ.

In John 6:35, a favourite passage of his,<sup>274</sup> especially in preaching to the Chinese,<sup>275</sup> Taylor found more teaching on abiding. The miracles of the feeding of the five thousand and the calming of the storm earlier in the chapter were preparatory for the teaching of Christ as the bread of life.<sup>276</sup> Taylor noted that Jesus did not tell the disciples of what he was about to do but commanded them to tell the people to sit down. This was interpreted as meaning that the worker needed to be at rest in the presence of Jesus because Jesus had promised his presence with the disciple.<sup>277</sup> Taylor argued that here the words 'coming to' and 'believing on' were equivalent to 'feeding upon'.<sup>278</sup> Taylor added in consideration of v 40 that 'we see therefore that coming to and believing on Christ are equivalent to 'eating his flesh' and 'drinking his blood'.<sup>279</sup> This he interpreted as the normal Christian experience of conversion and the maintenance of spiritual life; for Taylor it had nothing to do with a sacramental view of the Lord's Supper. Taylor then embarked on an extended illustration of the benefit of natural food on the body as a parallel for spiritual food. Food enabled the baby to grow and progress and had helped the development of the structure of the physical body. It had in some sense remained in the person. Taylor surmised: 'we may be said to abide in that which was our food'.<sup>280</sup> The person who is habitually feeding on Christ is also abiding in Him. Feeding is not abiding but it is essential to abiding. He was careful to refute suggestions that this might be something exceptional, only to be enjoyed by a few people.<sup>281</sup> Taylor's concern was that the Christian should experience this by faith and would not allow ignorance or unbelief to hinder this reality.<sup>282</sup> A failure to understand what abiding is would hinder Christians in their life if they have not claimed it by faith in all its fullness. He used the example of God promising Canaan to Israel who still had to go and conquer the land to obtain it. So coming to Christ was followed by meditation on his person and work and the diligent use of the means of grace especially in prayer and the reading of the Bible. Neglecting these means would produce weakness for it was essential to feed their souls.

#### 4.6.3 Faithfulness in Daily Life

For Taylor the application of this teaching on abiding was paramount and he exhorted the CIM members to draw on this resource for their service.<sup>283</sup> Abiding was dependent on the work of the Holy Spirit, it was an aspect of being taught by God<sup>284</sup> and it was essential for two reasons. It was firstly the way to bear much fruit and secondly, to bear fruit that remains.<sup>285</sup> This relationship was organic and illustrated a fundamental difference between fruit and work. Work was the outcome of effort, fruit of

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<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*, (December 1886), p. 161.

<sup>275</sup> Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 23.

<sup>276</sup> J.H. Taylor in Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 21.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>278</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (November 1894), p. 146.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1880), p. 129.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*, (December 1886), p. 161.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1880), p. 128.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*

life.<sup>286</sup> Taylor noted that fruit had its seed in itself and was the glad, spontaneous outcome of the life within, as it forms, grows and ripens when ready.<sup>287</sup> This fruit in the life of the believer was *Christliness* and was illustrated by noting that the scripture speaks of the fruit of the Spirit: yet the fruit of the Spirit are many qualities that endure. This was based on two essentials. Firstly, full consecration in order to feed others, and secondly, coming into close personal union with Christ.<sup>288</sup>

Taylor warned from John 15:2 ‘that it is possible to be in Christ and yet to bear no fruit’. The absence of spiritual growth required the removal of unfruitful branches<sup>289</sup> but the purging of the branches enabled increased fruit bearing. Taylor linked the word ‘purges’ with ‘clean’ in John 15:3 to show that God’s ways are not necessarily severe but functioned through the application of the word and the work of the Holy Spirit. Obedience removed the pain.<sup>290</sup>

From John 15:5, Taylor argued that the branch was the correct description for the Christian’s position at conversion. Her only duty was to remain in Christ and bear the fruit that Christ brought through faith.<sup>291</sup> There was no other way to bear fruit. Taylor supported this by noting the condition attached in v 7, unlike in v 4. Here the emphasis is on ‘my words’ abiding in the believer and the substitution of ‘my words’ for the ‘I’ of verse 4 ‘brings out the close connection between the Incarnate and the written word’.<sup>292</sup> The main way to feed on Christ was through the Bible and that required time and effort. To help this process Taylor even outlined a possible plan of daily reading.<sup>293</sup> Taylor argued from John 15:8 that fruitfulness was a communal affair. It aided the church, but even more important was the glory that it brought to the Father as the work of the Son was vindicated in the life of those who believed.<sup>294</sup> Abiding enabled discipleship and evangelism,<sup>295</sup> and was the result of union with Christ.

Taylor warned against going beyond the teaching of scripture and implying that abiding in Christ implies sinlessness.<sup>296</sup> This teaching was dangerous and erroneous. Taylor was quite clear about how easily communion with Christ could be broken.<sup>297</sup> 1 John 1:8 prevented Taylor from arguing for the doctrine of sinless perfection, for it spoke of the continual cleansing that sinful creatures always need even in their most holy service to God. Although the sinful heart might be kept from overt acts of sin, it was still fundamentally sinful and to think anything else was to be deceived. Taylor also argued from 1 John 2:1 that abiding was incompatible with living with any known sin.<sup>298</sup> Taylor was wrestling here with the Methodist understanding of ‘entire sanctification’ which perfected the regenerate state without implying sinlessness.<sup>299</sup>

Abiding was never an excuse for tolerating any known sin. Understood properly, the Christian did not have to sin. He should be dedicated to Christ, thus bearing fruit, knowing that the power of sin

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<sup>286</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (June 1890), p. 69.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1894), p. 128

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*, (November 1894), p. 145.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*, (December 1894), p. 163.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 163-164.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>295</sup> J.H. Taylor in Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 25.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1880), p. 128.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1891), p. 125.

<sup>298</sup> J.H. Taylor in Steer, *Lessons*, p. 86.

<sup>299</sup> Flew, *The Idea of Perfection*, p. 320.

is broken. This depended on the Bible, not present experience. The experiential consciousness of abiding was unimportant. The Christian showed fruit from the indwelling Saviour, the fruit of the Spirit not works of the flesh. At this point Taylor made the vital distinction between union and abiding.<sup>300</sup> 'Union is uninterrupted, but abiding may be interrupted.' When the latter happened, sin followed. Abiding was restored through confession of sins and looking to Jesus. However, from the consciousness of union sprang the power to abide and Taylor exhorted his readers to accept this situation by faith.

There were those like John Ryle (1816-1900), Bishop of Liverpool, who from a Reformed position criticised the passive aspects of holiness teaching, without naming Taylor specifically.<sup>301</sup> However, understanding Taylor's teaching on abiding is important for an understanding of his spirituality. It was one of the defining moments of his own spiritual pilgrimage that he was keen to pass on to others.<sup>302</sup> The reality of abiding in Christ worked out in Taylor's life gave him what he needed for his growing responsibilities in the CIM. He requested prayer that the missionaries would learn to abide.<sup>303</sup> He was seemingly unaware of the paradox and tension between the constant striving after holiness and the insistence on the rest of faith and abiding in Christ. The emphasis on fruit bearing, exemplified in Taylor's call to mission and consecration, meant that there was a continual activist thrust towards an outward result from an inner abiding. Neither his 1869 experience nor his encounters with the Pearsall Smiths seem to have resolved this. This tension was a mark of his spirituality.

## 4.7 Conclusion

The focus on Taylor's spirituality has shown where Taylor's emphasis lies in his use of the Bible. His indebtedness to his Methodist heritage with its emphasis on holiness and the influence of the Romantic movement meant that Taylor prioritised spiritual experiences above all other considerations. He admired those whose spirituality marked their lives. His pivotal 'holiness' experiences of 1849 and 1869 were augmented by input from others such as Boardman and the Pearsall Smiths. Taylor appropriated teaching for his own spiritual life from other holiness teachers before teaching it to others.

Taylor worked out his dependence on God through his teaching on faith which became the dominant feature of his life and subsequent fame. From an early age he put himself through experiences of faith that were seen as essential formation for his later work. These experiences of the presence of God did not seem sensible to others who observed them. The intensely serious aspect of Taylor's personality manifested in constant introspection and steps of faith centred around his teaching from Mark 11:22 on the faithfulness of God. Here was the spring from which all else issued and this included the rest of faith and abiding in Christ. Both of these realities were essential for Taylor in his work as a leader of the CIM. There were many times when he had very little idea of the correct course of action and relief from anxiety was a necessary feature of surviving in the midst of complexity. Here Taylor's personal experience became important teaching for others in the Christian community, as he

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<sup>300</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (October 1880), p. 129.

<sup>301</sup> John Charles Ryle, *Holiness* (London: Hodder & Stoughton 1996, first published 1877) was an overall critique of aspects of the holiness movement and attempted to establish 'scriptural holiness'.

<sup>302</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (October 1880), p. 128.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid.*, (June 1890), p. 84.

not only taught but demonstrated the reality of what he was teaching through well chosen examples from his own life's history and the emergence of the CIM. These became a part of the publicity for mission, the holiness movement and an apologetic for the existence of God.

For Taylor his missionary calling was a part of his overall spirituality and became a dominant feature in his approach to the reading of the Bible. Obedience to the revealed will of God was paramount for Taylor and this was achieved through 'humble, prayerful meditation'. His own conversion experience showed him the importance of prayer. Two fundamental prayer requests that influenced the CIM were those for labourers and for the finances to support them. The answers to prayer were well documented and became an important part of the CIM story, themselves acting as spurs to more prayer and giving. Taylor attributed the very existence of the CIM to the prayer offered for it. For Taylor this kind of praxis was axiomatic for a true knowledge of God, a knowledge that was not only a daily reality but progressive.

Taylor scoured the Bible for texts that would support him existentially in mission. For Taylor the unchanging nature of God meant that his principles of action were precisely the same in the present as they were when the Bible was written. Taylor was not looking to the Bible for justification for mission, although he found that there, but rather saw the Bible as providing enduring principles for doing mission. Taylor described this as 'spiritual science'. He believed that principles could be scientifically deduced from the Bible which were available for all time to the attentive disciple. For this reason Taylor could find deep spiritual truth in single verses whilst mostly ignoring the context of the passage and other hermeneutical considerations. This enabled him to appropriate the experiences of biblical characters and apply them to his own situation. He was also able to take Jesus' teaching on the vine in John 15 and construct an elaborate apologetic for the need to abide in Christ. This approach to the Bible emphasised the direct experience of God and resulted in various out workings of a consecrated life which were essential for enduring mission. Terms like 'entire consecration', 'entire sanctification', 'abiding' and 'the higher life' tended towards the more mystical end of Christian experience, yet Taylor also argued that a true understanding of biblical spirituality would include a commitment to mission for that was where entire consecration finally issued.

Taylor's spirituality led him to 'popularise' aspects of mission which had previously only been applied to the individual and to make them available on a wider scale. His personal example chimed with some of the emerging emphases of the time in holiness teaching and provided a centre around which other like minded people were able to cohere. Dissatisfaction with his personal spiritual life and the desire to always improve was a mark of Taylor and one that he constantly urged on others. They were to be fully consecrated, growing and going on to 'win Christ' or develop in *Christliness*. Basic to this was the desire to show the glory of God in a consecrated life that accepted fully his fatherhood and sovereignty. This was expressed through internal analysis of the spiritual life and outwardly expressed in the popular Victorian pastime of hymn singing.

Taylor's ability to organise and deploy the resources available and to communicate his vision for the work contributed to the popularity of the CIM. Being an advocate of holy living gave him a new constituency to appeal to. His spirituality inspired many to follow him to China and to support the work of the CIM. At the same time his high expectations and standards of spirituality led to a censure of the

attainment of contemporary Christians. The idea that Taylor existed on a 'higher plane' from others, although a feature of many of the popular biographies, is not endorsed by the sheer toil and detail of the ministry that he carried out where the trials that he faced were partly of his own making. A vibrant spirituality, which offered involvement in mission to others, did not eliminate the vagaries of ordinary life.



## The Bible in J. Hudson Taylor's Worldview

### 5.1 Introduction

Taylor's obituary by Griffith John (1831-1912) noted how he revered the Bible, used it for personal edification and built his life's work on its promises.<sup>1</sup> Many of Taylor's colleagues would have endorsed this view arguing that Taylor's distinctiveness issued from a high view of the Bible and the application of its authority to mission. This overlooks the fact that Protestant missions before Taylor were almost uniformly evangelical and thus shared similar views of the place of the Bible but they did not use the Bible in the same way. This chapter aims to understand Taylor's view and usage of the Bible. It analyses Taylor's basic convictions about the Bible which leads to a summary of his hermeneutical principles. It helps to lay the foundation for the later material that shows how the Bible functioned in Taylor's spiritual formation and his work in mission with the CIM.

### 5.2 Theoretical Reflections

Taylor's perspective on the Bible is important for an understanding of his place in world mission. Thus the theoretical reflections which follow include analysis of his use of the biblical material, his views on the Bible as the word of God and his attitude to the authority of the Bible. This leads to a description of his handling of the biblical languages and attitudes towards the translation of the Bible into Chinese.

These are followed by an analysis of his practice. These include his position on the use of the higher-critical method in interpretation, his preference for a more immediate reading of the scriptures that highlight spirituality with a strong Christological focus and his use of allegory and typology.

#### 5.2.1 Living in the Atmosphere of the Bible

Taylor's published work shows him drawing on the Bible for many aspects of his own personal life and for mission. He practised a daily, consecutive reading of the Bible, aiming to absorb its message as an expression of his personal fellowship with Christ.<sup>2</sup> John Stevenson (1844-1914), one of his closest colleagues, described Taylor as 'diligent' in his personal study of the Bible: it was not only his source of spiritual strength day and night: 'it was the very atmosphere in which he lived'.<sup>3</sup> This tapped into the mystical side of Taylor's personality, something he brought to his Bible reading and teaching which provided spiritual sustenance firstly for himself and then for those who heard him.<sup>4</sup> It was the product of his daily disciplines and his determination to put into practice what he found there. For Taylor, the Bible was the main source for transformation<sup>5</sup> and specifically connected to inspiring others about mission to China. This continued to the end of his life.<sup>6</sup> The chief stimulant for his preaching, teaching and writing was his use of the Bible firstly for his own edification.

<sup>1</sup> Griffith John, 'In Memoriam: Rev. J. Hudson Taylor', *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, Volume XXXVI, No 8 (August, 1905), p. 392.

<sup>2</sup> Marshall Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor: The Man Who Believed God* (London: CIM, 1929), p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> John Stevenson, *China's Millions* (September 1905), p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> Lauren Pfister, 'Re-thinking Mission in China: James Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard', *Currents in World Christianity*, Position Paper 68 (Cambridge 1998), p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Chauncey Goodrich, 'Secrets of Power: A Meditation on the Life of the Rev. Hudson Taylor', *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, Volume XXXVI, No 8 (August 1905), p. 384.

<sup>6</sup> *China's Millions* (July 1905), p. 94.

Taylor's description of the background to his teaching on Numbers 6 and 7 provides an example.<sup>7</sup> His daily reading brought him to this seemingly arid passage when staying overnight in a particularly hostile town. He described himself as waking up 'spiritually hungry and thirsty' and tempted to find something more palatable from the Bible. However, he was unhappy to leave his regular reading and instead prayed to God 'to bless his soul' even from such a passage. The result was an extensive meditation and later teaching on these chapters. This routine was the foundation for Taylor's own spiritual formation. The following overview summarises his use of the Bible.

There were some passages that he wrote on, usually in *China's Millions*, which extended into a series over a number of issues. These included Numbers 6 and 7;<sup>8</sup> Job 1:21 under the title 'Blessed Adversity';<sup>9</sup> Psalms 23,<sup>10</sup> and 114;<sup>11</sup> and The Song of Songs<sup>12</sup> published as the book, *Union and Communion* (1894). From the New Testament there was John 15.<sup>13</sup> There were also some passages that Taylor repeatedly turned to; Psalm 84:11; Zephaniah 3; Matthew 6:33, 28:19-20; Mark 11:22; John 4, 6, 7, 20:21; 1 Corinthians 9:22; 2 Corinthians 12:9; Philippians 4:6; 2 Timothy 2:13; and 1 Peter 5:7. References can be found in Taylor's writings to most of the books in the Old Testament, with the majority from Genesis, the Psalms and Isaiah. There were no references to the minor prophet Obadiah. In the New Testament John's gospel was the most popular, closely followed by Matthew, and then Luke and Mark. Apart from a preference for 2 Corinthians over 1 Corinthians, the rest of the New Testament was used reasonably evenly but, there were no references to the books of Philemon; Jude or 2 & 3 John.

His theological reading included works by the Puritans, John Wesley and Andrew Jukes. He also bought historical books, including Josephus in Latin, Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the life of Henry Martyn.<sup>14</sup> Although he was aware of the development of critical theology, there is no record of the inclusion of such volumes in his library.<sup>15</sup>

Observations about Taylor's use of scripture have been gleaned from a variety of sources. These include personal letters, articles written for *China's Millions* and the *Occasional Papers*, as well as scribbled notes of sermons that can be found in the archives. His use of scripture was that of the activist, often part of his fulfillment of other responsibilities, such as writing to the CIM members about ways of operation, methods of ministry or exhortations at conferences of which we only have notes taken by others. In collating all this material it has been possible to produce a general overview of his use of scripture, recognising that as a popular preacher he often mined the same passage time and time again especially when he was talking about China.

One of the frustrations of researching Taylor's use of scripture is that Taylor rarely gave all the scripture references in his writing. Added to this is a minimal use of footnotes or references to

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, (February 1893), p. 15.

<sup>8</sup> James Hudson Taylor, *China's Millions* (February, April - June, September - December 1893, January - April 1894).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, (January - March 1891).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, (February-June, Sept 1884).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, (January - March 1887).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, (May, June, October - December 1891, February - June 1892).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, (October - December 1894).

<sup>14</sup> J. H. Taylor, China Inland Mission Archives, CIM/JHT 128, Journal 1862-1865.

<sup>15</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *Over the Treaty Wall* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1982), p.45

other sources. Once when he used a footnote in an exposition based on Numbers 6 and 7 he quoted from a leaflet to illustrate his point. The footnote indicating the source admits that it is unclear whether this was incorporated by Taylor or added later.<sup>16</sup> In common with most other English-speaking Protestants of his time, Taylor used the King James Version of the Bible (1611).<sup>17</sup> He was clearly aware of the newer translation of the Revised Version (1881-85) for he placed his preferred translation 'she' in brackets alongside 'it' which was used in the Revised Version (RV) in the text of the Song of Songs 8:4. He also disliked the 'he' that the King James Bible used.<sup>18</sup> The RV was slow to gain acceptance in Taylor's era although it was the only reliable alternative to the King James version. It was heavily criticised, did not sell well and had legal difficulties over its use in Anglican pulpits and thus was not often read in church.<sup>19</sup>

### 5.2.2 The Bible as the Word of God

Taylor had been brought up in a household where the Bible was prominent. This did not in his view make him a Christian. After his conversion he saw this time as a youngster as helpful in reinforcing his determination to rely on scripture in a way that others who professed faith seemed unable to do.<sup>20</sup> For Taylor the Bible was active, meaningful and worthy of trust which, 'when studied, loved, obeyed and trusted, it never disappoints, never misleads, never fails'.<sup>21</sup> In speaking of what he found there, he showed his allegiance to what most captivated him and his further reading convinced him of the superiority of the Bible. Taylor believed that in the Bible he found certainties of spiritual truths which operated just as consistently as natural law, for example the law of gravity.<sup>22</sup>

Understanding the Bible was a cumulative process for Taylor. The practice of regular reading affected the inner experience of the reader as well as the outward behaviour. The Bible functioned as more than a mere teaching tool: it also influenced the basic disposition.<sup>23</sup> This was important, for Taylor considered that abiding in Christ was achieved by feeding on the written word. This practice increased confidence in God and in the principles by which he worked in the world. Taylor wrote: 'we feed upon Christ the incarnate Word through the written Word'.<sup>24</sup> This teaching was a recurring theme. Christ as the word was an 'all-sufficient Saviour' who met the needs of his people. For Taylor reading theology without a knowledge of Christ was useless, for the Bible produced those things that Peter describes as pertaining to life and godliness in 2 Peter 1. These were achieved through a personal knowledge of the Bible which pointed to the sustaining Christ.<sup>25</sup>

Taylor claimed to have proved personally the sustaining power of the Word of God. He wrote in a letter to William Berger: 'And the best of God's precious word is that the more nourishment and

<sup>16</sup> *China's Millions* (May 1893), p. 58.

<sup>17</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Survivor's Pact* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1984), p. 430 note 17.

<sup>18</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (May 1892), p. 58. See also J.H. Taylor, *Union and communion*, p. 80 where there is a footnote to this effect but as it is not in the original text one cannot be sure if this was added by Taylor or a later editor.

<sup>19</sup> Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, Volume II (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1971), pp. 52-55.

<sup>20</sup> James Hudson Taylor, *Hudson Taylor's Retrospect* (London: OMF Books, Eighteenth Edition, 1974), p. 11.

<sup>21</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (November 1902), p. 146.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, (January 1887), preface.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, (May 1890), p. 55.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, (June 1890), p. 69.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, (December 1886), p. 162.

savour we get out of it, the more we find in it. It does not fail nor weary us with sameness, however often we come to it'.<sup>26</sup> He identified this application of the Word of God as the work of the Holy Spirit. One aspect of this work, according to Taylor, was the cleansing power of the Spirit. Recognition of this removed the need for more painful lessons.<sup>27</sup> Taylor frequently testified to this perspective in the recounting of the story of the CIM. The truths of the word of God had been proven in the reality of the CIM in gaining recruits and the finance to support them.<sup>28</sup>

The Bible's function was practical and to be obeyed. When Taylor was assaulted by a Chinese man his attacker was amazed that he had not taken revenge. Taylor testified that he had been restrained because of the Word of God. This incident was viewed within the CIM as an example of Taylor's obedience and spirituality which showed an immediate correlation between word and action. *China's Millions* held up this example as one that helped others to appreciate the word of God as a living power.<sup>29</sup>

### 5.2.3 Authority of the Bible

Taylor's views on scripture need to be set against the background of the nineteenth century, in which a greater diversity of theological ideas began to affect the Christian community.<sup>30</sup> Those expressing new views often maintained that in leaving behind traditional teaching they had been freed from a prison of ignorance and unbelief. The rise of the CIM occurred alongside a time of decline in evangelical influence after its peak in mid-century.<sup>31</sup> There was undoubtedly a shift underway and much of it had to do with the inspiration and subsequent authority of the Bible. On the one hand there was growing scepticism about basic Christian belief, and on the other hand enormous energy continued to be devoted to the areas of Christian co-operation, social reform, evangelism and world mission. Despite this Taylor was often frustrated with the reluctance of the church to take the biblical teaching on mission seriously. Any progress in mission was often due to committed individuals rather than a motivated church.<sup>32</sup>

The Protestant emphasis on the Bible has led to many translation projects<sup>33</sup> although the actual use of the Bible in mission varies greatly between missionaries and their societies. Taylor claimed to base everything on the Bible and eschewed the new developments in theology. He used the Bible as a 'burden and a cry'<sup>34</sup> to highlight the spiritual need of the Chinese and the need for workers. Taylor was always clear that his belief in the inspiration of scripture was foundational, not only for what he taught, but also for the working of the CIM. He often stated that the very existence of the work of the CIM

<sup>26</sup> Howard & Geraldine Taylor, *Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission: The Growth of a Work of God* (London: CIM & RTS, 1918), p. 212.

<sup>27</sup> M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 40.

<sup>28</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (July 1897), p. 85.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, (August 1905), p. 115.

<sup>30</sup> Laura J. Carson, 'The Nineteenth Century 'Disappearance of God': Perceptions of God in Hardy and Hopkins', Ph.D thesis (Edinburgh: 2000), p. 2

<sup>31</sup> David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 141.

<sup>32</sup> A.N. Wilson, *God's Funeral* (London: John Murray Ltd, 1999) p. 81 quoted in Carson, *The Nineteenth Century*, p. 19.

<sup>33</sup> Jan A. B. Jongeneel, *Philosophy, Science and Theology of Mission in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, Volume 1 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, Revised Edition 2001), p. 105.

<sup>34</sup> M. Broomhall, (ed) *Hudson Taylor's Legacy; A Series of Meditations* (London: CIM, 1931), p. 13.

confirmed the reliability of the promises found in scripture<sup>35</sup> and he invited people with similar views over the inspiration of scripture to join him.<sup>36</sup> Thirty-one years after the sailing of the *Lammermuir* Taylor recounted some of the founding principles of the CIM. The second principle was that God has spoken to his people. According to Taylor, ‘the Bible, the whole Bible, is the very word of the living God; that all scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable that through it the man of God may be completely furnished for any and every good work’.<sup>37</sup> Taylor considered that the CIM members proved the efficacy of the Bible as he counted the many workers who had gone out to China supported by the prayers and contributions from their respective countries. For Taylor, the Bible was a ‘book of certainties’<sup>38</sup> and he had no need for external evidence to prove its inspiration. Taylor saw a huge gulf between the Bible and the works of men, writing, ‘the science of yesterday is worthless today; but history and the discoveries of our own times only confirm the reliability of these ancient sacred records’.<sup>39</sup> He believed, following Archbishop Usher’s conventional dating, that four thousand years had elapsed between the fall of man and the first advent.<sup>40</sup>

Taylor saw the verbal and plenary inspiration of scripture as depending on the very words used and sometimes even on the accident of the word. An illustration of the first can be seen in Jesus’ arguments for the resurrection when he noted that God is not the God of the dead but of the living. The word ‘God’, wrote Taylor, ‘indicates the relationship of a living God with a living people’.<sup>41</sup> An illustration of the second is when Paul argued that Christ is the seed of David (Galatians 3:16): it is seed, not seeds. Taylor used these examples to urge that Christians should build on each word and even on its mood and tense.<sup>42</sup> For Taylor the words of scripture were the very words of God. Thus he argued that Proverbs 24:11-12 was addressed to the reader, making her responsible before the judgement seat of Christ.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, of Matthew 5:18 Taylor wrote: ‘the words of the law shall undergo no alteration of a letter, or even a grammatical change of tense, number till all will be fulfilled - for in the Hebrew the tittle effects the former change, the jot the latter’.<sup>44</sup>

In writing about his first visit to North America in 1886 Taylor observed that the American mission societies did not seem ready to send people out and pondered why they had not seen that the Bible says ‘go’ rather than ‘be sent’. He remarked: ‘I believe in verbal inspiration, and that God could have said “be sent” if he had wished it, instead of “go”. I hoped I might be able to encourage some to go’.<sup>45</sup>

Taylor’s view of inspiration emphasised the value of the historical books of the Old Testament. He maintained that they were of ‘special value’ for the knowledge of creation and for their use in the New Testament. He saw the ceremonial ordinances in the life of the Old Testament believer

<sup>35</sup> Geraldine Guinness, *The Story of the CIM*, Volume 1 (London: Morgan & Scott, CIM, Fifth Edition, 1900. First published, 1893) p. xii; *China’s Millions* (June 1887), p. 83.

<sup>36</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China’s Millions* (July/August 1887), p. 92.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1897), p. 85.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, preface to 1887 bound edition.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, (May 1890), p. 55.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, (January 1885), p. 1.

<sup>41</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China’s Millions* (February 1884), p. 14.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, (January 1877), p. 5.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, (June 1877), p. 69.

<sup>45</sup> Howard & Geraldine Taylor, *God’s Man in China* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1965), p. 295.

as unveiling deep truths to be revealed in the last times. They were beacons and guide-points that helped present-day readers.<sup>46</sup> In writing on Numbers 6:27, Taylor considered the putting of the name of God on the children of Israel as an act that designated them as the people of God. The purpose of God was that God's character and beauty should be shown among his people in their unchanging relationship to him. Taylor still saw biblical Israel as a distinct people group, maintaining a witness in the world despite its unfaithfulness, but the responsibility of bearing witness to God had now passed to the church. He commented on the importance of naming in the Old Testament, especially the various names of God which were 'full of significance'. He took the opportunity to castigate as 'ignorant' those contemporary scholars, presumably including Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918),<sup>47</sup> who supposed that the various names for God meant that different authors were responsible for each name. They had failed, Taylor thought, to see 'the beautiful appropriateness of the various names of God as they are used in different connections'.<sup>48</sup> Thus the Bible must be a priority for Christians above other Christian literature and even sermons. In Taylor's mind there was an inextricable link between strong belief in the verbal inspiration of the Bible and obedience to what it said.<sup>49</sup> The text of scripture was paramount for Taylor, the problem was, that it was often read in a disjointed manner as a matter of duty, rather than as a part of worship. He called for the reader to invoke the Spirit of truth in helping with understanding.<sup>50</sup> Taylor used the Old Testament leader Ezra as an example of a man who determined to know the Law of the Lord that he might obey it and teach it to others. This became a model for others to follow.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, what was taught in the Old Testament was more fully developed in the New Testament. The blessings of the old covenant were for a season, whereas the blessings of the new covenant were permanent and fully developed. Taylor cited the atonement, the Nazarite vow of separation in Numbers 6 and the gift of the Holy Spirit as examples of this.<sup>52</sup>

Actual spiritual experience was vital for Taylor. He argued that conversion made a radical difference to attitudes to the Bible. The unregenerate person was unable to profit from it, even though he might appreciate it. He was unable fully to understand the Word, for it appeared to be the 'imagination of men'. Conversion provided the illumination which enabled a feeding on the word during reading,<sup>53</sup> and a recognition of the Bible as the words of God and not of man. Taylor maintained that the Bible became a natural part of the life of the Christian and that in every part he could find testimony to the work of Christ whilst also gaining some understanding on the past and the future.<sup>54</sup> Growth in understanding the inspiration of the Bible gave confidence for the reader to found his life upon it and thus, in turn, to experience a deeper peace and to give more fruitful service.<sup>55</sup> Taylor considered that the best evidence for faith was Christians who imitated their master. This obedience

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<sup>46</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT Box 10, Sermon notes on Genesis 48:15-16.

<sup>47</sup> Wellhausen's book *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* was published in 1878 in German; the English translation dates from 1885.

<sup>48</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (December 1893), p. 155.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, (May 1890), p. 55.

<sup>50</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT Box 7, Volume 9.

<sup>51</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (May 1890), p. 55.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, (February), 1893, p. 15.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, (May 1890), p. 55.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

was itself proof of inspiration.<sup>56</sup> Taylor was impressed by the example of the apostle Paul, describing the records about him as ‘remarkable’.<sup>57</sup> Here was an outworking of the *kenosis* of Christ. Paul in his missionary career had to empty himself and Taylor urged such a pattern upon his readers. This informed Taylor's aim in his teaching. ‘We have not come together to discover fresh truths, to get new experiences, but to remember the way in which Peter, Paul and all the apostles were made stronger, the way in which all believers of every age have achieved wonders; we want a fresh look at Christ.’<sup>58</sup>

Taylor's motivation for mission in China was drawn from his particular understanding of the Bible. The parlous spiritual state of China could only be resolved by applying the teaching of the Bible. He maintained this, consistently reminding his workers of the essential reasons for their work in China: ‘You are not sent to preach death and sin and judgement, but life and holiness and salvation – not to be a witness against the people, but to be a witness for God – to preach the good news – Christ himself. You have to win the people's esteem and confidence and love’.<sup>59</sup> The priority was always the preaching of the Gospel, although CIM missionaries were involved in helping opium addicts, relieving famine and other social needs. Taylor was perplexed that many were more responsive to the human needs than in doing the ‘one work’ for which Christ has left his Church on earth.<sup>60</sup> Although it was ‘Christ-like’ to minister to temporal needs, Taylor emphasised the eternal needs of the soul and the famine of the bread of life.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, it should be noted that Taylor warned against a spiritualising of the texts concerning the poor in the Old Testament, which he thought was a common misreading among Protestants.<sup>62</sup> He cited the example of Christ in attending to the poor and needy during his earthly ministry. Such ministry reflects the character of God.

#### 5.2.4 Biblical Languages

Throughout his missionary life Taylor used a Bible with English, Greek and Hebrew interleaved.<sup>63</sup> Part of his preparation for going to China was to improve his knowledge of Latin, Greek and rudimentary Hebrew which began early on in Barnsley.<sup>64</sup> These were self-taught, there being no record of him undertaking formal courses in them.<sup>65</sup> In comments on Psalm 23:3 he clarified the meaning of the word ‘restoreth’ with an appeal to the ‘primary idea’ of the Hebrew word. (שׁוּב Root of ‘to return’) He then compared it with Psalm 19:7 where the same word had a different English translation which more closely indicated Taylor's meaning.<sup>66</sup> He also commented on the use of the indicative and subjunctive mood in the same Psalm, arguing that the use of the indicative gives ‘all the definiteness and assurance’ that is required.<sup>67</sup> References to his usage of Greek are more widespread and he occasionally used

<sup>56</sup> James Hudson Taylor, *Unfailing Springs* (Sevenoaks: Overseas Missionary Fellowship, n.d.), p. 1.

<sup>57</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (June 1885), p. 63.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, (December 1886), p. 162.

<sup>59</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Refiner's Fire* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1985), p. 258

<sup>60</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (August 1889), p. 116.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 33.

<sup>63</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Barbarians at the Gates* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1981) p. 359.

The interleaved Bibles that included the three languages were published by Samuel Bagster and Sons, London in 1824 and 1849.

<sup>64</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Barbarians*, p. 359.

<sup>65</sup> M. Broomhall, *The Man*, p. 31.

<sup>66</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (April 1884), p. 41.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, (February 1884), p. 14.

Greek in his personal journal.<sup>68</sup> On the voyage to China Taylor is recorded as teaching Greek to his fellow workers.<sup>69</sup> This helped him with his translation work. Taylor was commended for his Greek exegesis and understanding of the principles of translation by some of his critics, when he worked on the revision of the Ningbo New Testament.<sup>70</sup> He was concerned that the translation of the scriptures should be as close as possible to the original language. He wanted careful attention to the words, moods, tenses, numbers and persons for there might be a particular meaning of each word. Without this precious truth might be lost to the reader.<sup>71</sup>

Taylor made use of Greek in his teaching. His exegesis of John 4:14 and ideas about 'living water' depended on noting the use of the present tense of the Greek verbs.<sup>72</sup> In John 6:35 Taylor showed that the Greek word *pōpote* is also used in John 1:18. His point is that the habit of coming to Christ is never unmet.<sup>73</sup> In his evangelism he would explain what repentance meant by an analysis of the Greek word *metanoia*, putting the emphasis on the place of the mind and correct thinking about who God is.<sup>74</sup>

### 5.2.5 Bible Translation

Within the nineteenth 'European century'<sup>75</sup> the church expanded to most parts of the world accompanied by a massive effort in Bible translation.<sup>76</sup> Taylor's commitment to the Bible meant that he gave a high priority to Bible translation into the vernacular, in order that the Chinese might have these scriptures, 'in their own tongue wherein they were born'.<sup>77</sup> Initially he used Karl Gützlaff's translation of the Bible, but by 1856 he had realised its limitations.<sup>78</sup>

Taylor's experience and aims in China influenced his attitude to Bible translation. The Delegates Version of the Bible (1852-56) was considered too intellectual for the ordinary Chinese that he met in his initial ministry in China.<sup>79</sup> It was beyond the educational ability of the common person to master the Mandarin characters. In Ningbo he observed that none of the converts could understand the Psalms in the version printed by the Bible Society. In order to ease communication, Taylor was involved in a revised romanised translation of the local dialect of the New Testament. This formed a major part of his and Maria's work in the UK between 1860 and 1865. They brought Wang Lae Djün to help them with the revisions, corrections and marginal references needing to be analysed from the Chinese text.<sup>80</sup> This was not an easy task. Others working on the project had different approaches and objectives, and they had to convince the Bible Society and the CMS of the value of carrying on with the translation. Although it might have been easier to turn the whole project over to the Bible Society,

<sup>68</sup> J.H. Taylor, Journal entry for Saturday 17<sup>th</sup> June 1865, quoted in A.J. Broomhall, *If I Had A Thousand Lives* (Sevenoaks: OMF, Hodder & Stoughton, 1982), p. 433.

<sup>69</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Refiner's Fire*, p.293.

<sup>70</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Survivor's Pact*, p. 274.

<sup>71</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (June 1877), p. 69.

<sup>72</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Unfailing Springs*, p. 5.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6

<sup>74</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM archives, CIM/JHT 81, Box 6, notes for Aug 5<sup>th</sup> 1860.

<sup>75</sup> Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books 1964), p. 243

<sup>76</sup> Gerald Bray, *Biblical Interpretation Past and Present* (Leicester: Apollos, 1996), p. 270.

<sup>77</sup> James Hudson Taylor, *China's Spiritual Need and Claims* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1865), p. 47.

<sup>78</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT Box 3, (17<sup>th</sup> April 1856).

<sup>79</sup> Pfister, 'Re-thinking Mission', p. 33.

<sup>80</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Thousand Lives*, p. 253.

Taylor was driven by the need in Ningbo. His priority was to enable the reading of scripture. As the project proceeded and Taylor moved towards forming the CIM, he left the revision to others and his contribution to it is often overlooked. The Ningbo revision was finally completed by CMS missionary George Moule (1828-1912) on 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1868. It was described by Arthur Moule, his elder brother, as ‘a work which has been of the greatest value to Christians throughout the province’.<sup>81</sup> In the meantime Taylor’s team in Ningbo managed to produce small editions of the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians and the book of Jonah. The book of Isaiah and a devotional manual were also at the press.<sup>82</sup>

One of the main controversies in Bible translation in China from the seventeenth century onwards was the rendering of the term for God. The arguments were ‘vigorous and acrimonious’.<sup>83</sup> How serious it was for Taylor can be seen in his comments before the 1890 Shanghai missionary conference when he wrote to his wife Jennie: ‘Unless there is a great outpouring of the God’s Holy Spirit, very much harm may result.... In more than one station the missionaries cannot meet for prayer together through it’.<sup>84</sup> Some of the translators on the Delegates Version had adopted the word ‘Shen’ for God, being the nearest Chinese word to God or Divinity. Another translator introduced the word ‘Shang Ti’ which means ‘supreme ruler’ in contrast to the use of ‘Shen’ for a false god. Gützlaff had done the same.<sup>85</sup> However, some objected to ‘Shang Ti’ on the grounds that it referred to a national deity in China. It was not a generic term that could have wide usage when the generic was clear in the translation. This controversy caused much discussion and long scholarly defences of the particular positions.<sup>86</sup> One missionary noted that whatever term was used it did not seem to prevent people responding and that at the grass-roots level both terms were used.<sup>87</sup> Disputes also raged over the right translation of the word for baptism and whether or not it indicated full immersion.<sup>88</sup> Pui-lan Kwok points out that behind the various arguments was a difference in world views between the West and the Chinese, a point that was accentuated by the Chinese language.<sup>89</sup>

It was not until the Shanghai missionary conference of 1890 that there was general agreement by the delegates over the versions of the Bible,<sup>90</sup> which was described as, ‘the most outstanding decision of the 1890 Missionary conference in Shanghai.’<sup>91</sup> This resulted in a resolution to prepare and accept a Union version of the Bible.<sup>92</sup> There are no tracts or essays written in Chinese by Taylor that made his position clear.<sup>93</sup> However, he thought that the Chinese appropriation of the names of God to designate particular idols was a reason for their loss of the belief in a personal God.<sup>94</sup> Taylor

<sup>81</sup> Arthur Moule quoted in A.J. Broomhall, *Survivors Pact*, p. 407.

<sup>82</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Papers*, No. 11 (1867-1868).

<sup>83</sup> Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (London: SPCK 1929), p. 411.

<sup>84</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Assault on the Nine* (Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton, 1988), p. 105.

<sup>85</sup> Marshall Broomhall, *The Bible in China* (Edinburgh: R & R Clark, 1934) p. 66.

<sup>86</sup> For one well-argued example see R. Ball, *The Gleaner*, No 4 (September 1852).

<sup>87</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Barbarians*, p. 400.

<sup>88</sup> Neill, *A History*, p. 241.

<sup>89</sup> Pui-lan Kwok, *Chinese Women and Christianity 1860-1927* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1992), p. 33.

<sup>90</sup> Eugene Stock, *The History of the CMS, Volume 3* (London: CMS, 1899), p. 574.

<sup>91</sup> M. Broomhall, *The Bible*, pp. 89, 178.

<sup>92</sup> *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, Shanghai May 7-20 1890* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1890), p. xl-xliv.

<sup>93</sup> Pfister, ‘Re-thinking Mission’, p. 35.

<sup>94</sup> J. H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (April 1877), p. 46.

maintained that the Chinese had never known the Christian God and therefore ‘Shen’, the nearest appellation for God or Divinity in Chinese, would have been the more appropriate term. There are also a number of indications culled from his views on other subjects. Timothy Richard used the word ‘Shang Ti’ (supreme ruler) for God, believing that God to some extent had been revealed through general revelation in China. Richard’s whole approach to issues of this sort was based on the need to make things as understandable as possible to the literati and was generally associated with the ‘Shansi spirit’ that Taylor condemned. The CIM produced a dictionary supporting the word ‘Shen’ for God, over against ‘Shang Ti’.<sup>95</sup> This would be consistent with the opposition of Taylor and many others to ancestral rites at the 1890 conference in Shanghai.<sup>96</sup> Taylor led the protest against a paper that pleaded for toleration on the issue of ancestor veneration, even leading a stand-up protest.<sup>97</sup> For Taylor ancestor veneration and everything connected to it was simply idolatry ‘from beginning to end’. There could be no compromise on this issue, for any other worship apart from that offered to Jehovah was immoral and contrary to God’s law. If the conference were to accept such a resolution then the Bible itself would need substantial revision. The dispute reflected basic theological presuppositions and is very important for understanding late Victorian mission in China.<sup>98</sup> Taylor’s preference for ‘Shen’ was indicative of a conviction that Christianity stood in clear discontinuity from Chinese religious tradition.

Marshall Broomhall noted the vital part played by the missionaries and the Chinese scholars in the translation of the Bible into Chinese. It had been a major co-operation between the Bible societies and the mission societies.<sup>99</sup> The missionaries were the main distributors of the Bibles, once completed. The CIM played a full and essential part in this dissemination of the Bible.<sup>100</sup>

### 5.3 Biblical Hermeneutics

This section deals with Taylor’s antipathy to the new developments in theological thinking of his time. It then looks, more positively, at Taylor’s use of allegory and typology and his emphasis on the literal sense and spiritual meaning of a text, before highlighting his Christo-centric approach to interpretation. It ends with his application of scripture for personal edification.

#### 5.3.1 Rejection of the Higher Critical Method

Taylor’s era was a time of theological conflict because a new approach to the interpretation of the Bible emerged dominated by the emergence of the historical – critical method. Nicholas Railton notes the background that helps to set the scene for evangelical biblical interpretation in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The great majority of those attending the first conference of the Evangelical

<sup>95</sup> Pfister, ‘Re-thinking Mission’, p. 35. (The Amity Foundation currently print the Bible using Shen. At the front of the Bible they indicate that Shang Ti can also be used as a substitute).

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p. 36, *Records of the General Conference*, p. lxiii-lxiv. It is also discussed by Lian Xi, *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907-1932* (Pennsylvania State University Press: University Park, Pennsylvania, 1997), p. 173.

<sup>97</sup> *Records of the General Conference*, p. 659.

<sup>98</sup> Jost Oliver Zetzsche, *The Bible in China: The History of the Union Version: or, The Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China* (Sankt Augustin-Nettetal: Steyler Verlag 1999. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 45), p. 84; I.Eber, Sze-Kar Wan & Knut Walf *Bible in Modern China: The Literary and Intellectual Impact* (Jerusalem, Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 1999), p. 18.

<sup>99</sup> M. Broomhall, *The Bible*, pp. 180-181.

<sup>100</sup> CIM Archives, London Council Minute Book 7, Jan 5<sup>th</sup> 1892.

Alliance (1846) were 'low church' who were more interested in mission and 'personal holiness rooted in the practices of prayer and Bible study'.<sup>101</sup> They resisted liberalism. The Bible was central for all practical purposes and the full inspiration of scripture was widely assumed. Conversion and holiness experiences were highlighted but there was little interest in philosophy and other disciplines. This encouraged individualism, with little appreciation of the corporate life of the church.<sup>102</sup> The main use of the Bible was more for devotional purposes than dogmatic ones. Timothy Stunt notes the changing context before 1846 as more radical evangelicals attempted to put the 'simple' gospel of 'sin, sacrifice and salvation' message into a wider context of divine truth as found in the Bible. Preaching from a single verse was increasingly being replaced by exposition from a whole passage.<sup>103</sup> Non-critical exegesis, although out of the mainstream of scholarship, remained influential at the popular level in many churches and it became an identifying mark of the conservative section of Protestantism.<sup>104</sup> Both the literal and the spiritual meaning of the text were important in popular interpretation but the emphasis was on the latter. More was needed than just an explanation of scripture. For many a Christological interpretation of a text was dominant.<sup>105</sup>

This last question was a key issue for Evangelicals. Here the spirituality and thus the interpretation of scripture of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, owed a debt to pietism and its emphasis on the religion of the heart. Genuine Christianity was a matter of the heart, being 'strangely warmed' and of assurance,<sup>106</sup> a matter of the witness of the Holy Spirit. This emphasis was a development of the teaching of the Reformers themselves, whose initial experience was experiential as well as doctrinal. Martin Luther stated: 'when I had realised this I felt myself absolutely born again. The gates of Paradise had been flung open and I had entered. There and then the whole of scripture took on another look to me.'<sup>107</sup> John Calvin agreed. 'No one can well perceive the power of faith unless he feels it by experience in his heart.'<sup>108</sup> The Puritan John Owen wrote: 'The Christian life is one of spiritual sense and experience.' This is not just subjective for Christ is found only in scripture and a person cannot know Christ apart from scripture.<sup>109</sup>

Taylor was impressed by George Müller's literal application of scripture to daily life.<sup>110</sup> Although the Evangelicals' devotion to the Bible was foundational they were selective in its usage. In a survey of sermons preached by Evangelicals towards the end of the nineteenth century it was found that three quarters of the texts were taken from the New Testament. John's Gospel was the most popular,

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<sup>101</sup> Nicholas M Railton, *No North Sea: The Anglo-German Evangelical Network in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. xiv.

<sup>102</sup> Bernard M. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age* (Essex: Longman, 1995), p. 20.

<sup>103</sup> Timothy F.C. Stunt, *From Awakening to Secession: Radical Evangelicals in Switzerland and Britain 1815- 1835* (Edinburgh: T & T Clarke, 2000), p. 95.

<sup>104</sup> Bray, *Biblical Interpretation*, p. 306.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p 306-309 where Bray compares three non critical views of Psalm 22.

<sup>106</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 7.

<sup>107</sup> Martin Luther as quoted by James Atkinson, *Martin Luther: Prophet to the Church Catholic* (Exeter: Paternoster 1983), p. 83.

<sup>108</sup> John Calvin, *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion* 2, 3:20:12, p. 864.

<sup>109</sup> John Owen as quoted by Tom. A. Noble, 'Scripture and Experience', *Themelios*, Volume. 23:1 pp. 30-39 (October 1997), p. 32.

<sup>110</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 56.

whilst in the Old Testament most of the texts used came from Genesis, the Psalms or Isaiah with few coming from the Minor Prophets.<sup>111</sup> Taylor more or less mirrored the same spread of biblical usage.

### 5.3.2 Interpretation of the Bible: Allegory and Typology

Scholars have struggled to draw hard distinctions between allegory and typology.<sup>112</sup> Both assume that there is some continuity between the Testaments and that drawing out the parallels and escalating them in the light of later revelation is helpful for understanding biblical revelation. Although specific persons and events are basic for both perspectives some have argued that allegory assumes that the literal sense of the text contains an eternal spiritual truth,<sup>113</sup> whilst typology remains within stricter historical patterns.<sup>114</sup> Taylor used both methods with an allegorical interpretation dominating his teaching on the Song of Songs, a book that was prominent in Puritan devotion. This section will look first at Taylor's use of allegory and then his use of typology.

#### *Allegory*

Biblical scholarship in late nineteenth-century English nonconformity combined the use of the critical method with a continued adherence to theological orthodoxy.<sup>115</sup> The allegorical use of scripture was at best a marginal issue for most Victorian scholars for it contradicted their scientific critical assumptions.<sup>116</sup> Moises Silva acknowledges one of Taylor's generation, C. H. Spurgeon, who also stood apart from the mainstream attitudes to the Bible of his age, as a good example of the use of allegory in preaching. He observes that hermeneutics needs to come to terms with the fact that many Christians read their Bibles allegorically 'and the force of this consideration is pressed upon us when we realise that the method played a significant role in the shaping of Christian theology'.<sup>117</sup> A Christological focus from the Old Testament was one of the reasons for the use of allegory:

Allegorical interpretation enables preachers to move beyond the literal historical meaning of a passage to a supposed deeper sense. From the third century to the sixteenth, it was the primary method of preaching Christ from the Old Testament.<sup>118</sup>

Allegory was popular amongst the Open Brethren who influenced Taylor. Harold Rowdon mentions Henry Soltau, a member of the early Brethren in Plymouth, who supported the allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament.<sup>119</sup> This approach to scripture was especially prominent in the Pietist tradition. Many believed that above and beyond the literal meaning of the text there stands a higher sense, or perhaps several higher senses.<sup>120</sup>

It is therefore not surprising that Taylor's interpretation of The Song of Songs was allegorical. Gerald Bray writes: 'allegory ruled the field in both Jewish and Christian interpretation, and so it

<sup>111</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 13.

<sup>112</sup> For a helpful discussion of the issues involved see John Goldingay, *Approaches to Old Testament Interpretation* (Leicester: IVP, 1981), pp. 102-109.

<sup>113</sup> Duncan S. Ferguson, *Biblical Hermeneutics: An Introduction* (London: SCM Press, 1986), p. 87.

<sup>114</sup> Moises Silva, *Has The Church Misread The Bible?* (Leicester: Apollos, 1987), p. 71.

<sup>115</sup> W.B.Glover, *Evangelical Nonconformists and Higher Criticism in the late Nineteenth Century* (London: Independent Press, 1954)

<sup>116</sup> Bray, *Biblical Interpretation*, p. 301.

<sup>117</sup> Silva, *Has the Church*, p. 67.

<sup>118</sup> Sidney Greidanus, *Preaching Christ from the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1999), p. 70.

<sup>119</sup> Harold Rowdon, *The Origins of the Brethren* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1967), p. 161.

<sup>120</sup> Bray, *Biblical Interpretation*, p. 82.

remained until the first part of the nineteenth century'<sup>121</sup> and adds: 'allegorical interpretations of this book are the only ones which have had much success in the life of the church'.<sup>122</sup> It remained a popular book amongst evangelicals in the nineteenth century but the overall approach to the book was the major issue.<sup>123</sup> Alec Motyer notes that the allegorical approach to the Song of Songs, which finds in it a symbolic statement of the relationship between Christ and the Church, is by far the oldest form of interpretation,<sup>124</sup> and Taylor 'shows us the allegorical method at its very best'.<sup>125</sup>

Taylor provided a structure for his interpretation of the Song of Songs and pointed out that it was necessary to be sure about who was speaking at any particular point.<sup>126</sup> Christology was Taylor's main concern. He believed that Solomon was a type of Christ as the true prince of peace in his coming reign.<sup>127</sup> Taylor's aim was practical: to aid his readers to abide in Christ and to understand what union with Christ involves. This illustrates the above assertion that often allegory highlighted what was taught elsewhere in the Bible. According to Taylor, the lessons from the book are those 'which grace alone can teach and experience alone can learn'.<sup>128</sup> Like many before him, Taylor saw the relationship between the bride and the bridegroom being akin to that of the relationship of the individual Christian to the Lord. It was God's purpose to bring Christians into the banqueting house and to feed them there with the finest food.<sup>129</sup> God desired a fully consecrated bride for intimate communion.<sup>130</sup> This theme progressed through the book and as it developed the bride became fairer as she conformed to the bridegroom. Taylor interpreted this as an allegory of the work of the Holy Spirit which led to the mention of perfection in 4:7. With this declaration of perfection the bride was now fit for service.<sup>131</sup> Despite this, a note of dissatisfaction arises with the actual experience of the Christian. She has allowed degeneration to enter into the close relationship with God. Taylor saw this as due to a lack of faith. Even a little reluctance on the part of the Christian would prevent this relationship from growing in the right direction. Holding back anything was to judge incorrectly the nature of the relationship. The bride in the story was going through just such an experience according to Taylor. She has doubts about the nature of the relationship and whether or not she can really commit herself to the bridegroom. This was the position of almost all believers, wrote Taylor, who were afraid to commit themselves totally to Jesus although they might feel that they wished to do so. They too, like the bride in 1:4 have to take the plunge! This was followed by the welcoming embrace of the King who brought her into sacred communion with himself.

For Taylor the 'key' to the Song of Songs was found in the clear teaching of the New Testament, that 'the incarnate Word is the true key to the written Word'.<sup>132</sup> Although the focus of

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<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> Moira J. McKay, 'Faith and Facts in the History of the CIM 1832-1905', M.Litt thesis (Aberdeen, 1981), notes that H.J. Matthews sees it as an 'erotic poem' which is to be taken allegorically, p. 139.

<sup>124</sup> Alec Motyer, foreword in J.H. Taylor, *Union and Communion*, pp. 4-5

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.10-11.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>128</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (June 1891), p. 69.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, (February 1886), p. 16.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, (June 1891), p. 71.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, (December 1891), p. 153.

<sup>132</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Union and Communion*, p. 8.

Taylor's allegory was Christological, he did not see the relationship of the bridegroom with his bride in the Song of Songs as entirely dependent on the New Testament for its outworking. The Old Testament Prophets taught that the Creator God was the husband of the people of God, Israel.<sup>133</sup> This theme, Taylor argued, extended into the New Testament when John the Baptist, significantly the last of the prophets, referred in John 3:29 to Christ as the bridegroom. Paul took this further in Ephesians 5 when he taught that the union of Christ with his church underlies the relationship of marriage and gave a pattern for every union.<sup>134</sup> Thus Solomon becomes a type of Christ in the Song of Songs in his coming reign over the Church, his bride, and also other willing subjects who bring in their wealth as once did the Queen of Sheba.<sup>135</sup>

Even within the textual details of the Song of Songs Taylor discerned allegorical allusions. In 1:3 he saw the ointments as referring to those with which the High Priest was anointed; he believed that this supported the Christological identity of the bridegroom as being a priest as well as a king.<sup>136</sup> Taylor commented on the appropriate nature of the commendation in 1:9 in the light of the perfection of the horses chosen for Pharaoh's use in Egypt who would be totally obedient to their master. This was an allegory for the true state of the church. Unfortunately, instead of promoting the kingdom of God throughout the world, the church was often like untrained steeds running off in every direction. Taylor wrote, 'Can we wonder that the world still lieth in the wicked one, and the great heathen nations are barely touched?'<sup>137</sup> In 3:6-4:1 Taylor noted that the focus was only on the bridegroom; the bride was sharing in the incense-filled experience that 'shows forth his dignity'. The carriage in which they sit is described and Taylor allocated an allegorical meaning to each part of the carriage. The fragrant wood typified 'sanctified humanity', the gold reminded readers of the 'divine glory of the Lord', and the silver indicated the 'purity and preciousness of his redeemed and peerless church'.<sup>138</sup> He added that the imperial purple lining referred to the Gentiles. Not wanting to lose any deeper meaning through concentrating on the allegorical relationship of Christ to his church, Taylor noted that the Christ of God is more than a bridegroom to his people.<sup>139</sup> He used 8:5 to teach the doctrine of election. This suggests that under the influence of some of the movements mentioned in Chapter Three, Taylor had moved away from his Arminian Methodist heritage towards a more Calvinistic stance. He showed that the bride was chosen before she was even born or had any beauty at all. The bride acknowledged this in 8:6 and Taylor picked up on the mention of the heart to teach about the role of the High Priest who bore the names of the twelve tribes on his heart. Continuing the allegory, the bride would be cared for by the one who is more than a High Priest. The titles of Prophet, Priest and King are available to the bride; she was conscious of the need to be bound to Him for she remembers the weakness of her own heart.

Taylor found allegories in other parts of the Old Testament that conformed to common patterns of popular biblical interpretation of the Victorian age. The stories of the Old Testament would often suggest to Taylor parallels in the spiritual life. The Exodus was a flight from Egypt, a symbol for

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<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>136</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (June 1891), p. 69.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, (August/September 1891), p. 98.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, (November 1891), p. 140.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, (June 1892), p. 71.

worldliness.<sup>140</sup> The sea fled at the presence of Christ for there could be no hindrance in the presence of the king who in the New Testament calmed the storm. Under Joshua's leadership, the rebel Amalek, an allegory for the flesh, became a 'worsted foe'.<sup>141</sup> The wilderness was a place for unbelievers who will not enter into the rest of Canaan which is to be enjoyed now by the faithful. This rest was not permanent, for as the rebellion of Achan under Joshua showed there can be disruption to the life in Canaan. The Canaan rest was an example of the rest of faith to be enjoyed in this life.<sup>142</sup> This led to a practical exhortation from Taylor to the reader as to their exact situation. Are they in bondage in wilderness restlessness or in the restful land of corn and olive oil?<sup>143</sup> In the parable of Matthew 13:44, Taylor thought that the treasure portrayed the church and the field was the world: this described the scenario for which Jesus gave up everything and emptied himself.<sup>144</sup> In commenting on the new life that a believer has in Christ, Taylor reminded his readers that it will be one which includes conflict. He described the believer as having escaped from Egypt, although Egypt would still pursue the Christian. Taylor used Psalm 114:3-4 to teach that the Red Sea would be a great barrier to the carnal Christian, but for the Christian in union with Christ the sea flees and there is no barrier to relationship with the Master and the King. Mountains and hills of difficulty disappear for God is present.<sup>145</sup>

### *Typology*

The use of typology was a feature of Victorian literature, art and biblical interpretation.<sup>146</sup> Andrew Jukes was a keen exponent of it.<sup>147</sup> George Landow defines typology as 'a Christian form of biblical interpretation that proceeds on the assumption that God placed anticipations of Christ in the laws, events and people of the Old Testament'.<sup>148</sup> He notes that many contemporary Christians would recognise the use of typology in Victorian times<sup>149</sup> and that it formed the reading and interpretative habits of many Victorians.<sup>150</sup> Its success was directly linked to beliefs about the inspiration of scripture.<sup>151</sup>

As a popular Bible teacher Taylor made use of typology. He used the story of the Queen of Sheba as one that was 'deeply instructive' to those who had learned to see Christ in the Old Testament.<sup>152</sup> He saw it as an important narrative, especially as Jesus referred to it. As the Queen of Sheba approached Solomon and went away satisfied, so must the Christian approach the anti-type of King Solomon, Christ, and learn to receive a blessing from him which is greater than anything that the Queen received. Believers were like the Queen of Sheba. Christ as king offers himself to them, as

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, (February 1887), p. 15.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16. There is no mention of Amalek in the book of Joshua specifically. This shows how allegory easily became loosed from historical moorings.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, (February 1887), p. 16.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, (November 1883), p. 146.

<sup>145</sup> M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 29.

<sup>146</sup> George P. Landow, *Victorian Types, Victorian Shadows: Biblical Typology in Victorian Literature, Art and Thought* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), p. 3.

<sup>147</sup> Andrew Jukes, *The Law of the Offerings in Leviticus 1-VII* (London: James Nisbet & Co, 1847; Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1966), p. 11.

<sup>148</sup> Landow, *Victorian Types*, p. ix.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56..

<sup>152</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (August 1889), p. 115.

Solomon did to the Queen enabling her to commune with the king. Solomon's splendour has passed away, but Sheba's response has a prophetic element in that there is a coming king to reign on Mount Zion. For believers there was the possibility of coming to this king now.<sup>153</sup> Taylor then exhorted his readers as to their motivation for mission. The Queen of Sheba herself received a glimpse of the majesty of the king and she returned home satisfied. In the light of this, Taylor asked whether or not Christians were satisfied and willing to give up everything for Christ? They had an advantage that the Queen of Sheba did not have. Solomon had to send her away, but Christians know that Christ will never leave them.<sup>154</sup>

In the book of Ruth, Taylor similarly saw Boaz, the lord of the physical harvest in the book, as a type of Christ, the true Lord of the Harvest.<sup>155</sup> Taylor wished to apply this story to the reader by asking whether or not the reader has been met in the midst of the heat of the summer. He appealed to his readers to leave the world behind and be found gladly obeying the commands of the Master, 'for it is in the harvest field, it is among the reapers, that we shall find him'.<sup>156</sup> In teaching about the Nazarite vow in Numbers 6, Taylor sees that the fruit of the vine is a type of earthly pleasures.<sup>157</sup>

Taylor's use of allegory and typology had the principal aim of enabling him to pursue the more mystical aspects of abiding in Christ and the believer's relationship with God. This tended to blur any absolute distinction between his use of allegory and typology although both were present in his teaching. His use of allegory as a method of interpretation confined Taylor to those who stood outside the mainstreams of scholarly interpretation and did not put historical-critical considerations uppermost. His use of typology demonstrated a strict conformity to popular methods of interpretation and was characteristic of the more conservative section of Christianity where typology was favoured. This latter consideration confirms that Taylor's use of scripture endorsed the interpretative method of the time rather than challenged it.

### 5.3.3 Literal Sense and Spiritual Meaning

One of the features of a theology influenced by pietism is the distinction between the literal sense of scripture and the spiritual meaning. Rene Padilla, the Latin American missiologist, commented on Taylor's use of the Bible.<sup>158</sup> He noted that the interpretation of scripture is strongly shaped by the individual concerned as well as by social forces, culture and currents in contemporary history. Padilla focused on Taylor's intuitive approach. He takes one extract from Taylor's correspondence as an example. It is Taylor's application of John 7:37: 'If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink'. Padilla noted that Taylor ignored the historical setting of the passage or how the original hearers might have understood it.<sup>159</sup> Padilla admitted that Taylor conformed to the commonly accepted practice of applying the words of scripture to himself immediately, without any reflection on his own historical

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<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, (September 1889), p. 129.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, (February 1893), p. 16.

<sup>158</sup> Rene C. Padilla, 'Hermeneutics and Culture. A Theological Perspective', in John Stott, & Ray Coote, *Down to Earth: Studies in Christianity and Culture. The Papers of the Lausanne Consultation on Gospel and Culture* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1981), p. 63.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64

situation and how that might affect his reading or indeed the usual interpretation of this passage in the contemporary church. This method was naïve about ‘the way contemporary social, economic and political factors and other cultural forces affect the interpretative process’.<sup>160</sup> In his critique of this model as exemplified by Taylor, Padilla mentioned the common assumption that the situation of the contemporary reader is closely aligned with the original situation as represented by the text. There are three important points to note in favour of this practice that Taylor would have endorsed. Firstly, it highlights that the scriptures are for all people, not just for scholars and clergy. Secondly, it gives prominence to the role of the Holy Spirit in interpretation. Thirdly, it shows that submission to the scriptures is more than just intellectual assent.<sup>161</sup> On the other hand, this approach often leads to an allegorical interpretation of the scriptures. Padilla links this to Taylor’s pietistic background which is an important strand in understanding his spiritual formation. This form of evangelical pietism minimises the historical context of the text of the Bible and often imposes a Christological interpretation on the Old Testament.

Taylor gave prominence to the role of the Holy Spirit in interpretation. He saw the difficulties surrounding biblical understanding positively in that they compelled the interpreter to draw on more than ‘unaided powers’ for correct understanding.<sup>162</sup> These difficulties were not only proof of scripture’s divine nature but forced the interpreter to look for the superhuman wisdom that was provided by the Holy Spirit, promised to all those who seek for him. Taylor called for the reader to invoke the Spirit of truth in helping with understanding.<sup>163</sup> When this happened nothing could prevent the progress of the truth of the gospel.<sup>164</sup>

Taylor often highlighted the spiritual meaning of texts. In the written notes of the July 1886 T'ai-yuen Fu (Taiyuan, Shanxi Province) conference, reported in *Days of Blessing*, Taylor took Ezekiel 36 as his text for the morning devotion.<sup>165</sup> In his opening remarks he distinguished between the literal meaning of this prophecy of which the hearers must not lose sight but preferred to concentrate on the spiritual meaning, as it was ‘most encouraging’. He did not even explain what the literal meaning was. In dealing with Numbers 7:12-17, he admitted that the focus of the passage was on God, but he wanted to ‘read between the lines’ in his idiosyncratic interpretation.<sup>166</sup> Similarly, Taylor observed how John 4 could be studied simply as ancient history. It showed the movements of Jesus, the limitations of his humanity and Christ’s perception in dealing with the woman of Samaria. He opined that once Christ began doing the work of the Father he soon forgot his weariness and was able to establish his identity with the woman. This text was worthy of minute examination but this was not his focus. He revealed his experiential hermeneutic when he considered the narrative from another standpoint. He saw it as given for the edification of the present-day reader and that it can speak even now for the individual. Thus he focused on the promise of ‘living water’ in the text.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>162</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Union and Communion*, p. 7.

<sup>163</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT Box 7, Vol 9.

<sup>164</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, No. 72 p. 68.

<sup>165</sup> J.H. Taylor in Montagu Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing in Inland China* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1890), p. 13.

<sup>166</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (April 1984), p. 43.

<sup>167</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Unfailing Springs*, pp. 2-3.

Taylor distinguished between literal and spiritual Israel in a sermon on Luke 1:73-75. For literal Israel this 'prophecy' of deliverance was still to be fulfilled but for Christians it was already fulfilled in Christ. However, the same principle applied to both literal and spiritual Israel: 'as to literal Israel, as to the spiritual Israel, the fulfilment may be hindered by unbelief or accepted by faith'.<sup>168</sup> In a sermon on John 17:3, he spoke about the necessity of knowing God: his will, plans and purposes. These can be seen in the millennial purpose of God which, on a national scale, was focused on Israel but, on a world-wide scale, was focused on the nations, to make Christ pre-eminent in all things.<sup>169</sup>

Taylor sometimes focused on the historical context but interpreted it with a spiritualised perspective. On finding Numbers 6 and 7 long, repetitious and tedious he wondered about its value.<sup>170</sup> The 'key' to understanding this was to see it from God's perspective and the satisfaction that God has in each gift presented to him, which is the 'outcome of gratitude and love'. He saw a New Testament parallel in Luke 10 when Mary, who was one of the few to take to heart his prediction of sufferings to come, anointed him with precious oil. Despite the criticism of this act by colleagues, Jesus' reply vindicated her actions. Taylor's choice of a 'key' to the interpretation was subjective in that it was given to him by God after a time of wrestling over exactly what these texts had to teach.<sup>171</sup> His psychological state on approaching the text was one of spiritual need.<sup>172</sup>

The focus on the spiritual meaning of the text gave Taylor a very immediate and highly personal approach to the interpretation of scripture. The joy of King David as recorded in 1 Chronicles 27:20-27 could be experienced in the present, and words spoken by Haggai were available by faith now.<sup>173</sup> Taylor's literal reading of Psalm 34:20 was applied to a colleague in a dangerous situation. His bones remained unbroken but he did suffer from cuts and bruises, for God had not given any promise that the skin should not be broken.<sup>174</sup> Using John 2:5, Taylor stated that although spoken over eighteen hundred years ago a similar exhortation is needed for the church and the individual in the present situation.<sup>175</sup> For Taylor the kingdom of God was a present reality, not something for a future dispensation. He suggested that one of the reasons for disobedience to the biblical texts on mission was an over-concentration on the future eschatological kingdom rather than on the present need for personal experience of Christ. Taylor argued that the Bible was full of the blessings that can be obtained for Christians now. This teaching stemmed from the fact that Christ came as a king to this world (cf. John 18:36-37).<sup>176</sup> He acted as a king calling people to follow him, giving new laws, sending out his people to preach the gospel and finally dying with the placard of kingship over his cross.

<sup>168</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT Box 10. Sermon Notes at Chefoo, (Mar 22<sup>nd</sup> 1885).

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, CIM/JHT Box 15 (1894-1898), Sermon on John 17:3.

<sup>170</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (January 1894), p. 1.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, (February 1893), p. 15.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, (March 1894), p. 29.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, (September 1875), p. 29.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, (July/August 1887), p. 87.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1875), p. 7.

<sup>176</sup> J.H. Taylor in Roger Steer, *Lessons in Discipleship* (Crowborough: Monarch, 1995), p. 54.

### 5.3.4 Christological Interpretation of the Bible

Taylor's best-known work *Union and Communion* (1894) stated the organising principle for his hermeneutic. The 'key' that made the Song of Songs 'intelligible' was clearly found in the New Testament teaching that, 'the incarnate Word is the true key to the written Word'.<sup>177</sup> This statement, inherited from Andrew Jukes,<sup>178</sup> prioritised Christological considerations in interpretation. Although Taylor saw value in the historical books of the Old Testament,<sup>179</sup> he viewed them through this New Testament lens. Thus the ceremonial ordinances contained meanings only fully unveiled in the last times for Christians<sup>180</sup> who are the new people of God. This Christological focus was one of the reasons for the attraction of allegory and typology. King Solomon became a type of Christ as the true prince of peace in his coming reign<sup>181</sup> and the bride mirrored the relationship of the believer to Christ. The titles of Prophet, Priest and King, favoured by Reformed theology,<sup>182</sup> are available to the bride in this relationship. Seeing Christ in the Old Testament aids understanding of the story of the Queen of Sheba,<sup>183</sup> Boaz as a type of Christ as the Lord of the harvest,<sup>184</sup> and the Nazarite vow.<sup>185</sup>

This close connection between the incarnate and written word of God is most evident in John 15:4. Taylor argued that the substitution of 'my words' for the 'I' supported this close connection between Christ and his word. As Christ was apprehended through his word, mediated by the Holy Spirit, so the disciple should make the reading of the Bible a high priority as a way to feed on Christ.<sup>186</sup> Taylor believed that faith led to understanding. It was necessary to read the Bible, asking God to explain it and to teach its content through the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit. Obedience was the key. For example, Taylor could use biblical texts to rebut the argument that it was Christian duty to provide for children and old age. He highlighted Matthew 6:33 and the injunction not to lay up treasure on earth. If advisors recommended that a person secured independence before doing all the good he can, Taylor argued that the Bible advocated a more radical approach in ministering to others, forgiving and resisting evil and denying the self.<sup>187</sup> Here was an example of a use of selective texts to make a point that ignored other biblical teaching, such as the injunctions in 1 Timothy 5:8 to familial responsibility, to which no reference by Taylor can be found.

### 5.3.5 Application: Personal edification

Taylor would often apply texts directly to himself. His eschatological views directed his attitude to possessions.<sup>188</sup> Once reading Haggai 2 when at a low point in 1875, he believed that the Holy Spirit was applying this passage to China and himself. A few days later, continuing with his habit of consecutive Bible reading, he marked Zechariah 2:8 and accepted that he could rely on God's

<sup>177</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Union and Communion*, p. 8.

<sup>178</sup> Andrew Jukes, *The Second Death and the Restitution of all Things* (London: Longmans & Co, 1867), p. 4.

<sup>179</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (May 1890), p. 55.

<sup>180</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT Box 10, sermon notes on Genesis 48:15-16.

<sup>181</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Union and Communion*, p. 8.

<sup>182</sup> Louis Berkhof, *Systematic Theology* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1958). The Offices of Christ, pp. 356-366 & 406-412.

<sup>183</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (August 1889), p.115.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, (September 1889), p. 129.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, (February 1893), p. 16.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, (December 1894), p. 163.

<sup>187</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT 3, Letters 1851-1853.

<sup>188</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (December 1886), p. 161.

protection if he continued on his way.<sup>189</sup> He also applied such texts for others. He used Haggai 2 in endorsing the ministry of Pastor Ren and for teaching the people about offerings so they would take responsibility for their pastor. He used this as a local illustration of what it meant to be a self-supporting church and as an instance of the transfer of ownership from the CIM to the local Christians.<sup>190</sup>

Taylor believed in looking into God's law in nature for methods and principles to govern spiritual life. He applied the same thinking to his interpretation of scripture.<sup>191</sup> In comments on Numbers 7:3, Taylor argued that it was not God's purpose for the tabernacle to be stationary. This principle was immediately applied to the contemporary work of God which should be 'always advancing'. From the Canaan of Joshua 1, Taylor could glide effortlessly, 'in thought and sympathy to China'.<sup>192</sup> This may be more of a reflection on the particular work that he was given to do than any basis in this particular text, but it illustrates the attempt of Taylor to define the spiritual principles under which he thought God worked.<sup>193</sup>

Sometimes other considerations distorted his reading of a text. In his comments on Psalm 114, Taylor emphasised that the Psalm focused on the action of God. There was no mention of the human agencies that God used in liberating his people from Egypt. However, when he maintained that there was no mention of the wilderness, he ignored the allusions in verses 7-8 to the giving of water in Exodus 17. His interpretation at this point was influenced more by points that he wanted to make about the wilderness being a place for unbelievers and the life of faith than by a close consideration of the text.<sup>194</sup> He then launched an attack on popular American hymnology which compared the river Jordan with death and Canaan with heaven. For Taylor, Canaan under the victory of Joshua represented the rest to be enjoyed now, for 'each battle should result in victory, and every foe should be dispossessed and put down'. Taylor admitted that it was a 'should' as there was always the possibility of compromise, as in the case of Achan which led to defeat. Taylor then applied all this to the reader by asking exactly where does he stand: In bondage or in rest?<sup>195</sup>

Taylor's own spiritual experience deeply coloured his use of the Bible. He wrote of the 'advantage' of those who 'who feel the renovating influence of religion' and their responsibility in preaching the gospel.<sup>196</sup> This translated itself into sermons on the power of the Holy Spirit which were often preached from passages with little connection to the theme and then applied to fulfilling the mandate of taking the gospel to all nations.<sup>197</sup> He rarely paid attention to the historical context of a text. In a message on Nahum 1:7 he gave an historical overview of the situation of this Minor Prophet and related the protection of the people of God on God's character before enlarging the scope of the theme more generally.<sup>198</sup> This was a common habit of Taylor in that he would begin with a text and then

<sup>189</sup> J.H. Taylor in A.J. Broomhall, *Assault*, p. 32.

<sup>190</sup> Pastor Ren, *A Tamarisk Garden Blessed with Rain: The Autobiography of Pastor Ren* (London: CIM, 1930), p. 88.

<sup>191</sup> Fred W. Baller, 'Hudson Taylor as Expositor', *Monthly Notes* (June 1908), p. 2.

<sup>192</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (February 1894), p. 27.

<sup>193</sup> Marshall Broomhall, 'Always Advancing' CIM leaflet in CIM Archives Box 18 Files 412-415.

<sup>194</sup> M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 30.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.* p. 30.

<sup>196</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT Box 1 1849-1855. Letter to Mr Pearse (August 7<sup>th</sup> 1850).

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, CIM/JHT 81, Box 6.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, CIM/JHT 81. October 14<sup>th</sup> 1860.

extrapolate to more general spiritual truths garnered from the Bible as a whole. A sermon beginning with the real life situation of Eli and his sons from 1 Samuel 2:30 quickly moved from that to the general theme of 'Honouring God'.<sup>199</sup>

Taylor oscillated between preaching on whole chapters of scripture and using just a few verses. He believed that revelation was progressive and gradual so he would take opportunities to present overviews of the Bible. This led to considering biblical topics like Satan, the joy of the Lord or the Kingdom of God.<sup>200</sup> Once he preached on Christmas Day in the light of the promise given in Genesis 3:15, showing the connections to the incarnation.<sup>201</sup> There were times when the text and the occasion were welded together to display Taylor's strengths in his use of scripture. When he spoke at the funeral of Catherine Pennefather in 1893, his oration was on the Farewell Discourse of Jesus from John 14-17, focusing on 16:6-7. The text displayed a paradox. There was sorrow at leaving, yet Jesus had to leave and he promised the Holy Spirit to the disciples to comfort them. In this they will experience Jesus more closely once he has left. They would be enriched and experience fuller blessing. He focused on the person and the work of Christ in his temporal ministry and how necessary it was for Jesus to leave to draw the love of the disciples for him upwards. God often gave treasures to his church and then removed them. This was because the treasure is now 'on high' where Mrs Pennefather was reunited with her husband. Whilst the coming of the Holy Spirit brought responsibility for the disciple in the present, he was also given to focus the attention of Christians on the life to come.

Taylor could, on occasion, respect the genre of the text. In a sermon on Proverbs 1:20-32, Taylor explained the origin and purpose of wisdom literature as seen in Proverbs, emphasising their value for the current hearer. He asked the crucial interpretative question of what the interpreter is meant to understand by wisdom as used in this text and concluded that there was more than one meaning with various shades of meaning being intended by the writer. At that point he brought in other texts from Isaiah and Psalm 2. Taylor remained focused on the text in his interpretation,<sup>202</sup> as he did with a detailed examination of Isaiah 53:5-6.<sup>203</sup> Close attention to the text was not unusual despite his more generalised preaching noted above. There are examples of Taylor comparing the Greek text of an Old Testament Psalm from the Septuagint with the English version where one verse was probably missing.<sup>204</sup> He also showed a capacity for detailed textual analysis in his teaching on John 15:4,<sup>205</sup> giving evidence of his exegesis supporting his interpretation when he uses it as a cross-reference to his teaching on abiding.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, October 7<sup>th</sup> 1860.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, CIM/JHT Box 10, sermon notes 1881.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, CIM/JHT Journal 6 1853. Sermon given on 25<sup>th</sup> December 1853 on *The Lammermuir*.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, CIM/JHT 81, Box 6 (September 23<sup>rd</sup> 1860).

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.* (September 16<sup>th</sup> 1860).

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>205</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (October 1880), p. 128.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, (November 1894), p. 146.

## 5.4 Conclusion

The previous chapter highlighted the importance of immediate spiritual experience for Taylor. This chapter has shown how he brought such an approach to his interpretation of the Bible. It begins to illustrate Taylor's approach to scripture that differed markedly from other Protestant mission leaders before him, although they mostly shared an evangelical view of the Bible.

Taylor built his worldview and thinking about mission from his consistent and consecutive reading of the Bible. This practice stemmed from his views on the authority of scripture, the importance of the Bible as the word of God and his belief in its inspiration. For Taylor, the words of scripture were the very words of God and he valued all parts of the scriptures equally against those who marginalised aspects of the historical portions. He considered that the reader could know spiritual truths gleaned from the Bible as consistently as those who studied natural law could know truth about nature. There was a cumulative process of 'feeding' on the word of God and proving it in daily living and trust in God which provided sufficient justification for calling repeatedly for Christians to take mission seriously.

He had a basic grasp of the biblical languages, despite being self-taught, and made some use of them in his teaching, always keen to preserve the closest possible attention to the words themselves. This enabled him to provide some help for at least one romanised translation of the Bible into a local Chinese dialect in Ningbo. He was supportive of the work of those who tried to put the Bible into accurate Chinese versions believing that they also needed to communicate clearly to the intended congregation. He took a clear position in the ongoing controversy over the 'term question', but worried that it would seriously and permanently divide the work of mission in China. Taylor's view of the appropriate word for God in Chinese was linked to his opposition to ancestral rites and anything that could be remotely connected to idolatrous forms of worship. He was also suspicious of those who favoured a more positive approach to those aspects of Chinese culture that might be used as bridges for communicating the Christian faith to the Chinese. His passionate defence of the 'biblical position' in these matters shows how the strengths outlined above also became a weakness when applied to mission. It prevented him and his colleagues from considering the values present in the Chinese context in order to facilitate communication in understandable, local terminology.

This omission was heightened by Taylor favouring an approach to scripture that honoured immediate spiritual experience over other factors. For Taylor the Bible was more than a teaching tool, rather the interior appropriation of the text to the self should affect the basic disposition of the reader. Above all, the use of the Bible needed to translate into actual spiritual experience, initially through conversion and then through holy living, expressed most ardently in a concern for mission. The need to feed on Christ prioritised a Christological approach to the Bible. The stress on union with Christ was evident in his use of allegory in his work on the interpretation of the Song of Songs. It enabled him to assert a Christo-centric reading of the text based on Solomon as a type of Christ. He did not attempt to ask what the meaning of the Song of Songs might have been to the original Jewish readership. It was a 'poem describing the life of the believer on earth'.<sup>207</sup> His emphasis was on the relationship between the

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<sup>207</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Union and Communion*, p. 82.

bride and bridegroom as a parallel to the relationship between Christ and the Christian. His intense focus on the experience of union with Christ accounts to some extent for the descriptions of Taylor as a mystic. In using allegory Taylor appropriated a form of biblical interpretation rejected in the Reformation era and used it to further his emphasis on holiness rather than mission. In both cases the place of the Bible in stimulating mission, or its lack, were subordinate to other considerations showing the limited influence of the Bible as a sole cause of mission activity.

Taylor's emphasis on obedience as an important part of spiritual formation highlighted the connection between word and action. For Taylor knowledge of God was obtained by acts of daily obedience. Texts were immediately addressed to the reader. This was the importance of the use of Proverbs 24:11-12 as the banner text for the CSNC. It was designed to speak immediately to the reader as to their response to the facts about to be stated about China. Biblical characters could also provide direct models for the reader to emulate. The reader of the story of the Queen of Sheba should be as satisfied as she was in seeing the king. In fact, as the reader now sees Christ as king and are assured of his presence, they should be willing to give up everything to be involved in mission.

Taylor stood with many other Protestants of his time in looking askance at the new trends in biblical studies, yet ironically shared common ground with Protestant Liberals in honouring experience over a rational defence of biblical authority. His non-critical approach to exegesis shows his debt to pietistic influences that emphasised the literal sense and spiritual meaning of a text. This made the Bible readily available to all and did not concern itself with the distractions of the genre or historical setting of the passage. The focus on the spiritual meaning highlighted the importance of the work of the Holy Spirit in guiding interpretation. Once applied, it served to reinforce the immediacy of spiritual experience based on the Bible.

These emphases chimed with the attitudes and perspectives of most in Taylor's supporting constituency as he pioneered the work of the CIM. They too read the Bible in a similar manner and applied its authority to mission. For Taylor the biblical text did not so much justify mission, that was assumed, rather it provided spiritual sustenance within mission for the consecrated disciple. Furthermore, it was also assumed that this approach would be effective in the Chinese context, thus overriding any specific need to study the local context in the light of mission.

# The Bible in J. Hudson Taylor's Missionary Teaching and Preaching

## 6.1 Introduction

Taylor's own theological biography formed the basis for his widespread public ministry. He taught the Bible through his writings and at conferences or gatherings of missionaries. The Editorial Notes and Missionary News of the *Chinese Recorder* commented that Mr Taylor's addresses 'constitute a rich body of instruction on the spiritual needs of the missionary'.<sup>1</sup> It maintained that the focus of Taylor's teaching and preaching was the heart and soul of the missionary, rather than with mission policy or methods. The article continued: 'notwithstanding Mr Taylor's depreciations of a study of theology to the neglect of the Scripture, his addresses show a very definite theological drift'.<sup>2</sup> Taylor was one of a growing number of popular Bible teachers<sup>3</sup> and as an itinerant preacher often returned to the same themes and texts.<sup>4</sup>

This chapter aims to look at Taylor the practitioner of theology, how he used the Bible as a missionary and how he reacted to the rise of critical theology and what became known as the 'Shansi spirit'. This sets the scene for an analysis of his missionary teaching and preaching under the traditional headings of systematic theology, recognising that Taylor, as an activist missionary, neither organised his teaching in this way nor claimed to be a scholar.<sup>5</sup> Each section surveys the biblical foundation of the 'doctrine' and its implications for mission.

## 6.2 Doing Theology

Taylor's main focus in active ministry was among those influenced by the movements mentioned in Chapter Three. However, as the leader of the CIM, he was aware of developments in theology especially when it impacted the ministry of the CIM in China. This first section focuses on Taylor's ministry and his views on these theological issues.

### 6.2.1 Taylor as Teacher, Preacher and Evangelist

Taylor was a Bible teacher, a holiness preacher and an evangelist. The Methodism in which Taylor was raised esteemed preaching. Personal observation of Methodist circuit preachers and his father's example contributed to his spiritual formation. He preached his first sermon in 1851 at the age of nineteen. There are few accounts of his preaching from his time of preparation in Hull and London but once in China records show that evangelistic preaching was a priority. In his ministry outside China he had many opportunities to preach and to stimulate concern for China.

Taylor combined his preaching with recruiting for China and would usually use the Bible in his ministry even when teaching about China. A typical example of the effect of Taylor as a speaker

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<sup>1</sup> *The Chinese Recorder*, No 18 (September 1887), p. 363.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Alwyn Austin, *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society. 1832-1905* (Grand Rapids: 2007), p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> Fred W. Baller, *Mr Hudson Taylor as an Expositor of Scripture* (Shanghai: CIM Monthly Notes, June 1908), p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *The Chinese Recorder*, No 36 (July 1905), p 368.

came in Teignmouth in 1866 as he toured the country galvanising interest in the work in China.<sup>6</sup> Taylor began with a question as to whether or not the congregation ever prayed for China. From a negative response he moved to Proverbs 24:11-12, believing that this text enforced responsibility on the hearer. His power came from the 'precision and sincerity' with which he delivered his message. James Meadows (1835-1914), Taylor's first recruit to the Ningbo mission, wrote: 'he never stirred one's soul by eloquence of speech, but the eloquence of his life of faith in God is a continuous power for good'.<sup>7</sup> This observation illustrates part of Taylor's appeal. His authenticity chimed with the heightened religious expectation of the time. His spirituality and message were appropriate for those stirred by revival and holiness teaching. Although he was well known for his work as the leader of the CIM, he was invited to many conferences as a teacher of the Bible. He spoke at the two major missionary conferences in Shanghai in 1877 and 1890, being a keynote speaker at the latter as well as other important mission conferences around the world. He used these opportunities to disclose publicly some of his most intimate experiences concerning his anxieties, bereavements and spiritual highs and lows.<sup>8</sup> Some testified to new insights received from familiar passages as Taylor expounded scripture.<sup>9</sup> He became well known for his biblical understanding and his natural style made him accessible. He was often invited to expound scripture to leading Christians.

For Taylor a morning 'scripture reading' with others meant an opportunity to expound passages on world mission.<sup>10</sup> He often taught scripture at conferences in China.<sup>11</sup> George Andrew noted that Taylor gave first place to Bible study and how he then expounded the text with 'freshness'.<sup>12</sup> Taylor recognised that God always gave a message to the messenger first and did not 'send us out with sealed despatches'.<sup>13</sup> Taylor exhorted his colleagues not to neglect the study of the Bible; they needed to depend on the help of the Holy Spirit.<sup>14</sup> Marshall Broomhall wrote: 'in the use of the word of God he gave that personal attention to the very words of Holy Scripture, in the spirit of obedience and prayer'.<sup>15</sup> He had little time for specific preparation for his continual round of meetings but continued to draw on his morning disciplines of consecutive reading of the Bible as he repeated the themes of consecration and the evangelisation of the world, or gave a verse-by-verse explanation of a specific passage.<sup>16</sup> Just before he died he was described as speaking 'out of his weakness' in 'such power, words that went right to one's heart'. He himself testified to finding 'the Lord's word in my reading today so precious'.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *Survivor's Pact* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1984), p. 141.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Daniel W. Bacon, *From Faith to Faith: The Influence of Hudson Taylor on the Faith Missions Movement* (Singapore: OMF Books, 1984), p. 163

<sup>9</sup> Roger Steer, *A Man in Christ* (Sevenoaks: OMF Books 1990), p. 292.

<sup>10</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Survivors*, p. 74.

<sup>11</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *Assault on the Nine* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1988), p. 107.

<sup>12</sup> George Andrew (Snr), *Personal Reminiscence of Rev. J. Hudson Taylor*, China Inland Mission Archive No 104, p. 3.

<sup>13</sup> J.H. Taylor in Marshall Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor: The Man Who Believed God* (London: CIM 1929), p. 224.

<sup>14</sup> James Hudson Taylor, *The Arrangements of the CIM* (Shanghai: Mercury Press, 1886), p. 33.

<sup>15</sup> M.Broomhall, *China's Millions* (July 1905), p. 92.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

CIM member Walter Sloan (1858-1943) recorded how he had heard Taylor at Keswick in 1883, before specific missionary meetings were introduced. He observed that it was impossible for Taylor to speak without being a missionary, and related how he personally responded to the challenge given.<sup>18</sup> Others noted that Taylor had a ‘powerfully lucid way of presenting truth so that his expositions were easily remembered’<sup>19</sup> and that it was easy to understand him, although he talked about profound truths linked to the living water of John 4 that was so important to him.<sup>20</sup>

Taylor’s early education in Barnsley had an element of learning through observation. He drew on his personal experiences and used apt illustrations suitable to those to whom he spoke. For example in teaching about the ‘Sufficiency of Christ’ he used a Chinese proverb about standing with a leg in two places to illustrate his point.<sup>21</sup> He once used the story of a General of the late Han dynasty who had been elevated to a deity, to gain the attention of the crowd, before going on to speak about Jesus who was divine but came down to earth to meet men where they were.<sup>22</sup> His preaching included many anecdotes and stories in order to paint visual pictures. He took examples from the realm of nature, stressing that God was a God of nature as well as grace. Taylor presupposed that God acts in the best way possible, so there must be conformity in his actions as seen in the work of creation. For Taylor it was God who was behind the recent advances in science.<sup>23</sup> This use of creation and finding parallels in nature came at a time when others were abandoning the receiving of evidence from natural theology as an apologetic for the existence of God.<sup>24</sup>

According to some of his contemporaries, Taylor was not a great orator.<sup>25</sup> Alwyn Austin notes how exotic Taylor must have seemed as he appeared with pastors at conferences in America but also confirms that Taylor rarely spoke about the CIM itself, but of the great needs of China in a prophetic and visionary style.<sup>26</sup> This had a profound effect at a conference at Niagara-on-the-Lake and led to the extension of the work of the CIM into North America. Austin argues that this move not only changed the CIM but also changed the North American foreign missionary movement.<sup>27</sup> In 1894 it was Taylor’s teaching from his own spiritual experiences and in particular his teaching about abiding in Christ that had such a vital impact on student leaders such as John Mott and Samuel Zwemer.<sup>28</sup> Taylor’s preaching in North America, especially among students, stimulated prayer for China and support for *The Forward Movement*, one of the recruiting drives of the CIM.<sup>29</sup> Taylor ended his convention speaking ministry in 1900 in North America when he spoke with other mission leaders at the New York Ecumenical

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<sup>18</sup> Howard Taylor, *In Memoriam: Rev J. Hudson Taylor* (London: CIM, 1906), p. 56.

<sup>19</sup> M. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor*, p. 202.

<sup>20</sup> Marshall Broomhall (ed), *Hudson Taylor’s Legacy: A Series of Meditations* (London: CIM, 1931), p. 13.

<sup>21</sup> J.H. Taylor in Montagu Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing in Inland China* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1890), p. 83.

<sup>22</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *Over the Treaty Wall* (Sevenoaks: OMF, Hodder & Stoughton, 1982), p. 253.

<sup>23</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China’s Millions* (February 1885), p. 13.

<sup>24</sup> David W. Bebbington, *Holiness in Nineteenth Century England* (Carlisle: Paternoster 2000), p. 14.

<sup>25</sup> *The Chinese Recorder*, No 36 (July 1905), p. 368

<sup>26</sup> Alwyn Austin, ‘Only Connect: The CIM and Transatlantic Evangelicalism’, in Wilbert Shenk (ed), *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory and Policy* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), p. 281.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Bacon, *From Faith*, p. 117.

<sup>29</sup> Howard Taylor, ‘By Faith’ *Henry W Frost and the China Inland Mission* (London: CIM, 1938), pp. 224-225.

Missionary Conference.<sup>30</sup> One observer reported that many were moved by his quiet words and summarised their own impression of the meeting: 'all through the audience, hearts are opened to the Lord, spirits become eager to be and to do what God desires, and resolutions are formed to give and go'.<sup>31</sup> An important aspect of Taylor as mission leader was his ability to handle the Bible in a way that not only edified his hearers but also placed the Scriptures at the centre of speaking about mission.

Taylor's early experience was primarily as an evangelist. Preaching the gospel to the Chinese was always a priority for Taylor.<sup>32</sup> He had negative views on the various Chinese religious systems and he often attacked idolatry and taught the incompatibility of Christian discipleship with the offering of incense to ancestors.<sup>33</sup> Once when questioned about ceremonies to enter the church he took the opportunity to expound the meaning of baptism. The local leader of a Buddhist sect admitted that having searched for rest in many places he had finally found it in what he had heard from Taylor.<sup>34</sup> Taylor was pleased when evangelistic ministry was extended through a Chinese colleague who took the opportunity to preach and distribute the literature that Taylor had given him.<sup>35</sup> He was gratified when he heard his audience repeating what he had said to others in his own words. He said: 'that one moment repaid me for all the trials we had passed through'.<sup>36</sup> His own experience strengthened this conviction that China would be evangelised by the preaching of the Bible.

Evangelism was an important aspect on his voyages to China as were the Sunday preaching services. He had many opportunities to explain the Bible and Christian practices, explaining communion to the Captain and Exodus 12 to one of the crew.<sup>37</sup> Alfred Broomhall comments how his extant sermon notes show 'careful preparation' that tried to explain the Gospel as clearly as possible.<sup>38</sup>

Taylor prioritised itinerant preaching over more traditional patterns of missionary service. His teaching and evangelism was founded on the idea of preaching of the gospel as 'seed' to be spread. He transferred this to the work of the CIM in pursuing itinerant methods of ministry. Through this he imprinted his gifting on the CIM. Part of Taylor's motivation for his strategy was the knowledge that this seed could lie dormant for many years and bear fruit at a later stage.<sup>39</sup> Here is evidence of the influence from his Methodist background in advocating itinerant ministry coupled with a strong view of the sovereignty of God. Taylor's use of the seed imagery to justify itineration from 1 Peter 1:23 was criticised at the Shanghai conference of 1877 by the Chairman Carstairs Douglas (1830-77). He maintained that the reference in Peter to the 'seed of the word' was not that heard by all the people but restricted to that word implanted in the heart of the believers. Taylor was advised to use the parable of the sower instead.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Edwin M. Bliss (ed), *A Report of the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York, 1900*. Volumes I & II (New York: American Tract Society, 1900), pp. 87-91.

<sup>31</sup> H. Taylor, 'By Faith', p. 243.

<sup>32</sup> Roger Steer, 'Pushing Inward', *Christian History: Hudson Taylor and Missions to China*, Issue 52, Volume XV, No 4 (1996), p. 15.

<sup>33</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *If I Had A Thousand Lives* (Sevenoaks: OMF, Hodder & Stoughton, 1982), p. 62

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>35</sup> *Chinese Missionary Gleaner* (Feb 1856), p. 24.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Survivors Pact*, p. 184.

<sup>38</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Thousand Lives*, p. 329.

<sup>39</sup> Howard Taylor, *These Forty Years* (Philadelphia: Pepper Publishing Co, 1903), p. 248.

<sup>40</sup> Carstairs Douglas, *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China held*

## 6.2.2 Taylor and Critical Theology

It is hard to agree with Fiedler's assertion that the faith missions could ignore Liberal Theology for there were no liberal missions.<sup>41</sup> Although fighting liberalism was not a major concern of mission leaders, this is to put an organisational bent on an issue that clearly affected the workers overseas. Liberal forms of theology had become an issue amongst missionaries in China by 1900<sup>42</sup> even though as Austin notes, that the missionaries were fortified against liberal teaching by devoting themselves to the preaching of the gospel, general missionary work and practising 'pietistic separation'.<sup>43</sup> Many of them were not concerned with the contemporary conclusions of academic research and enquiry. Taylor warned CIM members against the dangers of both ritualism and rationalism towards the end of the century.<sup>44</sup> It is indicative of Taylor's theological position to note that he was asked to be an advisor to a congregation in Shanghai in 1881 that formed a break-away church after the arrival of a liberal minister.<sup>45</sup> Taylor himself was a consistent opponent of critical theology. He was described by Arthur Pierson as looking with 'strange wonderment' at the theories of some of the higher critics of his time who decried the supernatural element in scripture. Taylor saw this as a betrayal of the Christian faith.<sup>46</sup>

On his first voyage to China (1853-1854), Taylor read the book *Evidences for Christianity*<sup>47</sup> by William Paley (1743-1805) which first appeared in 1794.<sup>48</sup> Paley's work was acclaimed in its day as an example of a 'masterly presentation of the theistic case'<sup>49</sup> and was the foundation for Taylor's interest in finding spiritual laws from observing the natural world noted in Chapter Four. This was one of many publications which reiterated traditional natural theology, whilst others were more questioning. Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) is notable as one of those chiefly responsible for the weakening of natural theology in the early years of the nineteenth century.<sup>50</sup> He criticised Paley for grounding Christian truth upon rational 'evidences' and advocated a more intuitive approach to biblical interpretation.<sup>51</sup> Coleridge was one of the first of many attempting to deliver the British mind from bibliolatry, which Neill has described as 'that literal and pedantic understanding of the Bible which is too narrow to allow it to speak in the freshness of its own original and glowing inspiration'.<sup>52</sup> Owen Chadwick noted that Evangelicals had little contact with critical theology, ignoring biblical criticism and remaining conservative on critical speculation over the origins of the Bible,<sup>53</sup> but this was not true of many Nonconformists by the end of the Victorian age.<sup>54</sup> The Keswick convention was associated

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at Shanghai, May 10<sup>th</sup> - 24<sup>th</sup> 1877 (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878), p 112.

<sup>41</sup> Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions* (Oxford: Regnum, 1996 ), p. 180.

<sup>42</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *It is not Death to Die* (Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton, 1989), p. 315

<sup>43</sup> Austin, *China's Millions*, p. 306.

<sup>44</sup> *CIM Monthly Notes*, Volume IV, No 10 (October 1899), p. 1.

<sup>45</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Assault*, p. 292.

<sup>46</sup> Arthur Tappan Pierson in H. Taylor, *In Memoriam*, p. 66.

<sup>47</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 107.

<sup>48</sup> Nigel Aston, *Christianity and Revolutionary Europe, 1750-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 116.

<sup>49</sup> Bernard M. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Victorian Age* (Essex: Longman, 1995), p. 3

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2 .

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>52</sup> Stephen Neill, *The Interpretation of the New Testament 1861-1961* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 3.

<sup>53</sup> Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, Volume II (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1971), p. 471.

<sup>54</sup> W.B. Glover, *Evangelical Nonconformists and Higher Criticism in the late Nineteenth Century*

with a non-critical understanding of the Bible<sup>55</sup> and an experiential gospel focused more on indwelling union with Christ than on objective atonement.<sup>56</sup>

In his notes on Genesis 48:15-16 Taylor criticised those within the church whom he felt were undermining the historical books of the Old Testament. He considered them as deceived and deceiving, even describing them on one occasion as ‘evil men and seducers’ who are in the pale of the professing church but who ‘would take from us the historical books of the Old Testament.’<sup>57</sup> Taylor’s critique of the new views on the Pentateuch was noted in Chapter Five.<sup>58</sup> He argued that if people would give themselves to the study of the historical books of the Old Testament with prayer and observation, then they would have no doubt about their authenticity. He ignored the fact that study and close scrutiny of the text were the means used by the higher critics.

One of Taylor’s colleagues made a harsh observation on the higher critics, when he wrote of Taylor’s attitude to scripture: ‘the shallow faculty that does nothing but criticise, and fancies that by so doing it exhibits its profound wisdom, was happily absent from his make up’.<sup>59</sup> Personally, Taylor was untroubled by the battles of criticism. The Bible was a sufficient source for faith and a foundation on which he could stand firmly, and this pragmatic approach on which he lived his life could not afford the luxury of what he regarded as mere speculation.<sup>60</sup>

Taylor saw those who denied the atonement of Christ as false teachers.<sup>61</sup> In an article on Revelation 22:17, he argued that the best evidence for the truth of Christianity is experiential, based on a thorough reading of the Bible. He exclaims: ‘Why is so much time worse than wasted over criticism of its different books?’<sup>62</sup> Taylor criticised John William Colenso (1814-1883) Bishop of Natal, over his opinion on the numbering of the children of Israel in the wilderness. Taylor’s retort was experiential, emphasising the Father’s ‘tender care’ and how he ‘bore them up as on eagles’ wings’ although the wilderness generation were ‘rebellious’.<sup>63</sup> Colenso’s work brought doubts about the traditional history of the Old Testament especially the Pentateuch.<sup>64</sup> Although Colenso’s studies have been described as ‘idiosyncratic’, they fitted into the increasingly scientific and historical mould of Victorian intellectual life.<sup>65</sup> Taylor resisted these trends. In writing on Psalm 1, he commented on individuals, churches and institutions that had lost their power through being too heavily influenced by contemporary thinking. They were in his view influenced by pride and presumption.<sup>66</sup> He assumed that such attitudes assumed their most virulent form in the area of biblical criticism that sits in the seat of judgement rather than in the place of the learner. Taylor was thus highly aggressive in his defence of conservative theological

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(London: Independent Press 1954), p. 253.

<sup>55</sup> David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 195.

<sup>56</sup> Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, Volume II, p. 471.

<sup>57</sup> J.H. Taylor, China Inland Mission Archives, CIM/JHT Box 10, sermon notes on Genesis 48:15-16.

<sup>58</sup> Chapter 5.2.3

<sup>59</sup> Baller, *Monthly Notes* (May 1908), p. 1.

<sup>60</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (July 1905), p. 92.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, (March 1894), p. 29.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, (November 1902), p. 146.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, (March 1886), p. 44.

<sup>64</sup> John Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century* (London: SPCK, 1984), pp. 220-237; Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, Volume II, pp. 96-97.

<sup>65</sup> Reardon, *Religious Thought*, p. 13.

<sup>66</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (April 1890), p. 42.

positions, concluding ‘may God preserve His people from abandoning the faith once delivered to the saints for the baseless, ephemeral fancies of the present day’.<sup>67</sup>

### 6.2.3 Taylor and the ‘Shansi Spirit’

The term ‘Shansi Spirit’ describes the disruption to the work of the CIM, notably from some BMS missionaries working in Shansi province. Alwyn Austin saw this incident as the arrival of theological liberalism in China.<sup>68</sup> The new ideas came from those who had hands-on experience of working with the Chinese and who had given deep consideration to the issues raised by the encounter of Christianity and Chinese religions. The Baptist Timothy Richard (1845-1919), who originally applied to join the CIM,<sup>69</sup> exemplified the changes that Taylor and others had to cope with. Richard became very well known in China, especially amongst the elite, and was noted for a very sympathetic attitude to Chinese Buddhism which he believed to have been deeply influenced by Nestorian Christianity: ‘consequently the religiously exclusive and intolerant found him difficult to understand and more difficult to include in the number of their elect’.<sup>70</sup>

Richard supported the CIM’s attempt to penetrate inland and to wear Chinese dress, but he noticed that the methods of mission most often used were ineffective.<sup>71</sup> Influenced by his experience of the North China famine, Richard developed a more social and educational emphasis which erupted into a major difference of opinion over theology and mission. This came from a differing view, heard at the 1877 Shanghai conference, over what was the best strategy to adopt to reach the Chinese people. Austin sees this as one of the first impacts of the new theology arriving in China in that it was probing at unchallenged assumptions rather than denying orthodox teaching.<sup>72</sup> Richard thought, like the seventeenth-century Jesuits before him, that the best approach was to begin by winning the literati by stressing the similarities between the Chinese classic beliefs and Christian belief and pointing to high points of moral behaviour and thinking. Confrontation over the gospel should be avoided.

It is clear that Richard’s methods diverged from that of the CIM. His was one that looked for more approval from the Chinese intellectuals and leadership and he gave a lot of time to studying their classics and religious pamphlets. His idea of winning the Chinese literati for Christ was quite different from what Taylor would have meant by the same phrase. Whilst Richard gave priority to education as being a way forward for China, Taylor emphasised spiritual regeneration of the Chinese themselves from all walks of life. Taylor saw clear theological differences here and he highlighted the two different ways of preaching the gospel in his sermon at the 1900 Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York. One emphasised preaching and the gradual enlightenment of the people, the other preached for instant conversion without any embellishments.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>68</sup> Austin, *China’s Millions*, p. 269.

<sup>69</sup> Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society 1792-1992* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1992) p. 181.

<sup>70</sup> William E. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China* (London: Seeley, Service & Co. Ltd, 1924), p. 18.

<sup>71</sup> Andrew F. Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History; Studies in the Transmission and Appropriation of Faith* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2002), p. 245; Lauren Pfister, ‘Re-thinking Mission in China: James Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard’, *Currents in World Christianity*, Position Paper 68 (Cambridge: 1998), p. 7.

<sup>72</sup> Austin, *China’s Millions*, p. 268.

<sup>73</sup> J.H. Taylor in E.M. Bliss, (ed) *A Report of the Ecumenical Missionary Conference*, p. 91.

Taylor was not unaware of the limitations of his approach. He knew that one of the weaknesses of the work of the CIM was that they were not more fully integrated with the Chinese. Whilst it was relatively easy to adapt to Chinese dress, it was far more difficult to get to know the Chinese heart. The acquisition of the language was a means to build relationships and to take the many opportunities to communicate the gospel.<sup>74</sup> Taylor encouraged his colleagues to familiarise themselves with the religious thought of the Chinese in order to contextualise their teaching. However, he warned against Richard's broader approach as the religious literature in Chinese was vast and a Christian should only give a small portion of his time to the study of error. Taylor noted that a particularly capable Chinese preacher made little mention of the religious literature of the Chinese. He preferred to dwell on the salvation given through Christ rather than emphasising local knowledge.<sup>75</sup>

For Taylor and some other missionary leaders like Griffith John, Richard's approach did not put the gospel at the centre and evaded the necessary clash between the Christian message and the religious systems of China. Having been exposed to the religious practices and the customs of the people Taylor concluded that Chinese culture was closed to his understanding of God,<sup>76</sup> and objected to the fascination with their literature over the priority of salvation.<sup>77</sup> Taylor and John, as with many others of the era, believed there was no meeting point between Christianity and other religions<sup>78</sup> and this meant that ancestor veneration, the transmigration of souls and anything remotely idolatrous were condemned as unbiblical. However, it was acknowledged at the 1877 Shanghai conference that it was not a useful strategy to major on denouncing the perceived errors of other religious systems.<sup>79</sup>

Richard promoted his own methods and thought that those used by the CIM workers were counter-productive. However, in the places where he worked alongside the CIM, some were influenced by his views for he was a strong and attractive character.<sup>80</sup> One of the first signs of a missionary being influenced by this teaching was to give up Bible distribution and evangelism.<sup>81</sup> In 1881, the CIM separated itself from common worship with the BMS on account of Richard and his views.<sup>82</sup> Taylor considered him 'unorthodox'.<sup>83</sup> Richard approached Taylor to discuss a comity arrangement but the idea was rejected. He found Taylor's attitude obstructive but refrained from further fanning the flames and also passed over a school into CIM hands.<sup>84</sup> Although most within Richard's own mission, the BMS, had repudiated his views, some CIM members were influenced towards Richard's position and Taylor had to go and deal with them.<sup>85</sup> Taylor rejected Richard's approach, preferring to emphasise the preaching of Christ crucified. He believed that the imbibing of what was known as the 'Shansi spirit' would cause a loss of conviction and purpose. The aim of widespread itineration was to preach to the Chinese. Taylor knew the dedication required to maintain this. He warned of the debilitating effects of

<sup>74</sup> J.H. Taylor in Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 99.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

<sup>76</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (August 1884), pp. 101-102.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, (September 1877), p. 109.

<sup>78</sup> Austin, *China's Millions*, p. 272.

<sup>79</sup> Noel Gibbard, *Griffith John* (Bridgend: Bryntirion Press, 1998), p. 203.

<sup>80</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Assault*, p. 290.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291.

<sup>82</sup> Stanley, *History of the BMS*, p. 190.

<sup>83</sup> Soothill, *Timothy Richard*, p. 118.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>85</sup> Brian Stanley, *History of the BMS*, pp. 189-190; A.J. Broomhall, *Assault*, p. 375.

constant exposure to paganism, vice, disagreement between Christians, and the effects of the ‘new theology’ emerging in the west as well as in China.<sup>86</sup>

Despite the controversy over the ‘Shansi spirit’, there was widespread agreement among Protestants about the task of mission in China. This was helped by the common background of many of the workers in the awakenings and in their shared convictions and common experiences.<sup>87</sup> The discussion at the two major missionary conferences in Shanghai<sup>88</sup> ranged over nearly every problem that confronted the mission effort in China. The majority of missionaries in China affirmed that ancestor veneration was essentially idolatrous and viewed with disapproval the religious systems of China, maintaining that eternal salvation depended on the finished work of Christ and the hearing and acceptance of the message.<sup>89</sup>

### 6.3 The Doctrine of God

Taylor was averse to speculation over theology and took little detailed interest in the new developments. His faith emphasised the reality of the living God and was based on the existence of God as depicted in the Bible. This revelation about God had to be taken seriously. There was nothing more important than personal knowledge of God.

#### 6.3.1 The Knowledge of God

Taylor wrote: ‘Few portions of the Word will help the devout student more in the pursuit of this all important “knowledge of God” than the too much neglected Song of Solomon’<sup>90</sup> which was aimed at promoting teaching on union with Christ.<sup>91</sup> As noted in the section on Taylor’s doctrine of scripture<sup>92</sup> there was a close connection between the written word and the incarnate word. It was here that ‘full faith’ in the will of God was discerned. This was mediated to the Christian by the incarnate Christ.<sup>93</sup> These cannot be separated and it is a mistake to do so. In Taylor’s view studying theology instead of studying the word of God would not strengthen the Christian.

In an article on Psalm 114, with reference to Hebrews 12, Taylor meditated on the nature of God who was able to shake all things that can be shaken<sup>94</sup> and argued that God often removed good things from the life of a Christian. For Taylor this was a promise, not a threat, for God is love and always works to benefit his people.<sup>95</sup> This action gave a clearer view of the kingdom of God. This was where theory became practical for it was a triumph of faith when these things were apprehended from a biblical point of view.<sup>96</sup> Taylor insisted that even more important was the eschatological aspect of God as the one who will cause heaven and earth to flee away at his presence. This was the God with whom

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<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 283.

<sup>87</sup> Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity: The Great Century in Northern Africa and Asia A.D. 1800-1914* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1944), p. 336.

<sup>88</sup> 1877 and 1890.

<sup>89</sup> Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (London: SPCK, 1929), p. 414.

<sup>90</sup> James Hudson Taylor, *Union and Communion* (Ross-shire: Christian Focus, 1996), p. 7.

<sup>91</sup> See Chapter Five p.116.

<sup>92</sup> Chapter 4.2.2 and 4.2.3

<sup>93</sup> J.H. Taylor in Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 56.

<sup>94</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China’s Millions* (March 1887), p. 29.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1883), p. 132.

Christians relate but he was also the God who promised his presence with his people. This knowledge of God remained in a world which lay in the grip of the evil one (1 John 5:19). Taylor lamented that this was not widely acknowledged even within the church.<sup>97</sup>

Taylor believed that the will of God in the scriptures was essentially clear. It was according to the will of the Father that the incarnate Christ died for sin. This was part of the eternal plan of God and it involved the suffering of the Son of God in order to bring eternal life. The Son himself carried out his work, with the knowledge of the joy that was set before him, and in this process commanded his followers to go and preach the Gospel following the same pattern of the Father's sending.<sup>98</sup> Jesus knew this would involve difficulty and danger but he commanded it nevertheless.

Taylor often drew on his own experience of God as Father, both in his own personal life<sup>99</sup> and in the conviction that God the Father knew what his children needed and subsequently provided for them. His most frequent designation for God was Father.<sup>100</sup> God would be able to sustain any amount of workers in China.<sup>101</sup> The phrase *Jehovah Nissi* (Exodus 17:15) was added to the mast of the *Occasional Papers* to emphasise this aspect of God the Father as provider.<sup>102</sup> For Taylor God as Father was a 'glorious reality', the source of all goodness.<sup>103</sup> Drawing on Psalm 84:11, Taylor exalted the infinite nature of God and his creation, applying the designation of God as a sun and a shield to his readers. God gave light and protection to them and withheld no good thing from those who obey him.<sup>104</sup>

Although Taylor thought that the Bible showed the various ways God acted, spiritual discernment was required to understand them. The methods that God used could not be ignored in doing God's work on earth.<sup>105</sup> Thus Christ, in his kenotic act, chose the lowest place as that best adapted to his purpose of bringing salvation. He is described as the wisdom from God exemplifying his power and embodying his character.

### 6.3.2 The Triune God

Taylor used the term 'the Triune God' to refer to the Trinity and defended a Trinitarian foundation for the work of the CIM. It was a 'glorious truth' that God 'is', the Father 'is', the Son 'is' and Holy Spirit 'is' and that the 'blessed triune God is the rewarder of them that seek him'.<sup>106</sup> The three persons of the Godhead were present at the temptation of Jesus, when he was filled with the Spirit and confronted the tempter with the words of his Father.<sup>107</sup>

Taylor's teaching on the Trinity was sometimes imposed on an Old Testament text, as in his exposition of the Aaronic blessing of Numbers 6:24-26.<sup>108</sup> In the threefold repetition of 'Lord' in this

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, (August 1884), p. 101.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, (November 1884), p. 137.

<sup>99</sup> M. Broomhall, *The Man*, p. 139.

<sup>100</sup> Kenneth S. Latourette, *These Sought a Country: Tipple Lectures* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 72.

<sup>101</sup> *China's Millions* (July/Aug 1887), p. 93.

<sup>102</sup> M. Broomhall, *The Man*, p. 123.

<sup>103</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (October 1884), p. 123.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1897), p. 85.

<sup>107</sup> J.H. Taylor in Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 44.

<sup>108</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (September 1893), p. 113.

passage, Taylor saw a Trinitarian structure in the light of the teaching of the New Testament. Orthodox belief about the Trinity was vital for CIM members.<sup>109</sup> According to Taylor, the person and the work of the Holy Spirit was not often experienced by present day Christians as a 'living bright reality'.<sup>110</sup>

The first blessing was that of the Father. It was a part of the work of Christ that God should be revealed to believers as a glorious Father who protected his people and provided them, as individuals, with what they require. He was the source of all that was noble and true and the sum total of all that was good and perfect. This was a secure basis on which to confide 'in the infinite and changeless love' of such a Father in heaven.<sup>111</sup> Taylor moved from here to exult in the safety of a Father like this who, unlike the limited love of earthly parents, was able to provide from his inexhaustible resources. This was an individual blessing and included the temporal as well as the spiritual, equipping his people for every good work and keeping them secure in his love.

The second blessing, according to Taylor, was that of the Son.<sup>112</sup> Christ's supreme work was as the kinsman-redeemer which fulfilled the plan and will of God the Father.<sup>113</sup> The relationship between the Son and the Father was shown in Christ giving himself for, and giving himself to, all those that the Father has chosen. The coming of the Son illuminated the written word of God when he fulfilled the Law's requirements and brought a righteousness that is imputed to all those that believe. Christ was also the fulfilment of many other Old Testament symbols. The face of Christ which shone on the individual revealed his character and feelings, and the purpose of God was that Christ would reveal his heart to people. The two most important roles of Christ were as bridegroom and king, for they showed the 'tenderness and preciousness' of this blessing.<sup>114</sup> Drawing once more from the Song of Songs, Taylor emphasised the approachability and the initiative of the royal bridegroom which was hampered only when neglect or disobedience had impaired the relationship on the part of the individual Christian. Taylor then gave examples of New Testament characters, such as the disciples at the Transfiguration and Stephen in Acts 7, who actually saw the face of Jesus Christ shining on them.

The third blessing was that of the Holy Spirit.<sup>115</sup> It was important to think correctly on the matter of the Holy Spirit as a distinct personality rather than an influence, since the Spirit aided in interpreting the Bible. The work of the Holy Spirit was to reveal Christ, therefore there is a similarity between the second and third blessings. The Holy Spirit applied the work of the son to the believer. As Jesus brought peace, so did the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit authenticated the experience of peace and produced the fruit of the Holy Spirit. Taylor's teaching on 'never thirsting' from John 4:14 was an example of this.<sup>116</sup>

Numbers 6 had revealed the triune God in relationship with his people and that he was unchanging. His name was revealed for all time in the designation Jehovah<sup>117</sup> and he put his name upon his people. From here Taylor moved to a consideration of the Trinitarian formula of the mission

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<sup>109</sup> J.H. Taylor, *The Arrangements*, p. 16.

<sup>110</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (November 1893), p. 141.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, (September 1893) p. 114.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1893), p. 127.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, (November 1893), p. 141.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, (December 1893), p. 155.

commandment Matthew 28:19-20. He wrote: 'True Christians are kept by the power of God, in the grace which is in Christ Jesus and receive the illumination of the Holy Ghost, in order that they may shine as lights in the world, and become living epistles known and read of all men'.<sup>118</sup>

### 6.3.3 The Works of the Triune God

There is no evidence that Taylor followed the categories of a systematic theology in his teaching and there is very little teaching about creation itself. It was part of his assumed background<sup>119</sup> and it was these assumptions about God as Creator that undergirded his observations about spiritual science as noted in Chapter Four. The scientist's work was founded on the fact that God as creator had given the laws of nature. It was reasonable to assume that from an unchanging God issued a natural law that was 'uniform action'.<sup>120</sup> Although evolutionary theories emerged during his lifetime, Taylor never specifically dealt with them. Often his references to the creation were in the context of the incarnation where he saw the creator as revealing himself in human form. He referred to the 'heavenly hosts' singing with gladness at the completion of the work of creation over chaos, as they did at the coming of Christ.<sup>121</sup> Creation was a divine work and the imagery of Isaiah 40:3-5 showed that only God can change creation.<sup>122</sup>

One of the most important aspects of the work of the Triune God for Victorian Christians was the providence of God.<sup>123</sup> This was one of the reasons for the confident expansion of the gospel, for it was believed that God was directing historical events, both great and small, towards God's predetermined goal.<sup>124</sup> For Taylor this was the evangelisation of inland China. It had the full backing of God. This was important because Taylor faced many objections to his plans for China which also appealed to the providence of God. It was argued that the lack of political protection and the general state of the interior were providential reasons for not moving forwards in Taylor's stated direction. Taylor noted that in the CIM's obedience to the direct commands of Christ they had changed the view of their opponents on this very issue of providence.<sup>125</sup>

Taylor outlined his belief in the connection between the providence of God and his aims for inland China in a separate section in *China's Spiritual Need and Claims* under the title 'Providential Facilities'.<sup>126</sup> Here he outlined those areas that he saw as part of the providence of God in the opening of China to the gospel. These included elements of geography. Free access to the interior was now available through the Eastern seaboard where the language was more uniform, compared to the south and the west which was more mountainous, with many dialects spoken. Furthermore, the prejudice against Europeans was stronger in the latter areas.<sup>127</sup> The rivers of the nation gave easy access to every part of the country which was now supported by the treaties which gave freedom of movement. The

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, (January 1893), p. 1.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 19.

<sup>122</sup> J.H. Taylor in Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 74.

<sup>123</sup> Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester: Apollon, IVP, 1990), p. 67.

<sup>124</sup> Bebbington, *Holiness*, p. 44.

<sup>125</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 79.

<sup>126</sup> James Hudson Taylor, *China's Spiritual Need and Claims* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1865), p.

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<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

religious situation in the country had also been shaken by the recent rebellions and famines which had prepared the people for 'something better'.<sup>128</sup> Taylor wrote: 'These providences seemed dark and mysterious; but the Lord was at work'. The fact that the Mandarin language was widely spoken was a major help, and the translation of the Bible had opened up the way to the Chinese heart and mind. Taylor stated: 'Men full of faith and the Holy Ghost who have enjoyed but few educational advantages can be engaged in this blessed work' for Taylor believed that the language was easy to learn.<sup>129</sup> All of these reasons became the basis of the appeal for Christians to evangelise China.

Further experience in China modified some of these optimistic conclusions. Taylor began to see some of the providences stated above as difficulties to be overcome.<sup>130</sup> These obstacles to their work had to be viewed from the 'right standpoint' within the providence of God. He drew on the example of biblical characters like Caleb and Joshua who saw the future from God's point of view.<sup>131</sup> Taylor summed up his position:

The loving, reverent, observant Christian sees the hand of God in every little event of daily life, but there are true believers even who fail to do so, while the world at large repudiates the idea of a particular providence. God meets our daily needs. He brings the harvest. Men however see only the secondary causes and fail to recognise the hand of our God.<sup>132</sup>

This reference to a particular providence shows that Taylor, like most evangelicals of his day, distinguished between the general providence to which many theists would assent and the particular providence that saw the events of the development of the CIM as a very real part of their daily existence.

Taylor also emphasised the importance of the glory of the triune God. This glory was not only an eschatological reality but something that was understandable in the present and needed to be testified to<sup>133</sup> and meditated upon.<sup>134</sup> Outwardly, Taylor was concerned that all of the Mission's work should show something of the glory of the triune God through faithful witness.<sup>135</sup>

## 6.4 Anthropology

Part of Taylor's motivation in his appeals for workers for itinerant ministry was not just to see conversions but to enlighten the Chinese mind about God. He maintained that the Chinese nation had lost the knowledge of the living God and that without this there could be no knowledge of sin and consequently no place for grace, forgiveness or atonement.<sup>136</sup> This section highlights Taylor's emphasis on the natural state of humanity before considering his view on personal sin.

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<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>130</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (March 1877), p. 30.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, (March 1877), p. 29.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1884), p. 124.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, (June 1879), p. 81.

<sup>136</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (February 1890), p. 16.

### 6.4.1 Man and Sin

Taylor gave no specific teaching on mankind as the image of God nor did he interact with evolutionary theories about the origins of creation. For Taylor, it was self-evident that men and women were created by God, for he found it a strange fact that man alone resists his Maker<sup>137</sup> and was dismayed over those who enjoy the magnificence of creation but do not acknowledge the creator of it all.<sup>138</sup> This was because of humanity's sinful state. In commenting on 1 John 3:8, Taylor mentioned some of the results of the fall in Genesis 3. Doubt and suspicion had been brought into the minds of Adam and Eve in the place of confidence and trust. Freedom was given up; instead of a relationship with the living God men and women became enslaved, ruined by sin and subject to death. This would have been their permanent state unless a deliverer had been found.<sup>139</sup> Nevertheless, sin always had consequences.<sup>140</sup>

Taylor lived in a time of rapid technological advance but he, like many other evangelical Christians, had a negative view of the surrounding world. In 1880, Taylor described the times in which he was living as 'remarkable'. They were times of trial and danger and there was little expectation of improvement because of the prevalence of sin and the judgements of God being poured out. As things in the world deteriorated, God would pour out more judgements on the world.<sup>141</sup>

For Taylor one of the consequences of modern trends in theology was a deficient view of sin. This had made it more likely that present-day Christians would be unable to perceive the reality and extent of sin in the world. He compared the situation of the redeemed in Revelation 21 with the fearful. He noted that many people lived in fear. This was especially true just before supposed imminent death as they looked forward to an uncertain future. Taylor remarked how 'conscience tells no lies in that hour, and it tells the dying sinner that there is no blessing awaiting him'.<sup>142</sup> Taylor epitomised the crucicentric perspective of evangelicalism, convinced that the cross showed how seriously God viewed sin, and detected tendencies that caused Christians to minimise sin.<sup>143</sup>

Taylor identified two extremes that affected issues of sin and holiness.<sup>144</sup> On the one hand, he insisted that it was unscriptural to accept the idea that sin must reign whilst the believer is still in the flesh; on the other hand, it was equally unscriptural to argue that a believer can get rid of sin totally in this life. For Taylor the remedy for these two extremes was Christ himself. Taylor agonised over such matters until one day the truth of John 6:35 illuminated his understanding in a new and fresh way. The key issue for Taylor was that if Christ was sufficient for salvation then he was also sufficient for the life that ensued from that salvation. From this new understanding Taylor testified to a new joy and peace that was obtained through faith. This did not mean that Taylor was free from sin, but that his life was lived on a new plane from that point onwards.<sup>145</sup> The link with sin was broken at the cross and Taylor urged living in the light of Romans 6:11 and appreciating the extent of identification with Christ

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<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, (February 1887), p.15.

<sup>138</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 62.

<sup>139</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (April 1885), p. 39.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, (December 1894), p. 163.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, (January 1880), p. 1.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, (August 1884), pp. 101-102.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, (April 1893), p. 44.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, (June 1883), p. 64.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, (January 1887), p. 9.

in his death and resurrection.<sup>146</sup> According to Taylor, the believer who abides in Christ does it without indulging in any known sin for he is dead to sin.<sup>147</sup> Taylor was not claiming sinlessness, but he maintained that the presence of Christ in his life could keep him from sinning and immediate confession was the remedy for those sins of which he was aware.<sup>148</sup>

From his teaching on Numbers 15, Taylor commented on those sins that are committed unconsciously. These are serious and determined by the Bible not individual opinion. For Taylor, ignorance of the will of God was sinful. Ultimately, sin could only be dealt with through the atonement. However, God showed his mercy and grace in his dealings with the children of Israel over sins committed in ignorance by providing through the sacrificial system. For presumptuous sins there was no sacrifice possible. All sin was serious and even when there was confession the Christian was never beyond the need for atonement.<sup>149</sup> For the person who knowingly ignores the will of God and sins deliberately, his communion with God is brought to an end and he places himself on a slippery slope going backwards. There was an example of this in the man gathering sticks on the Sabbath.<sup>150</sup>

In an editorial in *China's Millions* entitled 'The Lord God Omnipotent Reigneth', Taylor reminded his readers that all Christians needed to live fully aware of the truth of this title.<sup>151</sup> An eschatological perspective meant the eventual defeat of evil, but for present times there were the sufficient promises of God in the Bible and the task of mission. The Christian must not minimise sin to excuse his weakness. Taylor saw the answer to this in Jesus Christ: 'Christ for us, Christ with us and Christ in us'. Taylor used Romans 8:2 when he elaborated on 'Christ in us'. The indwelling Christ was able to take possession of the believer in such a way that Christ took over each life, making every Christian a member of his body which according to Taylor was meat and drink to the Christian.<sup>152</sup> This union with Christ showed the serious nature of sin. Although God forgave and forgot the sin of the Christian, there was still an accounting for the way life has been lived in this world. Taylor used 2 Corinthians 5:10 to make this point and also commented that in the present life there was a measure of reaping what was sown.<sup>153</sup>

#### 6.4.2 Conversion and Grace

Taylor highlighted some of his own intense spiritual experiences, including his own conversion to Christ.<sup>154</sup> His personal experience of Christ moulded his life's work but his views on conversion came from scripture as mediated through the pietist and evangelical traditions. Taylor's main motivation for going to China, outlined in *China's Spiritual Need and Claims*, was the situation of the 'perishing millions'. In 1897 Taylor estimated that through the work of the CIM between fifteen and twenty

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, (September 1889), p. 129.

<sup>147</sup> J.H. Taylor in H. Taylor, *Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission: The Growth of a Work of God* (London: CIM & RTS, 1918), p. 177.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>149</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (January 1889), pp. 1-2.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, (June 1883), p. 63.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64

<sup>153</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Spiritual Need*, p. 37.

<sup>154</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions*, (May 1886), p. 54.

thousand Chinese had ‘accepted Christ’.<sup>155</sup> Although many of these people were elderly Chinese, Taylor was not daunted but rejoiced in the value of each one of them. His records of church growth in China emphasise the essential element of conversion, turning away from sin to the Saviour, and a concern to validate this by ensuring the genuine nature of that conversion before baptism.

Taylor regaled his readers with conversion stories from China that showed the sheer variety of how people became Christians in China. These were used to back up appeals for new workers.<sup>156</sup> His obituary in the Anglican paper *The Guardian* (1905), highlighted Taylor's emphasis on the individual soul in need of conversion and the importance of faith in bringing salvation as against more sacramental means of grace.<sup>157</sup> This was an implicit criticism of his lack of a sacramental theology. Regenerative re-creation was foundational for Taylor. This viewpoint relativised the legitimacy of other ministries. Although Taylor saw positive value in medical and educational missions, they were auxiliary to the preaching of the gospel. They were helpful but not necessary.<sup>158</sup> In other words Taylor defined the gospel in essentially ‘spiritual’ terms.

It is recorded that just before Taylor died the Christians at Chen-chow came out to meet him travelling in his sedan chair to give some refreshments.<sup>159</sup> Some of the men and boys were holding up shining objects that glinted in the sun. They were holding up a motto in Chinese that said ‘Inland China’s grace man’ or ‘Benefactor of Inland China’. Taylor often faced criticism and hostility both internally and externally and it was observed that ‘grace, not natural temperament has supported him’.<sup>160</sup>

Taylor saw a reliable link between God’s constancy in the natural realm and the realm of grace. Although Taylor did not use the terms, he distinguished between common grace and special grace. This meant that God’s methods and actions could be studied in the Bible and understood through the illumination of the Holy Spirit. Taylor concluded that the opening up of inland China was an example of the grace of God responding to prayer.<sup>161</sup> He used the example of the Apostle Peter being released from jail in the book of Acts, to show that no doors were closed to faith. This faith was what was needed in preaching to the Chinese. Taylor did not just insist on preaching grace to the Chinese for which he was criticised, but he also advocated that the missionary must ‘give them an object lesson in grace’.<sup>162</sup> Grace with power was essential as the only possibility of bringing conversions for ‘the Chinese race is hard material, earth sunk’. Everything must be invested in trusting God for this act of grace; there was no room for a partial trust in God.<sup>163</sup> The missionary had to meet all aspects of the Chinese culture and character with a dependence on divine grace that displayed the fully orbed truths of the gospel. There was to be no attempt to use devious means in mission.<sup>164</sup> Taylor’s emphasis on the

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<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, (January 1897), p. 1

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, (December 1878), p. 172, (February 1890), p. 16.

<sup>157</sup> H. Taylor, *In Memoriam*, p. 11.

<sup>158</sup> J.H. Taylor, M. Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 84.

<sup>159</sup> *China's Millions*, (September 1905), p. 122.

<sup>160</sup> Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 163.

<sup>161</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (December 1886), p. 163.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>164</sup> J.H. Taylor, Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 30.

importance of the spiritual qualities of the missionary meant that he blamed the hard heart of the missionary as the main hindrance to the spread of the gospel,<sup>165</sup> ignoring other possible explanations.

Grace was to be applied to everyone. Taylor saw that many Christians were fearful and defensive about their faith, fearing that they might discredit Christ. This was an error because it forgot the fundamental principle that Christians can no more keep themselves in the grace of God than they can save themselves in the first place.<sup>166</sup> This attitude had a negative affect on the call to mission in that many thought of themselves as unworthy for the task ahead. They needed to heed Paul's call in 2 Corinthians 12:9 about grace. For Taylor Psalm 84:11 showed the Christian that God would give both grace and glory. Glory was not only an eschatological reality but something that can be received by the disciple today.<sup>167</sup> There was glory in being a Christian, serving God each day and in the growth in inward understanding as they meditated on Christ as well as the glory to come.

Taylor had an understanding of the grace of God in his early Christian life. Thomas Neatby testified to receiving Taylor's pastoral advice during a time of intense spiritual struggle.<sup>168</sup> The subject of Taylor's letter to him, which brought great relief to Neatby, was the pure grace of God from Ephesians 2. This was needed in China too. Life was often precarious and Taylor saw many colleagues and friends die during the course of his career. He knew that it was necessary to live one day at a time and receive the grace sufficient for that day.

Taylor considered those who are blessed by considering the poor in an editorial from Psalm 41:1-3. The heart of man was so selfish that it was only by an act of grace that people can take on this mantle, so explicitly shown in the life of Christ. Taylor then dismissed categories of givers who give through wrong motives before alighting on the blessed man as the one who considered the poor, exemplified sacrificial service: all done to the glory of God. He was keen that these verses should not be spiritualised and lose their obvious meaning, something that Protestants were often guilty of. This priority should direct the distribution of their wealth. The consideration of the physically poor then led Taylor on to the spiritual poverty that prevailed.<sup>169</sup> It is noteworthy that Taylor struck a balance between the preaching of the gospel and what might be termed social needs. From the earliest days in China, Taylor provided for the poor and destitute with a daily breakfast.<sup>170</sup> During the 1870s Taylor, along with many other missionaries, was instrumental in responding to the severe famine that began in Shansi and spread to other northern provinces. Despite this work, Taylor would not have seen the meeting of these social needs as an essential part of the missionary enterprise.

## 6.5 Christology

The importance of Christology to Taylor's spirituality has been outlined above in Chapter Five. Taylor's teaching on the work of Christ had implications for his view of the call and work of the missionary based on the incarnation, crucifixion and resurrection.

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<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>166</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (May 1889), p. 59.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1884), p. 124.

<sup>168</sup> Thomas Neatby, *In Memoriam*, pp. 80-81.

<sup>169</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (June 1877), p. 70.

<sup>170</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Hudson Taylor's Retrospect* (London: OMF Books, Eighteenth Edition, 1974), p. 103.

### 6.5.1 The Person and Work of Christ

The person and work of Christ was central to the preaching of Taylor and his CIM colleagues. His projected aim was to teach the Chinese the knowledge of the triune God.<sup>171</sup> This necessitated preaching about Christ and his uniqueness as expressed in John 14:6 and Acts 4:12. This Christological emphasis led to a diminishing of the use of the Old Testament in the writing of teaching materials for the Chinese. The knowledge of God acting in history through the covenant was important for the Chinese mind, but often the Gospel presented by western missionaries was an individualistic one concerned with personal salvation from sin, punishment and death.<sup>172</sup> This was certainly Taylor's emphasis. It led him to a concentration on an applied Christology which manifested itself in the desire to apply biblical teaching to the person as quickly as possible. It was the reason why much of his use of the Old Testament was an important background for the work of Christ. Ignoring the immediate context, Taylor applied Isaiah 50:7 as a reminder of the example of Christ who steadfastly served others on his way to Jerusalem. There, Christ was not ashamed as God exalted Him to the highest place where He now reigns over all things. This was the context in which the Christian received the Great Commission and the promise of the presence of Christ in working it out.<sup>173</sup>

Taylor's emphasis on the work of Christ and the individual call for salvation can be seen in the way Taylor applied his Christology. He often moved from a consideration of a text to its immediate application to the life of the reader. For Taylor Christ always provided a model for his disciples to emulate. For example, Taylor saw in the words of Galatians 1:4 the will and purpose of God clearly expressed in the scriptures.<sup>174</sup> Salvation was the central work of God. The pre-existent Christ had a part in creation and was always ready to do the will of the Father that focused on redemption. The Son in carrying out the will of the Father emptied himself and with joy at the eternal result set about his work willingly. This was the pattern to be followed.<sup>175</sup> It was the same with Christ's work of reconciliation that has been mandated to the followers of Christ in the same way.<sup>176</sup>

One of Taylor's most frequent descriptions of Christ was that of Christ as royalty. Taylor argued from Acts 5:31 that Christ had to be accepted as a prince if he was to be saviour. Royalty should bring subjection but many refused. Others were 'half saved' for they lacked consecration and wanted to determine their own destiny. The prodigal son eventually found what present experience confirmed, that there was peace, rest, fruitfulness and power inside the kingdom.<sup>177</sup> Taylor's challenge betrayed his Victorian assumptions when he asked whether the reign of Christ reaches to the servants in the house and even the tidiness of the wardrobe. His main concern however, was whether or not Christians would obey the royal commands of Christ to preach the Gospel to every creature.

This applied Christology was driven by the need to find *spiritual* meaning in the text. Taylor used Matthew 15:29-38 at the opening of the Shanghai missionary conference.<sup>178</sup> In spiritualising the

<sup>171</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Spiritual Needs*, p. 39.

<sup>172</sup> Pui-lan Kwok, *Chinese Women and Christianity 1860-1927* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1992), p. 43.

<sup>173</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (January 1880), p. 2.

<sup>174</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 44.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>176</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (January 1902), p. 1.

<sup>177</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 137.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1890), p. 129.

text Taylor gave no consideration to the historical context or the theological perspective of Matthew. His focus was on the present experience of those assembled for the conference. As Jesus had compassion on the multitudes and would not send them away empty so those present at the conference needed Jesus to draw near to them and to open his heart to them. Christ wanted to feed his disciples. Taylor drew parallels between the obtuseness of the disciples, who although they had already seen the feeding of the five thousand had so quickly forgotten what had happened, and the present-day disciple who also quickly forgot what God had done for them. This narrative showed the disciples of the Lord 'as the instruments through which he wrought his greatest work', although they were weak in faith.<sup>179</sup> This lack of faith explained the disciples' reaction to the multitude and showed their inability, despite the evidence, to see Jesus as he was. Nevertheless, Jesus' method in feeding the people was a united action between Jesus and his disciples. It was not a matter of arithmetic but one of entire consecration.<sup>180</sup> This gave Taylor the opportunity to issue the familiar challenge as to the state of their consecration.<sup>181</sup> There were a number of important strands that effected Taylor's interpretation here. Holiness-related ideas were to the forefront and the application focused on the individual spiritual life of the participants. His interpretation was also affected by concerns in China. It was divorced from the place of the text in Matthew's gospel or any kind of links to the Old Testament and the person of Christ as set out by Matthew.

Taylor's Christology also had implications for the discipleship of converts. 1 Peter 2:21 was another text that Taylor used to show the connection between Christ and his followers.<sup>182</sup> Christ was often rejected in the contemporary world as he was in the first advent. People were as blind to the merits of his work as were those who crucified him were blind to the 'excellencies of his person'. Conversion made a difference but it was still possible for Christians to have little understanding of what that salvation entailed. The lives of many in the contemporary church showed this. Taylor refuted the idea that such teaching was now no longer applicable because the church in Britain was not in a time of persecution as were the readers of Peter's letter. He conceded that those who were persecuted would find it more profitable if they saw it within the context of their calling and thus were able to turn their sorrow into joy. They were only following the example of Christ who expected Christians to do good and maybe to suffer for it, for this is best for the disciple, best for others and above all brings glory to God.

For Taylor, this approach would lead to successful mission. The early Christians who suffered knew Christ and understood that their calling involved suffering and difficulty, thus they were not surprised nor overwhelmed by them. Taylor then critiqued the statement that 'the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church', which was only true to the extent that the church saw and appreciated her calling.<sup>183</sup> The church's message was about Christ's costly sacrifice to bring reconciliation to the peoples of the world. Taylor observed that the Chinese found this hard to understand for their culture emphasised revenge. To make the message intelligible it had to be lived amongst them and this was the

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<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1890), p. 130.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

<sup>182</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (April 1877), p. 41.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*

calling of the Christian. The missionary would be treated as Christ was treated; patience was needed to illustrate the message of the gospel and then it needed the further explanation that the experience of the missionary was a fraction of what God had to bear for them. This involved a positive attitude to adversity: the greater the adversity the greater the testimony. The suffering early church made great advances for the Gospel but was eventually stifled. Taylor believed that this was no oversight in the plan of God but eventually when prosperity and social acceptance became the lot of the church, spiritual death ensued.<sup>184</sup> He believed that it was the lack of this suffering for Christ that made the church at home feeble and brought limited success overseas.

### 6.5.2 Kenosis

This section considers another area of applied Christology in Taylor's teaching by introducing the theme of *kenosis*, self-emptying, before looking at some specific Bible texts that illustrate it and then at Taylor's application of this principle to mission in China.

#### *Theory*

*Kenosis* was an important aspect of Taylor's Christology although he never used the Greek term. His use of the theme majored on the self-emptying of Christ in his incarnation with particular application to mission. As Christ identified with humanity in salvation, so should the Christian identify with others in mission. Taylor viewed the Christian as united with Christ through his death and resurrection. This is both epistemological and experiential. He distinguished between the positional work of Christ in salvation and the personal application of that to the life of the individual believer.<sup>185</sup> Union with Christ was only achieved when there was a relationship established with Jesus. This made God the Father of Christians and applied the life and death of Jesus to them as well. This was essential for a life of holiness. The full identification of Christ with mankind, save for sin, made this a possibility as Jesus has provided direction and power for the disciple. Taylor suspected some of the motivation of the holiness movement in the pursuit of the deepening of the spiritual life that emphasised personal spiritual enjoyment.<sup>186</sup> He pointed out that if being godly means being god-like, then that should have an outward focus. As Christ emptied himself in the incarnation, so Christians will emulate him and follow this pattern. Holiness will issue in humility, if by that means salvation may be brought to many.<sup>187</sup>

There were specific texts that Taylor utilised in his teaching on the *kenosis* of Christ. John 20:21 was a text he often used, a quote from Jesus that emphasised the sending of the disciple emulating the way the Father sent the Son. He used it as an appeal for China.<sup>188</sup> It highlighted a missiological principle in showing the way in which Jesus fulfilled his mission. It was fundamental for Taylor that Christ was not only a saviour but laid down a pattern for service for his disciples.<sup>189</sup> This was reinforced in his prayer at the garden of Gethsemane. Taylor noted that Christ willingly laid aside

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<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>185</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (April 1885), p. 40.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, (November 1884), p. 136.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>188</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (January 1902), p. 1.

<sup>189</sup> J.H. Taylor in Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 40.

his throne of glory, left the ease and happiness of heaven and became incarnate in order to bring salvation.<sup>190</sup> For Taylor the working out of this pattern was seen in three main areas.

The first area was the necessity of Christ to empty himself of all that was good in his pre-incarnate state. This was his first action. This meant that it was not just sufficient to renounce evil but to find out what good and positive things need renouncing. Christ was stripped of his glory to become man, became lower than the angels and took on the frame of man so that he could die as a man. Yet he was 'crowned' by tasting death for everyone through suffering and becoming subject to him who had the power of death. He conquered the devil by submission to the Father's will, not resistance. Taylor illustrated this with the example of Paul's captivity in Rome which helped to strengthen the local Christians.<sup>191</sup> The principle here of triumph through adversity was also seen in Acts 16. Despite persecution, Paul and Silas were enabled to sing. There was power in seeing people who rejoiced in their afflictions.

The second area that Taylor highlighted is that Christ, after emptying himself, was then filled with the Holy Spirit at his baptism and there he spoke the words of his Father. This for Taylor was a challenge for the worker to be so filled with the Holy Spirit that he reflected in everything the will of Christ.<sup>192</sup> Jesus was so equipped for service that he was always ready with the right word, action or thought. This was also seen as God's will for the Christian.<sup>193</sup> The disciple could know by faith that all that he had was sufficient for present needs.

The third area identified by Taylor, dealt with the reality of opposition to the gospel that all missionaries faced and the likelihood of persecution. He was sure of one thing, 'that as the Gospel is successful, and the Chinese see that Christianity is not unlikely to uproot their ancestral customs, we shall have no slight persecution to endure'.<sup>194</sup> This needed to be viewed kenotically. Taylor asked, how did Jesus view the will of God?<sup>195</sup> The answer was that he obeyed it and that involved the shame of the cross, before he experienced the joy of the resurrection and his ascension on high. When this was complete he commissioned his disciples in the words of John 20:21 to follow the same pattern of discipleship in the world. The extent of suffering that this would involve was not hidden from the disciples. This same mandate remained for Christians.<sup>196</sup>

### *General Application*

Taylor's applied Christology extended to the incarnation. He reminded his readers that the incarnation was God's work on the margins of history.<sup>197</sup> This 'lowest place' was that which was best adapted for carrying out his purposes. Taylor used Hebrews 2:14 to teach on the incarnation of Christ and how it

<sup>190</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT Box 10.

<sup>191</sup> J.H. Taylor, in Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 41.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>195</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (November 1884), p. 137.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>197</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 19.

was ‘specially instructive’ to those who were involved in world mission.<sup>198</sup> He thought that the incarnation was being received with wonder in China by those whose understanding had not been dulled by centuries of Christendom. Christians could follow Christ’s example in the incarnation. It was the desire of the risen Christ that they should bear fruit and that the life of Christ within each believer should facilitate this.<sup>199</sup> In the same way the incarnation exemplified how mission was to be done. Luke 2:14 was an example of this ‘Secret of Success’. Taylor cited the response of the angels at the announcement of the arrival of the deliverer after four thousand years.<sup>200</sup> Christ came in weakness and humility, shedding his glory for poverty to destroy the work of the devil. Christians cannot improve on the plan of God.<sup>201</sup> This was applied equally to the apostolic mission in the New Testament as to modern mission.<sup>202</sup> Taylor insisted that ‘in modern missions it will invariably be found that in proportion to the non-reliance on wealth, education, or political power, and in proportion to the self emptying with which they are carried on, the issues are encouraging’.<sup>203</sup>

The response of Christians in the light of the kenotic example of Christ was a vital theme for Taylor. Taylor lamented the failure of many Christians at this point. He remarked that many had been glad to follow the Saviour in salvation but had made a meagre response in terms of sacrificial service in their own lives. So many Christians had responded in such a way that their commitment seems like ‘pleasant recreation’ rather than self denying service.<sup>204</sup>

Taylor saw kenosis in action among the apostles. Barnabas identified with Christ becoming poor for the sake of mission and being willing to work as an artisan when travelling with Paul. This was a voluntary act. As Christ became a Jewish man, so the apostle Paul, a Jew, attempted identification with the Gentiles.<sup>205</sup> Practically, this meant that Paul emptied himself on behalf of the churches and so preached Christ that he shared fully in Jesus’ sufferings. Paul chose Barnabas because he understood something of the principle of identification as seen in Acts 4.<sup>206</sup> This was a ministry deliberately patterned on Christ. Paul’s preaching of the Gospel was supported by an authentic and consistent life to such an extent that he could maintain that he had walked blamelessly amongst the early believers.<sup>207</sup> Taylor wrote: ‘No mightier power has been entrusted to us than that true sympathy which identifies itself with those it seeks to benefit; it carries the heart captive. And to get close access to the hearts of the people is our great aim: to win their confidence and love is the daily object’.<sup>208</sup>

In 1 Corinthians 9:19-23 the immediate focus of the *kenosis* for Taylor was that Jesus the Jew gave immediate priority of ministry to the Jews.<sup>209</sup> He identified with them in all things but was not sinful. He entered their day-to-day life even when it was unpleasant.<sup>210</sup> In short he emptied himself.

<sup>198</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China’s Millions* (April 1885), p. 39.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, (January 1885), p. 1.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>202</sup> Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 193.

<sup>203</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 19

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137. *China’s Millions* (November 1884), p. 137.

<sup>205</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China’s Millions* (June 1885), p. 64.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, (December 1886), p. 161; M. Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 29.

<sup>208</sup> J.H. Taylor in A.J. Broomhall, *Survivors*, p. 356.

<sup>209</sup> For application in mission policy of Taylor’s teaching see Chapter 7.5.1

<sup>210</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, 13 (May 1868), p. 134.

Jesus exemplified this when he washed his disciples' feet. That became a paradigm for the Apostle Paul who himself said 'for me to live is Christ'. Paul shared in the reproach and rejection of his Master. Taylor argued that Paul's preaching at Athens was a failure and that from then on he decided to know nothing except for the crucified Christ. Here there was implicit criticism of other methods of mission in China exemplified by people such as Timothy Richard. Taylor noted Paul's failure in attempts to deal with the learned in Athens. Corinth, described by Taylor as 'one of the most *literary* cities in the world' needed a self-emptying approach. Whilst this argument may not stand up to present scholarly examination, it does not distract from Taylor's overall perspective on the matter. Paul disdained his former way of life and any advantages that his position, education or career to date might have given him. The reason that Paul did this was eschatological. For Paul there was a realised eschatology in his present experience of joy and success in ministry in the light of the promises of God about the present and the future.<sup>211</sup>

2 Corinthians 8:9 was another text that shows how kenotic considerations influenced Taylor's theology of mission. The self-emptying of Christ in the incarnation discussed in this text portrayed the wisdom of God in action which had repercussions for mission. Once again Taylor was looking to apply what he saw as a biblical principle. It was not possible to ignore the ways in which God has worked in order to do the work of God successfully,<sup>212</sup> but many have disdained these principles and have ended up doing the work of God in a manner that was not appropriate.<sup>213</sup> The *kenosis* of Christ was a pattern for mission. He is described as the wisdom and power of God Himself. His coming is the manifestation of the grace of God.

Taylor used Philippians 2:6-7, the classical passage on *kenosis*, to comment on the self-emptying of Christ in a paper written for candidates. He reflected on exactly what it was that Christ gave up in coming to this world.<sup>214</sup> He became a 'despised Nazarene', misunderstood and finally rejected by his own people. True reflection on these things led to a life of sacrifice. Fully consecrated people would find joy and satisfaction in such a life but those who continually questioned would lose their joy and freedom in service.

These insights aided Taylor in forging a new method for mission based on faith. It also enabled the CIM to endure suffering and persecution for the principle of self-emptying and self-denial was a condition for personal spiritual blessing and for the advance of the gospel.

#### *Application in the Chinese Context*

Taylor taught that missionaries should exhibit different levels of *kenosis*. Some of these were seemingly superficial but remain a vital element of a deeper process required for effective evangelism among the Chinese. Taylor led the way in identifying with the Chinese by living amongst them and learning from them. He learned Chinese etiquette.<sup>215</sup> He employed a cook and a water carrier for cultural reasons that befitted his teacher status. He used Chinese eating utensils to the extent that it was

<sup>211</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (June 1885), p. 64.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, (February 1885), p. 14.

<sup>213</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 22.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17

<sup>215</sup> Andrew, *Personal Reminiscence*, p. 7.

hard to find any western eating implements when a foreigner visited who was unused to using chopsticks.<sup>216</sup> He learned to walk slowly and listened to his Chinese companions who encouraged him to get his head shaved and to wear Chinese clothes.<sup>217</sup> His life was under constant scrutiny from Chinese neighbours.<sup>218</sup>

One of the most significant actions that Hudson Taylor took in his attempts to propagate the gospel in China was the wearing of Chinese dress. Long before Taylor, Jesuit missionaries had adopted this practice but within the Protestant community he was an innovator.<sup>219</sup> This became a required part of the work of the CIM and Taylor reported how valuable this was in early outreach.<sup>220</sup> He did not pretend that this would inevitably produce converts but insisted that this principle, found in 1 Corinthians 9:22, was essential in applying the Gospel to China. Taylor believed that the work could be advanced or retarded to the extent that these means were or were not used in the proclamation of the Gospel. His aim was always to get as close as possible to the hearts of the people, to win their confidence and he wrote: 'to effect this we seek as far as possible to meet them – in costume, in language, in manners'.<sup>221</sup> The CIM institutionalised what had been an individual preference. It proved far from easy to persuade everybody. In a letter, written in August 1867 to the workers, Taylor admitted that some who worked nearer the coast were still using western dress; he maintained that Chinese dress would be applicable in every part of China and for work in the interior it was an 'absolute prerequisite'.<sup>222</sup> This had been borne out by personal experience.<sup>223</sup> There were positive comments from those who adorned Chinese dress on their first arrival in China although Taylor had a few difficulties at first in acquiring all that was needed for the women.<sup>224</sup> It was particularly important for the work amongst women.<sup>225</sup>

On a less superficial level Taylor outlined some of the main details involved in the *kenosis* of Christ and the implications that this had for the work of mission.<sup>226</sup> In the 1886 *Arrangements of the CIM* he warned that the failure to adapt to the Chinese would mean a longer probation or even withdrawal from the mission.<sup>227</sup> Identification with the Chinese was crucial but this did not include a review of the use of the Bible amongst the Chinese. Taylor used Hebrews 2:17 over an article on identification.<sup>228</sup> This verse, referring to the high priesthood of Christ and his becoming 'all things' in the incarnation, was thought appropriate application to the missionary task. This included understanding as far as possible the thoughts and feelings of the Chinese, and not just dressing up like them. Taylor's main concern was the relationship between the missionary and the Chinese. The

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<sup>216</sup> H. Taylor, *Growth*, p. 181.

<sup>217</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 246.

<sup>218</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Thousand Lives*, p. 95, Gleaner (February 1<sup>st</sup> 1858), p. 20.

<sup>219</sup> R. Steer, *Pushing Inward*, p. 11.

<sup>220</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, 13 (May 1868), p. 134.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>222</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT 106, (August 1867), p. 5.

<sup>223</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, 31, (October 1872), p. 9.

<sup>224</sup> Frank Houghton, *The Fire Burns On. 1865-1965. CIM Anthology: Compiled and Arranged by F.Houghton* (London: CIM/OMF & Lutterworth Press, 1965), pp. 116-119.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>226</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (April 1885), p. 40.

<sup>227</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Arrangements*, p. 17.

<sup>228</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 15 This was a paper written for candidates not later than 1868.

observant Chinese, sensitive to relational harmony, would notice the attitudes of the missionaries who believed themselves to be in a superior cultural position. They would also notice how missionaries related to their superiors and if they detected any rebellion in this relationship then they would be unable to exercise spiritual authority among those they were seeking to evangelise. Taylor wrote: 'This great truth brought home to the heart, puts us all in the right position towards God and man. I dwell on this, for our whole success among the Chinese depends on our living this truth among them'.<sup>229</sup> Taylor highlighted the importance of the character of the missionary for reflecting Christ's kenotic example. The apostle Paul showed in his life and teaching that he was prepared to give up everything for those who he was seeking to reach. This was a life that showed self-sacrifice and gave an example not readily understood by the Chinese. Taylor argued that the New Testament taught that a denial of self-interest was integral to the spread of the Gospel. This was most clearly seen when the missionary visibly demonstrated this.<sup>230</sup>

Taylor noted that 1 Corinthians 9:19-23 was followed by the exhortation to run the race in order to receive the prize. He asserted: 'We confidently believe that there is a secret here which would often have spared tired workers the disappointment of years of unsuccessful labour'.<sup>231</sup> The apostle Paul's life of emulating Christ accounted for some of his remarkable missionary successes.<sup>232</sup> This was the pattern for the missionary to identify with the poor so that they might receive salvation. The kenotic principle was thus an essential impetus for the concern of the CIM to identify as nearly as possible with the Chinese.<sup>233</sup> The *kenosis* of Christ provided the yardstick by which to measure all else.<sup>234</sup> Temporary inconvenience was diminished if one fully understood what Christ had given up.<sup>235</sup> This would remove one of the chief objections to Christianity as 'a foreign religion', supported by foreign nations with foreign buildings and ways of operating. This had been a major barrier in preaching to the Chinese. Taylor had no desire to remove the Chinese people from their immediate cultural context or political environment. Instead he wrote: 'We wish to see Christian Chinaman and Chinawoman, true Christians, but withal true Chinese in every sense of the word. We wish to see churches of Christian Chinese presided over by Chinese pastors and officers, worshipping in edifices of a thoroughly Chinese style of architecture....Let us in everything not sinful, become Chinese, that by all means we may win some'.<sup>236</sup>

### 6.5.1 Cross and Resurrection

Putting emphasis on the cross of Christ has been acknowledged as one of the four distinguishing marks of evangelicalism.<sup>237</sup> For Taylor it was foundational to understanding the kenotic work of Christ. The cross was the event where Taylor most saw the evidence of God's love. It was through Christ's work on the cross that he perceived a faint glimpse of 'the brightness of his glory' and saw the image of God in

<sup>229</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Arrangements*, p. 47.

<sup>230</sup> J.H. Taylor in Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 39.

<sup>231</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (June 1885), p. 64.

<sup>232</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 16.

<sup>233</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT 106, Letter to CIM candidates (August 1867), pp. 7-9.

<sup>234</sup> J.H. Taylor in A.J. Broomhall, *Survivors' Pact*, p. 357.

<sup>235</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *The Man*, p. 125.

<sup>236</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 16.

<sup>237</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 14.

the face of Jesus.<sup>238</sup> Atonement was an essential part of the work of Christ on the cross<sup>239</sup> and he defended it against his contemporaries who gave testimony to Jesus but denied the atoning work on the cross.<sup>240</sup> Christ's work was substitutionary and effective for all people. The problem was that people preferred darkness rather than light.<sup>241</sup> He taught that the substitution of the innocent victim for the guilty offerer is a consistent theme in the Bible.<sup>242</sup> The cross was also important for Taylor's teaching on abiding for there the Christian had the atonement and righteousness of Christ imputed to the individual. This brought union with Christ and issued in freedom and power.<sup>243</sup>

Contrary to the seventeenth-century Jesuits, Taylor strongly emphasised the application of the cross in his message to the Chinese. 'Christ crucified' was a topic that eschewed intellectual approaches to ministry among the Chinese.<sup>244</sup> This desire to apply the work of Christ both to the missionary's life and to the hearer of the message led Taylor to maintain that Paul understood this crucifixion with Christ practically, not imputatively.<sup>245</sup> He argued that for Paul crucifixion meant death. In the light of this understanding Paul emphasised dying daily rather than taking up his cross daily. Practically this meant that Paul, and by implication missionaries, were never surprised by any hardship or danger.

This was possible because Taylor taught an applied Christology. Using Jesus' call for self-denial in Luke 9:23, he stated that the cross was not designed for Christ alone but was incumbent on all his followers. For Taylor, a Christian was wholly owned by God because he has been crucified with Christ. This was apostolic teaching, the practical outworking of being put to death with Christ. Once Taylor had established this point he then went on to consider the subject of rights. Putting it in context, he reminded his readers that the Bible teaches that by right all people deserved eternal condemnation and it is only due to the death and resurrection of Christ that this was not so. Whatever was good in the Christian was imparted from God. In the light of this it was impossible to claim any rights or dues. For Taylor this applied particularly to the position of missionaries overseas who claimed their rights under the protection of western governments rather than those of the kingdom of God.<sup>246</sup>

The resurrection was also applied to the life of the Christian. Christ's power to bring spiritual change was important for Taylor. At a conference he appealed for a 'fresh look at Christ' in an address entitled 'Christ an all sufficient Saviour to meet the spiritual needs of his people'.<sup>247</sup> Taylor bemoaned the fact that he had been taught to get used to failure in the Christian life. Romans 8:2 opposed this, showing that some Christians took what it meant seriously in a bid for greater freedom in their lives. The power that gave a Christian life was the same power that raised Christ from the dead and this power delivered the Christian from all spiritual death. Taylor asked whether the Christian can expect the same power to put all things under his feet. He said: 'This power is not given us apart from Christ,

<sup>238</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 159.

<sup>239</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (June 1885), p. 63.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, (April 1877), p. 41.

<sup>241</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 148.

<sup>242</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (April 1891), p. 41.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1880), p. 128.

<sup>244</sup> Pfister, 'Re-thinking Mission', p. 32.

<sup>245</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (September 1885), p. 108.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, (December 1886), p. 162

but it is in the knowledge of Christ, our union with Christ, in our communion with Him, as the branches in the Vine and the members in the Body, that we have these privileges and blessing secured to us'.<sup>248</sup> For Taylor this was the basis for involvement in mission.

## 6.6 Pneumatology

Taylor's desire to rely on the Holy Spirit remained constant throughout his life. Before the Shanghai conference of 1877 he wrote to the *Chinese Recorder* urging that the participants in the conference seek an outpouring of the Holy Spirit on their lives. All should unite in prayer to seek this blessing. He used John 14:14 for this.<sup>249</sup> In an address to the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York (1900), Taylor spoke on 'The Source of Power in Mission', saying: 'We have given too much attention to methods and to machinery and to resources, and too little to the source of power, the filling of the Holy Ghost'.<sup>250</sup> This connection needed to be 'direct and immediate' and supplied the power required for full obedience, for Christians were supernatural people: 'born again by a supernatural birth, kept by supernatural power, sustained on supernatural food, taught by a supernatural teacher'.<sup>251</sup>

### 6.6.1 The Person of the Holy Spirit

An emphasis on the experience of the Holy Spirit was an important feature of the CIM as a result of both renewal and the Keswick teaching of a second experience.<sup>252</sup> The latter teaching became more prominent in the late nineteenth century.<sup>253</sup> Taylor's personal spiritual experiences were firstly formative for himself and then for the CIM after 1869. Influenced by the holiness movement, Taylor and his team developed the concepts of abiding in Christ, having all spiritual needs met and how to be kept by faith. This was a precursor to later experiences of the infilling and refilling of the Holy Spirit within the CIM. The work of the Holy Spirit in Taylor's life was one quality highlighted by those who knew him well.<sup>254</sup> Calls for the power of the Holy Spirit to be manifested both at home and in China were frequent in the CIM literature.<sup>255</sup>

For Taylor the Holy Spirit was a person, not an impersonal power. As one person in the Trinity he had all the attributes of life, affection and ability to act. He appeared visibly (Matthew 3:16). He was active in creation (Genesis 1:2, 26), strove with sinners (Genesis 6:3), was often resisted (Acts 7:51) and led believers (Romans 8:14). It was possible to grieve the Holy Spirit (1 Thessalonians 5:19). He was involved in the incarnation (Matthew 1:20, Luke 1:35) and quickened the dead soul (John 3:5-8, Galatians 4:29). He empowered for service (inspired prophets in OT), revealed Christ (Acts 1:2, 10:38) and filled the disciples (Acts 1:8 2:4). Christ taught on the work of the Holy Spirit in John 14-16 and Christians were to be filled with the Holy Spirit.<sup>256</sup> In a meditation on Psalm 90, Taylor used 2 Corinthians 3:18 to illustrate the glory of Christ that is seen in the believer through the power of the

<sup>248</sup> J.H. Taylor in Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 55.

<sup>249</sup> J.H. Taylor, *The Chinese Recorder*, Volume 8 (1877), pp. 98-99.

<sup>250</sup> J.H. Taylor in Bliss, *A Report of the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York*, p. 88.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>252</sup> McKay, 'Faith and Facts', p. 38.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 293.

<sup>254</sup> H. Taylor, *In Memoriam*, p. 30.

<sup>255</sup> *China's Millions* (July 1889), p. 113; (March 1894), p. 37; (January 1897) p. 2 for some random examples.

<sup>256</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT, Box 17, Sermon notes.

Holy Spirit. This should be a reality in the life of the Christian.<sup>257</sup> In a passage on the 'riband of blue' (Numbers 15:38) Taylor compared this outward, visual sign of the people of God with the need for the present-day Christian to bear witness through the life of the Holy Spirit in the believer.<sup>258</sup>

Taylor's application of the *kenosis* of Christ is shown in his view of the Holy Spirit and applied to mission.<sup>259</sup> Taylor maintained that holiness means being conformed to the Holy Spirit who indwells the believer. This meant that the Christian in following Christ's example will be someone who is prepared in humility to prioritise mission. As Christ pleased God in his work so too will the Christian. The disciples were commanded to wait for the coming of the Holy Spirit in Acts 1:8. This power, made available at Pentecost, was for every Christian not as a gift but as the Holy Spirit himself.<sup>260</sup> This power needed to be appropriated by the church following the pattern of Acts 2 to be bold in mission.<sup>261</sup>

### 6.6.2 The work of the Holy Spirit

For Taylor the work of the Holy Spirit was an essential requirement of successful mission. Conversion was the result of the Holy Spirit's work. People needed to know God personally, through the Holy Spirit, as this was the purpose for which they had been given eternal life.<sup>262</sup> The degenerate state of the people never diminished Taylor's confidence in the work of Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit to bring real change.<sup>263</sup> He asserted: 'I believe most thoroughly in the power of the blood of Christ – in the regenerative power of the Holy Ghost – in the power of the Gospel – that it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, no matter how sunken or degraded he may be'.<sup>264</sup>

The work of the Holy Spirit was crucial in Taylor's desire for holiness. He conformed to many of the requirements of those involved in the holiness movement. Dissatisfied with his own spirituality, he wrote: 'My heart is full of evil...an abyss of iniquity, and of its blackness I see more and more. I can love anybody and anything else – but I love my Saviour so little'.<sup>265</sup> From John 15:2-3 Taylor commented on the link between the purging work v 2 and the cleansing work v 3 of the Spirit.<sup>266</sup> This meant that the work of God in helping Christians to progress was not necessarily severe: rather 'he cleanses by application of the Word; and where the gentle voice of the Spirit through the Word is listened to, severe and painful discipline may be unneeded'.<sup>267</sup> Taylor regarded this individual work of the Spirit as important; he wanted every Christian to share in this intense experience. He wrote: 'Now when you are so possessed with the Living God, that you are in your secret heart pleased and delighted over the peculiar, personal, private, jealous guardianship of the Holy Spirit over your life, you will have found the vestibule of heaven'.<sup>268</sup>

<sup>257</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (November 1889), p. 158.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*, (January 1889), p. 2.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*, (November 1884), p. 136.

<sup>260</sup> J.H. Taylor in Steer, *Lessons*, p. 90.

<sup>261</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (January 1902), p. 1.

<sup>262</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Retrospect*, p. 39.

<sup>263</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (July/August 1878), p. 99.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>265</sup> J.H. Taylor in A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 330.

<sup>266</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 40.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>268</sup> J.H. Taylor in Jim Cromarty, *It Is Not Death to Die* (Ross-shire: Christian Focus, 2001), p. 10.

The perfection called for in Matthew 5:48 was connected by Taylor to the work of the Holy Spirit; the latter helps Christians to obey the requirements of the Sermon on the Mount.<sup>269</sup> However, there was a difference between God's perfection and that of the Christian. God's perfection was absolute whereas that of the Christian's was relative. Nevertheless the Christian was called to be perfect, performing the duties that were given to him no matter how insignificant he may be. For Taylor this included such minor matters as legible handwriting and neatly folded clothes.<sup>270</sup>

In view of his own personal experience and the emphases of the holiness movement, Taylor tended to take a very optimistic view of the work of the Holy Spirit in producing holy living. Holiness was possible and for Taylor this was always connected with obedience and the likelihood of suffering in pursuing mission in China. He wrote: 'If our hearts are right we may count upon the Holy Spirit's working through us to bring others into a deeper fellowship with God – the way the work began at Pentecost. Let people see God working, let God be glorified, let believers be made holier, happier, brought nearer to him, and they will not need to be asked for help'.<sup>271</sup> He reported on two workers in a hostile environment: 'If the Holy Spirit works, nothing can prevent the progress of the truth: without his aid all our efforts would be in vain'.<sup>272</sup> His confidence in the power of the Holy Spirit extended to helping uneducated men with the language acquisition necessary for mission.<sup>273</sup> Taylor maintained that 'the prayer of faith' would bring down the baptism of the Holy Spirit and give wisdom for the conduct of the mission which would lead to thanks and praise. He was also realistic enough to note that failure was a possibility.<sup>274</sup>

Within the CIM the excessive reliance on the work of the Holy Spirit may have covered over the need for other responses to some of the internal problems. Taylor thought that one outworking of the presence of the Holy Spirit would be a reduction of friction among the CIM members and a more efficient lubricating of the wheels of the mission machinery.<sup>275</sup> He often encountered low morale and problems at the mission stations amongst both the missionaries and the local Chinese believers. He once shared his frustration to his wife: 'Oh for a baptism of the Holy Ghost...the only remedy for our troubles'.<sup>276</sup> He spoke of his desire for a 'higher standard' of Holy Spirit power in those who are called to serve overseas.<sup>277</sup> He discerned that the great need for successful mission was a greater spirituality that would need to be exemplified by the missionaries.<sup>278</sup> He thought that if all the workers in China determined to obey the Bible they would receive a major outpouring of the Holy Spirit, ambitiously thought of as one not seen since Pentecost.<sup>279</sup> Nevertheless, this did not prevent disagreement over healings and exorcisms and the work of the Holy Spirit in Shansi province.

<sup>269</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (January 1889), p. 2.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>271</sup> J.H. Taylor in Roger Steer, *Lessons in Discipleship* (Crowborough: Monarch, 1995), p. 64.

<sup>272</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, 33 (June 1872), p. 68.

<sup>273</sup> J.H. Taylor, *The Languages of China*, p. 45. Extract in *Occasional Paper*, No 15 (Nov 1868), p. 213.

<sup>274</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (January 1896), p. 2.

<sup>275</sup> J.H. Taylor in Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 10.

<sup>276</sup> J.H. Taylor in A.J. Broomhall, *Refiner's Fire*, p. 386.

<sup>277</sup> J.H. Taylor in Bacon, *From Faith*, p. 177.

<sup>278</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Legacy*, p. 62.

<sup>279</sup> J.H. Taylor in Steer, *Man in Christ*, pp. 318-319.

Given this perspective and Taylor's optimism it is important to look at some of the texts that sustained him. These can be grouped around the theme of living water which Taylor interpreted as the work of the Holy Spirit. These texts were significant in his 1869 experience considered in earlier chapters.<sup>280</sup> It was in the midst of doing mission that Taylor experienced these truths for himself.<sup>281</sup> In a situation of discouragement and powerlessness he read John 4, calling it 'God's water supply'. It was a 'present message to my soul' and from that time 'my ministry was owned of God as it had not been for some time before'.<sup>282</sup> Taylor distinguished between the 'ordinary privileges of Christian communion' and other more spiritually intense experiences from the Bible.<sup>283</sup> This was no abstract contemplation but one that gave Taylor 'rest, joy and strength in Himself' that words could not express.<sup>284</sup> That this text became so vital to Taylor can be seen from the following quotation: ' "Shall never thirst" – would it, could it prove true now? To know that "shall" means "shall", that "never" means "never", and that "thirst" means any unsatisfied need may be one of the greatest revelations God ever made to our souls'.<sup>285</sup> Taylor knew this was to be received by faith but he also found helpful spoken confession in receiving the truths personally. Nothing had been a greater blessing to him than confessing that he didn't expect to be thirsty again. Some thought that this was presumptuous.<sup>286</sup>

As emphasised in Chapter Five, this immediate application of the text to the present reader was typical of Taylor. In an editorial headed by Rev 22:17 Taylor admitted that interpreting John 4 from a historical perspective would be of some profit.<sup>287</sup> However, he then went on to consider another hermeneutical viewpoint and maintained that the living Christ was speaking now to present hearers as much as he did in the past to the Samaritan woman. He concentrated on verse 10. The woman did not ask for living water, the Holy Spirit, for she knew nothing about it. Those who know and believe in the inspiration of scripture and the promises contained therein, have the privilege of asking for and receiving living water even if they don't understand how it works. He then went on to look at verse 13 and commented on the transitory nature of the material provision that God makes for his people in comparison with the continuous promise that those who drink shall never thirst again.<sup>288</sup> This was a permanent reality achieved through faith. The living water of John 7:37-39 was able to meet any need which a believer might have. Taylor illustrated this with a picture of a wanderer in the mountains who became thirsty. Although he might only have a small cup it can be filled to overflowing repeatedly for filling does not depend on the size of the cup but on the 'unfailing supply of the stream'.<sup>289</sup> This teaching sustained him through the loss of his first wife when he wrote: 'I often wondered whether it were possible that my loved one who had been taken could be enjoying a fuller revelation of His presence than I in the loneliness of my chamber'.<sup>290</sup>

<sup>280</sup> J.H. Taylor in Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 18. See Chapter 5, p. 145, 161.

<sup>281</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (November 1902), p. 146.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>283</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Papers*, 28 (December 1871), pp. 150-155.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153.

<sup>285</sup> J.H. Taylor in H. Taylor, *Hudson Taylor's Spiritual Secret* (Chicago: Moody Press 1932), p. 175.

<sup>286</sup> J.H. Taylor in Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 104.

<sup>287</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (November 1902), p. 145.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>289</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Unfailing Springs* (Sevenoaks: Overseas Missionary Fellowship, n.d.), p. 7.

<sup>290</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (November 1902), p. 147.

Taylor often linked the work of the Holy Spirit with the responsibility for mission and sometimes lamented the lack of response by those affected by the holiness movement. By 1900 Walter Sloan reported that there had been progress in this area when he pointed out that the new initiatives amongst students showed a connection between the fuller spiritual life and a concern for mission.<sup>291</sup>

## 6.7 Missiology and Ecclesiology

The emphasis on individual conversion in the new movements for mission tended to de-prioritise issues of ecclesiology. In drawing recruits from different church backgrounds the CIM inevitably minimised issues of importance to denominational missions. At the same time, emerging groups like the Open Brethren were challenging some of the existing church structures.

### 6.7.1 The priority of Mission

Bernard Reardon has accused the Evangelicals of ignoring the inheritance of the church. He noted the importance of conversion but maintained that little guidance was given for subsequent spiritual training. It was assumed that all that was needed was an open Bible which exacerbated the move towards individualism and damaged the corporate elements of church life, unless it was devoted to one of the new mission initiatives. The historical links with the church in continuation with the apostolic age were weakened. Reardon writes: 'For the Evangelical personal religion, grounded in an intensely held faith in the atonement, was all important'.<sup>292</sup> The emphasis on conversion, eschatology with its negative view of the present world and the supposed imminent return of Christ minimised the need to develop an ecclesiology. Interdenominational mission<sup>293</sup> and the new forms of church departed further from the official structures.<sup>294</sup>

Taylor attended a number of different churches in London, both before and after his initial visit to China, and met many Christians from a variety of denominations as he focused attention on mission to China. In his application to the CES he criticised the division of the church into clergy and laity and argued that all Christians had the right to preach, baptise and administer communion. He thought that clericalism was a curse to both the church and the world.<sup>295</sup> His new departure in mission with the CIM also meant that he did not entertain strong ecclesiological convictions. In Ningbo he fed new converts into the Presbyterian and CMS churches. What was most important for Taylor was not so much the church they joined but the expression of conversion and faith.<sup>296</sup> The early CIM did not even register the denominational background of its members although Taylor knew that all of the leading Protestant denominations were involved with him.<sup>297</sup>

One of Taylor's obituaries highlighted the fact that he had no defined views on church order.<sup>298</sup> Taylor resisted tight definition of the working of the CIM and church government was one

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*, (February 1900), p. 16.

<sup>292</sup> Reardon, *Religious Thought*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>293</sup> Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions* (Oxford: Regnum, 1996 ), p. 278.

<sup>294</sup> Harold Rowdon, *The Origins of the Brethren* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1967), p. 7.

<sup>295</sup> J.H. Taylor, in A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 92.

<sup>296</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 183.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.* p. 179.

<sup>298</sup> Benjamin Broomhall, *In Memoriam* , p. 11.

area in which he defied precision.<sup>299</sup> He responded to criticism of the mission concerning church order and practice and denied that the CIM favoured one specific view of baptism.<sup>300</sup> He knew how contentious issues like baptism could become. He pointed out that the secretary of the mission in England was a Methodist and greatly disliked adult baptism. There had been efforts by some of the Christian Brethren to influence CIM members and one member had left the CIM to join the Exclusive Brethren. However, Taylor believed that many joined the CIM because of liberty in this area of doctrine. Taylor wrote: 'Though a Baptist myself, as the head of a pan-denominational mission I have for 20 years refused to correspond or have personal intercourse with any member of the mission, in the matter of giving instruction on this point'.<sup>301</sup> However, Taylor was prepared to show how the CIM were divided according to churchmanship.<sup>302</sup> Within the CIM the practice of putting like-minded workers together meant that by 1890 there were a variety of denominational stations within the CIM.<sup>303</sup>

There was little emphasis on the role of the church as a base for sending missionaries within the CIM and some have argued that Taylor's concentration on the Great Commission led to this devaluation of the local church in mission.<sup>304</sup> There was a greater emphasis on the individual's call and the mission's acceptance than any role for the local church. This lack was noted by contemporaries of Taylor. They thought that closer partnership with churches would increase spiritual power giving church members a greater interest in those they sent.<sup>305</sup> Ironically, often the churches founded by the impetus of the missionary movement did not reproduce such a great concern for mission.

The expansion of the mission into North America from 1888 increased Taylor's understanding of the unity of the Body of Christ. His own experience of the kindness and love of fellow Christians overseas helped him to see the grace and wealth within the world-wide church. He wrote that 'all the Lord's children are children of one Father, all bound to one great central heart, and that they are indeed all one in Christ Jesus. It is glorious to realise the Church is one. It is not uniformity that we want, but really manifested heart unity'.<sup>306</sup> However, reflected ecclesiology cannot be derived from this statement of faith.

## 6.7.2 The Great Commission

In Chapter Four it was emphasised how important certain mission texts were for Taylor. In some traditions since William Carey these have been called 'The Great Commission' with the main focus being, although not exclusively, on Matthew 28:18-20. This was a text Taylor often returned to. He also centred a major initiative for China on the disputed Mark 16 version of the commission. Taylor

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<sup>299</sup> McKay, *Faith and Facts*, p. 142.

<sup>300</sup> J.H. Taylor in a letter to a Dr. Happer, a critic of the CIM. CIM Archives, Box 13, letter July 14<sup>th</sup> 1891

<sup>301</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, Box 13, 372-376

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>303</sup> McKay, *Faith and Facts*, p. 143.

<sup>304</sup> Bacon, *From Faith*, p. 167.

<sup>305</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Assault*, p. 389.

<sup>306</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *The Man*, p. 180.

strangely made little use of the Lukan versions in Luke's gospel and in the Acts of the Apostles but gave attention to John 20. In favouring the disputed Markan version of the commission, with its emphasis on 'to every creature' over the Matthean one, it was inevitable that Taylor would diminish the importance of making disciples which might have led to a policy of consolidation.

For Taylor, these were the supreme missionary commands in scripture. It was impossible to understand Taylor's theology without postulating that the Great Commission was for him a hermeneutical key to understand and apply scripture. The opening of the first 'Principles and Practice' shows this focus on The Great Commission texts:

Object – The CIM was formed from a deep sense of China's pressing need, and an earnest desire, constrained by the love of Christ, to obey his command to preach the Gospel to every creature.<sup>307</sup>

The priority of bringing the Gospel to 'the heathen' determined the ultimate strategy of the work.<sup>308</sup> It also dominated Taylor's public ministry.

The person and work of Christ was foundational for understanding these texts. It was a post-resurrection command to be involved in mission and the message rested on the finished work of Christ. In his preaching on Matthew 28:18-20, Taylor would bring in other important Christological passages such as 1 Timothy 3:16 and Philippians 2:5-11 to emphasise the contrast between Christ crucified in weakness and the power of God necessary for resurrection.<sup>309</sup> This power and authority had now been given to the resurrected Christ in whose name the gospel was preached to the nations. This was a duty given to his people and was seen clearly in the Great Commission.<sup>310</sup> This involved personal effort, prayer, encouraging and supporting others with practical help and finances.

This emphasis on the Great Commission texts placed Taylor firmly within the context of those movements which took the texts as a command for the church. They also provided helpful evidence towards the examination of the spirituality and theology that drove men like Taylor. This was closely linked to the work of the Holy Spirit. For Taylor the work of the Holy Spirit meant at least taking the commands of Christ about the Great Commission seriously. He connected the potential outpouring of God's Spirit with obedience to this command. Taylor urged his readers to see that God's presence and power were available in all things<sup>311</sup> stemming from the Great Commission. This was the 'assured confidence' that gave Taylor the basis for the formation of the CIM.<sup>312</sup>

His understanding of the Great Commission increased over the years. The need to preach the Gospel to every creature was one that he admitted, as late as 1889, had not been taking literally enough. This perspective dominated his latter years. There had to be a definite, systematic effort to do this.<sup>313</sup> Taylor was both biblical and pragmatic in giving reasons for this appeal.<sup>314</sup> He outlined a number of important points. Firstly, this was a command of the Lord Jesus and Christians were not at liberty to question it. There were many examples when obedience was proved the right course of action in

<sup>307</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Arrangements*, p. 14.

<sup>308</sup> Bacon, *From Faith*, p. 22.

<sup>309</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT, Section 4, No 81.

<sup>310</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Spiritual Need*, p. 2.

<sup>311</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (January 1880), p. 2.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>313</sup> H. Taylor, *Spiritual Secret*, p. 229.

<sup>314</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (February 1890), p. 15.

scripture. Secondly, in the book of Acts, readers should notice that the gospel spread rapidly through the preaching of the Gospel to the people. Thirdly, within China many had responded to their first hearing of the Gospel. This was recorded in mission history but evidence for it may have taken time to appear.<sup>315</sup> Finally, with the preaching of the Gospel the whole Chinese mind was being enlightened as the Chinese were reminded of the existence of 'one living personal God', which was essential for them to understand the reality of sin, forgiveness and atonement. Systematic gospel preaching would give many more an opportunity to respond.<sup>316</sup>

Taylor insisted, after hearing a reading of the Matthean and Lucan versions, that the different wordings of the Great Commission in the Gospels were to be taken seriously and would lead to different forms of service in carrying them out. He then focused on the imperative in Mark's gospel 'to preach the Gospel to every creature'. This was at the forefront of this thinking and should give some guidance as to how the rapid evangelisation of China might happen.<sup>317</sup> Taylor thought that this emphasis would benefit the church world-wide. He noted the example of the apostle Paul who was often driven on to the next place after preaching. He allowed for the difference in context between the Jewish hearers who listened to Paul and could perhaps put the Gospel into the context of the knowledge of the Old Testament and those who were Gentiles for whom the Gospel would be bringing very new thinking. The preaching was preparatory for later work.<sup>318</sup>

Taylor did not confine himself to the sole use of the Great Commission texts. He would often arrive at the same theme from other starting points.<sup>319</sup> A fairly typical message was one from Psalm 62:5 on the 'Source of Power for Mission' in which he acknowledged that all power belonged to God but was promised to the disciple through the Great Commission and Acts 1:8. Doing the will of God not just trying to do it, was the activity of the disciple and the Holy Spirit was given at Pentecost for this. This power was appropriated by faith and available for those involved in mission. It was the duty of each generation to evangelise following this mandate. The power had been given but to date sixty generations had failed to make this a priority.<sup>320</sup> Taylor took this message to the heart of the holiness movement. He could never reconcile conferences for the deepening of the spiritual life with unwillingness to obey the call to mission. Taylor castigated a conference in Perth, Scotland (1865) about the indifference of Christians to the needs of China.

### **6.7.3 Church Planting and Church Government**

The CIM existed to see the gospel preached all over China and for the individuals who were converted to be formed into churches, although Taylor neither used the term 'church planting', nor did he speak in terms of church growth. However, his frequent reports and maps of the spread of the work all over China indicated the extent to which churches were being founded. The CIM shared the policy of all

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<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*, (November 1890), p. 144.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*, (July/August 1887), p. 85 for report of this happening.

<sup>319</sup> *Ibid.*, (March 1887), pp. 29-30. Taylor began with Psalm 114.

<sup>320</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT 81.

Protestant missions to create self-supporting, self-governing and self-extending churches<sup>321</sup> in which opportunity was to be given for the manifestation of spiritual gifts and in the grace of giving. Local Christians were encouraged to contribute as the foreign influence decreased.<sup>322</sup> Although self-supporting churches had been one of Taylor's aims he admitted in 1877 that they were a rarity<sup>323</sup> and the later Boxer crisis of 1900 exposed how much still needed to be done in making the local churches independent of the CIM.

Taylor took a keen interest in the support and development of native workers and drew a distinction between native pastors and evangelists. The pastor should be supported by his congregation if they were able to do so but the evangelist should be supported either by the mission or by those who sent him.<sup>324</sup> Taylor believed that one essential element in strong church development was the need to keep the Sabbath.<sup>325</sup> He encouraged the missionaries to spend the whole of the Sabbath day with the local Christians and to teach this rule faithfully and systematically.<sup>326</sup> It was seen as a sign of Christian sincerity if a Chinese Christian obeyed the Sabbath.<sup>327</sup>

A flexible policy of church government within the mission did not obviate the need for some basic decisions to be made once a new church was formed. In the 1886 *Arrangements of the CIM* Taylor stated that only senior missionaries were permitted to begin a new work. The worker was at liberty to adopt the form of church government which he believed to be the most scriptural but once it was organised in that manner it could not be changed by successors in that station.<sup>328</sup>

Taylor ordained missionaries and Chinese Christians as pastors in the newly founded churches<sup>329</sup> although he questioned the necessity of ordination as being a prerequisite for mission and did not demand it from candidates.<sup>330</sup> Nevertheless he permitted people to call him 'Reverend' whilst at a Baptist church in England.<sup>331</sup> Moira J. McKay argues that if Taylor had agreed to ordination by the Baptists, this would have given the perception that the CIM was operating along the lines of a more traditional missionary society than was in fact the case.<sup>332</sup> This was at a time when denominational missions were finding it hard to gain recruits.<sup>333</sup> It may have made the CIM more acceptable to those who preferred to esteem their church background.<sup>334</sup> Taylor remained very flexible about these things, even advising his brother-in-law to be ordained in order to serve in China.<sup>335</sup> He even hinted at favouring Anglicans: 'I am continually becoming more of the opinion that the mode of worship is of

<sup>321</sup> J.H. Taylor, *The Arrangements*, pp. 19

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>323</sup> J.H. Taylor in *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China held at Shanghai, May 10<sup>th</sup> - 24<sup>th</sup> 1877* (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878), p. 322.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>325</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *Our Seal: Being the Witness of the CIM to the Faithfulness of God* (London: CIM The Religious Tract Society, 1933), p. 412.

<sup>326</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, JHT/CIM, Box 13, 372-376.

<sup>327</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 302.

<sup>328</sup> J.H. Taylor, *The Arrangements*, p. 35.

<sup>329</sup> *Occasional Paper*, 13 (May 1868), pp. 130 - 132.

<sup>330</sup> Daniel W. Bacon, *From Faith to Faith: The Influence of Hudson Taylor on the Faith Missions Movement* (Singapore: OMF Books, 1984), p. 58.

<sup>331</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 249.

<sup>332</sup> McKay, *Faith and Facts*, p. 120, Austin, 'Only Connect', p. 286.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>335</sup> J.H. Taylor in A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 353.

small importance, the power is the main thing. And I believe there is more real liberty in the Church than in most of the dissenting bodies'.<sup>336</sup>

The CIM was not only pioneering a new form of mission but also a new ecclesiology that was very different from what had gone before within the denominational missions. Fiedler maintains that they accepted the attributes of the church but gave them a special twist. The revival that had made such a difference to the landscape with which Taylor was operating meant that personal relationships often overrode denominational labels. The emphasis on conversion and individual 'holiness' experiences contributed to the view that the church was made up of individual converts rather than any already existing corporate organisation. The working together of Christians, especially in mission, contributed to the unity of the church.<sup>337</sup> Once again the activist emphasis is at the forefront with a concern for evangelism tied in with premillennial eschatological views of the return of Christ, which assumed an imminent return of Christ and thus a diminished role for the church. Dana Robert observes that the faith missions were intensely individualistic and saw their role as facilitating the mission work of the individual rather than as administering the mission work of a corporate body.<sup>338</sup> Fiedler mentions that the 'Principles and Practices' of the CIM, though largely following the fundamental truths as outlined by the Evangelical Alliance in 1846, omitted Article 9 which referred to the sacraments.<sup>339</sup> Nevertheless, Taylor put a major emphasis on recording baptisms in the new churches and being sure of the professions of faith. There are also records of communion services,<sup>340</sup> so the sacraments were still to be found as basics within these new forms of church,<sup>341</sup> even if little emphasis was given to communion, which was not unusual during this time.<sup>342</sup> There was no necessary link between baptism and the communion service.

## 6.8 Eschatology

A heightened eschatological emphasis was a nineteenth-century theological development. It formed part of the framework for the initial impetus of the Open Brethren movement.<sup>343</sup> The return of Christ was the main focus.<sup>344</sup> One Brethren predecessor of Taylor, John Nelson Darby (1800-1882), adopted a form of futurist pre-millennialism.<sup>345</sup> He also developed the theological system known as dispensationalism, which divided world history into different dispensations 'each characterised by a particular way in which God dealt with humanity'.<sup>346</sup> George Müller taught the pre-millennial view of the return of Christ.<sup>347</sup> Andrew Jukes emphasised the importance of the return of Christ and McKay

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<sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>337</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 320.

<sup>338</sup> Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Missions: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1996), p. 197.

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>340</sup> *Occasional Paper*, 18 (May 1869), p. 283.

<sup>341</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 322.

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 185; David Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Leicester: IVP, 2005), p. 149.

<sup>343</sup> Porter, *Religion versus Empire?*, p. 193.

<sup>344</sup> Rowdon, *Origins*, p. 2.

<sup>345</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 86.

<sup>346</sup> David Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Leicester: IVP, 2005), p. 185.

<sup>347</sup> Arthur T. Pierson, *George Muller of Bristol* (London: James Nisbet & Co, 1899), p. 261.

confirms that Jukes' *Enquiry into the Principles of Prophetic Interpretation* (1841) helped to confirm Taylor's desire to be a missionary.<sup>348</sup> A *Gleaner* editorial in 1850 noted the eschatological motivation for mission as many saw themselves near the time for 'the fullness of the Gentiles to come in'.<sup>349</sup> A year later another Editorial appeared under the title 'Appeal on behalf of Missions – to the Expectants of the Pre-Millennial appearing of the Lord'.<sup>350</sup> This expectation was seen in the rise of the prophetic movement and the development of pre-millennial expectations of the return of Christ. Phoebe Palmer and others like her saw no reason why their generation should not see the completion of the evangelisation of the world and bring in the return of Christ.<sup>351</sup>

### 6.8.1 Taylor in Context

A shift from post-millennial to pre-millennial views took place during the nineteenth century. The latter stressed the imminent, visible return of Christ who would rule over the world. This trend is observable from the 1820s onwards amongst Evangelicals. By the middle of the century it was noted that the majority of the Evangelical clergy and some Nonconformist ministers favoured pre-millennial views, although there were varieties of beliefs on the matter of the return of Christ.<sup>352</sup> This was a dramatic change in world-view for those involved and has been identified by Bebbington as another example of the influence of Romanticism within Evangelicalism.<sup>353</sup> The focus lay on the glory and the delight of such an event and the satisfaction it gave to the soul that dwelt upon it. It was certainly a distinctive contribution of the revivals to theology and to faith missions, for nearly all the early faith mission leaders worked with this eschatology.<sup>354</sup> The founders of the East London Training Institute, an institution closely connected to the CIM, were interested in both mission and prophecy with Grattan Guinness doing detailed research into the time of the return of Christ.<sup>355</sup> Austin maintains that the widening of this teaching into the middle classes helped to attract a better class of volunteers to the CIM.<sup>356</sup> Mission and prophecy became so closely entwined that for many the return of Christ became dependent on mission and made 'eschatology a propelling force for missions'.<sup>357</sup>

Prompted by a friend when living in Hull, Taylor read the relevant literature about the implications of the teaching of the physical return of Christ. This would be a personal and pre-millennial event. Jesus would return to the Mount of Olives and take up the temporal throne of David as a fulfilment of that which, it was thought, had been predicted in the scriptures. Furthermore, Taylor saw that in the New Testament the return of Christ was the great hope of the people of God in every generation. It became the foundation for urging greater consecration and service and for comfort in times of trial and affliction. The ignorance of the time of this return meant that all needed to live with

<sup>348</sup> McKay, 'Faith and Facts', p. 69.

<sup>349</sup> *The Gleaner*, (March 1850), No 1.

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid.*, Volume II, No 5 (May 1851).

<sup>351</sup> Valerie A. Abbott, 'The Influence of Phoebe Palmer's Ministry upon The Evangelical Community in Mid Nineteenth Century Britain An Assessment of her Itinerant Ministry in Britain 1859-1863', *Master Of Letters*, (Bristol, 2000), p. 55.

<sup>352</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, pp. 84-85.

<sup>353</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>354</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 273.

<sup>355</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 274.

<sup>356</sup> Austin, *Only Connect*, p. 291.

<sup>357</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 275.

its possible imminence with wise husbanding of service and resources.<sup>358</sup> The reluctance of existing agencies to work in China was one reason why Taylor, fuelled by this eschatology, began the CIM. On an anniversary celebrating the sailing of the *Lammermuir*, Taylor reminded his readers of the doctrinal foundations on which the work of the CIM was set. Point number six said: 'that the hope of the church and the hope for the world is the coming again of our Lord; and that we may hasten His coming by the faithful proclamation of the Gospel all over China'.<sup>359</sup> Eschatology also shaped his praying:

And may God grant that in that day we may not be alone - that there may be many of this interesting people with us praising the Lamb and singing the new song 'Unto Him that hath loved us and washed us in the precious blood'. May we see there those in whose conversion we have been made instrumental. Oh for such a crown of glory, to cast us at the Saviour's feet. The very thought makes my heart burn within me. Then we shall praise him and magnify his name. 'Thine O Lord is the greatness, the power and the glory....'<sup>360</sup>

Andrew confirmed that Taylor supported the pre-millennial view of eschatology.<sup>361</sup> Taylor's interest was stirred by a chart circulating within the CIM that actually specified a date for the end of the dispensation in dates ranging from 1917 to 1934. He was so captivated by the new teachings on the return of Christ that his parents thought he was unbalanced in his acceptance of 'new' teaching. His response was to further expound his views for he saw the reality of the return of Christ as vital to stir an 'indolent and apathetic' church.<sup>362</sup> He urged his mother to make her calling and election sure in the light of the apostle Paul's teaching on the subject in 1 Thessalonians 4.<sup>363</sup> He believed that current events were proof of the coming of the end times and the return of the Lord.<sup>364</sup> Taylor was convinced that before Christ's return everyone must hear the Gospel.<sup>365</sup> He was pessimistic about the state of the world. The 'remarkable' times in which he lived were a time of trial and danger and he expected little improvement because of the prevalence of sin and God's judgement.<sup>366</sup> He was comforted to know that a just and perfect rule was coming.<sup>367</sup> In this situation the Christian could only seek succour in various biblical texts that exalted Christ. This is the context in which the Christian receives the Great Commission and the promise of the presence of Christ in working it out.<sup>368</sup> He was very willing to correct what he deemed to be erroneous views on the issue showing that Christ would return for his people and that it was their privilege to wait and to expect this return at some stage.<sup>369</sup> Taylor in a letter from Shanghai wrote about his own personal struggles and how he longed 'more earnestly for the glorious appearing of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ'.<sup>370</sup> Despite this he worked closely with men like William Burns with whom he differed on the issue.<sup>371</sup> Austin notes the prominent place given

<sup>358</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (June 1886), p. 67.

<sup>359</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1897), p. 85.

<sup>360</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT, Box 1, (1849-1855) dated May 29<sup>th</sup> 1854, 6<sup>th</sup> May, 1854.

<sup>361</sup> Andrew, *Personal Reminiscences*, p. 3.

<sup>362</sup> J.H. Taylor in A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, pp. 43,52.

<sup>363</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT 3 Letters 1851-1853 March 22<sup>nd</sup> 1852.

<sup>364</sup> J.H. Taylor in A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 55.

<sup>365</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 275.

<sup>366</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (January 1880), p. 1.

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid.*, (January 1878), p. 5.

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid.*, (January 1880), p. 2.

<sup>369</sup> H. Taylor, *In Memoriam*, p. 82.

<sup>370</sup> J.H. Taylor, *The Gleaner* (March 1855), Vol 2, No 22 p. 173.

<sup>371</sup> H. Taylor, *In Memoriam*, p. 56.

to Bible readings and that the teaching of pre-millennialism were a part of the Niagara and Northfield conferences that Taylor attended when he first went to North America.<sup>372</sup>

The initial invitation to North America was engineered by Henry Frost who later led the CIM there.<sup>373</sup> The Niagara and Northfield conferences were associated with the development of a dispensationalist view of scripture.<sup>374</sup> Taylor used the language of dispensations to refer to the end of the age<sup>375</sup> and broadly agreed with the predominant pre-millennialism which accorded with the views of many contemporaries that the physical return of Christ should figure more prominently in the thinking of Christians.<sup>376</sup> In his use of the Bible he did not follow a dispensational interpretative grid wanting to apply all the parts of the Bible to his own life and those who heard him. The theology of those like Taylor in the CIM was premillennial, though not necessarily dispensational.<sup>377</sup>

Taylor was 'very guarded' when he spoke from the prophetic scriptures.<sup>378</sup> He expected difficult times at the end of the age and thought that the references to the 'prince of the north' in the Bible meant Russia. He was unsure whether to expect a secret rapture (the belief that Christ would return for believers first) or not, but if the return of Christ was in two stages then he could see how the period in between of great tribulation could be a time of great revival.<sup>379</sup>

The 'Principles and Practice' of the CIM also developed in the area of eschatology. By 1896 the words 'the hope of his coming' had been added to the object of the CIM<sup>380</sup> and the 'everlasting' punishment of the 1889 version had been changed to 'eternal' punishment by 1893.<sup>381</sup>

Towards the end of his life Taylor acknowledged a change of mind on the importance of views on eschatology within the mission. In 1903 he wrote:

What I felt was a mistake at the foundation of the mission was the assumption that views on eschatology were fundamental. I now see that they are neither fundamental to salvation nor to Christian life and do not at all stand on the same footing as the divinity of Christ or his atoning sacrifice. I believe that the time will come when it will be possible for a toleration so far as eschatology is concerned.<sup>382</sup>

Taylor applied his thinking on eschatology to himself by making changes in his lifestyle, realising the futility of an unnecessary accumulation of possessions that might better be used by others.<sup>383</sup> In leaving for China he had no idea whether or not he would return and talked of meeting his mother again in a 'better land'. He saw the loss of his first wife as loosening his ties with the present and focusing his vision on eternal realities. For Taylor this could happen through imminent death or the return of Christ but the delay meant that there was more time for mission, to be carried out under imminent

<sup>372</sup> Austin, 'Only Connect', p. 296.

<sup>373</sup> Dana L. Robert, *Occupy Until I Come: A.T. Pierson and the Evangelization of the World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), p. 185.

<sup>374</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272.

<sup>375</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Union and Communion*, p. 7. Letter from F.H. Taylor to Marshall Broomhall, April 5<sup>th</sup> 1906 in CIM Archives JHT/CIM, Box K.

<sup>376</sup> Rowden, *Origins*, p 187.

<sup>377</sup> Alwyn Austin, 'Blessed Adversity', in Joel A. Carpenter & Wilbert Shenk, *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880-1980* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), p. 57.

<sup>378</sup> Letter from F.H. Taylor

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>380</sup> CIM Archives, Box 17, 550-552.

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>382</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT Box 16, 498-508.

<sup>383</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (June 1886), p. 67.

eschatological expectation.<sup>384</sup> The return of Christ had an influence on Taylor's thinking and management of finances. He rejected the idea of investments and endowments as a use for the money, preferring that in the light of the return of Christ any money that was sent should be used as quickly as possible for the work for which it was sent.<sup>385</sup>

Taylor applied his eschatology to others. He was keen to see that the doctrine should result in building Christian character. He lamented that he rarely heard of Christians waiting patiently for the arrival of Christ from heaven at his return.<sup>386</sup> Ignorance of this doctrine was one cause of problems amongst the Chinese Christians and it became a part of the teaching syllabus for the new converts in China. This was progress, for the return of the Lord was all but unknown among the Chinese Christians but now even some of the unconverted had heard about it.<sup>387</sup> Taylor saw the work of the CIM as preparatory for the return of Christ in the same way as John the Baptist had prepared the way for the first coming of Christ.<sup>388</sup> It also influenced his methodology. Taylor's eschatology did not allow for more culturally adaptive approaches which took time and depended on educational institutions to be effective for the Chinese needed to hear the gospel as quickly as possible.<sup>389</sup>

Taylor maintained that present-day Christians had every reason to believe that Christ's return was drawing near.<sup>390</sup> Some would be prepared for this.<sup>391</sup> In the interim, whilst Christians waited for the return of Christ, they would bring joy to God and satisfy his heart by coming to him. This was a present experience available to Christians whilst Jesus still waits for the time when his bride (church) will meet him in the air in the manner of 1 Thessalonians 4:13-18. For the time being there is now a spiritual meeting which is ministered through the work of the Holy Spirit.<sup>392</sup> Although Taylor always highlighted the present benefits of a relationship with God, he did not lose the perspective of the greater glory waiting for the believer in the future.<sup>393</sup> He used Philippians 1:23 in this regard, maintaining that 'greater joys' awaited the believer when he is present with the Lord.

Taylor did not follow all the eschatological speculation of his contemporaries. In his comments on the Song of Songs 6:13, he considered the view that the emphasis on 'return' had something to do with the secret rapture of the church. Although he admitted that this interpretation was 'interesting' and would explain the absence of reference to the king in the preceding verses, he did not follow this viewpoint. He argued instead that it was necessary to view the whole Song as progressive, with a culmination in the closing words of the book somewhat akin to the final verses of the book of Revelation. For this reason Taylor maintained that the departure of the bride from her garden can only be temporary.<sup>394</sup>

## 6.8.2 The Final State of the Wicked

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<sup>384</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1895), p. 91.

<sup>385</sup> *Ibid.*, (July/August 1878), p. 98

<sup>386</sup> J.H. Taylor in H.Taylor, *Growth*, p. 407-408.

<sup>387</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (January 1897), p. 13.

<sup>388</sup> J.H. Taylor, Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing* pp 73-74; *China's Millions*, (November 1886), p. 163.

<sup>389</sup> Pfister. 'Re-thinking Mission', p. 24.

<sup>390</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (March 1894), p. 37.

<sup>391</sup> *Ibid.*, (March 1886), p. 28.

<sup>392</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1886), p. 127.

<sup>393</sup> *Ibid.*, (February 1886), p. 16.

<sup>394</sup> *Ibid.*, (April 92), p. 43.

Taylor's concern to bring 'the heathen from darkness to light' was a basic assumption for many involved in the modern missionary movement.<sup>395</sup> This was not only confined to Protestantism.<sup>396</sup> A typical example was Taylor's exhortation given in 1894 in North America. He culled his statistics from Chinese census figures:<sup>397</sup> 'There is a great Niagara of souls passing into the dark in China. Every day, every week, every month they are passing away! A million a month in China are dying without God'. This was the motivation for men like Taylor. Netland stated:

One simply cannot understand the remarkable Protestant missionary effort of the Nineteenth century, including the work of missionary pioneers such as William Carey, Adoniram Judson, David Livingstone and Hudson Taylor, without appreciating the premise underlying their efforts: salvation is to be found only in the person and work of Jesus Christ, and those who die without the saving gospel of Christ face an eternity apart from God.<sup>398</sup>

The rise of critical theology did not dispel this emphasis.<sup>399</sup> The ability of the gospel to emancipate 'the heathen' from their former state was unchallenged.<sup>400</sup> The preaching of the cross could be expected to be effective in preaching to the heathen mind<sup>401</sup> without any necessary preparation.<sup>402</sup> A letter from Taylor explains this point:

The character of the Chinese seems very unfavourable to the reception of the Gospel, we have the promise that all shall know Him whom to know is life eternal. We know not what we might have been if it had not been for Christianity. Christ has died that all might turn, repent and live. We who know the advantage, who felt the renovating influence of religion are bound to propagate the Gospel among all people.<sup>403</sup>

For Taylor this requirement comes from the Bible.<sup>404</sup> One of its divine certainties is the 'woeful position of the heathen'. In writing *China's Spiritual Need and Claims*, he put before the Christian public in Britain the stark situation of the need in China in comparison with that at home. Taylor's slogan of 'A million a month dying without God' could be summed up in Paul's 'having no hope and without God'.<sup>405</sup> The letter to the Romans fuelled his argument.<sup>406</sup> Taylor denied that the heathen are excusable in their ignorance of God, and used Romans 1:20 to justify his position. He then argued from Romans 3:9 that the situation of those who do not know Christ is universal. For those who had never heard of the gospel Taylor interpreted Romans 2:12 as a denial that God will be merciful to them. To those who argued that God would not condemn the heathen Taylor directed them to Revelation 21:8. The life of the unconverted person is marked by fear, especially the fear of death. This is common to all.

For Taylor the responsibility for this ignorance of the gospel lay squarely on the church. In an article in *China's Millions* on 'The Reigning One' (cf Revelation 19:6),<sup>407</sup> he looked forward to the eschatological celebration of the kingdom of God. He noted that especially joyful will be those who

<sup>395</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, 13 (May 1868), p. 132 for one of many examples.

<sup>396</sup> Brian Stanley (ed), *Christian Missions & the Enlightenment* (Grand Rapids:Eerdmans, 2001), p. 9.

<sup>397</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Survivors' Pact*, p. 53-54.

<sup>398</sup> Harold A. Netland, *Encountering Religious Pluralism* (Leicester: Apollos, IVP, 2001), p. 27.

<sup>399</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>400</sup> Stanley, *Christian Missions*, p. 170.

<sup>401</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>402</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

<sup>403</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM/JHT, Box 1 (1849-1855).

<sup>404</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (January 1887), preface.

<sup>405</sup> *Ibid.*, (November 1880), p. 134

<sup>406</sup> *Ibid.*, (January 1887), p. iv.

<sup>407</sup> *Ibid.*, (December 1884), p. 149.

have had a part in the conversion of those attending, and speculated about those who were not there. Were there some ‘uncalled ones’ who had never heard the gospel due to no-one taking the message to them? This was an ecclesiastical failure based on a failure to discern the necessity for obedience to the commands of Christ. China was neglected because too many Christians wanted to participate eschatologically in the future kingdom of Christ but did not want to realise their responsibility for mission in the present. Self-interest too often prevailed. It was also a failure to understand the resources they have been given in Christian experience and an ignoring of the clear commands of scripture. The church was guilty of this neglect of the nations,<sup>408</sup> although Taylor eventually conceded that the situation had improved in his life-time.<sup>409</sup> For Taylor, God would not reign fully until the Great Commission was accomplished. Taylor began a report in July 1883 with Psalm 72:18, which he interpreted as the prayer of the church: it is still unfulfilled and it will remain so until the Gospel is preached fully to all nations.<sup>410</sup>

Taylor’s theological beliefs about the destiny of those without Christ were not his only motivation for mission. From the beginning Taylor noted the great mental power of the Chinese and predicted an influential future around the world especially through the Chinese diaspora: the Chinese were observed to be earnest, industrious, laborious and frugal.<sup>411</sup> This was an important though secondary motivation for mission. Taylor wanted the Chinese to export good rather than evil around the world. Taylor often related stories of Chinese responding to the gospel to show that the Gospel was able to penetrate into the culture.

Doctrinal differences over views of the destiny of the wicked eventually arose within mission societies and the CIM was not immune to the trend. There was one area in particular that challenged the doctrinal position and practice of the CIM: Teaching about the non-eternity of punishment.<sup>412</sup>

### 6.8.3 The Non-Eternity of Punishment

Taylor faced a problem when William Berger (1812-99), who was responsible for the early CIM in Britain, began to express his conviction about the ‘non-eternity of punishment’. McKay thinks that the ‘mystical theology’ of Andrew Jukes influenced him.<sup>413</sup> Jukes’ influence on Taylor was noted above and Taylor saw his teaching as ‘undermining confidence’. Michael Watts has suggested that this teaching was one of the main reasons for the decline in church-going in Britain.<sup>414</sup> The issue caused disruption in the churches and was a potential threat to the CIM. There were possible financial implications as George Müller stopped his giving to the CIM until Berger had retired, as he disagreed with his developing views on the non-eternity issue.<sup>415</sup>

It was also a problem in China. In a letter in 1890, Taylor admitted that in one station a leading missionary was so far ‘on the downgrade’ as to substitute the reading of Romish legends for

<sup>408</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>409</sup> *Ibid.*, (February 1888), p. 15.

<sup>410</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1883), p. 77.

<sup>411</sup> *Ibid.*, (December 1878), pp. 170-172.

<sup>412</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, p. 145.

<sup>413</sup> McKay, ‘Faith and Facts’, p. 244.

<sup>414</sup> Michael Watts, *Why Did the English Stop going to Church?* Friends of Dr Williams’s Library

49<sup>th</sup> Lecture. (London: 1995), p. 9

<sup>415</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Refiner’s Fire*, p. 340.

scripture at a united communion service.<sup>416</sup> The teaching there was on lines full of the so-called 'larger hope', which included teaching on the non-eternity of punishment and loose views of the inspiration of scripture, for which the missionaries concerned had to leave the work.<sup>417</sup> The controversy developed to some extent over the issue of the fate of those who had never heard the gospel and interpretations of the Greek word 'aeion' and what eternity actually meant.<sup>418</sup>

The problem worsened when Stanley Smith, one of the 'Cambridge Seven', put forward what many in the CIM leadership considered unorthodox views on the issue of eternal punishment. This controversy erupted in the first years of the twentieth century. Taylor made clear that his views on this issue had not changed<sup>419</sup> and emphasised them at the end of his ministry in 1900 at the New York conference. For Taylor, those without the gospel faced terror on their deathbeds for they knew their sins and faced the consequences.<sup>420</sup> They knew that judgement was coming but they were without hope and without God. Here was a difference between the unconverted in the Christian land who on their deathbed at least knew of the possibility of salvation. Those who had not heard this message could not be pardoned and forgiven the consequences of their sin.<sup>421</sup>

The difficulties in corresponding over three continents over this issue meant that a meeting had to be called by the leaders of the CIM in China in 1904 to restate the CIM's doctrinal basis.<sup>422</sup> Taylor's correspondence with Smith shows that clarity on vital points was sometimes difficult to achieve when in one instance Taylor wrote 'the mediatorial kingdom of Christ' when he should have written 'the millennial kingdom of Christ'.<sup>423</sup> Taylor chided Smith for unintentionally judging God in that Smith was deciding what a God of love must be and do in the issue of judgement and punishment. He took refuge in the character of God as good and perfect and doing nothing inconsistent with his own character, arguing that intellectual surrender is essential for those who want to be taught and filled with the Holy Spirit.<sup>424</sup> Taylor was pained to read that Smith's viewpoint had led him to argue that at certain times God's character and nature changed and that he ceased to bring all his moral perfections into play when exercising eternal punishment.<sup>425</sup> He also rebuked him for arguing that there would be no scope for Christ to exercise his mediatorial office unless he was saving the lost. Taylor pointed out that Christ as mediator was required for the continual salvation of those who were already saved.<sup>426</sup>

Taylor also pointed out the 'elasticity' of *aeion* and the danger of basing too much on another Greek word, *kolasis*, which was insufficiently used in the New Testament.<sup>427</sup> Smith argued that *aeion* meant a limited, not eternal, time of suffering and that there was a 'larger hope' for those who are not converted in this life.<sup>428</sup> Taylor accused Smith of having read the references to eternal punishment side by side with those that referred to the eternal gospel (Revelation 14:6) and having argued that the latter

<sup>416</sup> Taylor was aware of Charles Spurgeon's Downgrade Controversy of 1887-1889.

<sup>417</sup> CIM Archives, JHT/CIM, Box 13, 372-376.

<sup>418</sup> Austin, *China's Millions*, p. 189.

<sup>419</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *It is not Death*, p. 496.

<sup>420</sup> J.H. Taylor in Bliss (ed), *A Report of the Ecumenical Missionary Conference*, p. 90.

<sup>421</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>422</sup> H. Taylor, *By Faith*, p 263.

<sup>423</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM/JHT Box 16, Letter to Stanley Smith (September 30<sup>th</sup> 1901).

<sup>424</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>425</sup> J.H. Taylor, Letter, (October 1<sup>st</sup> 1901).

<sup>426</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>427</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>428</sup> Austin, *Blessed Adversity*, p. 64.

opened up the possibility of further salvation after the day of judgement for those who humbled themselves as creatures and sinners. Taylor drew him back to the context of the passage, pointing out that these words were preached to the living on earth, not the dead, and were followed by a warning of imminent judgement for those who accepted the mark of the beast.<sup>429</sup>

Taylor continued with seven further points that Smith should bear in mind that combined the urgent needs of the unevangelised with a realisation that in all such disputes over biblical interpretation, the human mind is limited, language is elastic and that God has not revealed all that men and women might like to know. He argued that Jesus and the apostles never softened their warnings with an appeal to an ultimate hope or that references to the lost never give any glimpse of the termination of their punishment. The controversy dragged on with Henry Frost trying to persuade the London Council to beef up the reference to 'eternal' in the 'Principles and Practice' of the CIM. William Sharp, a Council member, dissented from this change and complained to Taylor over the proposed minute and the dismissal of Stanley Smith from the mission. As noted earlier in this section Taylor regretted that eschatological issues had become so divisive and realised that many orthodox Christians were less decided on these issues.

Taylor admitted that there was room for doctrinal flexibility in the light of changing evangelical views between 1865 and 1901. He conceded that the wording in the 'Principles and Practice' might have been different on this issue if the CIM was being formed in 1901. He finally remained consistent to the original statement for he wanted to honour supporters who donated on the understanding as set out in writing. Furthermore, Smith had joined the mission with assent to that understanding.<sup>430</sup> However, Taylor admitted that views on this issue were not of the same status as those of the divinity of Christ or his atoning sacrifice.<sup>431</sup> Taylor was caught between his friendship with Smith who, although holding 'wild and unscriptural' views was a 'good fellow'<sup>432</sup> and the opposition within the mission to Smith's views.

## 6.9 Conclusion

Taylor's growing reputation as a mission leader gave him a platform, not as a missionary theologian, but as a popular Bible teacher. He furthered his influence through his published articles in *China's Millions* and other publications. The main thrust of Taylor's teaching was aimed at improving the spiritual life of the missionary and instructing the church as to their responsibility for world mission.

He was aware of trends in critical theology emerging around him and he had to face some of the ramifications of these within the work of the CIM when dealing with the emergence of the 'Shansi spirit'. He considered most of the new developments to be harmful to mission in the light of his understanding of the Bible. This was shown clearly in his conflict with Timothy Richard.

Taylor's 'dogmatics' highlight his experiential approach to the Bible. His non-critical approach to the Bible often ignored the historical context or the theological perspective of the writer, preferring to go straight to the points about spiritual life that he wished to make in the light of union

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<sup>429</sup> J.H. Taylor, Letter, (October 1<sup>st</sup> 1901).

<sup>430</sup> *Ibid.*, letter (March 6<sup>th</sup> 1903).

<sup>431</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>432</sup> *Ibid.*

with Christ. To this end he could draw deep spiritual truth from isolated verses. During the course of his ministry he taught on the major areas of doctrine as they fitted in with his overall objectives in mission. His theology was Trinitarian. His own personal responsibilities meant that the role of God as Father was vital for him. The notion of dependence was critical. Furthermore, the task to enlighten the Chinese mind about the triune God meant that there needed to be extensive teaching on the person and work of each person of the Godhead.

This task was also connected to his doctrine of sin and conversion. Taylor believed in the necessity of individual conversion, culminating in union with Christ and a consequent turning away from sin. These views on sin gave him a pessimistic attitude to Chinese culture but directed the emphasis on itinerant evangelism which was designed to teach the Chinese mind about God. Whilst Taylor was reasonably favourable towards Chinese literature he did not think that the time given to mastering it was worthwhile in the light of the urgency of mission. Additionally, Taylor expected a clash with Chinese religious systems taking a negative attitude to them. Taylor came to believe that instant conversion was a possibility but he also realised that frequent preaching helped to enlighten the Chinese mind gradually to the truth of the gospel, for the incarnation was an unfamiliar concept for many Chinese.

The practice of mission meant that the incarnation needed to be applied in the *kenosis* of Christ. This Christological emphasis obscured the need to consider whether or not other biblical themes like covenant might have been helpful in approaching Chinese culture. Taylor viewed it as essential to accommodate methods of evangelism to the Chinese and insisted that the missionaries should learn the language, adopt the appearance and attempt to understand the religious thought of the Chinese. He wished to dispel the impression that Christianity was a foreign religion and emphasised the importance of relational harmony with the Chinese. The character of the missionary in dealing with the Chinese was very important. They should take all measures necessary to accommodate themselves to them. His kenotic emphasis highlighted the weakness of mission practice and its disdain for using worldly power to further its aims.

The mainly unchallenged theological assumptions which Taylor and the CIM brought to China and the lack of any expectation of these being modified by the Chinese context meant that Taylor's essential theology remained broadly consistent, but there was some development. His 1869 experience and his deepened understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit summed up with the phrase 'living water' contributed to heightened spiritual experiences. The specific work of the Holy Spirit was the point where Taylor's theology of dependence on the Father resulted in the immediacy of spiritual experience. This led to optimism about the work of the Holy Spirit as a solution to all the problems that he and others faced.

The aim to see Chinese Christians welded into believing communities meant that guidance had to be given on the emerging churches as to form and government. The decision to allow flexibility in the government of these showed that Taylor's own varied church experience had diluted any fundamental convictions he might have had. The ecclesiology pioneered by the CIM was different from other existing models in China and it stemmed from Taylor's understanding of the Bible as a spiritual document capable of bringing transformation whatever the context. It was bound up with ideas centred

on individual conversion and the joining together of these converts into a church which although using the sacraments of baptism and communion did not make them overly important.

Taylor's eclectic church experience moved him through a number of different theological influences that all contributed to his position as a major pioneer in mission. Preaching and teaching the Bible were important from his Methodist background, but he added to this influences from the Open Brethren, Anglican Evangelicals, and others involved in the holiness movement. Although fully pre-millennial in eschatology, he was not a dispensationalist. His eschatological views clearly show a linear view of history against the more cyclical views of Chinese religions. The only doubt in Taylor's mind was over the timing of the return of Christ and whether or not there would be a rapture of the Christians before a time of tribulation or whether Christians would experience an extreme time of suffering before the return of Christ for his millennial reign. His pre-millennial eschatological views and his understanding of sin gave him a pessimistic view of the present state and future of the world and contributed to the urgency of the task of mission. It was the responsibility of the church to be involved in mission in the light of his beliefs about the final state of the wicked.

The furore over the Stanley Smith affair led Taylor to realise that his thinking on eschatology had changed over the years that he had been in China. At the end of his life he saw that beliefs about eschatology were not as fundamental as other doctrinal issues. This was a personal view, unsupported by the majority of his colleagues who argued for and were permitted to tighten the wording of The 'Principles and Practice' of the CIM over the issue of non-eternity of punishment.

His belief that consistent spiritual laws for the Christian life could be gleaned from the Bible as certainly as truth for other disciplines could be gained from the natural world shows his indebtedness to early nineteenth-century natural theology, even though he was also moulded by the Romantic spirit of the age. In his use of the Bible he pursued a 'popular' approach as a communicator which influenced his expositions. These emulated the usage of the Bible by many of his contemporaries. He added to this a consistent appeal for mission and a challenge to the Victorian church that alongside his holiness teaching, made him a unique figure in his generation.

# The Bible in the Activities of the China Inland Mission until 1905

## 7.1 Introduction

Taylor's spiritual formation was moulded by his context and the influence of wider cultural forces. Within this milieu Taylor used the Bible in a selective way and drew from it immediate spiritual sustenance which provided the source material for much of his teaching. The shared assumptions of many evangelical missionaries, especially those of the CIM, over most areas of theology and mission meant that there was a more or less uniform approach to the Bible, apart from those already noted.

This chapter deals with the praxis of mission as exemplified by the CIM until 1905, the date of Taylor's death. It considers the place of the Bible in recruitment and the reasons behind Taylor's initiatives in the deployment of female missionaries. It focuses on the new 'enterprise' of the CIM, its strategies, missionary methods and the financial policies.

## 7.2 CIM as a Missionary Society

Taylor argued that the CIM had biblical foundations. Specifically this meant that the Trinitarian God existed and rewarded all those who sought him. Secondly, that God had spoken through his word. Thirdly, that in Christ alone there was salvation. Fourthly, the risen Lord had commanded the Gospel to be preached to every creature. Fifthly, that power had been given to God's people to obey his commands. Sixthly, that Christ was returning, hastened by the proclamation of the Gospel, and that this was the hope of the church. Finally, all Christians were united in Christ, equally bound to obey him and heirs of his promises.<sup>1</sup> On the basis of these seven principles and in obedience to the Lord's commands the CIM had sought to co-operate with God's people, without restriction or nationality.

The CIM's intentional focus on inland China demanded workers who were not dependent on Taylor yet who were expected to agree with his plans. Taylor intended to personally lead and train the missionaries.<sup>2</sup> The task was immense and caused him to assume an autocratic leadership style, something he did not choose to relinquish for many years.<sup>3</sup> He would guide, direct and lead the work. New workers who could not accept his leadership had to resign. Most accepted this situation.<sup>4</sup> This was laid out in a letter dated May 10<sup>th</sup> 1867, a document that became the basis for the later 'Principles and Practice' of the CIM.<sup>5</sup> Initial training was given by Taylor placing junior workers alongside senior missionaries. In 1886, a formal language study programme was set up which emphasised the Chinese language and culture, preaching, hymns and sermons. It was a practical course with little theological

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<sup>1</sup> James Hudson Taylor in Marshall Broomhall (ed), *Hudson Taylor's Legacy: A Series of Meditations* (London: CIM, 1931), p.120.

<sup>2</sup> Moira J. McKay, 'Faith and Facts in the History of the CIM 1832-1905', M.Litt thesis (Aberdeen: 1981), p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149.

<sup>5</sup> J.H. Taylor, Letter to CIM members, May 10<sup>th</sup> 1867 in A.J. Broomhall, *Survivor's Pact* (Sevenoaks: Hodder and Stoughton, 1984), pp. 417-419.

emphasis.<sup>6</sup> This was a part of the CIM's reorganisation when Taylor, in consultation with other leaders, set up a workable structure explained in *The Arrangements of the CIM* (1886). These principles came from their experience in China and with 'much study of the teachings of God's Holy Word as guidance, and government'.<sup>7</sup> The China Department, based in Shanghai, was the responsibility of John Stevenson (1844-1918) and he remained as Deputy Director for the CIM until 1916. He was assisted by the other Superintendents on the China Council, including Fred Baller and John McCarthy. Taylor remained as the General Director of the CIM until ill health forced him to appoint Dixon Hoste as his successor in 1903.

The CIM had to consider further practical changes as the work grew. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the leadership proposed that new language and training centres be set up for the new evangelists and native Christians. These centres, manned by experienced missionaries, would also serve as places for refreshment and relaxation. Taylor called for a special itinerant missionary band to commit themselves for a period of five years, who would forego marriage and other calls to settle down, in order to undertake the arduous work of preaching the Gospel as widely as possible. There would be bands of four workers, two missionaries with two Chinese helpers, selling scripture and gospel tracts and preaching. In-service training would be included with times for spiritual refreshment, continuing language study, spiritual edification and the training of the Chinese helpers.<sup>8</sup>

The work began with minimal organisational structure in England with the aim of keeping costs down and the focus firmly on China. This was a radical innovation in mission and was initially the responsibility of William Berger (1812-99).<sup>9</sup> Taylor was keen to ensure that the British support network did not dictate matters to those in China, thus it is stated in the 'Principles and Practice' that the contributors to the CIM 'assist them by their gifts and prayers, but have no further responsibilities'.<sup>10</sup> Taylor would have liked this to apply at all times to the Home Department of the CIM but over the years there was friction between himself and the dignitaries that he invited onto the London Council, formed in 1872.<sup>11</sup> This was created when Taylor realised that he could not reasonably divide his time between England and China and was supported by suitable referees around Britain. The lofty aspirations of the first two members proved optimistic when they wrote, 'We are desirous to carry out Mr Taylor's views in every respect, and in no way to change the basis upon which the Mission has hitherto been conducted'.<sup>12</sup> Taylor later faced criticism over his 'dictatorial' leadership and endeavouring to force his views on the London Council as it vied for influence in the running of the CIM.<sup>13</sup> In 1878, Taylor appointed his brother-in-law Benjamin Broomhall (1829-1911) as the General Secretary for the work in England, advised by the London Council.<sup>14</sup> When setting up the initially

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<sup>6</sup> McKay, 'Faith and Facts', p. 120.

<sup>7</sup> J.H. Taylor, *The Arrangements of the CIM* (Shanghai: CIM, 1886), preface.

<sup>8</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (May 1898), p. 69.

<sup>9</sup> Brian Stanley, 'Home Support For Overseas Mission in Early Victorian England, 1838-1873', Ph.D thesis (Cambridge: 1979), p. 304.

<sup>10</sup> J.H. Taylor, *The Arrangements*, p. 14.

<sup>11</sup> Stanley, 'Home Support', p. 304.

<sup>12</sup> *Occasional Paper* (Nov 1872-75), p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Roger Steer, 'Pushing Inward: Hudson Taylor and Missions to China', *Christian History*, Volume XV, No 4 (1996), p. 18.

<sup>14</sup> London Council Minute, (Feb 5<sup>th</sup> 1878).

controversial new arrangements in China, Taylor appealed to the London Council in these terms in 1884:

Loving co-operation and union must be aimed at in all cases. We must all remember that we are followers of Him who pleased not himself and that we are not called to be lords over any part of God's heritage, but helpers of each others joy. Thus the Holy Spirit will not be grieved but be able to work unhindered among us and love and union (which is strength) will be ever augmenting.<sup>15</sup>

Some longer-term CIM members had opposed the new structures as they did not want to take orders from anyone else but Taylor.<sup>16</sup> Later on there was tension over the 1887 revision of the 'Principles and Practice' of the CIM, which was altered by the China Council without any reference to London.<sup>17</sup> Eventually the CIM established a North American branch of the work<sup>18</sup> and expanded into other European countries through associate missions.<sup>19</sup>

### 7.3 Recruitment and Candidates

An essential component for successful mission in China was recruiting full-time workers dedicated to the task of preaching the gospel. For the CIM this was 'the great requirement of missionary operations', and 'indispensable'.<sup>20</sup> The important factors in attracting new workers reflected both Taylor's own spirituality and call, and the context in which the appeals took place.

#### 7.3.1 Dedication to the Missionary Role

Firstly, the CIM grew because of Taylor's personal qualities, expressed in his spirituality, humility and appealing personality. His ability to build a network of like-minded people and inspirational speaking attracted applicants.<sup>21</sup> He drew a sense of personal security from the growth of the CIM, seeing it as the result of his dependence on God. His understanding of a call, fortified by his reading of the experiences of the early Christians in the Bible, enabled him to persevere in the face of many obstacles.<sup>22</sup> As they were sustained in mission, so was Taylor. They were not looking to any other source and did not ask questions of the task ahead.<sup>23</sup> They provided a model for the present. Taylor wrote: 'they were men and women of like passions as ourselves, had no calling in which we do not share, no power which is refused to us, and no reward to which we may not attain'.<sup>24</sup> Taylor's life had been focused on China from an early age. He wrote to his sister, 'when I feel tired of it (study) I think of China and the thought braces me up and I persevere. China is the subject of my thoughts and prayers at night many times

<sup>15</sup> J.H. Taylor, China Inland Mission Archives. London Council Minute Book 5, letter (December 16<sup>th</sup> 1884).

<sup>16</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *Assault on the Nine* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1988), p. 382.

<sup>17</sup> CIM Archives, London Council Minute Book, (March 23<sup>rd</sup> 1887).

<sup>18</sup> Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions* (Oxford: Regnum, 1996), p. 130.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>20</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, 32, (November 1872), p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> Marshall Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor: The Man Who Believed God* (London: CIM, 1929), pp. 121-122.

<sup>22</sup> Howard Taylor, *In Memoriam: Rev. J. Hudson Taylor* (London: CIM, 1906), p. 31.

<sup>23</sup> M. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor's Legacy*, p. 19.

<sup>24</sup> H. Taylor, *In Memoriam*, p. 19.

when others are sound asleep'.<sup>25</sup> One person responded on hearing Taylor: 'I had felt sure that there was something in Christ for the Christian which I had not seen before'.<sup>26</sup>

The second important arena for recruiting was the context of those who received the appeals. There was a growing constituency of people who had a spiritual experience that emphasised the power of the Holy Spirit and the daily awareness of God's presence. They also shared the same religious convictions of people who talked of the 'higher Christian life'.<sup>27</sup> The holiness movement acted as a catalyst for recruiting.<sup>28</sup> Moira J. McKay observed: 'People were once again drawn to the mission's spirituality which coincided so exactly with what was being taught at home'.<sup>29</sup> The spiritual awakenings in the nineteenth century provided a major impetus to world mission by producing a pool of willing and spiritually revived Christians who were prepared for scriptural teaching about mission.<sup>30</sup> The initial *Lammermuir* party was made up of such people.<sup>31</sup> Many of them saw missionary work as a means to personal spiritual growth, through a desire for holiness, which would be achieved through sacrifice and suffering. This was what Taylor sought in those who were to join the CIM and live by faith. This emphasis on spiritual rather than educational qualifications gave opportunities to those previously not considered suitable for overseas mission. Taylor saw this as the body of Christ in action.<sup>32</sup>

This widening of opportunity was a major contribution of the CIM. Taylor opposed the view, expressed at the 1877 Shanghai missionary conference, that only labourers of the highest mental culture and training were needed to work in China. He pointed to his published writings and to the example of the CIM to refute this claim. More significantly, he mentioned that the evangelisation of China would not be fulfilled if the required labourers were confined only to one social stratum.<sup>33</sup> For Taylor spiritual power was the supreme qualification for a worker.<sup>34</sup> Alwyn Austin notes that Taylor founded the CIM as a 'special agency' for all types of people with or without educational attainment, and in this opened up mission to a new class of people who would have been rejected by the classical missions.<sup>35</sup> Andrew Porter argues that this policy led to the erosion of the overall quality of missionaries being sent to China allowing 'immature zealots' to be included.<sup>36</sup> Taylor's greatest concern was to find workers who were called by God with common sense, 'firm resolve' and filled with the Holy Spirit. He criticised the use of the word 'inferior' as applied to anyone engaging in

<sup>25</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT 3, Letters 1851-1853, letter to Amelia, Nov 11<sup>th</sup> 1850.

<sup>26</sup> Howard Taylor, *By Faith Henry Frost and the China Inland Mission* (London: CIM, 1938), p. 88.

<sup>27</sup> Andrew Porter, Cambridge, Keswick and Late Nineteenth Century Attitudes to Africa, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Volume 5 (1976-1977), pp. 14-15.

<sup>28</sup> McKay, *Faith and Facts*, p. 155.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>30</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *Survivors' Pact* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1986), p. 46.

<sup>31</sup> McKay, 'Faith and Facts', p. 88.

<sup>32</sup> James Hudson Taylor, *China's Spiritual Need and Claims* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1865), p. 86.

<sup>33</sup> James Hudson Taylor, *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China held at Shanghai, May 10<sup>th</sup> - 24<sup>th</sup> 1877* (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878), p. 449.

<sup>34</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Assault*, p. 389.

<sup>35</sup> Alwyn Austin, 'Only Connect: The China Inland Mission and Transatlantic Evangelism', in Wilbert R. Shenk, *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory and Policy* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2004), p. 285.

<sup>36</sup> Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester UP, 2004), p. 209.

mission placing the emphasis on their potential, rather than their present achievements, when assessing candidates for China.<sup>37</sup>

Taylor was not alone in his thinking. Around the time of the inception of the CIM *The Revival* magazine called for more working-class missionaries.<sup>38</sup> This was a magazine that supported Taylor. It served to reinforce the work of the revivals in moulding converts who would be suitable overseas. Whilst in China, Taylor needed others in the UK with the same perspective. Recruits were being prepared from the lower middle classes who could contribute to the work in China at a time when other denominational societies were unable to find many workers.<sup>39</sup> People would join a 'faith mission' for reasons of theology or spirituality,<sup>40</sup> thus encouraging a mixing of many from various strata of society.<sup>41</sup> Although the CIM began with the aim of opening up mission to all types of people, the experience of life in China modified the policy a little. Taylor later demanded a certain standard of education and social behaviour and found the balance tilting towards more skilled craftsman rather than artisans. The 1890 Shanghai Conference appealed specifically for more ordained workers.<sup>42</sup>

### 7.3.2 The Bible in Recruitment

It needs to be recognised that initially Taylor himself embodied the CIM. It was only later on that other CIM members took the same principles into recruiting for the organisation. Three important areas in Taylor's thinking lay behind his challenge to the church.

Firstly, Taylor was bewildered that so many Christians preferred to accept God's future reign over them eschatologically, whilst not recognising his present reign over them in obedience to his commands, specifically the Great Commission.<sup>43</sup> He noted that many British Christians gave a high priority to their own needs. He used Isaiah 6:9 with its commissioning of the prophet to mission and the theme of kingship to challenge this reality.<sup>44</sup> In his first stint in China he saw the many opportunities for mission and noted how quickly his fellow Wesleyans had responded to meeting their own needs after the secession of 1849. Taylor's question was why could not such a project be mounted for drafting workers to the mission stations of the world?<sup>45</sup> He wrote of the fields not only being white for the harvest but 'extensive, extensive, extensive'. Both the LMS and the CMS had money for new workers but none were forthcoming.<sup>46</sup> In January 1860, in a letter home, he asked if his readers knew of four or five men who would be interested in the work in China and would be willing to pray for what they needed.<sup>47</sup> Taylor realised that the lack of consecration of many church members was a hindrance to mission. He saw that for many, 'go means stay and you means somebody, anybody or no-body as the case may be'.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>37</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Records of the General Conference*, p. 450.

<sup>38</sup> McKay, 'Faith and Facts', p. 92, *The Revival* No. 242, (March 1864).

<sup>39</sup> McKay, 'Faith and Facts', p. 96.

<sup>40</sup> Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions*, p. 137.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> *China's Millions* (August 1890), p. 109; *Records of the General Conference*, pp. lii-liii.

<sup>43</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (December 1884), p. 150, (December 1889), p. 172.

<sup>44</sup> M. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor's Legacy*, p. 100.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p.149.

<sup>46</sup> Alfred J. Broomhall, *Over The Treaty Wall* (Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton, 1982), p. 362.

<sup>47</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (July 1905), p. 91.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, (December 1884), p. 150.

Secondly, Taylor emphasised the spiritual needs of the Chinese who had never heard the Gospel. Each person should ask if they were justified in remaining at home in such circumstances. Taylor maintained that this neglect diminished the importance of the message in the eyes of the Chinese. For Taylor the mere proclamation of the Gospel alone was insufficient. He argued from 1 Peter 2:20-21 that the missionary was to follow the suffering of Christ, where everyone could see the lifestyle of the Christian as God's representative.<sup>49</sup>

Thirdly, Taylor expected people to be called to mission work as he was. He preferred to leave the results of his appeals of the needs of China to time and wait to see what the response was. It was critical for Taylor that the candidates knew that it was God who was inspiring their choice rather than any appeal from men. The evidence of this trumped other qualifications for they would have already demonstrated their ministry skills in ministry at home.<sup>50</sup> He wanted the Bible to take deep root in the lives of his hearers.<sup>51</sup> Taylor knew from personal experience that new workers would have to learn to trust God and did not want them to be dependent on him and the CIM.<sup>52</sup> His concern was to put the Bible and the situation of the Chinese before them. He questioned those who said they had no call to obey the commands of Christ.<sup>53</sup> Rather they should ask themselves whether they had a call to remain at home. If so, he urged them to pray and use the means at their disposal for world evangelisation. Whilst it was positive to see people giving to mission societies it should not be thought that this was the only part of their responsibility.<sup>54</sup>

Taylor's verse-based approach to the Bible meant that there was often little regard for the wider context of the passage when he recruited for the CIM. He based his challenge on general biblical principles, confident that God would provide the labourers for the work to which he had been called.<sup>55</sup> He noted from the Bible that God took a particular delight in using the weak to confound the strong. It was God who prepared and equipped people with differing talents and abilities and gave persons of moderate ability a facility in the local languages. In fact there were so many opportunities that, like the body of Christ, there was a useful sphere for just about everybody who was filled with the love of God.<sup>56</sup> This was an essential part of the appeal of the CIM and Taylor considered that the early church provided justification for his approach. The apostle Peter showed that educational attainments were not everything. Taylor also noticed the variety of workers found in the New Testament who came from different backgrounds but were recognised as disciples of Christ. He commented: 'persons of moderate ability and limited attainments are not precluded from engaging in the work.'<sup>57</sup> He saw no difference between the situation of the early church when faith brought a great spread of the Gospel and the present time, illustrating his immediate application of the Bible.

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<sup>49</sup> M. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor's Legacy*, p. 58.

<sup>50</sup> J.H. Taylor in Johnston, James (ed), *Report of the Centenary Conference on Protestant Missions of the World* (London: J.Nisbet, 1888), p.17.

<sup>51</sup> H. Taylor, *In Memoriam*, p. 71.

<sup>52</sup> M. Broomhall, *The Man*, p.139.

<sup>53</sup> Howard Taylor, *Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission: The Growth of a Work of God* (London: CIM & Religious Tract Society, 1918), p. 8.

<sup>54</sup> M. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor's Legacy*, p. 149.

<sup>55</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Spiritual*, p. 86.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

Taylor used Jesus' appeal to pray for labourers to be sent out into the harvest in Matthew 9:37-38, as an important text for recruiting for the CIM.<sup>58</sup> As Taylor travelled throughout inland China he was continually struck with the needs of the various cities and towns and often used this text in his writings to readers in the Britain. 'It makes one's heart bleed to think of the spiritual needs of this people'.<sup>59</sup> He reminded his readers that the petition to pray in Matthew 6:9 had been given to remind God's people of what they desired most.<sup>60</sup> What God desired most could be found in 1 Timothy 2:4, the desire of God for the salvation of all, which would only be fulfilled through obedience to the Great Commission.

Taylor liked to find enduring biblical principles by which to work. The references to 'prayer and supplication' in Philippians 4:6 was a verse that supplied one of these.<sup>61</sup> His reading of the text meant that they could go with 'full confidence' for workers and then again to God for the means to support that worker. He wrote: 'we always accept a suitable worker, whether we have the funds or not'. Their first task was to pray for the financial support needed to go to China. Once everything was organised they left. Taylor continued: 'we do not wait until there is a remittance in hand to give him when he gets there. The Lord will provide that'. Taylor drew a distinction between asking for money and asking for labourers. He saw the latter as a way of asking for unreserved commitment and thus being a challenge for the church. Praying for labourers and going in obedience into mission were always to be held together, a basic conviction summed up in this quote:

If the work is at the command of God, then we can go to Him with complete confidence, for workers. And when God gives the workers, then we can go to Him for the means. Depend upon it, God's work done in God's way will never lack God's supply.<sup>62</sup>

Eugene Stock, historian of the CMS, reported how the CIM, although receiving many applications, did not yield to the temptation to send 'anybody' out to China. His comment on CIM recruitment was: 'does the whole history of Missions afford quite a parallel to this?' He referred to the prayer for labourers, the financial supply to support them and the various successful appeals that were made for workers.<sup>63</sup>

In his preaching Taylor would often turn from the text to the reality of the CIM in China. He used the Davidic Psalm 28:6-8 to focus on God's heart and hand going out in blessing King David. This led to praise of God and a realisation that the Christian drew strength from God for this work. Taylor glided effortlessly from this context to China and applied the reference to 'the shield' in v 7 to two women who wanted to go inland yet had no male to accompany them. Taylor allowed them to go 'in the strength of the Lord', believing that if Christ was a 'living bright reality' to them there was nothing to fear. All workers needed this assurance in China because of the devil.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> H. Taylor, *In Memoriam*, p. 70.

<sup>59</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, 6 (March 1867), p. 19.

<sup>60</sup> M. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor's Legacy*, p. 115.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97, *China's Millions* (July/Aug 1887), p. 92.

<sup>62</sup> J.H. Taylor in Marshall Broomhall, *Our Seal: Being the Witness of the CIM to the Faithfulness of God* (London: CIM & The Religious Tract Society, 1933), p. 2.

<sup>63</sup> Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, Volume III (London: CMS, 1899), p. 561.

<sup>64</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, JHT/CIM Box 11, sermon given on April 18<sup>th</sup> 1883, on Psalm 28:6-8.

Taylor used one military incident from the Old Testament to stress that the task of the CIM in China was enormous and the resources of the people of God were meagre. This was 2 Chronicles 20:15-16 and after a brief overview of the context of King Jehoshaphat on the eve of a military campaign, he applied it to the CIM and the task of evangelisation. He took comfort that the words ‘the battle is not yours, but God’s’ were spoken to a little band of followers who had few resources yet they were commanded to go out and fight the battle. Taylor noted how quickly they responded, there was no prevarication or waiting for reinforcements, and then how quickly God responded to this show of faith. He then applied this to mission and the need to get on with the job without waiting for further inducements. Christians must reckon on the presence of God in all their efforts.<sup>65</sup>

The provision of accurate information was an important aspect of Taylor’s recruitment strategy for the CIM. In an early edition of *China’s Millions*, Taylor outlined the exact nature of the task of taking the Gospel to every creature, with a comparison of the situation in nine occupied provinces with that of various counties and cities in England.<sup>66</sup> He particularly highlighted the few female workers who, due to cultural reasons, were needed to reach women in China. He interlaced his challenge with biblical reflection. Taylor asked if the command of Christ had been repealed or whether or not it was of such minor importance that it did not matter if it was ignored. He argued that the example of the apostle Paul showed the urgency of the task, for Paul had ‘not very comfortable’ views of those who lived and died without exposure to the gospel. Taylor, aware of the ‘broad church’ teaching and its potential debilitating influence on mission, queried whether or not those influenced by such thinking would have concluded that Paul would have changed his mind on this point. This was the logical conclusion from their teaching. Paul’s example undermined all those who would speak against the efforts of mission and his zeal rebuked the indifference of the church. The appeal was couched in the words of Acts 16:9 ‘come over and help us’.<sup>67</sup>

### 7.3.3 Selection and Training

The issue of the selection and training of candidates was ‘momentous in its bearing’: the survival and flourishing of the CIM depended on it.<sup>68</sup> This need did not colour Taylor’s approach. He painted a realistic picture of the work which was often tiring, dull and seemingly unsuccessful. The slog of language learning and adjusting to a new culture would dispel any romantic ideals. The Chinese would be suspicious of their motivation and they would struggle to maintain their spiritual life and zeal. Even with the greatest care in selection some would fail. For Taylor the supreme need for the candidate was an appreciation of the love of Christ that constrained and sustained.<sup>69</sup> The task of the CIM selection process was to determine whether or not this love and the ability to live in China were present in the life of the candidate. Patience, tact and adaptability were important. Early attempts to recruit were a matter of trial and error, hampered by William Berger’s unfamiliarity with China and his general ignorance of overseas mission. There were a number of failures of those deemed suitable in the British context.

<sup>65</sup> M. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor’s Legacy*, p. 98.

<sup>66</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China’s Millions* (preface 1876), p. iv.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, 31 (November 1872), p. 4.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

Benjamin Broomhall, General Secretary of the CIM in England, mentioned two important factors in the recruiting of new workers that 'have done much to prevent unsuitable persons joining the mission'. Firstly, no income was guaranteed by the mission. Secondly, there needed to be a track record that 'proved efficiency' in the work already done at home.<sup>70</sup> On CIM application forms as late as the 1890s, the focus remained on the pragmatic areas of involvement in Christian work, church background and temperance issues. The emphasis on spirituality and fitness for the task tended to downplay specific doctrinal concerns and academic qualifications. Agreement in major doctrinal areas was assumed, thus there was only one question on doctrinal beliefs. Many of the early workers for the CIM would not have been accepted by a classical missionary society.<sup>71</sup>

In instructions to candidates in 1886, Taylor focused their minds on the one outcome of their going to China. This was 'the glory of God in the salvation and blessing of the Chinese'.<sup>72</sup> Taylor believed that for the right person there was a strong case in scripture for them leaving their present position to go full time in contributing to the kingdom of God and to trust God to supply all their needs.<sup>73</sup> Candidates needed to assent to the 'Principles and Practice' of the CIM that stated that missionaries could not depend on any fixed income from the mission.

The overall emphasis on spiritual qualities in the matter of the selection of candidates for the CIM indicated the place of the Bible in their spiritual formation. Taylor provided a template followed by later recruiters for the work of the CIM. To work in China self-denial was vital and a tenacious hold on the promises found in scripture was essential. Taylor saw the very supply of such workers as proof that he could live according to biblical principles in the area of recruiting. On the basis of the promises of God they looked to God to supply workers. This approach fully vindicated using Psalm 9:10 as a text for those who trust God in this matter.<sup>74</sup>

### 7.3.4 Appeals for New Workers

Taylor's desire to encourage people towards joining him in the work in China was a priority from the beginning. Just a few days after his arrival in 1854 he wrote to Benjamin Broomhall:

We want more labourers, men of sincere piety – men of earnest zeal. Yet men of caution and prudence. We want men who love God supremely and souls next. We want men not only willing to do but also to suffer the will of God. Men of faith who can afford to despise the world and look forward to the empowering glory in store. Oh that I were such a one. My own utter incompetence and insufficiency for this great, this high, this noble undertaking I feel daily more and more.<sup>75</sup>

This has been described as Taylor's 'master plan at work from the beginning of his days in China'<sup>76</sup> but his appeal was to their spiritual qualities rather than to the Bible in particular. Taylor would appeal for people to leave areas where the Gospel had already been preached to enter into new areas. According to Taylor it was not sufficient to be doing a good work in one place and to ignore the demands to preach

<sup>70</sup> *China's Millions* (July 1905), p. 91.

<sup>71</sup> Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions*, p. 136.

<sup>72</sup> J.H. Taylor, *The Arrangements*, p. 31.

<sup>73</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Refiner's Fire*, p. 382.

<sup>74</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Spiritual*, p. 86.

<sup>75</sup> M. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor's Legacy*, p. 86.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

the gospel to every creature. This formed his great appeal for the necessity of itinerant evangelism<sup>77</sup> and appeared throughout his preaching and teaching. On his return from China in 1860 he prayed for five workers to return there with him, but as events unfolded he increased it to twenty-four at the inception of the CIM: two for each of the inland provinces without a missionary, and two additional workers for Mongolia. The next major call came in 1875 for eighteen suitable men. This was for nine provinces without a worker.

These initial appeals set precedents for later practice. The CIM was well known for four particular campaigns: The Seventy (1883), The Hundred (1886), To Every Creature (1889), and The Forward Movement (1898). These appeals arose from within the CIM and were based on their collective assessment of the needs for the work within the general biblical mandate to preach the gospel to the nations. Taylor became the mouthpiece through his writing and his growing international reputation. The appeal 'To Every Creature' from Mark 16, Taylor gave advice on how such a task might be accomplished.<sup>78</sup> He referred to five points to be taken into consideration regarding the various appeals for new workers.

Firstly, the need to pray for labourers was based on Jesus' exhortation of Matthew 9:37-38. This was the tried and trusted method and Taylor was always praying for new workers for China and not just for the CIM.<sup>79</sup> Often the appeals would arise from gatherings of CIM members where prayer was a vital part of their fellowship. In 1881 there was a small CIM conference in Wuchang for prayer and fellowship. The text of Habakkuk's personal attestation to faith in God in the face of deprivation from Habakkuk 3:17-18 hung on the wall whilst they prayed over the issues facing the mission.<sup>80</sup> The resulting 1883 appeal exhorted the church to also pray for new workers and made a direct comparison with the response to the recent famine in China and the need to consider 'the famine of the bread of life' existing within China.<sup>81</sup> This reference to Amos 8:11 was supported by the emphasis in Hosea 4:6 of a lack of the knowledge of God and John 6 with its references to the 'bread of life' against the background of the knowledge that the present missionary force labouring in China was inadequate for the task. Their prayer was for seventy workers, forty-two men and twenty-eight women. In Taylor's report on the mobilisation of 'The Hundred' he was quite clear that the motivation for this recruitment drive was prayer.<sup>82</sup> He emphasised this in drawing lessons from the event when he encouraged his readers to see that this was an essential principle in working with God in recruitment. Taylor was convinced that if the work was based on biblical principles then it was obvious to pray to God to supply the labourers. Prayer was also needed for their logistical deployment in China.

Secondly, the united action of the church in which every denomination contributed. Taylor realised that during his time in China that the state of the CIM-supporting churches had changed. The church was now more prepared for such an appeal as the development of new ministries in the UK and

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<sup>77</sup> Bacon, *From Faith*, p. 23.

<sup>78</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (December 1889), p. 173.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, (January 1883), preface.

<sup>80</sup> Geraldine Guinness, *The Story of the CIM*, Volume II (London: Morgan & Scott 1900, first published, 1894), pp. 403-405.

<sup>81</sup> *China's Millions* (February 1883), p. 13.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, (July/August 1887), p. 92.

the student awakening in North America indicated. Taylor contributed to this deepening of the spiritual life of the church so that people would be ready to obey when called.<sup>83</sup>

Thirdly, the need for a strategic plan to accomplish the task which took into account the equal spread of labourers over all areas. In the campaign for 'The Seventy' the CIM members' approach was pragmatic. They took a sheet of paper and surveyed China, noting the particular details of each station and how many new workers would be needed not only to sustain but also to advance the work. From this they drew up their appeal to the churches.<sup>84</sup> In commenting on 'The Forward Movement' Taylor added the biblical foundation. He took hold of the promise of God in Psalm 32:8 which said 'I will instruct thee and teach thee in the way thou shalt go' as an encouragement that it was all under divine direction.<sup>85</sup> In the opening sermon at the 1890 Shanghai Missionary Conference, Taylor compared those waiting to be fed with the gospel to those that witnessed Jesus feeding the four thousand in Matthew 15:29-38. He pointed out that Jesus did not make them wait three days to be fed but did it immediately. It was time for the church to reach out in full obedience to the Great Commission.<sup>86</sup>

Fourthly, Taylor drew on the biblical theme of kenosis to urge a financial commitment to the CIM on the part of supporters. This would reflect Christ in the same way as those who serve with the CIM showed Christ in their ministry. This must follow the kenotic pattern of Christ's ministry; it needed to be sacrificial in order to accomplish the objective and involved prayer and financial support.<sup>87</sup> The fulfilment of the campaign for 'The Hundred' actually resulted in one hundred and two workers heading out to China with the CIM and an extra fifty-five thousand dollars in income. One of the unforeseen results was the involvement of Henry Frost with the CIM that led to the formation of a North American branch of the work. The mission which had always been interdenominational was on its way to becoming truly international in the nineteenth-century sense of the term.<sup>88</sup> Taylor reflected on the obedience and faith exemplified by the new workers.<sup>89</sup> He used these examples to meditate on divine things and argued that the certainty of God's word and promises made prayer offered in the name of Christ effective. From this biblical reflection Christians could be certain that the heathen were in a perilous position and this was why mission had been entrusted to the church.<sup>90</sup>

Finally, the urgency of the task. Taylor pleaded for prayer for one thousand evangelists to join the work in China.<sup>91</sup> Matthew 6:33 would suffice for their support. They were looking for personnel who were called, consecrated and prepared to suffer the loss of everything precious in following this call.<sup>92</sup> Those who issued the appeal had proved God to be faithful and were happy in their service. New workers who responded would be those who have put their past lives behind them as they went forth to serve God in China.<sup>93</sup> Philippians 3 was alluded to in this respect where the apostle Paul gave up his particular background in order to follow Christ. In an editorial, entitled 'Willing Skilful Men', Taylor

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<sup>83</sup> Bacon, *From Faith*, p. 162.

<sup>84</sup> *China's Millions* (January 1885), pp 4-5, (May 1883), p 51.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, (May 1898), p. 69.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, (November 1890), p. 145.

<sup>87</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Survivor's Pact*, p. 49.

<sup>88</sup> Howard Taylor, *Hudson Taylor's Spiritual Secret* (Chicago: Moody Press 1932), pp. 224-225.

<sup>89</sup> M. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor's Legacy*, p 107; *China's Millions* (1887), preface.

<sup>90</sup> M. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor's Legacy*, p. 107.

<sup>91</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (December 1889), p. 173.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, (February 1883), p. 14.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

raised the question of recruiting specifically for this task. They must be sought ‘from Him’ and claimed by faith and prayer in obedience to Matthew 9:38.<sup>94</sup> The following quote is typical of Taylor’s appeal:

In pleading for China’s Millions, we need but little argument. ‘Preach the Gospel to every creature’ is the command – broad, simple, unmistakable... Each morn, as it rises, sheds it light on 30,000 souls (Chinese) who never heard of Jesus, who, ere the morrow dawns, will die as they have lived. My Christian reader, what have you done for them? What are you doing for them? What do you intend to do for them?<sup>95</sup>

Taylor played a major role in contributing to changing patterns of missionary recruitment. He was pivotal in helping the 1890 Shanghai Conference to issue appeals for more workers.<sup>96</sup> Latourette writes: ‘The repercussions of his daring and confident faith were to be felt not only in the vast country to which he gave himself, but also in many other lands’.<sup>97</sup> Despite the widespread use of certain Bible texts by Taylor and the CIM there is no sense of any systematic theology of recruitment. Biblical principles and texts were worked into the appeals for new workers within the context of the spirituality of the time. The mission texts of scripture dominated their thinking to such an extent that there was no attempt to develop a biblical theology of mission from a wider consideration of scripture.

## 7.4 Missionary Personnel

The CIM grew rapidly over a short period of time and new workers needed to have some guidance on how to live and work in China. The new intake of female workers presented many issues not widely considered before. In some respects much of the early work was experimental as trial and error showed the best way forward. The Chinese context, always taken seriously by the CIM, also demanded specific responses.

### 7.4.1 The Bible and Missionary Personnel

The organisation of the CIM had to be solidified eventually in appropriate structures. Initially, Taylor assumed that there were some common spiritual disciplines in force amongst his recruits. Eventually, the reality of life in China and the need for some consistency led Taylor to enunciate some advice to the CIM through the practical document *The Arrangements of the CIM* (1886). Approved candidates had to sign ‘The Principles and Practice’ and an agreement that they were prepared to recognise the authority of the British-based Director and the Home Council before they left for China, and when they were at home on furlough. In China the same recognition of authority applied to those responsible for their ministry and welfare. They also needed to agree to any further stipulations deemed necessary in their case and show that they ‘cordially approve’ them and ‘heartily desire’ to carry them out.<sup>98</sup>

Within this document there was advice on personal spiritual disciplines. Candidates on the voyage out to China were exhorted to keep near to God and to use their time so that relationships could be formed with other passengers ‘which may lead to conversion of their souls’.<sup>99</sup> In the early days in

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, (September 1883), p. 113.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1905), p. 134.

<sup>96</sup> *Records of the General Conference*, for women p. lvii, general appeal p.lix. Taylor spoke on both issues at the conference, pp. 208, 263-264.

<sup>97</sup> Kenneth Scott Latourette, *These Sought a Country: Tipple Lectures*, 1950 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 62.

<sup>98</sup> J.H. Taylor, *The Arrangements*, p 16.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, (Hints to candidates) p. 31.

China, alongside initial efforts to get to know the language, they were advised to get ample opportunity for the devotional reading of the Bible and prayer. It was of ‘paramount importance’ to maintain a close walk with God through the study of the Bible aided by the help of the Spirit. They should never begin a day without being anointed, ‘with fresh oil’, having the soul blessed by a time of close and happy fellowship with God.<sup>100</sup> It was expected that this would be in the morning to help in preparing for the duties of the day and the ‘temptations that lie around your daily path’.<sup>101</sup> This was seen as giving God first attention and serving him with greater diligence than any earthly master. Drawing from Ephesians 6, each member was exhorted to take on the whole armour of God and to stand against the wiles of the devil.<sup>102</sup> CIM members were expected to keep a diary which would be forwarded to the Director or his deputy.

Taylor summed all this up with an appeal for ‘godly rule’ to exist amongst the members of the CIM. Mutual submission to others was very important and a part of successful mission amongst the Chinese. His example was Paul’s attitude to the Thessalonians as seen in the first two chapters of that book: that of a nursing mother with her children.<sup>103</sup> For those who had received the spirit of liberty, of sonship, the greatest freedom was expressed in giving up their own will, way and self submitting entirely to God.

#### 7.4.2 Marriage

Marriage was an important issue in the selection and training of candidates for the CIM. Taylor saw the issue from the Chinese perspective. They would learn very little about the biblical view of marriage from foreigners who often did not observe the appropriate customs.<sup>104</sup> He also saw the need for Christian Chinese to form good marriages. It was the example of one newly converted Chinese man who broke off his betrothal in the light of his new-found faith that caused Taylor to write to the CES, urging them to send female missionaries to reach Chinese women.<sup>105</sup> It was going to be hard to teach Christian principles on marriage as he had done in this case if there were few female Chinese Christians.

Despite this desire to apply the Bible locally, Taylor’s pragmatic approach overrode any particular application of the Bible to the subject within the CIM. In *The Arrangements of the CIM* promulgated in 1886, the question of engagement and marriage was considered for the ‘weighty bearings’ these issues have for work overseas and to decide on the best use of the resources which will be disbursed ‘in the way best calculated to further the interests of the work’.<sup>106</sup> There followed three sections pertaining to married couples, unmarried candidates who are engaged, and those who are not engaged. Those who had been married for less than two years were usually not considered unless they were very exceptional.<sup>107</sup> For married candidates the suitability of both husband and wife was vital for both were equally involved in the work. The same rule applied to engaged couples. The acquisition of

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<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>104</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT 16. Letter to CIM members August 1867.

<sup>105</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 297.

<sup>106</sup> J. H. Taylor, *The Arrangements*, p. 20.

<sup>107</sup> CIM Archives, London Council, Minute Book 6, 1888-1891 (23rd Sept 1890).

language was one reason why couples were asked to delay marriage until a reasonably fluency in the language was obtained. It was also maintained that there was a higher mortality rate, among women, for the newly married or for those who married on arrival in China. Marriage was to be deferred 'for the period specified in their respective agreements'. Once in writing to CIM friend and barrister Henry Soltau, Taylor emphasised that the first two years were probationary and marriage was not permitted.<sup>108</sup> Taylor maintained that newly married people 'lost the first twelve months' of time in China with other preoccupations and noted also the effect of the Chinese culture on people. A couple who had been engaged before coming to China were married in Shanghai Cathedral having waited the two years required of all new workers 'so their happiness was well deserved'.<sup>109</sup> Others, like Webley Hope-Gill, had to sever their connection with the mission on account of their refusal to wait. The London Council recorded what a good worker he was.<sup>110</sup> For those who had no such entanglement they were encouraged to be 'most thoughtful and prayerful' before becoming engaged. They were warned that unsuitable attachments might mean dismissal from the mission.<sup>111</sup> Those who became engaged in China could not remain at the same station before marriage. It was stated strongly, 'This is a rule to which no exceptions can be made'.<sup>112</sup> Taylor was firm that those who sought anything else than putting the priority of the gospel first should not join the CIM.<sup>113</sup>

Questions were raised about this policy from time to time. In 1896 the London Council referred to the paragraph in the 'Principles and Practice' which referred to marriage. There was prolonged discussion as to whether or not a CIM member in China who had served a number of years and was engaged to a lady who was not in China, could marry after one year from her arrival in China.<sup>114</sup> They decided to suggest no change. How seriously the rules were taken can be seen from a minute in the London Council meetings in June 1899. There was a discussion over whether or not a husband and wife with different terms of service should take separate furloughs. The Council viewed with deep concern and disfavour the taking of any action by those in authority which necessitated the separation of husband and wife for any lengthened period such as is involved by the furlough of one without the other. For this they drew upon biblical principle:

the general teaching as well as the positive injunctions of scripture which would forbid such a course being urged upon any married couple by third parties. They further feel that such separation involve in some cases a grave risk and danger of a permanent loosening of the happy ties binding husband and wife together, and that even where the parties chiefly concerned, themselves propose the step, it should only be allowed in exceptional cases.<sup>115</sup>

Austin sees the CIM's 'two-year rule' as 'peculiar'<sup>116</sup> and that it was one of the main reasons for rejecting prospective candidates at least in Canada.<sup>117</sup> He notes how marriage within the mission helped turn the CIM into a family and credits Taylor with creating not only a new kind of missionary society

<sup>108</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Refiner's Fire*, p. 392.

<sup>109</sup> H. Taylor, *By Faith*, p. 187.

<sup>110</sup> CIM archives, London Council Minutes, Book 8 (1895-1898).

<sup>111</sup> J.H. Taylor, *The Arrangements*, p. 20.

<sup>112</sup> M. Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor's Legacy*, p. 40.

<sup>113</sup> H. Taylor, *The Growth*, pp. 155-156.

<sup>114</sup> CIM Archives, London Council, Minute Book 8 (1895-1898, Dec 1st 1896).

<sup>115</sup> CIM Archives, London Council, Minute Book 9 (1898-1901, 31st May 1898).

<sup>116</sup> Austin, 'Only Connect', p. 285.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 305.

but also a 'new class' of female Bible School graduates.<sup>118</sup> Despite this, it is clear that in formulating the marriage policy for the CIM Taylor was not primarily influenced by biblical teaching on marriage. The policy reflected Taylor's pragmatism and desire to focus on the overall goal and to minimise potential disruption in reaching that goal.

One area related to marriage where Taylor attempted to bring a biblical perspective was the issue of polygamy discussed at the 1888 London Missionary Conference.<sup>119</sup> He concluded from a study of the scriptures, against some other opinions, that there was no lawful condition for a man to put away a second wife except in the case of adultery. He would refuse to baptise a man who put away a second wife, for he was aware of the serious predicament that such women found themselves in. However, he was not willing to speak for others facing different cultural conditions and argued that 'holy men must have latitude'.<sup>120</sup>

### 7.4.3 Women

Karl Gützlaff, a significant pioneer before the CIM, had highlighted the need for female involvement in ministry overseas, stating merely that only female missionaries had access to the women of China. He noted the influence of Chinese women over their husbands and saw this as critical for the success of the gospel. He called for 'pious females', those willing to adopt Chinese dress who could evangelise within the Chinese context.<sup>121</sup> Openings had come through the work of medical missionaries and needed consolidating with specific work amongst females. Two women had been deputed for this task.<sup>122</sup>

Taylor's early experience in China showed him how important it was to encourage women evangelists. He drew on the example of the Zenana work in India noting the need for modification of that type of work in the Chinese context.<sup>123</sup> He had some positive local role models in the women that he knew in Ningbo. Maria, his first wife, had also worked as a single white female and knew what could be achieved. In the initial stages of the work it was Maria who set the pace for the contribution of females. She and Taylor illustrated how both partners in a marriage could be involved in ministry and this became a principle of the CIM.<sup>124</sup> Ruth Tucker acknowledges how significant female involvement was for the development of Protestant missions in China.<sup>125</sup> It was Taylor's second wife, Jennie, who returned to China without her husband in order to get involved with famine relief and in doing so was among the first party of females to travel inland from a Treaty port.<sup>126</sup> This was significant for it showed that women could travel inland without undue harassment.<sup>127</sup> It was described as a 'bombshell'.<sup>128</sup> Stock mentions the criticism of the movement in the early days for sending women

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 285.

<sup>119</sup> Johnston, *Report of the Centenary Conference*, pp. 73-75.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>121</sup> Karl Gützlaff in *The Gleaner* (May 1850), p. 39.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, (May 1852), p. 91.

<sup>123</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (October 1876), p. 202.

<sup>124</sup> Ruth A. Tucker, 'Unbecoming Ladies', *Christian History*, No 52, Volume XV, No 4 (1996), p. 30.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> Marshall Broomhall, *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1915), p. 126.

<sup>127</sup> For a more detailed report of the work of women in these early stages and a summary see M. Broomhall, *Jubilee*, pp. 126-132; A.J. Broomhall, summarises how far women had travelled inland before 1866 in *Survivors' Pact*, pp. 231-232; M. Broomhall also summarises the women's work in *Our Seal*, pp. 249-271.

<sup>128</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Assault*, p. 212.

inland and notes the CIM's ability to learn from the mistakes made.<sup>129</sup> Initially Taylor wanted to keep it quiet that women worked an area on their own until there had been a chance to evaluate the practice.<sup>130</sup> As Taylor saw how effective and non-threatening the women were in mission he planned for them to do more.<sup>131</sup> They showed a real call to such a work and their example had a great effect on mission.<sup>132</sup>

Taylor himself was the driving force in sending single women to China. In 1873 the members of the London Council were still perplexed over the issue.<sup>133</sup> They often questioned Taylor, although he had already made his intentions known. He also had Emily Blatchley (1845-74), a woman with China experience, in Britain to whom they could refer but there is a suggestion that they were reluctant to accept any instruction from a woman, although she had the understanding required and was, in fact, doing most of the work.<sup>134</sup> Jennie Taylor faced a similar situation when she remained behind in Britain.<sup>135</sup> The only reason for not sending more single women was the lack of married couples with whom to work<sup>136</sup> and placing single women with married couples sometimes proved problematic.<sup>137</sup> From his own experience with Maria, Taylor had seen how helpful it was to have other women around when reaching out to Chinese women but other married couples sometimes did not share this perspective. Women had to find their own sphere of work. Critics looked askance at these developments and one contemporary observed: 'The most eccentric missionaries are naturally those, many of them single women, belonging to Mr Hudson Taylor's CIM'.<sup>138</sup>

Taylor was inclined to see the deployment of women as 'the most powerful agency we have at our disposal'.<sup>139</sup> It was noted that the establishing of the Hangzhou church was largely due to female involvement.<sup>140</sup> Apart from the famine relief work, women helped to open up some of the nine unreached provinces and in one case, due to a shortage of available men, women opened up a new area entirely on their own.<sup>141</sup> This was a clearly defined strategy based on prayer.<sup>142</sup> In his 1877 address to the Missionary Conference in Shanghai Taylor defended the itineration of the CIM and urged that there should be a focus on female evangelisation. Maria Taylor had had many opportunities to work amongst women as well as being a help to those who were sick as they travelled.<sup>143</sup> At the 1890 Missionary Conference in Shanghai Taylor reported that some areas closed to men were more open to women. There was less suspicion and fear of a female missionary and they were allowed greater access in some places.<sup>144</sup> Taylor, ever concentrated on the task, saw this as an opportunity of reaching men from higher castes of society who would not wish to meet a fellow male missionary.<sup>145</sup> From these beginnings

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<sup>129</sup> Stock, *The History of the CMS, Volume III*, p. 225.

<sup>130</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Assault*, p. 387.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 398.

<sup>132</sup> H. Taylor, *In Memoriam*, p. 41.

<sup>133</sup> McKay, *Faith and Facts*, p. 110.

<sup>134</sup> Valerie Griffiths, *Not Less than Everything* (Oxford: Monarch Books 2004), p. 80.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>136</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Refiner's Fire*, p. 392.

<sup>137</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Survivors' Pact*, p. 275.

<sup>138</sup> Alexander Michie, *Missionaries in China* (London: Edward Stanford, 1891), p. 53.

<sup>139</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Thousand Lives*, p. 351.

<sup>140</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Assault*, p. 232.

<sup>141</sup> Bacon, *From Faith*, p. 66.

<sup>142</sup> J.H. Taylor, *CIM Monthly Notes*, Volume VI, No 4 (April 1901), p. 4.

<sup>143</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Records of the General Conference*, p. 106.

<sup>144</sup> M. Broomhall, *Jubilee*, p. 181.

<sup>145</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (July 1889), p. 108.

single women have gone on to play a major role in world missions. Latourette observed that Taylor's policy of sending women into the interior alone from 1878, testified not only to the courage of the women involved but also to the character of the Chinese amongst whom they would work.<sup>146</sup>

Gustav Warneck and Ruth Tucker note the expansion of women's recruitment in mission as a result of Taylor's bold initiative.<sup>147</sup> The CIM was central in motivating American women for mission and for promoting the faith method of financial support which rode the wave of a heightened holiness spirituality that emphasised personal dependence on God. When this was combined with a premillennial eschatological expectation it drew many away from the denominational agencies who made higher educational demands for mission candidates.<sup>148</sup> Tucker shows the contribution of some of the CIM female personnel but also exposes the torment that Emily Blatchley, who looked after Taylor's children in the UK, found from her relationship with Taylor. This was heightened when Taylor married Jennie Faulding after the death of Maria.<sup>149</sup> Austin maintains that part of the shift of the CIM away from the Open Brethren<sup>150</sup> to respectability was that the Brethren disliked the public ministry of women.<sup>151</sup> Fiedler raises this question more specifically and asks how the Calvinistic Brethren who were noted for keeping women silent could cope with the work of women within the CIM. He cites Brethren theology as giving a clue in that there were biblical examples of women in scripture that God called if men were not available. This is another example of the pragmatic response.<sup>152</sup> Bebbington agrees that the ministry of females was 'expressed in terms of gospel pragmatism'.<sup>153</sup> If they were able to do the job they should not be hindered. It was this vein of pragmatism that Taylor was able to tap into in calling for female involvement in missions. Bebbington also shows how church work was one of the few respectable outlets that women had socially.<sup>154</sup> This could be seen in the rapid increase of female Sunday school teachers and the work that many women did in supporting world missions. Bebbington notes the contribution of Evangelicalism in 'enlarging their sphere during the nineteenth century'. The Keswick and holiness movements attracted women and often women were the first to respond to the call for missionary service.<sup>155</sup>

Austin considered Taylor's experiment with single women as a failure due to individual failures and some people marrying outside the mission.<sup>156</sup> Taylor took six single women with him on the outward voyage to China on the *Lammermuir* in 1866 and did not, as Austin maintains, wait until 1875 to send out any more unmarried women. His action actually preceded the movements of the second half of the century that made it easier to send out women. Alfred Broomhall sums up Taylor's use of women: 'It was largely left to Hudson Taylor to defy public opinion and bring about the change

<sup>146</sup> Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (London: SPCK 1929), p. 390.

<sup>147</sup> Gustav Warneck, *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions from the Reformation to the Present Time* (London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1901), p. 295; Tucker, 'Unbecoming Ladies', p. 28.

<sup>148</sup> Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Missions: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1996), p. 197.

<sup>149</sup> Tucker, 'Unbecoming Ladies', p. 30.

<sup>150</sup> This was noted in Chapter Three p. ?

<sup>151</sup> Austin, 'Only Connect', p. 291.

<sup>152</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 297.

<sup>153</sup> David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 65.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>156</sup> Austin, 'Only Connect', p. 293.

in the latter half of the century.<sup>157</sup> Fiedler sees Taylor as 'setting the standard'<sup>158</sup> and notes how single women were more readily accepted by international British missions as in classical missions they usually had no position.<sup>159</sup> It was left to the faith missions to develop a new theological and practical approach. The opportunity to be involved fully in mission and to open up new areas made the CIM attractive to independent women and an observer noted that national leadership developed more quickly under women.<sup>160</sup> The jibe that women were used as men were unavailable is attacked by Fiedler who notes that Taylor, in giving women responsibility, reflected the influence of the holiness movement and his own Wesleyan background within which many women had been prominent. He notes how the faith missions at first challenged both society and church about the role of women and ponders the irony of how, over time, this situation has been reversed.<sup>161</sup>

Austin concedes that women were eventually successful in China, especially in areas where it was hard for a man to go and he admires the fact that they were given equal voting rights in stations and committees.<sup>162</sup> Special rules for women were drafted<sup>163</sup> and in the UK the Ladies Committee could only make recommendations having little power to make decisions.<sup>164</sup> Female candidates were supervised and prepared in the UK in order to test their suitability.<sup>165</sup> The mention of the Wesleyan background of Taylor reminds us that there were other forces at work that made Taylor's deployment of women acceptable. Valerie Abbott maintains that the ministry of Phoebe Palmer was influential at a popular level within Britain in the early 1860s and that she had a part in laying the foundations for the Keswick movement and 'strengthening the understanding of the spiritual equality of women with men'.<sup>166</sup> Palmer contributed to the 'Evangelical roots of feminism'.<sup>167</sup> Taylor stressed the spiritual qualities in candidates and wanted proof of successful involvement in some form of ministry.<sup>168</sup> The revivals produced people with a spiritual experience which emphasised the power of God's Holy Spirit and the daily awareness of God's presence. This was exactly what Taylor sought in those who were to join the CIM and live by faith.<sup>169</sup> This emphasis on spiritual rather than educational qualifications gave women equality with men. These very qualities, buttressed by family devotions and a stable home life, contained the spiritual requirements necessary to survive in a hostile environment.<sup>170</sup> Their 'specialist' spheres of work were more successful and carried less weight of expectation than that of men giving a

<sup>157</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Barbarians*, p. 305.

<sup>158</sup> Fiedler, *Faith Missions*, p. 292.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 293.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 395.

<sup>162</sup> Austin, 'Only Connect', p. 293. In 1884 the London Council minuted that women should carry equal weight with men in deciding station affairs.

<sup>163</sup> Rhoda Semple, 'Representation and Experience: the Role of Women in British Missions and Society, 1860-1910', *Currents in World Christianity*, Position Paper 83 (Cambridge: 1996), p. 25.

<sup>164</sup> Rhoda Semple, 'Women, Gender and Changing Roles in the Missionary Project: the London Missionary Society and the China Inland Mission, 1885-1910', *Currents in World Christianity*, Position Paper 39 (Cambridge: 1996), p. 5.

<sup>165</sup> Austin, 'Only Connect', p. 294.

<sup>166</sup> Valerie A. Abbott, 'The Influence of Phoebe Palmer's Ministry Upon the Evangelical Community in Mid Nineteenth Century Britain An Assessment of her Itinerant Ministry in Britain. 1859-1863'. Master of Letters thesis (Bristol: 2000), p. ii.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 9, 101. For an overview of women's ministry leading up to Palmer's arrival in Britain see pp. 101-106.

<sup>168</sup> McKay, 'Faith & Facts', p. 107.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>170</sup> Semple, *Women*, p. 10.

high degree of satisfaction.<sup>171</sup> They were also able to develop gifts in evangelism and teaching that would have been denied to them at home.<sup>172</sup> It was easier for them to be naturally involved with people and this led to the provision of educational and health services for the local population as the needs were observed first hand.<sup>173</sup>

The first recorded conversion of a woman to Protestant Christianity in China was in 1821. Over the next hundred years the increase of female Christians would increase to around thirty seven percent of the Christian population of China.<sup>174</sup> Taylor engaged in sending a woman to Ningbo with the help of the Foreign Evangelisation Society in response to a request.<sup>175</sup> The historian of mission, Stephen Neill writes: 'It was only in the middle of the nineteenth century that all the missions, Protestant and Roman Catholic, alike, began to send out single women'.<sup>176</sup> The Chinese scholar, Pui-lan Kwok, recognises the contribution of women in China in establishing the validity of women's work as a distinct part of the work but also in calling attention to women's issues.<sup>177</sup> She records only seventeen single women missionaries in China in 1866, the majority with the CIM. This rose steadily over the remaining years of the century and whilst some of this can be attributed to the religious movements sweeping the western world it also shows that the mission field provided new opportunities and challenges that would not be available at home for women.<sup>178</sup> Latourette observes that by 1890 more than half of the Protestant missionary force in China were female<sup>179</sup> and their contribution was summarised by William Soothill when he noted:

Mission schools for girls, and the devotion of foreign women missionaries in teaching girls and women to read the Bible, was the foundation of girls' schools in China. The Bible has been responsible for much in the world, but it is doubtful if it has ever done anything greater than starting the women of China on their way out of the dark cave of ignorance into the light of learning. This enlightenment will yet work out for the good of China and of the world.<sup>180</sup>

Although this quotation shows the overall importance of the Bible in the area of ministry to females there is no evidence of a specific theology underlying these new initiatives of women in mission. Much of it was a pragmatic response that took advantage of the new spiritually charged atmosphere engendered by the religious changes taking place in the nineteenth century. Gützlaff had done some initial theological thinking in this area. He used the father-mother image to describe God's protection and nurture, showing that he was aware of the problem of the use of the father image alone in Chinese.<sup>181</sup> He also wrote one of the earliest tracts on Jesus' relationship with women.<sup>182</sup> Negatively, Kwok accuses Gützlaff of male theological bias in his beliefs on the doctrine of sin, being unable to

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<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>172</sup> Griffiths, *Not Less Than*, p. 10.

<sup>173</sup> Semple, 'Women', p. 22.

<sup>174</sup> Pui-lan Kwok, *Chinese Women and Christianity 1860-1927* (Atlanta: Georgia Scholars Press, 1992), p. 1.

<sup>175</sup> Guinness, *The Story of the CIM*, Volume 1, p. 199.

<sup>176</sup> Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books 1964), p. 217.

<sup>177</sup> Kwok, *Chinese Women*, p. 7.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>179</sup> Latourette, *A History*, p. 407.

<sup>180</sup> William E. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China* (London: Seeley, Service & Co. Ltd, 1924), p. 234.

<sup>181</sup> Kwok, *Chinese Women*, p. 41. Note 54 refers to Karl Gützlaff, *Songyan zanyu (Eulogy and Praise)* (Singapore: Jianxia Shuyaun, 1838), 12b.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47. Note 79 refers to Karl Gützlaff, *Jiushizhu Yesu Jidu xinglun zhi yaolue zhuan. (A Concise Story of the life of Jesus Christ the Saviour.* (1834). (Fuzhou: Meihua shuju: 1876).

understand the sins of women. This was a common problem.<sup>183</sup> Taylor developed the ministry of women but it is difficult to find any similar theological thinking in Taylor on this issue. It was a pragmatic response, although Marshall Broomhall tries to locate this aspect of the CIM within the overall mandate of preaching the gospel to every creature which obviously included women!<sup>184</sup>

It must be emphasised that Taylor was only advocating women's work amongst women in the CIM. He was bound to the wider expectations of women in ministry, as can be noted from a comment made at the 1877 Shanghai Missionary Conference. Taylor wanted some of the women present at the conference to 'be induced to speak of their own work', signalling that they were reluctant to speak at such a gathering. Taylor went on to make the point that the conference was not a church meeting, showing that he was probably opposed in general to women speaking in church<sup>185</sup> and was aware that others were too. This is confirmed by his view of the contribution of women in church planting. He wrote to one female CIM member advising that although she could not usurp the Chinese pastor she must assist him in every aspect of the assessment of candidates for baptism. She was expected to keep silent in church meetings posing her questions to the candidates through others and summarising her conclusions with the pastor afterwards so that 'there will be nothing which any can lay hold of and charge as unseemly'.<sup>186</sup> This kind of support of the single missionary, usually female, for the Chinese pastor was an important factor in the growth of the church.<sup>187</sup>

Taylor's use of women in mission in China was a pragmatic response to the demands of the task that Taylor had set for inland China. His theological convictions, if displayed consistently, would have minimised their role. This illustrates that theology was not Taylor's driving motivation. The Bible's role was to provide the foundation for the spiritual formation of the women sent to China by the CIM. It was essential to their work in church planting and the development of other ministries but it played a limited role in stimulating women into mission in the first place.

## 7.5 Missionary Enterprise

The CIM was formed as an alternative missionary agency based on Taylor's initial observations and experience as a new missionary in China from 1854 to 1860. He experienced first-hand the limitations of the CES and saw the tendency of missionaries to congregate on the coast.<sup>188</sup> The pioneering methods of the CIM proved to be controversial and attracted criticism.

### 7.5.1 The Bible and the Missionary Enterprise

It was Taylor's aim to evangelise the whole country following a systematic plan and to work in areas avoided by other Protestant societies.<sup>189</sup> This was 'unprecedented'. This ambition dictated the methods.<sup>190</sup> After 1856, Taylor put the major emphasis on evangelism, preaching, personal contact and

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<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>184</sup> M. Broomhall, *Our Seal*, pp. 249-250.

<sup>185</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Records of the General Conference*, p. 155.

<sup>186</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Assault*, p. 232.

<sup>187</sup> Griffiths, *Not Less Than*, p. 67.

<sup>188</sup> Lauren Pfister, 'Re-thinking Mission in China: James Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard', *Currents in World Christianity*, Position Paper 68 (Cambridge 1998), pp. 12-13.

<sup>189</sup> Latourette, *The History*, p. 382.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 416.

the distribution of Bibles and other literature. The expansion of the mission into the interior was based on widespread itineration and the forming of mission stations as beachheads in the interior.<sup>191</sup> In doing this, the CIM encountered the ethnic diversity which helped to shape later missionary work.<sup>192</sup> Taylor stated the aim of the work in 1895:

That all the operations of the mission are systematic and methodical; and in accordance with, and integral parts of, one general and comprehensive plan for the evangelization of the whole of China; the aim of the mission being, not to secure in a short time the largest number of converts for the CIM from a limited area, but to bring about in the shortest time the evangelisation of the whole empire, regarding it as of secondary importance by whom the sheaves may be garnered. In carrying out the plan of the mission, which included the stages of planting, extending and developing the extended work, much time and labour have necessarily been expended in laying the foundations - a laborious and expensive kind of work, which, while essential to the rearing of the superstructure, presents no visible results.<sup>193</sup>

The CIM was able to take advantage of the changing situation in China and contributed to a time of pioneering and evangelism dominated by great missionary figures, the majority of them British.<sup>194</sup>

As Taylor pondered the challenge of the evangelisation of China, before the establishment of the CIM, he thought of a 'simple, evangelistic work' that would unite all those who fully believed in the inspiration of the Bible and were willing to base their lives on the faithfulness of God. This 'indigenizing faith mission strategy'<sup>195</sup> was based on scripture, buttressed with verses like Matthew 6:33 and the promises of Psalm 84:11.

Taylor used the Bible to support his vision, drawing lessons from the Acts of the Apostles for areas which were geographically large but which had few labourers.<sup>196</sup> Firstly, he planned to send two missionaries with two Chinese converts to the unevangelised provinces. The aim was to gather together groups of believers from a base in a provincial capital. Secondly, when some had been converted, they would extend the work throughout the province going through less important centres to the rural areas. This was the original plan for the work. It was stated in the 'Principles and Practice' of the CIM: 'By the help of God to bring the Chinese to a saving knowledge of the love of Christ by means of the itinerant and localized work throughout the whole of the interior of China'.<sup>197</sup> These aims, loosely based on the book of Acts, were determined by local realities. Permission for residence in smaller towns and villages was more likely to be granted by officials who had seen that the missionaries had been able to locate in the main centre.<sup>198</sup>

Taylor was gripped by the command that the Gospel needed to be preached to 'every creature' (Mark 16:15).<sup>199</sup> He admitted that although his life had been dominated by the thrust of the text he had never considered the smaller details of the text.<sup>200</sup> Taylor estimated, based on a population of 250 million people, that there would be around 50 million families. One thousand evangelists,

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<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 417.

<sup>192</sup> Pfister, 'Re-thinking Mission', p. 11.

<sup>193</sup> J.H. Taylor, *After Thirty Years: Three Decades of the CIM* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1895), p. 3.

<sup>194</sup> Latourette, *A History*, p. 362.

<sup>195</sup> Pfister, 'Re-thinking Mission', p. 12.

<sup>196</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (September 1875), p. 31.

<sup>197</sup> Bacon, *From Faith*, p. 19.

<sup>198</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (September 1875), p. 31.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, (December 1889), p. 171.

<sup>200</sup> Roger Steer, *A Man in Christ* (Sevenoaks: OMF Books, 1990), p. 315.

systematically deployed, could complete the work in three years.<sup>201</sup> Taylor countered objections to his mathematics by arguing that this plan took no account of the work of the existing CIM stations, the pre-existing missionary labour force of others or that of Chinese Christians whose work would be 'immense and valuable'. He showed how the living situations of the Chinese made it very reasonable to suppose that fifty families could be reached each day,<sup>202</sup> and that each evangelist would have at least one Chinese Christian to aid in the work. He recognised also that some areas of China were closed to this kind of initiative. He took succour in the fact that such a proposal would need to be powered by the Holy Spirit reviving the church all over the world and within China. Taylor emphasised the urgency of this work, the need for united action on the part of those at home, and the necessity of a strategy to ensure that each area received the required amount of workers. To show that he was also flexible in application, Taylor could point to times when local factors affected their aims. A change in attitude towards the Christian faith led to a change of plan. This was in accord with the object of bringing the Gospel to every home in the light of the 'every creature' mandate.<sup>203</sup> Taylor defended this plan against the criticism that it ignored the command to baptise converts and to instruct disciples found in the parallel passage in Matthew's gospel, by showing how the CIM from the beginning had been instrumental in setting up schools and building up Chinese churches.

Taylor used other texts as starting points for general exhortations to mission. Having made plans to enter Eastern Sichuan province, he used Paul's commitment to following Christ in Philippians 3:7-8 in an address to the workers, reminding them that some areas of China were still unreached.<sup>204</sup> He used Exodus 14:15, 'speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward', as the banner text for the 'Forward Movement' (1898). There was no direct application of this verse to the Israelites coming out of Egypt with that of CIM plans for the future.<sup>205</sup> The editorial finished with an appeal for 'twenty able, earnest and healthy young men'.

Taylor did not view close co-operation with western powers as helpful to the missionary enterprise. After the riots of 1891, the CIM refused to join the other Protestant missions in asking for protection and retribution. This caused disunity.<sup>206</sup> Here a direct link can be observed between Taylor's reliance on faith in God for every aspect of his life and mission and its practical outworking. He believed that God would protect the CIM and that although the mission could appeal to the local Chinese authorities for help, the results were in God's hands. Furthermore, within the providence of God, no riot took place without God's permission.<sup>207</sup> He advocated forgiveness and a loose attitude to personal possessions by the missionary who should glory in being counted worthy to suffer shame.<sup>208</sup> An attempt to offer official status to the missionaries was rejected by Taylor on biblical grounds. Whilst acknowledging that this initiative might make life easier for all concerned, Taylor argued that it

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<sup>201</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (December 1889), p. 172.

<sup>202</sup> Steer mentions how Taylor and Burns had used methods that enabled them to do that so Taylor is speaking from personal experience. *A Man*, p. 316.

<sup>203</sup> H. Taylor, *By Faith*, p. 229.

<sup>204</sup> Steer, *A Man*, p. 294.

<sup>205</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (February 1898), p. 24.

<sup>206</sup> Anne Hickling, 'The Response of Protestant Missionaries to the Anti-missionary Disturbances in China. 1981-1907', (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong, 1968), p. 70.

<sup>207</sup> J.H. Taylor, *The Chinese Recorder*, Volume 26 (December 1895), p. 578.

<sup>208</sup> Hickling, *The Response of*, p. 71.

was, 'utterly repugnant' to the spirit of the gospel and to the teaching of the New Testament.<sup>209</sup> Preaching the gospel did not need official sanction for it was a spiritual office only to be conferred by the Holy Spirit. In Taylor's view it would only enhance the suspicion that missionaries are sent by their governments as an extension of foreign policy which was the accusation of the literati.<sup>210</sup> This had to be avoided at all costs and if undertaken would only lead to more trouble in the future.<sup>211</sup>

The fact that missionaries sometimes appealed to the authorities to intervene on the part of their converts had already led to some unscrupulous practices. Instead, Taylor argued for greater identification with the people as the apostle Paul taught in 1 Corinthians 9:19-23, key verses in Taylor's kenotic theology, and Jesus' description of being sent out as sheep amongst wolves.<sup>212</sup> It was in the foregoing of rights that Christian witness was most clearly illustrated. Taylor maintained that the biblical references in Acts, where the apostle Paul appealed to his position as a Roman citizen, should not be over-estimated. CIM missionaries were in China as witnesses to the crucified Christ whose own teaching required a similar attitude of weakness towards those who make life difficult. Taylor maintained that the Christian faith had always strengthened in the face of opposition. Difficult circumstances helped to teach important lessons in Christian conduct and emphasised that the gospel must be in deed as well as word. This kenotic attitude marked a distinctive of the CIM that set it apart from almost all other missions. As Christ renounced his divine power and prerogatives in the incarnation thus setting a model for others to follow, so should missionaries set aside all recourses to worldly power and protection from military or legal sources that maintained the protection of the western powers.

Although Taylor maintained these perspectives throughout his time in China, they were seen as illogical.<sup>213</sup> The missionaries 'thankfully accepted' any privileges accorded to them by the Chinese or British Governments but did not recognise that these privileges came from the very acts of war which Taylor condemned. In some measure the missionary enterprise in China depended 'upon the constant recourse of other missionaries to the civil power whose aid they rejected'.<sup>214</sup>

### 7.5.2 Itineration

Itineration was central to the work of the CIM's missionary enterprise. Taylor addressed the 1877 missionary conference in Shanghai on the subject 'The necessity and value, the place among the agencies, and the mode of itineration'.<sup>215</sup> He used the following three verses as his point of departure in using scripture to justify it. Firstly, Matthew 9:35, 'Jesus went through all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the Gospel of the kingdom and healing every sickness and every disease among the people'. Secondly, Mark 1:38, 'Let us go into the next towns, that I may preach there also; for therefore came I forth' and thirdly Mark 16:15, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature' This address was to cover four important areas of itinerant labour for the gospel.

<sup>209</sup> J.H. Taylor, *CIM Monthly Notes*, Volume IV, No 9 (September 1899), p. 1.

<sup>210</sup> J.H. Taylor, *The Chinese Recorder*, Volume 26 (December 1895), pp. 575-579.

<sup>211</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (February 1898), p. 2.

<sup>212</sup> For Taylor's kenotic theology see Chapter 6.5.1

<sup>213</sup> Hickling, *The Response of*, p. 140.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>215</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Records of the General Conference*, pp. 101-107.

Firstly, he dealt with the necessity for and the actual value of itinerant missionary work for the CIM. He sought to justify it by the example of Jesus and the apostles.<sup>216</sup> It was necessary for the disciples to spend short times in each place in order to fulfil the commands of the Great Commission and the biblical record testifies to the fact that the work was accomplished quite speedily. Without minimising the difficulties, Taylor believed the preached gospel was like the scattered seed that could take effect long after the messengers have departed. This seed is left behind in portions of scripture, Christian books and tracts and in the personal testimonies of those who were converted and are released from addiction to opium, gambling and other such vices. The spirituality and example of the missionary must also demonstrate the power of the gospel in living out their dependence on the faithfulness of God as they itinerate.

Secondly, he considered the challenge of spreading the gospel in populous and extensive countries and how the various agencies should respond. He admitted he was answering some of the objections raised by other agencies over the CIM's itinerant work.<sup>217</sup> The Bible, with the examples of Jesus and the apostles, must be the guide. In the whole scheme of things itinerant work should be seen as an important preliminary to localised work. It was preparatory but necessary as long as there were regions where the gospel had not been preached. It was a way of making the missionary familiar with the people and they with him. It was also valuable in the use of time and energy as mission history shows that widespread labour is usually required before there is a substantial ingathering. He argued that this is a part of the gradual educational process. The vast majority of the Chinese were ignorant of the biblical teaching about God or sin, essential knowledge if they were to understand that they were sinners in need of repentance. Time was required for Chinese minds to understand. Taylor saw this preparation confirmed in the way in which John the Baptist preceded Jesus and in the work of the disciples and the seventy-two (Luke 10), going ahead of Jesus to prepare the way for him. In the same way the work of Christ preceded Pentecost and the formation of the church. If this was necessary for the Jews who had some knowledge of God, how much more necessary was it for the Chinese? Whole provinces or prefectures would have time to mull over the initial truths of the Gospel.

Thirdly, he mused on the best way for the CIM to accomplish the missionary journeys. This concerned the extent of the area to be covered and the methods of mission to be attempted. He argued that 'the natural and reasonable order exhibited in Acts 1:8 needs no further comment'. However, for any unevangelised region the order of Acts 1:8 should be reversed in that the priority should be given to going far before going near.<sup>218</sup> Consideration of the local culture often showed that too long a stay initially could be harmful to the work. It was preferable to make a few short visits to the same place without alarming the local intelligentsia and thus visit all of the important conurbations in a province on a circuit. The initial message should be kept simple and be supported with relevant literature. Detailed discussions about doctrine for which the Chinese mind was unprepared would come at a later stage. Taylor then outlined how this might be done over four years in one province.<sup>219</sup> The main

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<sup>216</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (October 1877), p. 122.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, p.123.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124.

ministry would be preaching and colportage. Both were needed as Taylor's personal experience had taught him.<sup>220</sup> If one of these tasks had to be omitted, it should be colportage not preaching. He argued:

Of all Christian effort, the non scriptural plan of putting a whole Bible or Testament into the hands of an unconverted and uninstructed heathen, in an unconverted language without printed note or comment, or preface – without preached note and comment- without explanatory tract, and without the comment of the Christian life, is the most unsuccessful, and is, so far as my experience goes, sometimes even hurtful.<sup>221</sup>

This forthright comment contains an implicit criticism of the BFBS who used the phrase 'without printed note or comment' to describe its policy.<sup>222</sup> As the areas to be covered became smaller, then preaching would become fuller and more time will be given to inquirers. This was to be supported by medical help and the distribution of food and clothing as required. Eventually native churches would be formed. The relationship between itinerant and settled work was complementary rather than mutually exclusive<sup>223</sup> and Taylor could point to the evidence of the settled stations of the CIM to prove his point.

Finally, the CIM faced practical questions as to who was suitable for such a work and how they could be funded. It was necessary to keep costs within reasonable limits and to ensure that money could be safely sent to the interior and carried from place to place. Taylor saw this ministry as most apt for single men rather than married workers who have families. China was open for this type of work as Taylor's examples show and under the Chefoo convention other areas were rapidly opening up. The expenses could be met partly by the sale of books, walking and using inexpensive accommodation. It was getting easier to remit money to provincial centres. In conclusion, Taylor saw each agent performing a small part of itineration under the orchestrating power of the Holy Spirit. Such a work was not in vain.<sup>224</sup> The CIM's aim was the establishment of the church in the whole of China and itineration was the beginning of that process.

This was a comprehensive overview and argument for the itineration ministry that was the basis for much of the work of the CIM's missionary enterprise. His views had changed from his earlier experience with the CES when he saw its 'inutility'.<sup>225</sup> Then he saw the limitations of having no permanent residence, no opportunities to develop enquirers or to explain the distributed portions of scripture to those who were interested. From this he concluded that the priority should be given to preaching rather than the distribution of the scriptures. The CIM's principles were driven by their founder's vision for the widespread preaching of the gospel to all parts of China. The details and insights as expressed by Taylor came directly from the practical day- by-day experience of the CIM as they learned the best methods and procedures for accomplishing this ambitious goal.

### 7.5.3 Church Planting

Taylor's teaching on this subject was discussed in Chapter Six.<sup>226</sup> Biblical instruction to the Chinese was an essential part of CIM policy and it was hoped that this would be done in self-supporting churches.<sup>227</sup> Taylor's ambition was to 'encourage as much as possible the gifts of local Chinese

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<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>222</sup> William Canton, *History of the Bible and Foreign Bible Society* (London: J. Murray, 1904), p. 18.

<sup>223</sup> Bacon, *From Faith*, p. 20.

<sup>224</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (October 1877), p. 125.

<sup>225</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper* (November 1872- March 1875), p. 14.

Christians' and to teach them a love for God's word and a deepening knowledge of it so they can stand alone as soon as possible.<sup>228</sup> This would be achieved through 'spiritual fatherhood' of the Chinese believers to secure the development of strong, healthy, Christ-like Chinese churches. Taylor noted that this can only be produced if these qualities were evident in the missionary. Towards the end of his life the London Council minuted in Dec 1903:

The present lack of offers for service from the homelands, together with the experience gained from the crisis of 1900, all appear to point to the urgent need of leaders in the church being trained from amongst the natives themselves.<sup>229</sup>

The plans for the emerging Chinese church were a major issue for the CIM. The need to plant strong churches with the development of new workers was crucial and so was the need for self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating churches.<sup>230</sup> This seems to suggest that within the mission there was a realisation that not enough had been done in this area. As late as 1895, Latourette observed that the local Christians were still dependent on outside support and foreigners were still dominant, although some training of the Chinese was underway.<sup>231</sup> In commending the CIM's overall vision, Latourette nevertheless diminishes the role of church planting, ignoring the fact that it was always a major focus for Taylor. From the beginning the CIM was dependent on Chinese help, as Taylor had been helped by Wang Lae-djün in Ningbo and Britain.<sup>232</sup> Initially this was for linguistic help but Chinese workers had a part in beginning thirteen stations and, at times, ran them when there was no foreign worker there at all. The contribution of local Christians in practical help and evangelism was appreciated and they were visited, written to and sometimes relieved from their stations.<sup>233</sup> The CIM was involved in the recruiting and training of local Chinese workers from the beginning.<sup>234</sup>

Before the foundation of the CIM, Taylor was already involved in church planting. He saw that itinerant evangelism should be connected with a local church in order to consolidate the missionary work, and he was fully aware of the limitations of undertaking such a work alone. For this reason he and John Jones agreed that they would work in a treaty port until a church was formed and attempt to encourage the new Christians to evangelise. This led them to Ningbo. Although it did not seem significant at the time A. Broomhall described it as 'the great leap forward'.<sup>235</sup> The church grew steadily.<sup>236</sup> Here Taylor saw the need for new workers and how crucial it was to train local Christians to care for the churches already established so that the missionaries could move on.<sup>237</sup> Although before the founding of the CIM Taylor resisted the idea of setting up a training institution for immature new Christians,<sup>238</sup> he began to see the value of schools in imparting biblical knowledge and equipping for

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<sup>226</sup> Chapter 6.7.3

<sup>227</sup> Montagu Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing in Inland China* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1890), p.53.

<sup>228</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, 31 (November 1872), p. 9.

<sup>229</sup> CIM Archives, London Council, Minute, Book 10 (1<sup>st</sup> Dec 1903, 1901-1905).

<sup>230</sup> M. Broomhall, *Our Seal*, p. 412.

<sup>231</sup> Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (Volume 6) 1800-1914. Northern Africa and Asia (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1944), p. 314.

<sup>232</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Thousand Lives*, p. 177.

<sup>233</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, 28 (December 1871), p. 152.

<sup>234</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (September 1875), p. 31.

<sup>235</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Thousand Lives*, p. 67.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 441.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

ministry. This training of Chinese converts was an important part of the work of the CIM,<sup>239</sup> but there were other models that could be followed, including working closely with a missionary in itineration. Discerning the best training method was the task.

The *Occasional Papers* of the CIM refer to church nurture, discipling and the need for training of the new converts for leadership.<sup>240</sup> Taylor's aim was to put the work of the CIM on a new footing marked by being further inland and helped by Chinese co-workers. He always had the aim of depending less on foreign missionaries. He considered three foreign missionaries in any province to be sufficient because they would be assisted by qualified Chinese helpers in major cities, and be supported by colporteurs in more distant places. His great desire was to increase the training given to local Chinese workers. He was to report in July 1873 that the work was growing most quickly in the area where local help was most used. More care and instruction was required but they were becoming more efficient and realising that 'the future hope of China doubtless lies in them'.<sup>241</sup> They were the ones to provide the real foundation with the missionaries (not necessarily foreign) being the scaffolding that could be moved on to the next place at the right time. This partnership with Chinese believers was one of the reasons for the success of the work.<sup>242</sup> They played a key role both as workers within the church and in evangelism to areas where missionaries were rarely seen.

Taylor was also active in appointing Chinese pastors to churches established by the CIM. In one case Taylor advised a church with suitable premises that they should defer further building and put the finance towards the support of a pastor. Once this was agreed they had a service to set apart the evangelist for the work of caring for the church there. Taylor saw this as proof that the CIM was encouraging the church to become self-supporting and to undertake the support of their pastors. He mentioned his own profound respect and sympathy for them as they battled with the local spiritual forces.<sup>243</sup>

Taylor made a distinction between native pastors and evangelists, arguing that the latter should be supported by the mission as sending agency. The congregations should be responsible to support their pastors. Taylor admitted that the priority given to funding evangelism meant that by 1877 none of the CIM churches was self-supporting.<sup>244</sup> In Taylor's defence of his plan to keep reaching inland to the unoccupied provinces rather than consolidate, he stated his belief that it must be the Chinese who would carry out the work. The equipping of them in ministry was a part of the consolidation process. They would need to take over the running of the churches as the missionaries penetrated further inland and to encourage his readers to see that this was a possibility, he published translations of sermons by some of the Chinese believers.<sup>245</sup> Taylor was convinced that although the older, established work needed to be developed it was not to be at the expense of the forward movement of the gospel inland. In fact, the changing demands of the linguistic dialects meant that it was imperative that work was begun in new areas as quickly as possible. Even when the unoccupied

<sup>239</sup> Guinness, *The Story*, p. 444.

<sup>240</sup> *Occasional Paper*, 28 (December 1871), pp. 151-152, No. 37 (June 1874), pp. 194-198 for a report on a conference of local Chinese workers.

<sup>241</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Refiner's Fire*, p. 373.

<sup>242</sup> Daniel H. Bays, 'Trying to Break Loose' *Christian History*, No. 52 Volume XV, No 4 (1996) p. 39.

<sup>243</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Records of the General Conference*, p. 321.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, p 322.

<sup>245</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Survivors' Pact*, p. 38.

provinces had been entered, the highest priority was given to itinerant work rather than to systematic evangelisation of these provinces.<sup>246</sup>

The steady growth of the church was regulated by the CIM's concern to enforce strict standards for membership. By 1890, many unevangelised areas had been penetrated with the Gospel and the CIM had eighty churches with 3,000 baptised converts. This was seen as significant.<sup>247</sup> Although many, Taylor included, had advocated indigenous leadership of the Chinese church, it took more time to implement than some of the earlier pioneers had foreseen.<sup>248</sup> Considering the virgin soil into which the gospel had dropped, it is understandable that Taylor and his colleagues lacked courage in delegating the work to Chinese Christians. Nevertheless it happened in some areas. Given the overall task of the CIM, it is not surprising that the impression has been given that church planting was not a major part of the strategy. Planting churches was an implementation of doing mission and both were part of Taylor's experience and consideration of missionary methods.

The 1896 edition of the *China Mission Hand-Book* noted that each of the first three decades of the CIM's missionary enterprise were distinctive. The first decade was one of putting down roots in China and gaining experience through opening stations in unoccupied nearer provinces. The second decade was one of itineration and exploration of those provinces further afield. The third decade was one of consolidation with more dedicated visitation of smaller districts around established centres.<sup>249</sup> The need for self-supporting Chinese churches was assumed by Taylor rather than argued for from scripture. Whilst the New Testament could provide a model for the spiritual qualities of the missionary and the convert its main function was to support the widespread evangelization of the country. For this reason Taylor drew little support from Acts or Paul's epistles for models of church planting.

#### 7.5.4 The Promotion of an Indigenous Church

Taylor's reflections on missionary methodology were influenced by the Presbyterian John Nevius (1829-93). They became friends in Ningbo from 1855.<sup>250</sup> Nevius' promotion of an indigenous church was not published until 1886-87 but his influence on Taylor dates from well before that. Taylor was interested in Nevius's book and had it republished.<sup>251</sup> Nevius had his own views of the place of the Bible in evangelism, arguing against its distribution among the heathen. It was for the edification of the new believer.<sup>252</sup> Taylor approved of his methods which included itineration<sup>253</sup> and John McCarthy described how he had tried to implement them as a member of the CIM, encouraging the centres for

<sup>246</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (January 1878), p. 5.

<sup>247</sup> H. Taylor, *The Growth*, p. 350.

<sup>248</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Survivors' Pact*, p. 412.

<sup>249</sup> *The China Mission Hand-Book* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Press, 1896), p. 113.

<sup>250</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Assault*, p. 203.

<sup>251</sup> John L. Nevius, *Methods of Mission Work* (London: CIM Shanghai, Morgan and Scott, 1898).  
Pastor Ren, *A Tamarisk Garden Blessed with Rain: The Autobiography of Pastor Ren* (London: CIM, 1930) p. 218, note 1.

<sup>252</sup> E.N. Hunt Jr, 'John Livingstone Nevius 1829-1893. Pioneer of Three Self Principles in Asia', in Gerald H. Anderson, *Mission Legacies: The Biographical Studies of Leaders of the Modern Missionary Movement* (New York, Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1994), p. 193.

<sup>253</sup> Gerald H. Anderson, 'J.L.Nevius'. *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Mission* (New York: Simon and Schuster Macmillan, 1998), p. 490.

evangelisation and preaching to be Chinese homes. These encouraged self-support, were easier to find and could become the base for operations.<sup>254</sup>

In his CIM report of 1872 Taylor reported on a plan for self-supporting churches promoted by a Chinese worker.<sup>255</sup> Later he gave the task of opening up a province with Nevius' methods to one of the new Chinese leaders.<sup>256</sup> Taylor commended Nevius' strategy to Pastor Ren<sup>257</sup> who eventually emulated Nevius in his later work.<sup>258</sup> Taylor discussed the methods with Ren that helped the churches to become self supporting from the beginning. He exhorted Ren to see if the first apostles rented churches and paid the preachers. Taylor saw that the current practice of mothering the church would harm them. The priority of evangelism was noted above and in this instance Taylor's decision for the CIM to bear the expense of a temporary preacher was tolerated, for his overall aim at the time was to open up Kiangsi province. Taylor used the story of the Israelites crossing the Red Sea comparing it with the later crossing of the Jordan. Taylor's point was the Israelites were now more mature and able to take on more responsibility. It was time for the preachers in the area to be supported by the local church and from this time onwards the CIM ceased to provide financial support for them. Taylor counselled Ren to concentrate on the young people of the area as the future of the church.<sup>259</sup>

Taylor applied principles drawn from Matthew's description of the feeding of the four thousand (Matthew 15:29-38) to matters of missionary methodology. As Jesus used both method and order in his instructions to the multitude to sit down, so Taylor speculated that there would have been order in the way that the multitude was arranged to facilitate the feeding of them all.<sup>260</sup> He then applied this wisdom to the division of the field, maintaining that the present workforce could be more effective if more wisely divided than at present.<sup>261</sup> Taylor, although willing to learn from the current discussions of missionary methods, was concerned that this could distract God's people from looking to God's power in mission through prayer and humble service.<sup>262</sup> All methods used could do with more power in order to see Chinese converted and the workers encouraged, both major aims of the CIM.

Taylor was also able to reflect on his work and recognised that some of the plans and methods of the CIM were inadequate.<sup>263</sup> He had seen other missionaries who had little effect in China because they did not live among the people.<sup>264</sup> This was the place of the most profitable missionary experience.<sup>265</sup> He wished that his own experience had been more stable but his responsibilities had kept him moving around. This is somewhat ironic in the light of his emphasis on itineration. He mentioned that it was so often the failure to identify that was the real difficulty. Missionaries were often so protected that they could not get 'shoulder to shoulder' with the local Christians and experience what they have to experience. Lives lived like this alongside the Chinese would be lives of power and the

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<sup>254</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Refiner's Fire*, pp. 334-335.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 335.

<sup>256</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Assault*, p. 386.

<sup>257</sup> Ren, *A Tamarisk*, p. 218.

<sup>258</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Survivors' Pact*, p. 221.

<sup>259</sup> Ren, *A Tamarisk*, p. 220.

<sup>260</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (October 1890), p. 131.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1889), p. 113.

<sup>263</sup> J.H. Taylor in Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing*, p. 31.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

spiritual fathers would produce robust spiritual children.<sup>266</sup> A. Broomhall noted that Taylor's induction of new missionaries of the CIM and their training alongside Chinese Christians with the aim of sending them further inland on their own was different from the practice of other missions.<sup>267</sup>

### 7.5.5 Experience and Praxis

Taylor's aims for the CIM rested on the framework of scripture which provided an overall mandate for the work without providing a rigorous theology for the constituent parts. He absorbed experience from other people who were formative in his development; men like William C. Burns.<sup>268</sup> Burns saw evangelism as being the great work of the church and highlighted the need for the restoration of lay evangelists. For Taylor these were 'seed thoughts' that proved useful in the later organisation of the CIM. Taylor noted that Burns' strategy of beginning a work quietly on the outskirts of town and working towards the centre was a wise one.<sup>269</sup> After prayer they would go out into the city and find a suitable spot to preach at. One would preach while the other prayed and then they would swap over. They would then move on and with a rest for lunch they would do this until dusk. In the evening they would go to a tea shop for further conversations about the Gospel. Although Burns was perhaps the strongest influence on Taylor as to itinerant work, he also acknowledged the gradual lessons learned from others.<sup>270</sup>

Taylor also learned from his own experience. Although prohibited at first by the Nanking Treaty (1842) from penetrating inland, he did it to test the water and to try and find a location in which to be based. This was successful and was to be the beginning of his life's work.<sup>271</sup> It was one thing to penetrate inland as an individual but quite another to do it with a group. As the *Lammermuir* neared China, Taylor began to give consideration to the missionaries' arrival.<sup>272</sup> He was fully aware of the threats that were arraigned against the *Lammermuir* party. Apart from the initial shock of a new culture there would be scorn from foreigners in the city over the arrival of single women and the plan to wear Chinese clothes. The team spent a day 'waiting on God' so that they might not make a 'false move'.<sup>273</sup> Although, even for such an important aspect of their work, not all the team attended the meetings showing something of the internal problems Taylor was already facing. Even in the initial stages not all of the CIM members were agreed as to the wisdom of pressing inland over against the need to consolidate the work.<sup>274</sup>

The riot at Yangzhou (Yangchow) in 1868 taught the CIM new lessons about mission,<sup>275</sup> especially about God's providence, a key concept for Victorian missionaries.<sup>276</sup> Their deliverance seemed to them to be a clear confirmation of God upon their overall work. This confirmed their vision and increased their determination, showing something of the values that Taylor had instilled in his

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<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

<sup>267</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Survivors' Pact*, p. 259.

<sup>268</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Hudson Taylor's Retrospect* (London: OMF Books, Eighteenth Edition, 1974), p. 65.

<sup>269</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 324.

<sup>270</sup> Bacon, *From Faith*, p. 18.

<sup>271</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 240.

<sup>272</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Survivors' Pact*, p. 195.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196.

<sup>274</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Refiner's Fire*, p. 51.

<sup>275</sup> Stock, *The History of the CMS*, Volume II, p. 591.

<sup>276</sup> See Chapter Six, p. 138.

fledgling band of workers. Many contemporaries of Taylor would have drawn a different conclusion from the riot and saw it as a warning to wait a longer time before penetrating inland. Taylor's thinking was driven by his aim to reach all of China with the gospel and his understanding of the providence of God in the Bible.

Here Taylor's experience influenced his praxis. He was able to combine these biblical foundations with practical lessons. Firstly, he learned from the riot that it was better to prepare the ground for a potential mission station with preliminary visits to the area to form relationships and to get to know the town better. Secondly, the first missionaries should not take too much luggage to a newly opened station as it gave the wrong impression. Thirdly, they should not open stations with too many initial staff or attempt to open more than one at the same time. Underlying all of these lessons was the fact that they had not fully studied the scriptures on the issue of mission stations. Taylor concluded: 'there is no command to open mission stations, in the Word of God, and there is no precedent to be found there'.<sup>277</sup> The emphasis was more on itinerant mission and this should have been given greater prominence in the early days of the CIM. After iteration, mission stations became necessary but the mistake was in making location the first priority instead of keeping it subservient to the itinerant ministry. It seemed to Taylor that the best spiritual work took place in out-stations at a distance from the main centres, but stations were necessary on pragmatic grounds.

Taylor's praxis always kept the overall aims of the CIM in mind. He used the words of Jesus' mother Mary to the servants in John 2:5 'Whatsoever He saith unto you, do it', as a mandate to plan entry into the nine unoccupied provinces in China.<sup>278</sup> He was prepared for single women to do this<sup>279</sup> and allowed theologically similar missionaries to work together in a particular province. He intended that 'those whose views of discipline correspond shall work together' in an attempt to avoid difficulty in this area.<sup>280</sup> Taylor was prepared to give liberty in teaching on minor points if the one great object in view was kept to the forefront: evangelism and the reality of bringing 'people from darkness to light, from the power of Satan to God'.<sup>281</sup> The reality of 'heathenism' was of main interest, overriding any minor differences in the exercise of discipline.

Taylor translated his own personal spiritual growth into the work of the CIM. His renewed understanding of Mark 11:22, outlined in Chapter Four, emphasised the faithfulness of God rather than his own faith and immediately worked its way into the praxis of the CIM. Taylor drew on many biblical examples of this truth in the lives of Abraham, Moses, Joshua and the apostle Paul. Taylor admitted that this was not an uncontested position. It was part of the work of Satan to sow doubt as to the faithfulness of God. Too often missionaries looked at only their own resources and in the light of them attempted little or nothing by way of useful work. Taylor applied this to China when he stated, 'Holding His faithfulness we may go into every province in China'.<sup>282</sup> He wanted all to be satisfied that

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<sup>277</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (June 1888), pp. 63-64.

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1905), p. 93.

<sup>279</sup> Latourette, *A History*, p. 390.

<sup>280</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Survivors' Pact*, p. 259.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>282</sup> H. Taylor, *The Growth*, p. 279.

as the work grew, the principles on which they were acting and the objects that they sought to attain were God's priority.<sup>283</sup> He had to balance divine guidance and wise decision making. He wrote:

We daily look to God to bless our efforts to the salvation of souls: we feel that His Spirit alone can change the heart: we desire to give to Him all the glory of any good we may be used in effecting. But at the same time we believe that God employs human instrumentality and human sympathies in carrying on his work; and that that work not only may be, but often is, advanced or retarded by the judicious or injudicious use of the means which He has placed at our disposal.<sup>284</sup>

The sheer hard work and trial of the work in China often raised the issue of whether it was better to consolidate or to advance the work of the CIM. The dilemma was over whether this was a test of faith or to discern that advance was not on the agenda at the present time.<sup>285</sup> Having prayed, the matter seemed settled by the application of the command to take the Gospel to every creature and the need to drive on towards this goal, using everything with which they were capable. Prayer was a part of the missionary praxis and they prayed realistically.<sup>286</sup> It was one thing to pray for 'The Seventy' new recruits, quite another thing to place them responsibly in China with all their needs to acquire the language and culture. The CIM brought them out at intervals so that there was less pressure on accommodation and that there were enough staff to accompany them to their places of work. This took three years and the prayer that they would arrive between 1882 and 1884 was fulfilled.<sup>287</sup> Later the imminent arrival of 'The Hundred' made it clear that an adequate plan for their arrival would be needed if the CIM was to make the best use of the new personnel. New praxis was required. The leadership (Taylor and the China Council) opened up special training homes. They were divided according to sex, with Mariamne Murray taking responsibility for the women and Mr and Mrs Baller for the men. Necessary changes were made to the buildings to accommodate the influx.<sup>288</sup> Alongside this a language programme was developed with the help of four local Chinese teachers. Geraldine Guinness concluded that the CIM's 'remarkable increase and development since that time would have been impossible, but for the organisation thus introduced'.<sup>289</sup>

The praxis of the CIM remained consistent. Taylor managed to maintain the original vision of the mission to preach the Gospel as widely as possible through itineration. Expansion was often maintained from settled stations in the main provinces but if other groups who shared their values arrived, the CIM was prepared to leave these settled areas to give attention to more unevangelised areas.<sup>290</sup> Although some criticised the CIM for its narrow theology, being too heavily focused on itineration and preaching, with its 'mechanical' definitions of evangelisation, it remained true to its original call. Stock writes that despite all the problems of establishing the CIM the faith and patience of Taylor never failed.<sup>291</sup> The work of the CIM often turned out to be preparatory for later more in-depth work carried out by both the CIM and other missions. In these new areas of mission the CIM was

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<sup>283</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (July/August 1878), p. 98.

<sup>284</sup> J.H. Taylor in M. Broomhall, *The Jubilee Story*, p. 356.

<sup>285</sup> *Occasional Paper*, 38 (October 1874), p. 206.

<sup>286</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (January 1885), pp. 4-5, (May 1883), p. 53.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*, (February 1885), p. 20.

<sup>288</sup> Guinness, *The Story of the CIM*, Volume II p. 472.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>290</sup> Latourette, *A History*, p. 394.

<sup>291</sup> Stock, *The History of the CMS*, Volume III p. 224.

described as ‘the courageous forerunners’.<sup>292</sup> In the last decade of the century the expansion of the CIM continued, with attempts to get into Tibet, Mongolia and the indigenous people of Yunnan Province but more often from some of the settled stations acting as a base. The focus, however, was on the unevangelised areas of the country and Latourette summarises that ‘none knowing its history could question that the mission had remained true to its purpose that called it into existence’.<sup>293</sup>

## 7.6 Finance

The ‘faith principle’ of the CIM was expressed through prayer, the desire for new workers and the implementation of strategy for which funds were required. In 1857 Taylor acknowledged that he took his stand on faith and finance and testified to the spiritual impact on his life and work.<sup>294</sup>

### 7.6.1 The Bible and Finance

Edward Irving’s 1824 lecture to the LMS, advocating the role of the apostolic missionary, promoted the view that the urgency of mission required an approach that shunned prudence in financial matters.<sup>295</sup> It is this emphasis on finance that has tended to dominate in descriptions of so-called ‘faith missions’ like the CIM. One quotation will suffice: ‘Faith missions is a term generally applied to nondenominational and interdenominational foreign missionary agencies whose governing concept is to look to God alone for financial support’.<sup>296</sup> Other observers of the CIM have been less mercenary with the American missiologist Harold Cook emphasising evangelistic work,<sup>297</sup> Stanley prayer for labourers<sup>298</sup> and McKay prayer. She writes: ‘The difference between faith missions and denominational missions does not lie in the solicitation of money, but rather in the fact that the main focus of faith missions is an appeal for prayer, not money’.<sup>299</sup>

When Taylor left home to study medicine in Hull he studied the biblical practice of tithing and began to implement it in his life even to the point of moving to inferior accommodation so that he might be able to tithe his whole salary. This afforded him more time for evangelistic opportunities and visitation of the poor. There was one occasion when Taylor had not received his salary from his forgetful employer and was down to his last coin. Being among the poor people of the area he wished to be able to help them but could not bring himself to part with his money. As he prayed with a poor family he remembered the words of scripture ‘Give to him that asketh of thee’. He obeyed only to be surprised the next morning to find an unexpected monetary gift in the post.<sup>5</sup>

Although Taylor supported tithing he saw it as only the beginning of a commitment. The philosophy on which the CIM was based was more encompassing. Giving was an important part of obedience and his exposition of Matthew 6:9-11 in *China’s Spiritual Need and Claims* emphasised how personal petitions take second place to the will of God. Taylor insisted that Christian Britain reversed

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<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 225.

<sup>293</sup> Latourette, *A History*, p. 394.

<sup>294</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China’s Millions* (July/August 1878), p. 98.

<sup>295</sup> Timothy F.C. Stunt. *From Awakening to Secession: Radical Evangelicals in Switzerland and Britain 1815- 1835* (Edinburgh: T & T Clarke, 2000), p. 100.

<sup>296</sup> Bacon, *From Faith*, p. 142.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>298</sup> Stanley, ‘Home Support’, p. 305.

<sup>299</sup> McKay, ‘Faith and Facts’, p. 179.

that order, and only offered God the fragments after they had satisfied themselves.<sup>300</sup> They did not put God first in tithing their resources and honouring God with their 'first fruits'. This refusal to follow the pattern of the prayer and 'to bring tithes into the storehouse' was perhaps the reason for a lack of God's blessing. Taylor was convinced that the emphasis on giving in Acts 20:35 was a 'mighty truth' that many Christians neglected.<sup>301</sup> For Taylor devotion to Christ went beyond tithing. The rise of new religious movements in the nineteenth century helped to prise 'enthusiastic' Christians away from a practice seen as a burden.<sup>302</sup> This helps to explain why calls for tithing were not a major part of his financial appeals.

Taylor believed that the teaching of Matthew 6:33-34 on 'seeking first the Kingdom of God' was crucial in understanding the attitude of the CIM towards finances. It was a promise to rest upon, an essential aspect for faith. He considered that its application united CIM members on the full inspiration of God's word, for they depended on God for daily necessities. This was never theoretical. It dominated his outlook and attitude. In 1859 this text influenced his decision to take over the Ningbo hospital when Dr. William Parker had to return to Glasgow. Parker's medical practice amongst the foreigners had provided the money for the hospital but now that source would cease. Taylor was cast on this promise as he made the decision to go and work there. 'Such promises were surely sufficient'.<sup>303</sup> His example also rubbed off on colleagues. George Duncan had taken awhile to establish himself at Nanking and he was unwilling to leave the city to fetch his remittance in case the authorities used it as a means to prevent his return.<sup>304</sup> Instead he took Matthew 6:33 as his guide and Taylor found on a subsequent visit to Duncan that, although living a very frugal life, God had supplied his needs in other ways. This text was inextricably linked to the practice of prayer based on Mathew 6:6.

Another important scripture text for Taylor was Psalm 84:11. 'No good thing will He withhold from them that walk uprightly'.<sup>305</sup> Taylor regarded it as vital for effective ministry in the CIM. This could be simplified to the obedience of the Christian to mission and to the responsibility of the Lord to back that obedience.<sup>306</sup> This was an area where Taylor emphasised dependence on the Holy Spirit over methods of raising money.<sup>307</sup> Stanley notes that this was a crucial shift in accepted patterns of fund raising, maintaining that Taylor substituted a 'miraculous theology which placed almost all its emphasis on divine provision of financial supplies' and very little on human agents for the previously accepted theology of systematic giving.<sup>308</sup>

It is clear from these verses that biblical texts, especially from the gospel of Matthew, were an important but not a sole basis for the development of the CIM's financial policy and that distinctive views of spirituality shaped by biblical perspectives determined how the CIM would act in these matters. Taylor would use times of low income to show that the first need was always spiritual and that

<sup>300</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Spiritual Need*, p. 2.

<sup>301</sup> J. H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (May 1877), p. 55.

<sup>302</sup> Robert Bernard Dann, *Father of Faith Missions: The Life and Times of Anthony Norris Groves (1795-1853)* (Carlisle: Authentic Media, 2004), p. 394.

<sup>303</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Retrospect*, p. 112.

<sup>304</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (March 1888), pp. 25-26.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*, (July/August 1887), p. 92.

<sup>306</sup> Bacon, *From Faith*, p. 29.

<sup>307</sup> Guinness, *The Story of the CIM*, Volume I, p. 256.

<sup>308</sup> Stanley, 'Home Support', p. 305.

at all times they should seek to be good stewards of the resources that they had. His teaching was necessary. In a July 1867 letter to his colleague Josiah Jackson, he reminded him to learn lessons from times of need. He urged him to look to God and not to go into debt, borrow from the Chinese or look to the mission to supply. Taylor then helped him with his budget and showed Jackson how, if in fact he had trusted God, he would have been able to receive the already allocated money as an answer to prayer instead of as a response to his appeal to Taylor.<sup>309</sup>

Taylor was eager that people would draw the scriptural lessons from the way in which the CIM operated. Premillennial teaching had motivated Taylor's thinking and management of finances. He rejected the use of investments, endowments or guaranteed funds of reserves to draw upon, preferring that eschatological considerations determined that any income should be used as quickly as possible for the work for which it was sent.<sup>310</sup> He saw that finance was an area where there was a great danger for people to respond with wrong motives. Taylor desired that those who gave would be sending 'consecrated money' that resulted from a reality in their own lives. His own faith in the greatness of God meant that he was able to teach that people did not need to concentrate on their faith but on the God who was faithful.<sup>311</sup> Not only had he proved it extensively in his own personal life but it had become the practice of the mission. In sending out 'The Hundred' to China, there had been just enough funds to cover each departure. When Taylor wanted to send out other already accepted workers, he found out that each candidate's personal circumstance had required some delay in their departure as the lack of funds seemed to indicate.<sup>312</sup> At the time of Taylor's report, money was beginning to come in for the next stage of departures for China. The receipt of particular financial gifts was often seen as a confirmation of strategy. The lack of funds would cause him to question whether or not a proposed plan of action was the correct one or if the lack of finance was a temporary or permanent condition.<sup>313</sup> When faced with the alternatives of consolidation or expansion of the work, Taylor was convinced that the CIM should do both. He was most encouraged to receive notification of a large gift that was given specifically for work in 'fresh provinces'.<sup>314</sup> When they received this letter, they concluded, like the apostle Paul (Romans 15:20), that God had opened their way to preach the Gospel in unevangelised areas. Although Taylor mused on the implications of the continual struggle over finance for the expansion of the CIM, the priority of the mission texts of scripture determined that they must progress. They only needed to consider how best this could be achieved.<sup>315</sup>

At the end of Taylor's life, Arthur T. Pierson noted that one of Taylor's distinctives was his desire that every believer would have a world vision and be an intelligent giver according to their means.<sup>316</sup> Taylor tried to base his thinking about finance on the teaching of the gospels. Although some aspects of his policy can be attributed to specific texts, other aspects played a part. These included the importance of the changing spiritual context and the intense fascination that China aroused in interested parties, some of them wealthy and influential. Taylor did not go looking for this support and would

<sup>309</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Survivors' Pact*, p. 346.

<sup>310</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (July/August 1878), p. 98.

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, (July/August 1887), p. 92.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>313</sup> H. Taylor, *Hudson Taylor's Spiritual Secret*, pp. 81-82.

<sup>314</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, 38 (October 1874), p. 207.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*, p 206.

<sup>316</sup> H. Taylor, *In Memoriam*, p. 71.

undoubtedly have seen it as an important part of God's provision for the work ahead. Apart from scripture, other factors influenced his decision to depart from accepted forms of fund raising in the operation of the CIM. Marshall Broomhall wrote in 1915:

That a Mission, now with over nine hundred missionaries and eleven hundred paid Chinese helpers, should have been sustained and provided for, for over forty years, without any public collections or solicitations of funds, but solely through the faithfulness of God, to whom all needs have been made known through prayer, is a fact full of significance.<sup>317</sup>

### 7.6.2 Fund Raising

Another area where the CIM was different from previous missions was in the area of fund-raising. Some considered that the contemporary accepted machinery for raising funds was secular and not centred in church life.<sup>318</sup> Apart from one or two individual 'faith' ventures, the majority of missionary work had, until 1865, been undertaken by the denominational boards.<sup>319</sup> Karl Gützlaff maintained that those who sent the missionary should send the money for their support and that this was an act of faith in itself.<sup>320</sup>

Taylor's early experiences were important for forming attitudes to fund raising. Others played a part in helping him to form his convictions. A.J. Broomhall notes the importance of John (d. 1863) and Mary Jones on the development of Taylor when they arrived in Ningbo in 1856. They were sent under the auspices of the CES but fully prepared to trust God for all their needs. He sees that they anticipated Taylor by two years and the CIM by ten years. Moreover, their demonstration of pietistic faith put them in the same line of spiritual succession that included Francke, Groves and Müller.<sup>321</sup> Taylor took up this mantle. After resigning from the CES in 1857 Taylor committed himself to act upon the faith principle in China and not to seek financial support. Two biblical texts, *Jehovah Jireh* (Genesis 22:14, The Lord will provide) and *Ebenezer* (1 Samuel 7:12, Hitherto has the Lord helped us) were written in Chinese and hung on the wall in the preaching hall in Ningbo. These slogans fortified their faith as well as providing a discussion point with visitors.<sup>322</sup> Taylor recorded instances of their immediate needs being met and how this policy was upheld without looking for credit.<sup>323</sup> It would carry over into his marriage to Maria Dyer.<sup>324</sup>

The formation of the CIM transferred these principles from the individual to the mission. Taylor remarked: 'It seemed a new thing, in those days, to talk about faith as a sufficient financial basis for missionary undertakings at the other end of the world'.<sup>325</sup> It is important to note that before the formation of the CIM in 1865 Taylor had already sent out to China six workers who were supported by friends from their homes sending unsolicited gifts.<sup>326</sup> Now that a much larger group of workers was envisaged, Taylor wrote the first of his *Occasional Papers* in which he stated the anticipated needs for

<sup>317</sup> M. Broomhall, *Jubilee*, p. v.

<sup>318</sup> Robert N. Cust, *Essays on the Prevailing Methods of the Evangelization of the Non Christian World* (London: Luzac & Co, 1894), p. 141; McKay, 'Faith and Facts', p. 168.

<sup>319</sup> Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester UP, 2004), p. 194.

<sup>320</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Barbarians*, p. 333.

<sup>321</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 347.

<sup>322</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Thousand Lives*, p. 95, *Gleaner* (Feb 1<sup>st</sup> 1858), p. 20.

<sup>323</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Spiritual*, p. 52, *Retrospect*, p. 103.

<sup>324</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Thousand Lives*, p. 87.

<sup>325</sup> H. Taylor, *Spiritual Secret*, p. 117.

<sup>326</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (January 1888), p. 3.

the work ahead. He expected some contributions from this publicity, but had decided never to ask for money, make collections or to issue collecting books. Missionary boxes were considered 'unobjectionable' and were used from the beginning. By the time of the printing of the first *Occasional Paper*, the CIM had already received enough funds for the first party to leave for China. Not wanting to state a need that had already been supplied Taylor incorporated a coloured insert stating that the funds were already to hand in response to prayer.<sup>327</sup> This reminded Taylor of Moses' experience in the building of the Tabernacle. Although this quick response to financial need was unusual, Taylor concluded that a greater dependence upon the power of the Holy Spirit for a deepening of the spiritual life would issue in more situations like that of Moses, rather than any emphasis on fund raising.

The emphasis on deepening the spiritual life of Christians was a common feature of Taylor's approach to mission. When he started the CIM he did not appeal for funds, esteeming other existing denominational agencies and not wanting to draw funds or workers away from them.<sup>328</sup> His concern was to encourage donors to be dedicated in their giving and to liberate the missionaries from anxiety regarding the financial outcome of taking meetings and services. Taylor desired: 'The missionary is then free in spirit, occupied with God rather than men, and more eager to give than to get'.<sup>329</sup> This was fuelled by the prevailing emphasis on spirituality and holiness but his practice in this area also had foundations in the teaching of the Bible. He taught the responsibilities of financial stewardship as a biblical principle. He approved of churches that supported their workers directly like the German-born Stephan Barchet who became one of Taylor's first recruits.<sup>330</sup> In a time when appealing for funds was common, Taylor did not permit the taking of collections at his meetings, for he was concerned that giving should not be an emotional, instant response but something that came from a consideration of what had been heard.

Stanley points out that the CIM had none of the usual structures of mission agencies in the country regarding raising funds.<sup>331</sup> The CIM did hold annual meetings, often at Mildmay Hall, but they were not primarily for fund-raising purposes and no collections were taken. There was also development in the policy of non-solicitation of funds. McKay sees that Taylor's recollection of how the CIM began was 'rather idealised'.<sup>332</sup> She notes that the early editions of the book *China's Spiritual Need and Claims* carried this extract:

For the carrying on of the work...a yearly expenditure of about 5,600 (pounds) would be needed. And for outfits and passage money, considerable additional expense may be anticipated...We have mentioned that the church of which our brother Mr Barchet is a member has felt it to be its privilege to minister to his support. Other churches may doubtless be found able and willing to maintain a single or a married evangelist. And private individuals may be led to take a similar course.<sup>333</sup>

This reference, which included costed items and advice on where to send their contributions, demands some review of what was actually written or said about the non-solicitation of funds within the CIM.<sup>334</sup>

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<sup>327</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*, (July/August 1887), p. 92.

<sup>329</sup> J.H. Taylor in Roger Steer, *Lessons in Discipleship* (Crowborough: Monarch, 1995), p. 64.

<sup>330</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, 13 (May 1868), p. 133.

<sup>331</sup> Stanley, 'Home Support', p. 305.

<sup>332</sup> McKay, 'Faith and Facts', p. 172.

<sup>333</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Spiritual*, p. 113

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

There was a desire to return to a more apostolic way of doing mission which was intended to model the doctrines that were later taught. Taylor wrote:

If our hearts are right we may count upon the Holy Spirit's working through us to bring others into a deeper fellowship with God – the way the work began at Pentecost. We do not need to say much about the CIM. Let people see God working, let God be glorified, let believers be made holier, happier, brought nearer to him, and they will not need to be asked for help.<sup>335</sup>

The CIM was to be an object lesson and Müller acknowledged this: 'The great object of the mission is the glory of God and even this record of waiting on the Lord for the necessary means, without pressing upon any one to help, is in itself, in these days of scepticism, a matter of great importance to the church of Christ at large'.<sup>336</sup>

Over the years a number of specific financial needs were mentioned by the CIM. Money would often come in for special projects but there was not sufficient for the general day to day running of the work. This vexed Taylor and he struggled with the issue of educating the church in the area of giving without giving the appearance of asking for funds.<sup>337</sup>

Issues to do with the solicitation of funds can be divided into four areas. Firstly, *direct appeals*. One was for the CIM to be able to buy the premises in Pyrland Road, London in 1876.<sup>338</sup> Taylor wrote of the need for an immediate outlay of £1,000 of which one fourth had already been found. A. Broomhall acknowledged this as 'unusual' but it illustrated that the understanding of non-solicitation was slow to develop within the mission. The words were quite clear. 'We trust God will incline the hearts of his people to send special contributions for this'. This was followed up with a report remarking that Pyrland Road was bought with 'special contributions' but that there remains on each house a mortgage of £500. 'These mortgages we would be glad to remove but can only do so as the special contributions to the Mission Premises Fund may enable us'. Broomhall excused such statements, arguing that they came in the context of the Anniversary address which was similar to a report to shareholders in the business world and therefore more easily justified.<sup>339</sup>

In the first ten years of the CIM (1865-75) the expenses needed were outlined clearly in the *Occasional Papers* and it was stated that Taylor himself did not use any of the funds that were sent in for the mission.<sup>340</sup> This degree of reference to financial need was seen to be a violation of the non-solicitation rule and was later dropped.<sup>341</sup> In 1885 Taylor mentioned in *China's Millions* the larger premises required in London for the prayer meeting and for suitable premises in Shanghai.<sup>342</sup> Due to the price of land in Shanghai it was thought prudent to buy the property and £1,000 would suffice.<sup>343</sup> The prayer meeting room in London would need £300 for the extension. Although it was reported that no solicitation of funds had taken place in this appeal it was also mentioned publicly in the magazine.

<sup>335</sup> J.H. Taylor in Steer, *Lessons*, p. 64.

<sup>336</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (September 1883), p. 119.

<sup>337</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Refiner's Fire*, p. 432.

<sup>338</sup> *China's Millions* (July 1876), p. 160, A.J. Broomhall, *Assault*, p. 59.

<sup>339</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Assault*, p. 58.

<sup>340</sup> *Occasional Paper*, 39 (February 1875), p. 246.

<sup>341</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Assault*, p. 60.

<sup>342</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (May 1885), p. 52.

<sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1884), p. 98.

There was a similar appeal for money needed for the development of the Chefoo Schools<sup>344</sup> which Austin sees as 'a rare departure' from normal practice.<sup>345</sup>

Secondly, *indirect appeals*. Taylor gave information about how the financial system worked and how the wise use of the finances could gain interest for the work.<sup>346</sup> On the opening page of the *Occasional Paper* in June 1870 there were adverts for various publications and missionary boxes available free of charge. There was also advice for sending cheques, post office orders, stamps and how to send money to Mr Taylor and not the mission. On the cover of the *Occasional Paper* April 1872 edition, there is notification of a change of address and also 'post office orders to be made payable to Mr Taylor'.

He was keen to insist that, although the CIM had changed and expanded, 'We shall seek pecuniary aid from God by prayer, as heretofore'.<sup>347</sup> When he accounted for the money given, he mentioned that this money was entirely made up of unsolicited donations. However, his report must act as a spur to prayer for there was not enough for the next party to leave for China. Taylor concluded on analysis of the figures: 'Truly there is a living God, and He is the hearer and answerer of prayer'.<sup>348</sup> Sometimes the income was low and Taylor explained how exchange rates in China were against them. Local people helped them with gifts but often they had funds for restricted special projects but insufficient funds for general running expenses.<sup>349</sup> Occasionally addresses were given to receive contributions.<sup>350</sup>

The CIM expanded rapidly. Taylor gave frequent reports of the finances. There was a link between the repeated references to finance and Taylor's theology. A CIM member who had heard that the mission was under-supported considered this a reproach to God: 'I cannot but see in it a reproach upon the loving, faithful one in whom we trust'.<sup>351</sup> This suggests that the frequent reference to finance was sometimes seen as an issue that was at heart one of spirituality.

Taylor, anticipating future needs, used to warn his readers that CIM expenses were expected to double<sup>352</sup> and that would mean looking to God for fresh supplies. His readers, assumed to be essential participants, needed to join in renewed prayer. He never despised small gifts but he remarked that a recent gift for £3,000 was much easier to administrate. He also reported testimonies of God fitting the supply to the needs of the CIM. He once departed from ordinary procedures when he mentioned the donor of a gift, naming William Berger. His was one of a number of cheques received and Taylor said: 'God in this matter of funds, is giving us signs that He is working with us, that this work is pleasing to Him and that therefore he is prospering us'.<sup>353</sup>

He also described the innovation of a pension scheme for CIM retirees. Taylor stated clearly that this was not a part of the work in China, but was for the benefit of the workers there. Missionaries

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<sup>344</sup> *Ibid.*, (January 1893), p. 9.

<sup>345</sup> Alwyn Austin, *The Chefoo Magazine*, (2004), p.15.

<sup>346</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, 31, (November 1872), p. 8.

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>348</sup> J.H. Taylor, 'China Inland Mission: Summary of Operations'. End of bound edition of *The Occasional Papers* (1870-72), p. 9.

<sup>349</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (January 1892), p. 2.

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid.*, (October 1889), p. 129.

<sup>351</sup> *Ibid.*, (June 1893), p. 81.

<sup>352</sup> *Ibid.*, (August 1883), p. 112.

<sup>353</sup> *Ibid.*, (July/August 1887), p. 85.

would retire on the same basis of trusting God for funding. However, a donation of £4,000 for ‘worn out workers’ (sic) was received. Taylor hoped that this would encourage others to give to this scheme and provide an income stream independent from the current daily income of the mission.<sup>354</sup>

There were reports of how in times of trial money had come in from within China rather than from Britain.<sup>355</sup> The anniversary meetings of the CIM would usually have a financial report. In July 1893 it was reported that income from England had decreased and although there had been a slight increase in the income from within China, the big increase in workers meant a very real lessening of support for them. Britain had not risen to meet the needs of these new workers.<sup>356</sup> At the same meeting the need for new premises in London was outlined and the need stated for ‘special contributions’ that would not be diverted from the general fund. This was followed up with a report about a gift that arrived in direct response to what had been written the previous month and an exhortation for Taylor to continue teaching about the need for giving to the churches. Stewardship of finances was a Christian grace seldom taught.<sup>357</sup> There was also an appeal for help in selling items that had been bequeathed to the mission<sup>358</sup> as well as the publication of a bequest form, without comment, in the magazine.<sup>359</sup> The old missionary boxes were called in and new ones issued.<sup>360</sup>

From time to time others would mention in editorials the pressing need for an increase in regular income after a negative exchange rate adjustment. Once an estimate for a new building was hit by new taxes and dropping exchange rates which had become a source of embarrassment, for more funds were now needed than had been budgeted for.<sup>361</sup> A similar situation led to an appeal that was couched in partnership terms ‘and as you are partners in this work it is right that you should know our position’.<sup>362</sup> All this was buttressed with the reports of the many answers to prayer in the area of finance recorded in the history of the CIM. Once under the heading ‘Cheerful Giving’ extracts from the unsolicited letters of donors were collated with some editorial comment.<sup>363</sup>

Thirdly, *appeals for others*. A. Broomhall notes that whilst Taylor relied solely on God for his own needs, he saw no inconsistency in collecting funds for others. Presumably this is the reason that Taylor was happy for the readers of *The Christian* magazine to give money to the CIM. There are records of donations in 1896 from this source and it has been suggested that this willingness to forward donations was an effective appeal on the behalf of the mission which was acceptable.<sup>364</sup> Taylor advertised a home for children for those working in China which was set up independent of the CIM and our friends ‘are open to receive contributions which it is trusted may prove adequate in its support’.

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<sup>354</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>355</sup> *Ibid.*, (September 1888), p. 111.

<sup>356</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1893), p. 85.

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.*, (August 1893), p. 105.

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid.*, (September 1893), p. 120.

<sup>359</sup> *Ibid.*, (May 1894), p. 62.

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*, (January 1895), p. 6.

<sup>361</sup> *Ibid.*, (August 1897), p. 101.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1896), p. 99.

<sup>363</sup> *Ibid.*, (April 1886), p. 39.

<sup>364</sup> McKay, ‘Faith and Facts’, p. 95.

The Council will give grants towards it from time to time as needed.<sup>365</sup> Taylor often encouraged people to give to the Bible Societies.<sup>366</sup>

Fourthly, *highlighting self-supported members or projects*. It was noted that CIM member Charles Judd (1842-1919) had taken the expenses of the boys' school to himself rather than the mission.<sup>367</sup> Thomas Pigott who supported himself and who also helped in sending others was commended.<sup>368</sup> A Church at Fung-hwa (Funghwa) was cited for providing money to rent premises while the teachers and children of a Sunday school in West London provide the support for the local Chinese worker.<sup>369</sup> When Taylor and his first wife Maria thought over a particular work for females in Chin-kiang (Zhenjiang) they did not want to use mission funds, given for the inland. They asked God for the funds for this special project. They soon received £100 from a relative requesting it not to be used for the mission. It was the largest sum they ever received and more contributions came in and 'only ceased when I had sufficient'.<sup>370</sup>

There was never any problem in communicating with the members of the CIM about finance. They knew that the CIM offered no salary or any guaranteed income and that this was linked to the practice of private prayer, which Taylor based on Jesus' teaching about prayer in the 'closet' from Matthew 6:6. Within the mission, information was given about financial need but the CIM members were exhorted to 'let no hint of our circumstances be given outside'.<sup>371</sup> Taylor advised Mr Berger in a letter that he saw no objection whatsoever to him mentioning the state of the funds when he wrote to members of the CIM.<sup>372</sup> In his correspondence with members of the mission Taylor would mention the situation of the funds within the mission for prayer.<sup>373</sup> He once wrote: 'that with the current income of the mission we have nothing to do, but with God we have everything to do'.<sup>374</sup> These principles were criticised<sup>375</sup> and there was misunderstanding within the mission over finance.

This variety in the area of fund-raising has led McKay to conclude that the CIM was a modified faith mission. She asserts that in the 1890s Taylor was forced to wait for money until he could send workers; this policy was not strictly a faith mission practice. This observation is supported by a minute of the London Council of the CIM:

It was agreed that all accepted candidates should be told clearly that they must not count on going out at any definite time, that the state of funds must largely decide it, each to make special prayer for the supply of his own expenses.<sup>376</sup>

McKay eventually concluded that there was no attempt to solicit money after the early years, and that appeals to the public and the CIM members were for prayer for the financial needs of the work. Any hardship over income was seen as an opportunity for spiritual blessing. Although the CIM had its share of financial hardship, this was not reflected in the popular histories rather being kept internally and in

<sup>365</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (July 1876), p. 160.

<sup>366</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1893), p. 90.

<sup>367</sup> *Occasional Paper*, 22 (June 1870), p. 392.

<sup>368</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (April 1879), p. 52.

<sup>369</sup> *Ibid.*, (April 1876), p. 128.

<sup>370</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, 'Summary of Operations', p. 26.

<sup>371</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (August 1883), p. 96.

<sup>372</sup> H. Taylor, *Growth*, p. 180.

<sup>373</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>374</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>375</sup> McKay, 'Faith and Facts', p. 146.

<sup>376</sup> CIM Archives, London Council: Minute Book 7, 1891-1894 (May 17th 1892).

letters.<sup>377</sup> This was in a time when many denominational agencies had significant financial deficits.<sup>378</sup> Dana Robert sees that the chief difference in fundraising between denominational and faith missions was more to do with the role of the mission agency rather than issues of solicitation.<sup>379</sup>

### 7.6.3 Debt

Despite his experiments with trusting God in England, the example of his family and George Müller,<sup>380</sup> Taylor expected to receive financial support from the CES in China from 1853. This was intermittent and unreliable but he was most concerned to find that the CES was in debt.<sup>381</sup> It was at this point that Taylor enunciated his biblical conviction from the direct command of Romans 13:8a, 'owe no man anything'. Any attempt by Christian organisations to borrow money he regarded as 'a contradiction of scripture, a confession that God had withheld some good thing and a determination to get for ourselves what He had not given'.<sup>382</sup> Taylor applied this command to the individual, arguing that what was not right for an individual could not possibly be right for an association of Christians. Even when robbed and in need of surgical instruments and drugs, Taylor would not go into debt to get them, even to a colleague.<sup>383</sup> He might have strengthened his argument by noticing the communal context of Paul's letter to the Romans. This was a very clear ethical issue for Taylor and he maintained in his *Retrospect* that he had resigned from the CES over it. However, letters written at the time reveal that he was uncomfortable with his financial position within the CES in general, and his political position in regard to the present threats from the English consul.<sup>384</sup> Howard Taylor reconstructs the event, maintaining that in March 1857 Taylor came to the end of his agreement with the CES.<sup>385</sup> It is clear from a letter from George Pearse, of the CES, that the committee in England regarded him as a 'salaried missionary' despite the inadequacy of the process.<sup>386</sup> These show other factors at work. It was typical of Taylor that he claimed that this act of resignation was a relief to him and left him ready to learn more lessons about spiritual formation. Taylor testified how this was a real opportunity to develop his relationship with God. 'He became so near, so real, so intimate!'<sup>387</sup> This was sustained by his view of God. He could not envisage a God who was so poor that he could not supply the required funds for his mandated work.

It is clear that Taylor's convictions in this area were moulded by personal convictions from the Bible and not being in debt became an abiding principle with the CIM,<sup>388</sup> although it did not prevent them from taking on mortgages occasionally. He expected workers not to get into debt.<sup>389</sup> This was something that enabled the individual worker to link their lives more closely with the heart of the Father.<sup>390</sup> The CIM leadership acted decisively in the case of one CIM member who managed to get

<sup>377</sup> McKay, 'Faith and Facts', p. 191.

<sup>378</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 195, see note 80.

<sup>379</sup> Robert, *American Women*, p. 197.

<sup>380</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Barbarians at the Gates* (Sevenoaks: OMF and Hodder & Stoughton, 1981), p. 284.

<sup>381</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (December 1887), p. 151; A.J. Broomhall, *Thousand Lives*, p. 34.

<sup>382</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (December 1887), p. 151.

<sup>383</sup> A.J. Broomhall, *Treaty Wall*, p. 361.

<sup>384</sup> J.H. Taylor, CIM Archives, letter to his mother, CIM/JHT Box No. 5 (3<sup>rd</sup> July 1857).

<sup>385</sup> H. Taylor, CIM Archives, CIM/JHT, Box D.

<sup>386</sup> George Pearse, CIM archives, letter to Taylor, CIM/JHT Box No. 3 (24<sup>th</sup> August 1857).

<sup>387</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (December 1887), p. 151.

<sup>388</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1884), p. 87.

<sup>389</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, (Nov 1872-March 1875), p. 9.

<sup>390</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China's Millions* (September 1889) p. 130.

himself heavily into debt to Chinese creditors. He was evacuated to the coast.<sup>391</sup> These principles were to be the same when the CIM developed into North America.<sup>392</sup> Taylor continued to use both Matthew 6:33 and Psalm 84:11 in his exhortations.<sup>393</sup> This became folklore within the mission. Taylor would mention it especially at the annual meetings when he was present and gave a report on the finances for the last year. Here he showed how the CIM never spent money they did not have for they had a Father of ‘unlimited resources’ who knew exactly what was required.<sup>394</sup> There were times when this policy meant that repairs to premises had to be delayed. The general shortage of money was a perennial issue and it led to Taylor calling for a 20-25% increase needed just to maintain the same amount of ‘comfort and efficiency’.<sup>395</sup> A year later Taylor admitted that a drop in the price of silver had led to ‘embarrassment’ on a number of building projects when the final bill was higher than the estimate.<sup>396</sup> Despite this, recourse to the ‘Great Treasurer’ had not failed them. Taylor could exclaim at one meeting, ‘We begin this year with little in hand (under £10.00) but we are out of debt and have all the promises of God into the bargain’.<sup>397</sup> Benjamin Broomhall was able to echo this a year later, reporting, ‘We have never to lament over heavy debt or any debt at all.’<sup>398</sup>

Taylor once explained the spiritual importance of this view on debt for the CIM to his daughter-in-law Geraldine. He maintained that God could easily give either before or after a need was identified. However, if God’s children take independent means to supply their need they run the risk of losing out on God’s ‘training and deliverance’ for which they must learn to wait. He used the examples of Abraham and Daniel to support this view.<sup>399</sup>

Taylor would not permit the fear of debt to paralyse the CIM. There were times when specific funds were not to hand but it was necessary to purchase tickets for a medical evacuation with the expectation that the funds would be provided.<sup>400</sup> Taylor had to appeal to those responsible in the UK to desist from appealing for funds in the light of a shortfall. He showed that the lack of funds was preventing him from moving away from the centre to do his work as he was needed to decide and distribute whatever came in for the CIM.<sup>401</sup>

## 7.7 Conclusion

Taylor’s experience and understanding of the Bible provided a context that was widely accepted by other CIM members for the development of the mission. The necessity of CIM members adapting to Taylor’s aims for the work strictly under his leadership reinforced this. Even when there was a more formal structure with other leadership, the personnel were chosen for their loyalty, experience and

<sup>391</sup> CIM Archives, China Council Minutes: Jan 4th 1894

<sup>392</sup> H. Taylor, *By Faith*, pp. 117-118

<sup>393</sup> J.H. Taylor, *China’s Millions* (July/August 1887), p. 92.

<sup>394</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1888), p 95.

<sup>395</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1896), p. 99.

<sup>396</sup> *Ibid.*, (August 1897), p. 100.

<sup>397</sup> *Ibid.*, (July 1884), p. 87.

<sup>398</sup> Benjamin Broomhall, *China’s Millions* (June 1885), p. 85.

<sup>399</sup> Geraldine Taylor, CIM Archives, notes on conversation with J.H. Taylor on voyage to China, CIM/JHT Box K.

<sup>400</sup> J. H. Taylor, *Occasional Paper*, No. 39 (February 1875) p. 248.

<sup>401</sup> J. H. Taylor, letters to John Challice and his mother quoted in A.J. Broomhall, *Refiner’s Fire* pp. 406-407.

commitment to his vision. Taylor remained in overall leadership until 1903 and was looked to for leadership by CIM members in both by China and the UK.

The changes in Victorian Christianity and the new opportunity for mission expressed in the CIM combined to take advantage of a new scenario for recruiting workers. The many appeals to the Christian public arose out of collective analysis of the detailed needs of the work in China, backed by prayer. Taylor also managed to convince the main missionary conferences of his era to join the appeals for more workers. These gave opportunities to keep the needs of China before the Christian public, to tell the story of the CIM and to emphasise important aspects of faith to the Christian public.

For issues like the selection and training of workers it is hard to find any specific biblical justification. The CIM assumed a biblical worldview of its workers drawn from those influenced by the holiness movement. This assumed background and the need for a worthy 'track record' in considering applicants to the CIM meant that specific doctrinal concerns could be minimised in recruitment. Taylor put a high value on disciplined personal bible reading and study. This common reading of the Bible was the basis for his exhortations for the evangelisation of inland China and the self-denial that was required to accomplish it.

The CIM gave new opportunities for women but this did not lead to any theological re-evaluation of the place of women's ministry. They did not question the apostle Paul's views on the subject or the common practice of the time, for Taylor's teaching showed that he broadly agreed with it. However the immediate need for the evangelization of inland China determined that the CIM would not be confined by others' restrictions on the missionary deployment of women.

The CIM's itinerant ministry was so important to the aims of the mission that Taylor willingly adapted scripture to support his strategy when he reversed the order of Acts 1:8. He also admitted that they had neglected the study of the Bible on the subject of mission stations. The conflicting priorities of the need for itineration and the aim of the evangelisation of inland China worked against the formation of self-supporting, self-sustaining churches. The lack of a thorough going ecclesiology blunted the aims of the CIM and seems to explain why even late in the nineteenth century the CIM had penetrated most parts of the nation but had not at that time founded many self-supporting churches. Taylor, unlike that other highly influential missionary in China Roland Allen<sup>402</sup> (1868-1947), did not draw on the teaching and example of the apostle Paul to fortify his thinking on the subject. His preference for emphasising New Testament teaching for personal spirituality obscured the benefits of Paul for supplementing his thinking about ecclesiology. The various developments in the CIM to do with strategy and organisation were provoked by the realities of a fast growing mission rather than any specific biblical reflection.

The ever growing CIM required increased funding. Taylor's convictions that God would supply these needs and that the CIM should not operate with any debt were based on selective scriptural texts and his own personal experience. Taylor's views on 'entire consecration' and the appeals to life-long commitment to Christ in mission, meant that he did not appeal to the principle of tithing in matters concerning money. The conviction that God would provide (Genesis 22:14) made it onto the mast head of the Occasional Papers. The frequent repetition of stories of God's provision was a much stronger appeal than any fund raising machinery. *China's Millions* recorded donations received

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<sup>402</sup> Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?* (London: Robert Scott, 1912).

without the donor's names and was used to explain why the income of the mission fluctuated according to exchange rates and other circumstantial factors.

In his public ministry, Taylor used the Bible to exhort and to encourage other Christians to take part in the work of the CIM and he was prepared to concede on minor points of theology for the overall good of the work. Texts were sometimes used to justify a particular practice but most of the CIM's practices were promulgated from experience or for pragmatic reasons. Taylor had no specific theological system that integrated his approach to scripture and he often drew his teaching from isolated verses favouring immediacy of application. The Bible provided a general framework for the operation of the CIM, but at times the application of the Bible to a specific situation lacked attention to the basic hermeneutical rules of interpretation.

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# 8

## Conclusion

James Hudson Taylor (1832-1905) achieved recognition as a world mission leader during his lifetime and his reputation has increased ever since. Guided by a devotional approach to scripture that shaped his personal and professional life, Taylor created the China Inland Mission with the bold aim of the evangelisation of inland China. He, like many others of his time, was saturated in the Bible and used many biblical texts in order to teach about mission, holiness and consecration to God through Jesus Christ. This transcendental reality provided the motivation for many men and women to engage in Christian missions, the CIM included.

### 8.1 The Nineteenth Century Context

The popular biographies of Taylor, which have had the most influence in disseminating his story, mostly ignored the importance of the historical context. The historians such as David Bebbington, Brian Stanley, Alwyn Austin and to some extent Alfred Broomhall have provided this essential background, placing Taylor within the cultural forces unleashed by the Enlightenment and particularly Romanticism.

Taylor's use of scripture demonstrated something of the transformed climate for the reading of the Bible. In Chapter Three it was shown how people such as the Romantic poet and theologian Samuel Taylor Coleridge had pioneered an influential re-interpretation of biblical theology. From a theological position entirely different from that of Taylor, he was advocating an experiential reading of the Bible. Taylor would have agreed with him that the spiritual reading of the Bible was of supreme importance. For Taylor, truth was known through obedience, whilst for Coleridge it was known through personal experience of the text and imagination. This partial parallelism indicates a common cultural source and mood. Taylor and Coleridge responded to rational attacks on historic Christianity in different ways, but both insisted that the Bible must be read in the power of the Holy Spirit, the Enlightenment's rational understanding was not enough. They believed that the Spirit revealed the true authority of scripture. This illustrated the common ambience and style of Romanticism and issued in a number of important emphases in Taylor's approach to the Bible.

Firstly, Taylor's elevation of unmediated dependence on God as the essence of faith, and as the key to successful Christian living, shared some of the presuppositions of a Romanticism influenced by Friedrich Schleiermacher with his awareness of absolute dependence on God as an essential element in the definition of religion. In contrast, Taylor argued that God was the centre of theology, not human religious experience but he wanted to verify his religious experiences in the light of scripture. Whilst many Enlightenment thinkers expected that critical investigation of the Bible would build confidence in it, Taylor circumvented this approach by claiming that experience provided direct validation of biblical authority. Taylor confined the use of reason to closely argued exhortations that presented the needs and claims of China to the Christian public complete with detailed statistics and comparisons with the Christian context in the UK. He scattered these with biblical expositions that established his perspective. He expected that there would be a steady advance in Bible knowledge, prayer, personal holiness and commitment to mission. This was linked with Taylor's optimistic view of the work of the

Holy Spirit, where he appealed to the conscience and aimed to move people in their spirits rather than persuade them intellectually in gaining their commitment to China. Through this combination of personal experience and rational argument, Taylor promoted a version of Christianity that was ultimately both personally satisfying and with enough biblical foundation to be an acceptable export around the world. It was an example of Taylor using every means possible to enforce his message on the ordinary Christian public.

Secondly, there was an aspiration to re-create the supposed apostolic simplicity of biblical times. The lives of the apostles and the example of the early church, were meant to provide a template for current responses to the Bible. Part of the Christian reaction to the rationalism of the Enlightenment was to give prominence to immediate spiritual experience unmediated by historical factors. Cultural forces had changed the way in which truth could be received by the individual and contributed to a changed context which influenced theological thinking. This influenced all parts of the church, but especially evangelicalism, for it was a popular movement. Taylor illustrated this in his teaching on seeking for 'living water' from John 4, discussed in Chapter Six, which had very little to do with the original context of the Samaritan woman. His understanding of Christ sustained him by the application of such texts to his immediate missionary situation. Taylor understood God in intensely personal terms as Father and argued for this from the Bible, but here was another aspect of his teaching with Romantic overtones.

Thirdly, the centrality of the Bible for Taylor and his intense brand of spiritual experience combined an almost mystical, other-worldly element to his life with a pragmatism that he applied to mission. This accounts for the descriptions of Taylor as a mystic.<sup>1</sup> This aspect of Taylor's motivation has been neglected by most scholars, apart from the Jesuit, Reilly.<sup>2</sup> Taylor made the exercise of faith based on the Bible a major part of his life from adolescence onwards. This willingness to verify spiritual experience and to draw the necessary conclusions was typical of Taylor's desire to find workable spiritual principles from the Bible under the rubric of 'Spiritual Science'.<sup>3</sup> Once verified, he believed that these principles only needed to be applied in personal and missionary life.

Taylor's emphasis on holiness was one outworking of this mystical element. He was embedded in holiness teaching from his Methodist heritage, and Chapter Two noted the Wesleyan openness to the Catholic mystical tradition. Like Wesley, Taylor held a deep respect for those who demonstrated holiness. He once wrote: 'Even though Thomas à Kempis knew not the truth of salvation by faith so even holy men may be ignorant of much that is true'.<sup>4</sup> He was drawn to people like the Pennefathers because of their spirituality. Taylor emphasised holiness and the importance of the application of the Bible to the spiritual life. This began with conversion - something that could and normally did happen instantaneously. It was followed by learning to 'abide in Christ' and to experience the 'rest of faith'. His reading of scripture provided intense personal fellowship and union with Christ that was 'the basic form' of Christian spirituality. This was the source for his spiritual life and for his

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 2 p. 39; Chapter 3 p. 50; Chapter 4 pp. 85, 89, 102; Chapter 5 pp. 104, 125.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Collins Reilly, *Spirituality for Mission: Historical, Theological, and Cultural Factors for a Present-day Missionary Spirituality* (New York: Orbis Books, 1978), pp. 102-110.

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter 4.2.1 p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> China Inland Mission Archives, CIM/JHT Box 1, Letter to Amelia from Hull (May 15th 1852).

expositions of the Bible. Obedience and personal transformation were the aim. He was in the right position to contribute to the developing holiness movement and to apply his insights to missionaries and mission; The kingdom of God would only come through the action of God himself and direct dependence on God was the requirement for the Christian.

The unmediated experience of God found in Taylor's life and teaching was nothing less than an attempt to return Protestantism to its own mystical heritage. Ward's analysis of the inner religious content of early evangelicalism has exposed its mystical roots which nurtured a type of revivalism that emphasised the availability of the new birth to all.<sup>5</sup> The early evangelicals were grounded in an emphasis on the centrality of the Bible that permitted the immediate communication of its meaning through the Holy Spirit to the individual. They did not need clerical help nor did they need to depend on tradition. Over time this mystical element, which influenced people like John Wesley, weakened and by the early nineteenth century evangelicalism had become more systematically rational and ordered, with everything in its place. Those who claimed a direct, divine illumination were often suspect and condemned as 'enthusiasts' just as the Methodists had been in the eighteenth century. Taylor stood in a tradition that was influenced by Anthony Groves and George Müller who emphasised direct dependence on God for their life's work. Edward Irving's apostolic model of mission and Andrew Jukes' mystical use of typology also contributed to Taylor's formation. In short, Taylor was dissatisfied with contemporary spirituality and his use of the Bible produced a form of spiritual life with marked mystical strands. His intense personal experiences of God validated this emphasis. He wanted to recapture the passion and intensity of a personal knowledge of God, firstly for himself and secondly for those who were to be witnesses in China. When his first wife Maria died, he wrote:

I scarcely knew whether she or I was the more blessed – so real, so constant, so satisfying was His presence, so deep my delight in the consciousness that his will was being done, and that that will, which was utterly crushing me, was good, was wise, was best.<sup>6</sup>

Although Taylor managed to harness something of the early mystical tradition of evangelical Protestantism it could never be simply a return to a notional purity. As observed above, Taylor, shaped by new cultural developments, was pioneering new expressions of spiritual experience applied to mission. However, in Taylor's case it did not lead to a more relaxed spirituality. The normal Christian life was one that expressed radical and total trust in God and accepted the sovereignty of God over all circumstances. This level of spiritual experience and attainment was available for all Christians, yet many failed for want of consecration or application of their will. For Taylor God could not fail for He is always faithful.

Many responded to Taylor's teaching on the faithfulness of God and joined or supported the CIM. As Taylor detailed China's spiritual need with his intensely personal and immediate style, God was claiming each and every individual to consider joining him in forming the mission. Furthermore, the emphasis on displays of authentic spirituality that could be found in any tradition, were a part of the

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<sup>5</sup> William R. Ward, 'Evangelical Identity in the Eighteenth Century', in Donald M. Lewis, *Christianity Reborn: The Global Expansion of Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century* (Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 2004), p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> J.H. Taylor, *Occasional Papers*, No. 29 (April 1872), p 19.

reason for Taylor overriding denominational distinctives in beginning the CIM. There was no spiritual secret in operation in all this. The hagiographical approach frequently adopted to Taylor's life neglects the fact that his spirituality was shaped by his context and that his experiences were not unique. Others were having similar experiences and scholars such as Robert Newton Flew and Bebbington have highlighted them. Taylor in extending these experiences to the formation of the CIM gained a following and an influence that popularised and intensified a spirituality of 'dependence on God' which was shaped by Romanticism.

## 8.2 The Decisive Authority of the Bible

For nineteenth-century Protestant missionaries like Taylor, the Bible was central to their life and spiritual authority. Their effectiveness in mission depended on their knowledge of the Bible and their sensitivity and skill in applying its message to effect transformation amongst non-Christian peoples and stimulating a constituency to support them in their work. Taylor drew on the creedal affirmations established in the Reformation that placed the Bible in the centre.<sup>7</sup> It was a document that justified itself and was not dependent on external evidence to prove it. For Taylor the words of scripture were the very words of God and any difficulties in understanding were a challenge to the reader to depend on the Holy Spirit in bringing enlightenment.

Taylor's approach to the Bible drew upon those forces that had formed evangelicalism to date. The spiritual and cultural influences on Taylor illustrated the tangled web of movements and individuals that preceded him. For all of them the Bible was prominent as the basic source for an understanding of mission but its impact was varied when it came to praxis. Sometimes the Bible was not as prominent in mission as often assumed. The Reformation re-established the role of the Bible as the final arbiter of religious practice but it did not immediately stimulate widespread Protestant mission outside the Western world. Little emphasis was given to the more overt mission texts of scripture. However, by eventually releasing the Bible into the hands of the ordinary person it created the motivating power necessary for later developments. The orthodox doctrinal emphases of the Reformation needed to be modified by Puritan and Pietistic influences that centred the Christian faith in the personal as well as in the corporate. This study has shown that the Song of Songs was an important text for illustrating this. The imagery of the book, often treated allegorically, coalesced with the more experiential spirituality of the Puritans as they sought to develop the Calvinistic theme of union with Christ. Pietism was the bedrock for many of the later revival movements. It contributed to a paradigm shift in the way the Christian life should be lived, by focusing on the plain text of scripture with the literal sense prominent. When orthodox theological approaches failed to provide what lay-believers needed to sustain their spiritual life, they sought succour in the Bible. This authentic Christian experience which highlighted practice and assurance of salvation was not viewed as opposed to doctrine. Instead it was seen as the proper outworking of doctrine. In their re-readings of scripture the Pietists reinterpreted theology in a personal and intense way that not only widened their understanding

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<sup>7</sup> Andrew Walls, 'The American Dimension in the Missionary Movement', in Joel Carpenter & Wilbert Shenk, *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880-1980* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), p 17.

of Christ but also inspired groups like the Moravian Brethren under Zinzendorf to attempt mission outside of Europe. In teaching that a direct, unmediated experience of God was possible the Pietists became vital for the emergence of personal evangelism and the development of Protestant mission world-wide. Their teaching emphasised the new birth, close fellowship among bands of true believers, a practical outworking of faith and sanctification. It illustrated the capability of biblical truth to bring holy living and devotion to Christ. These continental influences for spiritual renewal led to significant developments in the spiritual formation of men like John Wesley and the awakenings in North America. Eventually these revivals produced many different church groupings that emphasised personal spiritual power based on a return to biblical faith and piety – an emphasis that Taylor continued in his ministry.

Taylor did not speculate over the Bible. As argued in Chapter Five, Taylor's views on the inspiration of scripture gave him a negative attitude to any critical thinking on the Bible which might impede his aims for the work in China. Instead his efforts were channelled into a spiritual formation based on specific readings of biblical texts. In common with many Victorians he used allegory and typology in his interpretation of Old Testament texts. This gave him opportunities to find 'types' of Christ in the OT and exemplifies how Christological considerations dominated his reading of the OT in the light of the mission texts of the New Testament. He believed in presenting the needs of the world to the people in the context of the direct appeals of Christ in the scriptures. For Taylor the life and death of Christ was the best reason for the centrality of mission in the New Testament.

Taylor's usual approach to biblical interpretation was to search for the spiritual meaning of a particular text. He often left the historical or 'reasonable' explanation behind in order to seek for the spiritual experience that lay behind the text. Knowledge of the truth could come from personal experience which was then imposed upon the interpretation of scripture. This emphasis on applying texts directly to himself and his focus on the spiritual meaning was one example of the elevation of experience over reason. He was able to read from the text those things that explained his own spiritual experience, repeatedly drawing on his pivotal spiritual experience of 1869 and other faith experiences, as seen in Chapter Four.

For Taylor a sharpened form of missionary spirituality was essential for missionary work. The survey in Chapter Four showed that Taylor drew from the Bible a spirituality which included devotion, meditation, prayer and a lifestyle that had mission at its centre. Taylor's 'theological biography' emphasised praxis and his use of the Bible in active ministry. This meant that Jesus' example in the incarnation in joining with humans to meet their basic needs was a template reproducible by the missionary. Taylor rejected intellectual approaches, emphasised the preaching of the crucified Christ and honoured self-denying service amongst the Chinese. He was prepared to demonstrate theological flexibility over some doctrinal issues if the overall strategy for China remained fixed. The common pursuit of holiness and mission were unchallenged priorities but they were the inherited assumptions of a theological approach that formed missiological parameters for Taylor's ministry.

Klaas Fiedler claimed that Taylor is 'the most important person to leave his imprint on faith missions'.<sup>8</sup> His survey gives little attention to Taylor's use of the Bible but it is clear that Taylor's

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<sup>8</sup> Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions* (Oxford: Regnum, 1996), p. 32.

devotional use of the Bible inspired many towards personal involvement in mission, and fidelity to the Bible vied with pragmatic considerations in Taylor's actual practice of mission. Taylor's aim was the stimulation of the heart and the soul of the potential missionary, as expressed in his preaching and teaching, as seen in Chapter Six, rather than with the intricacies of mission policy or methods of work. These followed on in due time but could never become the main focus of his exhortations to the Christian public. He was facilitating the work of many individuals rather than those of a corporate body. It was those who were motivated in such a way who became members of faith missions. As a new movement they arose alongside existing denominational missions and did not replace them. Taylor himself acknowledged his debt to the 'old missions', as he called them, but the faith missions were another expression of mission with entirely differing aims, practices and theological emphases.

There are three critical observations of Taylor's use of the Bible that are important for a judicious assessment of the development of the CIM. Firstly, he failed to gather the strands of his teaching into a comprehensive theology of mission. Taylor's hermeneutic gave priority to the immediate and individual application of isolated verses to meet contemporary situations or perceived spiritual needs. It was an approach incapable of supplying an overall framework of theological principles that would guide and control policy. His teaching and advice to those within the CIM over the practice of mission were based more on personal observation and experience, some of it forged in his years with the CES. There were not enough challenges to the dominant position of the Bible, inside the CIM, for these issues to be considered and re-stated. The development of critical theology was beginning to pose a challenge but for the majority of those involved in the CIM the overriding priority of the task predominated over biblical reflection. This meant that Taylor's hermeneutic used scripture as a justification for policies driven by mostly pragmatic considerations. He did not make the determination of the authorial intent of scripture a priority, although his Christological centre and his belief in the inspiration of scripture provided some check on such an arbitrary use of the Bible.

Secondly, the highlighting of mission and personal holiness rooted in the practices of prayer and Bible study did not necessarily equip the CIM missionaries and supporters to meet the intellectual challenges to the Christian faith. It was this emphasis that accounts for the criticisms of Taylor for having diminished theological concerns in mission. Even a key theme in his teaching, for example the kenotic example of Christ, was seen as a product of an activist rather than a reflective biblical method for evangelism.<sup>9</sup>

Thirdly, Taylor's use of the Bible illustrates that, despite the theological turmoil of the Victorian era and the significant cultural developments, not all Christian leaders felt it necessary to re-think their theology in response to the challenges posed by evolutionary science and the growth of higher criticism. Taylor was a notable example of those who sidestepped these challenges by cultivating a piety that attempted to preserve the emphases that had ebbed and flowed from the Reformation. He placed the authority of the Bible in the spiritual realm entirely outside the sphere of rational and historical argumentation. This was both Taylor's strength and his weakness. His biblical spirituality provided an enduring template for international evangelical mission in the twentieth century

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<sup>9</sup> Lauen Pfister, 'Re-thinking Mission in China: James Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard', *Currents in World Christianity*, Position Paper 68 (Cambridge: 1998), p. 32.

but it would also expose evangelicalism to a profound intellectual crisis in due course. By separating spirituality from definite theological reflection, the CIM missionaries enhanced a form of spiritual formation in their converts that lacked the tools required to advance a biblical response in the face of intense opposition to a conservative approach to scripture.

Those attracted by Taylor's message of consecration and self-denial, who had experienced the power of the holiness movements in their own lives, found the 'unworldliness' of the CIM attractive. However, this emphasis should not obscure the fact that theology too was important to them. The above motivations were seen as eminently biblical as were the practices of mission that issued from them. This is an important observation, for the activism and the focus of men like Taylor made sure that an experiential understanding of the Bible was exported around the world at a time when more critical ideas were surfacing in the West. In its example of the transfer of a 'simple faith' from one culture to another it later became one of the sources for a developing fundamentalist theology.<sup>10</sup> Taylor's involvement with the Niagara Bible conferences in North America was important for bringing mission into this particular fold. The CIM acted as an important instrument for the defence and propagation of conservative theology in China. The missionaries had neither the time, the academic training, nor the inclination to pursue the insights of biblical criticism in the light of the perceived spiritual needs of the 'heathen'. This had far-reaching consequences, shaping Chinese Christian spiritual life in the early twentieth century and laying a template that is still influential.<sup>11</sup>

### 8.3 The Missionary Nature of the Christian Message

Taylor believed, in a manner entirely characteristic of evangelical empiricism, that in the Bible there was reliable and easily intelligible testimony to the gospel of Christ. It dealt with the desperate condition of humanity and outlined people's spiritual need and destiny. His concentration on the perceived spiritual needs of China came directly from an assumption that the majority of non-western peoples were 'heathen' and in need of salvation through Christ. This led to a negative assessment of those elements in Chinese culture and religion that did not conform to this viewpoint. This dismissal of other religions as idolatry or superstition obscured the need to consider the value that they might have in leading to methods of contextualization of the gospel. Nevertheless such binary thinking was qualified by 'a biblical insistence upon the unity of humanity in sin and grace'.<sup>12</sup> The Bible testified, according to Taylor, to the possibility of conversion and regeneration, something that could not be produced through human knowledge and rational argument. Thus education and other instruments of civilisation had a limited but nevertheless important role to play. This accounted for his negative attitude to people like Timothy Richard, as seen in Chapter Six, who advocated a greater interaction with Chinese scholarship and culture.

Taylor's opinion of the deficient forms of Christianity which he found in China provided a justification for his own approach. His limited historical survey given at the 1888 London Missionary Conference criticised those who had gone before him to China for not implanting the Bible among the

<sup>10</sup> Alwyn Austin, 'Pilgrims and Strangers: the China Inland Mission in Britain, Canada, the United States and China 1865-1901', Ph.D. thesis (York University: Ontario, 1996), pp. 11, 14.

<sup>11</sup> Pfister. 'Re-thinking Mission', p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Brian Stanley (ed), *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), p. 9.

Chinese. This included the Roman Catholics that preceded him in China. On one hand he admired their commitment and tenacity and on the other he criticised their obscuring of the cross of Christ through various accretions to the gospel. He said: 'We do not want to take the cross and so envelop it in flourishes and ornamentation that no one can see there is a cross there, as did the Jesuits'.<sup>13</sup> Taylor had a different perspective on the cross which downplayed Roman Catholic mission, despite Catholicism being almost the sole Christian group in China at the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Taylor's attitude accorded with the viewpoint of most Protestants towards the work of the Catholic Church in the nineteenth century which was marked by much suspicion.

Through his willingness to repudiate the structures of Christendom, Taylor took the central evangelical principle of gospel-based mission further than any other evangelical of his day. His use of the Bible cut through conventional practice and standards in the Church to place mission to China as a high priority. He also challenged the Christians of his age to a pattern of radical discipleship that put full trust in the God of the Bible and was seen to do so. He reminded evangelicals that this principle had been axiomatic for William Carey and the pioneers of the 1790s, and thus set in motion a new impetus for world mission.

Taylor taught in a context influenced by aspects of the holiness movement. He believed that his teaching on full consecration, when properly understood, would result in an interest in mission. In his view it was an essential responsibility of any disciple to take the Gospel to 'every creature'. Mission was the obvious, outward focus of a life that was holy and consecrated to God. For Taylor, a sharpened form of missionary spirituality was essential for missionary work. Taylor's 'theological biography' emphasised praxis and his use of the Bible in ministry. The emphasis on mission and personal holiness rooted in the practices of prayer and Bible study did not lead his missionaries to consider other emphases from the Bible that might have been more in accord with the Chinese mindset. Pui-lan Kwok is surely right to highlight how this narrow focus prevented consideration of other, especially Old Testament themes, that might have been a more profitable starting point in mission.<sup>15</sup> The common pursuit of holiness and mission were unchallenged priorities but they were the inherited assumptions of a theological approach that formed missiological parameters for Taylor's ministry.

The new approach to mission pioneered by the CIM was the culmination of all the forces that formed evangelicalism to date, applied to China on a grand scale and fuelled by a radical, unmediated use of the Bible. It was an approach that highlighted the call of God and a willingness to trust God for support rather than any particular denominational affiliation. Taylor headed his chapter on the need for a new agency with Isaiah 55:8-9. 'My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are My ways higher than your ways, and My thoughts, your thoughts'. This could be described as a profoundly anti-Enlightenment text that reinforced Taylor's conviction that human ways and means were inadequate to understand the divine mind. The Bible supported his strategy to seek workers through prayer and gave the material required

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<sup>13</sup> J.H. Taylor in Montagu Beauchamp, *Days of Blessing in Inland China* (London: Morgan and Scott 1890), p. 30.

<sup>14</sup> Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity: 1800-1914. Northern Africa and Asia*, Volume 6 (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1944), p. 261.

<sup>15</sup> Pui-lan Kwok, *Chinese Women and Christianity 1860-1927* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1992), p. 43.

for the deepening of the spiritual life of the church. The radical spirituality of Taylor challenged the ordered, measured, reasonable methods of Victorian Christianity with a new style of Bible teaching and an urgent insistence on the responsibility of mission. He believed that Jesus' promise 'I am with you always' from the Great Commission text of Matthew 28:20 was particularly with those involved in mission.

Taylor in setting up the CIM deliberately downplayed doctrinal distinctives. Chapter Seven showed the lack of a theological explanation in the first 'Principles and Practice' (1886). Taylor invited people with similar views over the inspiration of scripture to join him in the CIM, convinced that they shared the same conservative theological assumptions on the essentials of the faith. They only needed to sign the simple doctrinal statement contained in the 'Principles and Practice'. He allowed CIM members latitude in their teaching to the Chinese converts. This was not just theory. Taylor did not give directives on baptismal practice and he permitted different views over highly controversial issues, such as faith healing, to come under the conscientious convictions of members of the mission. There was to be no tight doctrinal definition hampering CIM members and Taylor remained consistent in this approach. He saw spiritual fitness for the task in China as being more important than doctrinal issues for the overall teaching of the Bible mandated mission above all else.

The aim of evangelising the Chinese and planting churches in inland China gave Taylor an opportunity to indigenize the work of the CIM and to separate it from the existing denominational structures of congregations already present in China. Despite the lofty aims of Taylor in his written statements about church planting amongst the Chinese, the formation of local churches in Chinese style by the CIM was not as successful as hoped for. Although committed to planting Chinese congregations from the beginning and providing sufficient nurture for the new believers, the task of the evangelisation of the whole country and the shortage of workers eventually impeded the planting of locally run congregations. Furthermore, Taylor's awareness of the foreign nature of Christianity spurred him to try and get as close to the Chinese as possible. Ironically, this undermined his overall aims. By allowing those of similar denominational backgrounds to congregate together the CIM made it more likely that inherited western forms of church government would prosper rather than taking the next radical step forwards and asking what a truly indigenous Chinese church would look like. The CIM, in developing no distinct ecclesiology of its own moulded by the Chinese, fitted into an international evangelical ecclesiology where fellowship was based on conversion and spiritual experience. This obscured the need for a strategy to carry through the intention of forming indigenous Chinese churches.

Taylor's relative weakness in ecclesiological thinking meant that he minimised the role of the church in sending out missionaries in the recruitment process, preferring, as seen in Chapter Seven, to rely on the individual call backed up by appropriate evidence. This neglect of passages like Acts 13:1-3 where the church becomes the sending agency into mission also had ramifications in the newly planted churches. Rather than embedding the ministry of the gospel within the church as quickly as possible, Taylor aided deficient thinking about the church by distinguishing between the pastor, hopefully Chinese, who should be supported by the church and the evangelists who were supported by the CIM. The impression given was that evangelism and mission exist as an adjunct to the church rather than

stemming from within the church. Similar criticisms have been levelled at Henry Venn in his theories of mission.<sup>16</sup>

The view that the church consisted of converted individuals rather than being the body to which the responsibility of sending out workers had been entrusted supported this deficient ecclesiology. Although the policies of the CIM in guaranteeing no salary brought some reality to the application process and sifted out some unsuitable applicants, Taylor was constantly criticised for the activities of some of his untrained and seemingly self-selected missionaries. The desire to expand quickly into unevangelised provinces was seen as one reason for the lack of quality control in recruiting and led to charges of superficiality in approaches to mission. CIM members who had given no evidence that they could act as Christian teachers, were then expected to exemplify and model Christian faith in very difficult circumstances with no recognised training and only the basics of a conservative theology to sustain them. Although admired for their dedication, some in China thought that their 'enthusiasm' had outrun their knowledge.<sup>17</sup> Others, writing at the time, were even more damning. The members of the CIM were seen as drawn from a variety of European sects rather than churches.<sup>18</sup> More serious was their impact upon the Chinese who did not make fine drawn distinctions in evaluating foreigners. Their behaviour in itinerating and permitting unmarried women to take part was roundly condemned. Their 'thaumaturgical' evangelistic strategy and the need for a confrontation with the gods of China backed by prayer was considered inept and one that made little impact on the religious systems of the Chinese.<sup>19</sup> Their devotional expression which showed an easy familiarity with the Almighty and need for divine guidance was considered shocking to the 'reverentially constituted'. Their teaching which emphasised Sabbath observance had no idea of how trying this was for a Chinese convert and their failure to note any kind of patristic or ecclesiastical authority was exposed as leaving them with nothing but their own judgement, drawn from the Bible, to rely on. Furthermore they had the temerity to ignore modern biblical criticism and the widening tendencies of the modern churches in matters of doctrine. All this was because of the personal example and teaching of Taylor, who was described as one of the 'men who landed in China 30 or 40 years ago, with a complete outfit of cut and dried opinions'.<sup>20</sup> He and the CIM had been too busy to change these convictions and, by and large, they had not allowed their interaction with the Chinese to modify them. For some observers this criticism highlighted the limited distinctives that the CIM brought to mission in China.

#### 8.4 The Development of Missionary Work

*China's Millions* regularly reported on the progress of the evangelisation of inland China giving details of the Protestant missionary expansion, not just that of the CIM. By 1900 it was estimated that there were over one hundred thousand converts in China.<sup>21</sup> Towards the end of Taylor's life the magazine reported that the CIM had developed one hundred and ninety-nine mission stations in fifteen of the

<sup>16</sup> Stephen C. Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1964), p. 260.

<sup>17</sup> Charles Henry Robinson, *History of Christian Missions* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1915), p. 193.

<sup>18</sup> Alexander Michie, *Missionaries in China* (London: Edward Stanford, 1891), p. 53.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>21</sup> *China's Millions* (July/August 1903), p. 94.

eighteen provinces in China.<sup>22</sup> Work had also extended to the minority groups of Yunnan Province and Tibet where other languages, apart from Mandarin, had to be mastered. These reports were always put into perspective by mathematical and mapped estimations of what still remained to be done. At the end of 1905, the CIM had two hundred and five stations, six hundred and thirty-two outstations, eight hundred and forty-nine foreign missionaries aided by one thousand two hundred and eighty-two Chinese helpers (the majority paid by the CIM) and one hundred and eighty-eight schools.<sup>23</sup> By 1915 the CIM had eleven 'associate missions' working with them in China,<sup>24</sup> many of them stemming from Taylor's visits to the European continent.

Taylor's early experience of missionary work in China was important for moulding his convictions over the practice of mission. These included the importance of prayer for financial support and new workers as well as the commitment not to enter into any form of debt. The practice of itineration and the attempts to penetrate inland with an evangelistic strategy as a priority over other forms of mission was confirmed in his early appeals to recruit and send a specific number of missionaries to each 'unoccupied province'.

The revivals of the mid-nineteenth century contributed to a more fluid picture of Christian allegiance centred on a common task and spirituality rather than shared churchmanship in international mission. New groupings loosened denominational allegiance. The holiness movement, which developed in Taylor's era, helped to lay the ground for international co-operation in mission, and the Mildmay and Keswick conferences played an important part in promoting foreign missions, albeit with what some saw as a limited understanding of the Bible and theology.

These new alliances brought to prominence those in leadership who were not theologically trained and made the way possible for men like Taylor to take on major responsibility in Christian leadership. This deployment of lay men and women which has been generally seen as a positive development for the development of mission, also led to the more debateable idea that devotional Bible knowledge and zeal with only a minimum amount of training were sufficient for effectiveness in mission. This religious and cultural inheritance produced a new template for mission in China.

Taylor in trying to recapture a supposed apostolic simplicity based on the Bible, was determined to ensure that new and different practices of mission were implemented. In order to accomplish this there had to be strong and visionary leadership. Chapter Seven showed how Taylor led the mission for over twenty years without any formal structural assistance. His 'papal authority'<sup>25</sup> exercised from China was necessary to maintain the momentum of the new work. Suspicion of democratic government applied to mission, fitted in with Taylor's Romantic cultural framework that placed great confidence in the charisma and authority of the visionary leader. Taylor could not afford interference from England or disruption from others in China. The task was so immense that he had to take full responsibility for the running of the mission, though often aided by sympathetic colleagues. Although this brought inevitable conflict with those who had differing views and aims, it did mean that

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, (June 1904), p. 74.

<sup>23</sup> Marshall Broomhall, *Faith and Facts as Illustrated in the History of the CIM* (London: Morgan and Scott, CIM, 1909), p. 71.

<sup>24</sup> Marshall Broomhall, *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1915) pp. 357-365.

<sup>25</sup> Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964), p. 334.

the focus on the inland was maintained. Taylor's sense of direction was vital for this to happen and when in 1886 new arrangements for the work became essential, Taylor still exercised overall control.

One of the results of Taylor's new approach to mission was that he inspired others to emulate him in the formation of 'Faith Missions'. The reality of a mission operating outside formal church structures, highlighted some of the dissatisfaction with the existing missionary societies. Taylor unwittingly defined the principles of faith missions. In Taylor's opinion, the reluctance of the classical missions to engage seriously with the evangelisation of inland China was regrettable. When he added to this his theological convictions over the eternal destiny of the Chinese and the eschatological belief that Christ would not return until the Gospel had been preached to all the world, it made it imperative that a quicker, more widespread mode of evangelisation should be found. Taylor's guiding principle was effective evangelism. In order for this to be achieved, he wanted to inspire and mobilise many more potential workers from a variety of theological backgrounds. This was one of the marks of a faith mission. Fiedler writes:

The term 'faith mission' was not coined by the faith missions themselves. They did not claim that other missions worked without faith, nor did they claim to have more faith than the mission who'd started their work decades earlier. It was others who took one of the faith missions innovative concepts - the 'faith principle' of financial support and referred to them under that name, actually the most important characteristic is interdenominational.<sup>26</sup>

This approach enabled Taylor to broaden the mission-supporting constituency. By stimulating a new class of missionaries he tapped into their churches and associations. Many of those who were inspired by Taylor came from the lower and middle classes who consistently sent in small gifts.<sup>27</sup> This was new money for mission. Taylor needed to find like-minded Christians, for their own expression of faith was important. He built relationships with those who were already interested in Gützlaff's work in China. Taylor's own experience of China and his radical plans for the penetration of inland China met with a receptive audience. Through these contacts Taylor got to know some of the 'evangelical aristocrats' who introduced him to others in their circle. His drift from initial dependence on the Open Brethren to an approach that engaged fully with prominent and wealthy evangelical Anglicans was important for widening the acceptability of the work and the opportunity for involvement. Taylor now had a group of people to call upon in the same way that other missions drew upon their denominations; a constituency moulded by common spiritual experience. However, the CIM had fewer larger donors and those who gave were conscious that it all depended on them. This was not the same way as in the denominations. The style of dependence was different.

The constituency for mission was also enlarged as the CIM pioneered a new approach to single and married women in mission. Taylor's Wesleyan and holiness background, where women were more prominent in ministry, provided a model for the deployment of women in China. His early experience in China confirmed the necessity for women to be able to reach women in Chinese culture. His priority was the evangelistic task which overrode any theological position on women in ministry. There was no attempt to wrestle with the biblical texts and the evidence of Chapter Seven is that Taylor would not have defended it theologically for he agreed with the prevailing views of women's place in

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<sup>26</sup> Fiedler, *The Story*, p. 11.

<sup>27</sup> Moira J. McKay, 'Faith and Facts in the History of the CIM 1832-1905', M.Litt thesis (Aberdeen, 1981), p. 211.

the church. Nevertheless, he had the courage to recruit and deploy women in China and showed wisdom in the practical outworking of this policy as he encouraged them inland, slowly without publicity, well away from public opinion and after much prayer. The CIM's policies on marriage and the emphasis on the importance of both partners being suitable for ministry in China were similarly born out of experience. Despite widespread criticism, Taylor managed to recruit many new people who eventually developed the qualities that enabled them to remain and do a worthwhile work in China, contributing to the overall aims of the work as outlined by Taylor.

The formation of the CIM symbolizes the loosening of the restrictions that had hampered earlier British Protestant missions. The CIM benefited from the full implications of the priesthood of all believers, a principle unleashed initially at the Reformation but only fully practised when the developments of pietism wrested the balance away from the church towards the individual. Before the CIM arrived the majority of mission societies had been denominational. Taylor was convinced that the existence of the CIM was a testimony to the reality of faith in God and proof of the value of showing dependence on Him. Here he applied to a mission organisation a radical theological principle that until the formation of the CIM had only been applied to the individual missionary. This was the direct reliance on God for money, with a corresponding emphasis on prayer for daily provision and protection. The financial policy of the CIM taught a new dimension of experience to Victorian Christians. This was noted in his obituary in the Anglican paper The Guardian which said: 'the power inherent in a simple faith without any accessories or system remains as an awe inspiring and tremendous fact'.<sup>28</sup> This characteristically Romantic principle of absolute dependence meant that the CIM was the first missionary society in the nineteenth century that managed to break free of clerical control. Even the LMS developed into a mainly denominational mission<sup>29</sup> which was still dominated by an elite of ministers and wealthy businessmen.

The CIM was different and distinctive. Its flexibility was demonstrated through being able to adapt a denominational identity when it suited it in Sichuan province. Taylor's appeals for China had an urgent, thrusting edge to them that brought home immediately to British Christians their responsibility for rectifying the situation. This was not through the prevailing model of home organisation but through prayer to God that these Christians would become supporters who would be moved to give to the work. There was no financial apparatus, no annual subscribers or associations that guaranteed income. In organising the structure in this way Taylor broke with the tradition of the sovereignty of the donor, the subscriber and the annual subscription, all of which were sources of power held by people who were not directly involved in the work. This was the commercial pattern applied to mission with influence and power being wielded by 'shareholders' in mission, who delegated their authority to elected committees who had the power to vote and make decisions that affected missionaries. Taylor repudiated all this and provided a direct link between the individual supporter and the work in China, fuelled by the reports in the monthly magazine. Here was the principle of direct dependence on God applied to mission, which explains why Taylor began the CIM with such minimal structure in Britain. Taylor located the centre of the organisation in China rather

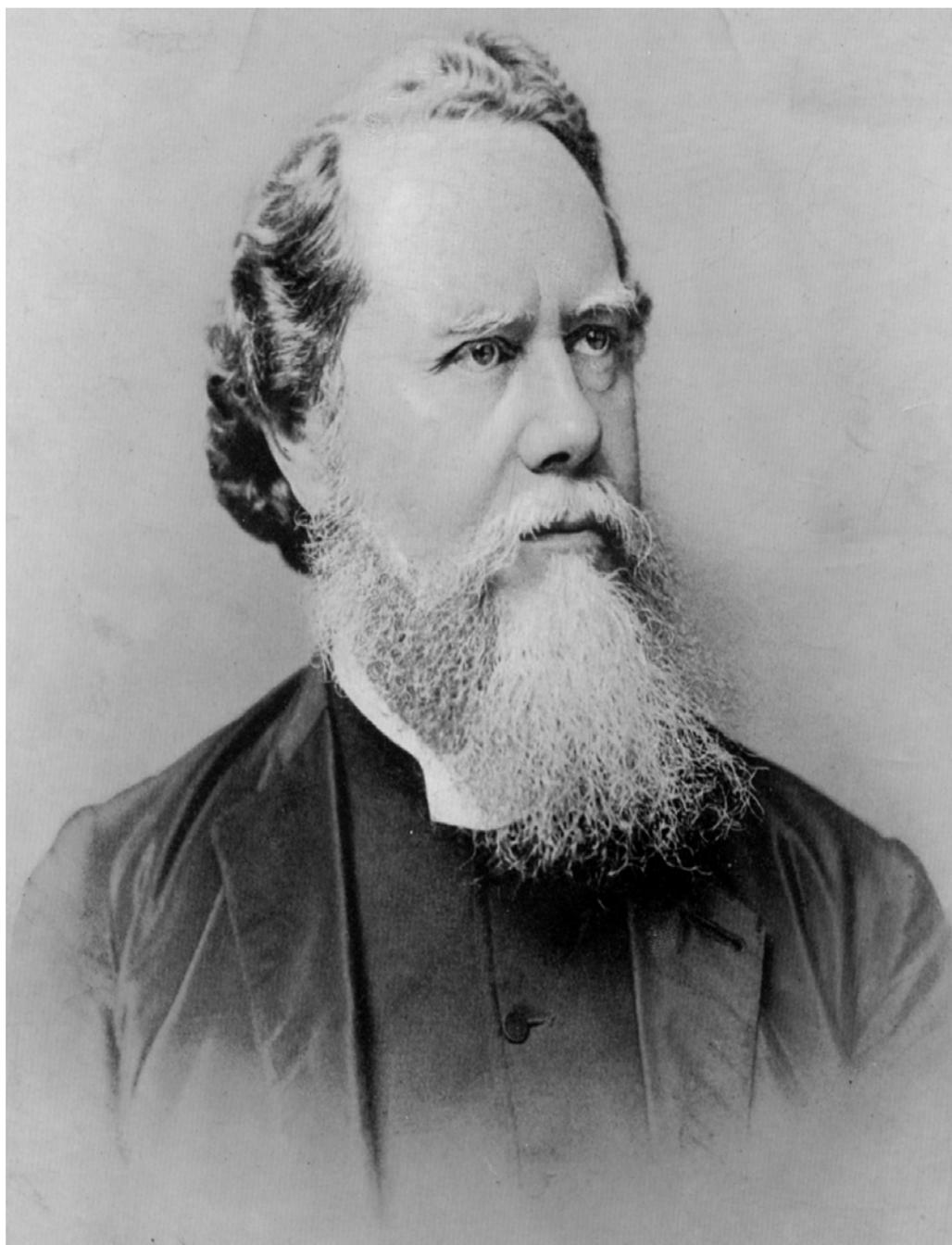
<sup>28</sup> Howard Taylor, *In Memoriam: Rev. J. Hudson Taylor* (London: CIM, 1906), pp. 11-12.

<sup>29</sup> Brian Stanley, 'Where Have Our Mission Structures Come From?' *Transformation*, Volume 20, No. 1 (January 2003), p. 42.

than in London and developed, over time, an administrative and leadership structure that would keep decision making as close to the missionary as possible, more responsive to local conditions.

For Taylor, the primary function of the Bible was to provide a basis for personal spirituality which was the pre-requisite for any involvement in mission. Faith in God and trust in his provision executed by abiding in Christ took priority over using the Bible as a source for any particular mission practice within the CIM.



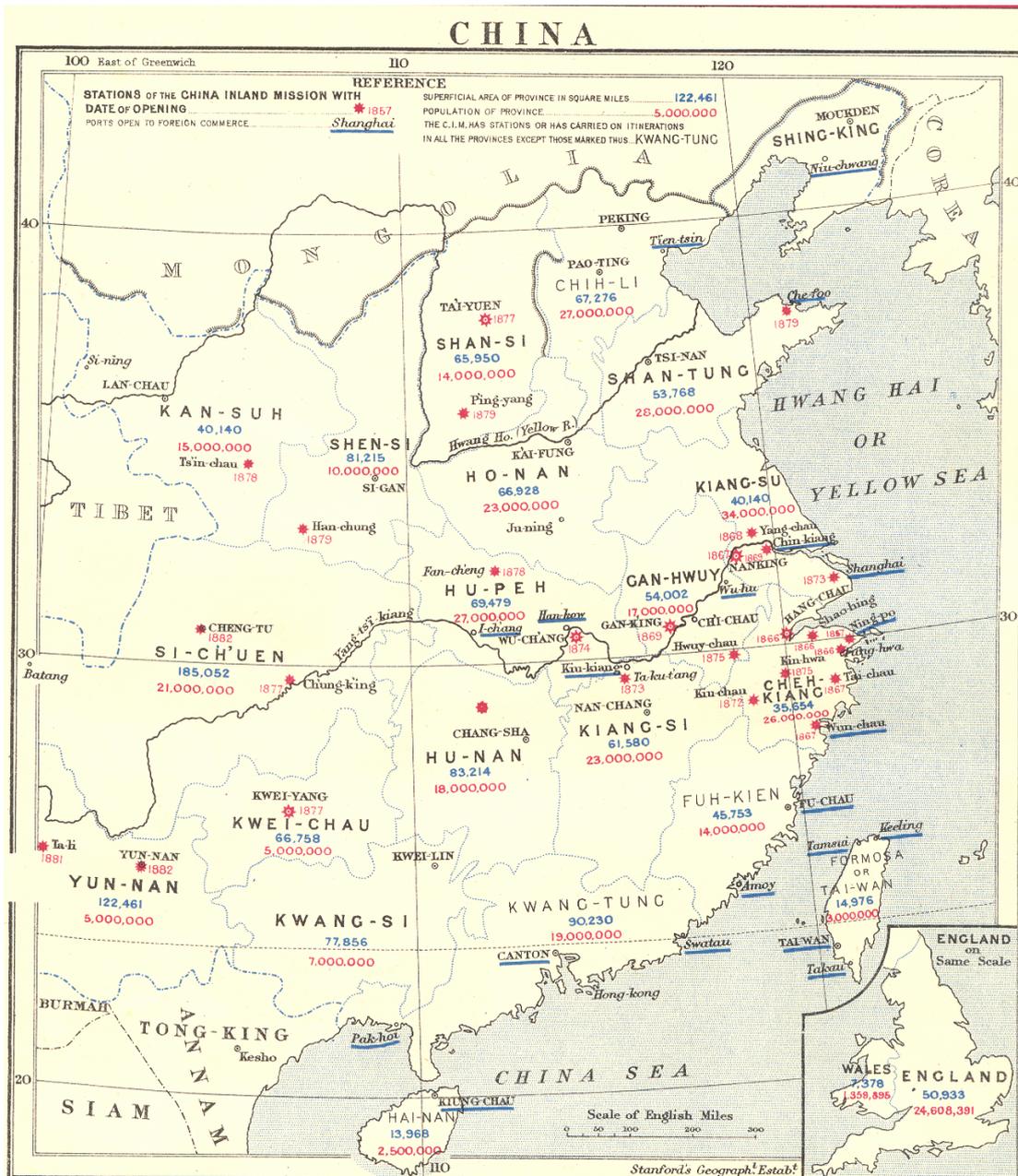


**JAMES HUDSON TAYLOR (Circa 1900)**

Dear Friend, I feel that you, & all who  
aid us by your prayers, your sympathy,  
& your contributions, are partners with us  
in the great work laid upon our hearts -  
the evangelization of China.

J. Hudson Taylor.

A slightly reduced facsimile  
from one of Hudson Taylor's autograph letters.



CHINA 1882



THE  
ARRANGEMENTS  
OF THE  
**CHINA INLAND MISSION,**  
COMPRISING:—  
CLASSIFIED LISTS OF THE MISSIONARIES AND  
STATIONS,  
WITH  
THEIR CHINESE NAMES;  
THE PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE;  
THE COURSE OF CHINESE STUDY IN SIX SECTIONS;  
AND  
THE INSTRUCTIONS, &c.

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*FOR THE PRIVATE USE OF MEMBERS OF THE MISSION ONLY.*

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SHANGHAI:

DECEMBER, 1886.

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*Printed at the "SHANGHAI MERCURY" Office.*

## CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 1832** James Hudson Taylor born.  
**1851** Moved to Hull.  
**1852** Moved to London.  
**1853** Sails for China on the 'Dumfries'.  
**1854** Arrives in Shanghai.  
**1857** Resigns from CES.  
**1858** Marries Maria Dyer.  
**1860** Return to England and appeals for helpers.  
**1862** Mr and Mrs Meadows leave for China.  
**1865** Brighton Beach and formation of the China Inland Mission.  
*China's Spiritual Need and Claims* published.  
**1866** *Occasional Paper*, No. 1 published.  
 Lammermuir sails for China.  
**1867** Gracie Taylor (daughter) dies.  
**1868** Yangchow riot.  
**1870** Maria Taylor dies.  
**1871** Taylor marries Jennie Faulding.  
**1875** *China's Millions* published. Appeal for eighteen workers, two for each province.  
**1877** Shanghai Missionary Conference.  
**1886** First meeting of the China Council. Appeal for 'The Hundred'.  
**1888** Taylor's first visit to North America.  
**1889** Taylor's second visit to North America.  
 'To Every Creature' appeal issued.  
 Taylor visits Scandinavia  
**1890** CIM's new premises in Shanghai opened.  
 Second Shanghai Missionary Conference. Taylor preaches opening sermon.  
 Taylor visits Australia.  
**1893** Taylor visits Germany.  
**1896** Taylor visits India.  
**1900** Boxer Uprising.  
 Taylor at New York Ecumenical Missionary Conference.  
 Taylor moves to Switzerland.  
**1904** Jennie Taylor dies.  
**1905** James Hudson Taylor dies at Changsha, Hunan, China.

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Section 2 1853 Box 4

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Section 4 1857-1865 Boxes 5 and 6

Section 5 1866-1870 Boxes 6-8

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## Samenvatting

De wereldwijde verkondiging van het evangelie is altijd gebaseerd geweest op de Bijbelse boodschap dat Jezus Christus in de wereld is gekomen om zondaren te redden. In de kerkgeschiedenis heeft deze boodschap niet altijd de benodigde impulsen gegeven aan wereldwijde zending. Er zijn perioden in de kerkgeschiedenis geweest dat de Bijbel niet functioneerde als prikkel voor zending. Bovendien hebben niet alle pogingen om zending te bedrijven de Bijbel bewust de eerste plaats gegeven.

Dit onderzoek richt zich op een bijzondere zendingsleider uit de negentiende eeuw, J. Hudson Taylor, en bestudeert het gebruik van de Bijbel in zijn bediening en in de oprichting van de China Inland Mission (CIM). Om dit in het juiste perspectief te zien is het noodzakelijk een overzicht te geven van de plaats die de Bijbel innam in enkele bewegingen na de Reformatie die vooraf gingen aan Taylors tijd. Ook andere factoren die bijdroegen tot de bestudering van de Bijbel in de zending worden onderzocht voordat een nadere analyse wordt gegeven van hun specifieke invloed op Taylor. Deze omvatten o.a. het belang van Taylors opgroeien in het Methodisme en de later ontwikkelende 'Holiness beweging' in de algehele context van de invloeden van de Verlichting en het Romanticisme. De bijdragen van specieke personen als Andrew Jukes, George Müller, Karl Gützlaff en William C. Burns hebben invloed uitgeoefend op Taylor zijn werk.

Na de basis gelegd te hebben voor een evaluatie van Taylors gebruik van de Bijbel, gaat het onderzoek verder met een beschouwing van de invloed van de Bijbel op Taylors levensbeschouwing en spiritualiteit. Dit omvat een analyse van zijn gebruik en interpretatie van de Bijbel alsmede van zijn hermeneutiek. Enkele van de belangrijkste punten van Taylors onderwijs zijn het gebedsleven, Gods trouw, de rust van het geloof, en het in Christus zijn. Na Taylors persoonlijke spiritualiteit beschreven te hebben, evalueert het onderzoek zijn werk als onderwijzer, verkondiger en evangelist om vervolgens zijn onderwijs te analyseren onder de hoofdrubrieken van de systematische theologie. Door zijn onderwijs zo te systematiseren is het mogelijk om inzicht te krijgen in hoe hij de Bijbel gebruikte in zijn dagelijkse leven en zijn wijdverspreide en rondreizende bediening. Geconcludeerd wordt dat Taylor een activistische zendeling was en geen systematisch theoloog.

Het voorlaatste hoofdstuk evalueert de plaats van de bijbel in de strategie van de CIM in haar eerste decenniaavorming van enkele voorschriften en gebruiken van de CIM en behandelt belangrijke onderwerpen zoals de werving van nieuwe werkers, hun tewerkstelling en de financiën om hen te ondersteunen. Het onderzoekt het initiatief van Taylor en de door hem gestichte CIM om alleenstaande vrouwen aan te nemen en getrouwde vrouwen op dezelfde basis als hun echtgenoten in te zetten en te gebruiken in het pionierswerk in nieuwe werkgebieden in China. Hoewel Taylor meer gedreven werd door zijn levenservaring in China en andere praktische beweegredenen dan door een theologische visie, bleef de door hem gevoelde noodzaak om het evangelie aan heel China te prediken de paraplu waaronder de CIM haar werk ontwikkelde. Taylors gebruik van de Bijbel in zending leidt uiteindelijk tot zijn specifieke bijdrage aan de wereldwijde zending: het model van 'geloofszending' kwam voort uit het gedachtengoed van Taylor en werk van de CIM.

(Corrine Vlastuin)

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## **Curriculum vitae**

Chris Wigram was born in Letchworth, Hertfordshire in 1954. He trained as an English secondary school teacher in Cheltenham and taught in schools in Coventry and Harrow. In 1979 he spent time with a Christian organisation in Manila, Philippines, before joining the ministry of OM Ships. On returning to the UK he studied for a B.A. and M.A. in Theology and Biblical Interpretation at the London Bible College, now the London School of Theology. Chris was accepted in 1988 by OMF International (UK) for a Bible teaching ministry in the Philippines. He returned to the UK in 1998 to serve as OMF International (UK) National Director. He is Chair of the Board of Global Connections. He is married to Susanne and has three children.