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MOTIVATION FOR COSTLY MISSIONS:  
A COMPARISON OF THE JOURNALS OF THOMAS COKE  
AND WILLIAM CAREY

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A Dissertation  
Presented to  
the Faculty of  
The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

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Doctor of Philosophy

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by  
Barry Mark Morris  
December 2014

**APPROVAL SHEET**

MOTIVATION FOR COSTLY MISSIONS:  
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This work of sacrifice and joy is dedicated to my loving wife, Cindy, who lived these pages with me. Without her dedication and love this dissertation would have been impossible.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BMS	Baptist Missionary Society founded in Northamptonshire, England
CCI	Crisis Consulting International
FSA	Fort Sherman Academy
IMB	The International Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention
The Society	Baptist Missionary Society founded in Northamptonshire, England



## PREFACE

I am a sinner compassionately adopted into God's family. Charlie and Audrey lovingly raised me, modeling Christ and pointing me to the Savior. My extended family exemplified the lessons my parents taught. Second Baptist Church of Memphis nurtured me and introduced me to missions. James Hatley taught me to live for the lost. Ken King and Keith Spurlock disciplined me.

God made me acceptable to an amazing best friend and life-partner, Cindy Stringer. She and I work daily, side-by-side in God's mission field. God blessed us with our daughters and sons-in-law: Emily and Sam, Betsy and John, and Kelly and John. God gave us the great joy of outstanding grandchildren. God preserved Cindy through a horrendous battle with Multiple Myeloma and magnified his glory through her testimony. Her suffering has led us to increasingly cherish Jesus and one another.

Bill Hendricks taught me to think theologically. Bill Smith mentored me in evangelism and church planting. Keith Parks supported us as hope seemed lost, when two American team members were taken hostage. That hostage event led to my examination of this dissertation topic. The International Mission Board gave us our best friends and partners, offering the mechanism of support and service to the least reached. Mike Stroope, Jerry Rankin, Sam Shaw, Rick Warren, and Ken Winter entrusted me with leadership.

My doctoral committee—James Chancellor, David Sills, and George Martin—patiently prodded me to excavate truths deep below the surface of missionary pragmatics. Colleagues and friends patiently endure with me as God chips away at my rough edges, transforming me into something a bit more useful.

Cindy—she has loved me. She has taught me how to learn and how to teach.

Cindy is God's instrument to make me more useful to Jesus. God continues to shape us into his likeness.

Through this study, God has deeply etched on my heart, selected passages from the journals of Thomas Coke and William Carey. I desire that each reader ascertain treasures in the words and lives well penned by Coke and Carey.

Mark Morris

Memphis, Tennessee

December 2014

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The journals of Thomas Coke and William Carey reveal similar motivations and comparative practices that could be deemed both perilous and normative for pioneer missionaries across continents and eras. If missionary behavior historically gravitates toward personal risk and uncertain safety for pioneer missionaries and their families, what are the ramifications for mission senders and supporters today? This treatise asserts that contemporary missions' senders can expediently employ lessons ascertained through the journals and letters of Thomas Coke and William Carey. This dissertation seeks to discover these lessons, apply them to contemporary contexts, and consider the consequences of employing said lessons.

Carey's and Coke's South Asia journals originated on the day of departure for Asia, as both Carey and Coke embarked from the shores of Great Britain. William Carey's 1793-1795 journal records his voyage to India and nearly a year and a half of his early ministry in India.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Coke's journal commenced on December 30, 1813, and ended abruptly with his death at sea, shortly after his last entry on February 21, 1814.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to these brief journals, the study draws upon other letters and journals from both men, as well as from observations by their families and colleagues. Since Coke's South Asia journal was cut short by his unfortunate death, and since he kept copious notes on his other mission voyages, Coke's earlier missionary journals and his

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<sup>1</sup>William Carey, *The Journal and Selected Letters of William Carey*, ed. Terry G. Carter (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2000).

<sup>2</sup>Thomas Coke, *The Journals of Dr. Thomas Coke*, ed. John A. Vickers (Nashville: Kingswood, 2005), 253-62.

voluminous correspondence are significant sources of his self-reflection.

Thomas Coke was an evangelical Methodist who died leading the inaugural Methodist missionary envoy to Ceylon (Sri Lanka). William Carey was the cobbler who pioneered Baptist work into India. Both men wrote historical treatises that shook their respective denominations to action. According to John Vickers, “At the end of 1783, he (Coke) circulated his first *Plan of the Society for the Establishment of Missions among the Heathens*.”<sup>3</sup> Coke’s proposal was an appeal and an organizational strategy that was published in a pamphlet circulated widely in 1786 as *An Address to the Pious and Benevolent, Proposing an Annual Subscription for the Support of Missionaries in the Highlands and Adjacent Islands of Scotland, the Isles of Jersey, Guernsy, and Newfoundland, the West Indies, and the Provinces of Nova Scotia and Quebec*.<sup>4</sup> Nine years after Coke’s original *Plan of the Society* William Carey published *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*.<sup>5</sup> Students of missions are familiar with Carey’s *Enquiry*, but few are aware that Coke’s *Plan of the Society* preceded Carey’s *Enquiry*. Susan Thorne writes, “The first intimations of that more ambitious and self-propelling missionary program for which the Victorians were renowned came from the Methodists.”<sup>6</sup> Thorne references Coke’s *Plan of the Society* and the resultant 1787 launch of Methodist work in the West Indies. How striking that both men articulately constrained their denominations, amidst significant resistance, toward

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<sup>3</sup>John A. Vickers, *Thomas Coke: Apostle of Methodism* (London: Epworth, 1969), 67.

<sup>4</sup>Thomas Coke, *An Address to the Pious and Benevolent, Proposing an Annual Subscription for the Support of Missionaries in the Highlands and Adjacent Islands of Scotland, the Isles of Jersey, Guernsy, and Newfoundland, the West Indies, and the Provinces of Nova Scotia and Quebec* (London: J. Paramore, 1786).

<sup>5</sup>William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens: In Which the Religious State of the Different Nations of the World, the Success of Former Undertakings, and the Practicability of Further Undertakings Are Considered* (Leicester: Printed by Ann Ireland, 1792).

<sup>6</sup>Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 24.

compliance with God’s mandate to use means for the conversion of the lost. Both risked much to preach the gospel among the lost. Carey and Coke willingly paid a high price for their obedience to God’s call.

This analysis examines the journals of Carey and Coke and explores their own statements and practices, documenting their motivation and propensity toward danger for the preaching of the gospel among the lost. The conviction borne in this project is that correspondence and journals of missionaries reveal a type and measure of risk, which is not outlandish to mission history. Such missionary persistence, even in the face of great personal loss, is counterintuitive to many Western churches and agencies that operate with a propensity toward safety and circumvention of hostile litigation. If this research proved productive, the study should be expanded—examining similar journals of other historic and contemporary pioneer missionaries, in order to extract useful lessons for current and future missionaries.

### **Problem**

The question arises, what contribution is served by evaluating Carey and Coke’s personal reflections regarding their motivation for risks taken to preach among the lost in remote and dangerous locations? The scholarly contribution should be that of discovering patterns in the reflections of Carey and Coke, looking for the same patterns in others today, and drawing lessons from these configurations for the preparation and sending of future missionaries.

### **Thesis**

Contemporary missions’ senders can expediently employ lessons regarding significant risk and self-sacrifice learned through the journals of Thomas Coke and William Carey. This dissertation sought to discover these lessons, apply them to contemporary contexts, and consider the consequences of applying or not applying said lessons.

## Purpose

The goal of this dissertation was not to uncover hidden journals, but to unearth themes and characteristics from missionary journals and correspondence of two significant missionary pioneers to South Asia. Observations and lessons learned from their personal reflections and documented behaviors serve as instruction for today's church, particularly as it concerns motivation that leads to personal risks taken by pioneer missionaries for the sake of Christian missions. When missionaries place self and family at severe risk, then how should senders appropriately serve and support such missionaries?

William Carey's journal was maintained only from June 13, 1793 to June 14, 1795. Five years after his final entry in his two-year journal, Carey explained in a letter to Sutcliffe that he simply could not continue to maintain a journal. As explained in the letter to Sutcliffe, Carey's later journaling efforts were incorporated into his letter writing.<sup>7</sup> Carey's only protracted journal records the first two years of his South Asian journey, including initial pioneering efforts in India. For Thomas Coke, the journal under investigation was his last letter, written in his private quarters on board the *Cabalva*.<sup>8</sup>

The journals of Coke and Carey have been selected because both men share common traits during overlapping time periods, from the same sending nation, to the same South Asian region. Both men recorded their reflections and actions in missionary journals, making it possible to examine their musings, their emotions, and their practices. Both men wrote pivotal documents during an era that birthed modern missionary sending. Coke's 1783 *Plan of the Society for the Establishment of Missions among the Heathens*<sup>9</sup> preceded by several years William Carey's *An Enquiry into the Obligations of*

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<sup>7</sup>Carey, *The Journal*, 3.

<sup>8</sup>Vickers, *Thomas Coke*, 358.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 133-34.

*Christians*.<sup>10</sup> Both men challenged the church to organize for the purpose of missionary sending. Both men led their respective denominations as pioneer missionaries. Both led their contemporaries in terms of innovations in missions. From the two selected journals, the dissertation embarks on a type of missionary literature investigation that could be applied to other missionary journals from disparate eras and regions of the world. Such investigation involves searching journals and personal writings to explore the missionaries' own passion, vocational calling, spiritual motivation, and resolute willingness to hazard much for Christ. This study identified lessons and contemporary applications for tomorrow's senders and missionaries.

The timing of this study multiplies the significance of lessons gained. According to Christof Sauer and Thomas Schirrmacher, global trends point to a decrease in religious freedom. Sauer and Schirrmacher indicate three reasons for the downward trend, dramatically increasing the risk of engaging in Christian missions today. The first reason given for a decrease in global religious freedom is a legal matter, namely, the increase in restrictive religious laws in many countries. The second complication to contemporary Christian missions is the upswing in religious oppression in two of the most populous countries in the world, India and Indonesia. And the third reason for increased persecution is the absence of liberty, particularly in Islamic states, to change one's religion.<sup>11</sup> Sauer and Schirrmacher offer adequate incentive for mission senders and missionaries themselves to carefully examine historical lessons from missionary pioneers such as Thomas Coke and William Carey.

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<sup>10</sup>Carey, *An Enquiry*.

<sup>11</sup>Christof Sauer and Thomas Schirrmacher, "A Global Survey: Religions Freedom and the Persecution of Christians," in *Sorrow and Blood: Christian Mission in Contexts of Suffering, Persecution, and Martyrdom*, ed. William David Taylor, Antonia Van der Meer, and Reg Reimer (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2012), 11.

## Definitions

Much of the language used below is standard and self-explanatory. However, for clarification, several terms should be defined.

*Ceylon.* The term *Ceylon* appears often in the journals of Thomas Coke and William Carey. Ceylon is the country known today as Sri Lanka. The nation established independence in 1948, eventually changing the name to Sri Lanka in 1972.

*Journal.* The term *journal* is a reference to the private, handwritten reflections and travelogues of missionaries. According to John A. Vickers, who compiled and published Coke's journals, "The writing of autobiographical 'journals' was quite a common feature of the early Evangelical Revival, though not necessarily with the intention of publication."<sup>12</sup> Carey did not write his journals for publication. In fact, Terry G. Carter, who poured over the awkward grammatical constructions and unusual capitalizations in Carey's handwritten journal, reports that Carey complained about the misuse and unauthorized publication of his own journals.<sup>13</sup> Likewise, Coke's earliest missionary journal was published without his approval. He later edited and published his own authorized version of the same journal. The value of private journals for this study is that they allow the researcher to draw from the missionaries' own reflections and motivations for taking extraordinary risk.

The personal journals and correspondence of soldiers, missionaries, and individuals in the anticipation of peril reveal acknowledgement of the existence of potentially fatal consequences for a conceivable higher gain. During previous eras in which technology was limited, missionaries and families could not email or telephone. Instead, missionaries would exchange letters prior to embarking on a one-way ocean voyage to the mission field. Some missionaries would use their correspondence as a *de facto* journal of their travels. After two years of keeping a travel journal, William Carey

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<sup>12</sup>Coke, *The Journals*, 15.

<sup>13</sup>Carey, *The Journal*, xi.



began to rely almost exclusively upon correspondence as his way of recording reflections, curtailing his two-year discipline of consistent journaling.

During the days of missionary ocean travel, one never knew which letter might be the final letter to family and friends. Too often missionaries died en route, prior to arriving at their destinations. Such was true of Thomas Coke. Timeworn missionary annals also report numerous Christian workers who did not survive the rigors of the first year on the field. The perils of travel, exposure to inclement climate, and poor healthcare dramatically increased the dangers inherent with missionary work in the eighteenth century. Examination of personal journals and correspondence offers the opportunity to evaluate poignant reflections regarding bold, unreserved missionary intent to communicate the gospel cross-culturally regardless of the risk.

*Pioneer missions.* The expression *pioneer missions* refers to cross-cultural missionary endeavors, which focus on a people, city, or village that has yet to be engaged by cross-cultural mission work. More often than not, pioneer missions involve entry into a new, often difficult location for the first time. Contemporary missionaries might refer to pioneer missions as work among previously unengaged people groups.

*Martyr.* Todd M. Johnson, in “The Demographics of Martyrdom,” traces the root of the English word *martyr* to the “Greek μάρτυς, which carries the meaning ‘witness’ in English.” Johnson explains that the New Testament usage implies “a witness to the resurrection of Christ.”<sup>14</sup> Such witness so often resulted in death that before the end of the first century, the term *martyr* meant “a Christian who witnessed to Christ by his or her death.” Johnson insists that the meaning, with New Testament roots, is the accepted historical norm.<sup>15</sup> For the purpose of this discussion, this paper concurs with Johnson’s conclusion.

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<sup>14</sup>Todd M. Johnson, “The Demographics of Martyrdom,” in *Sorrow and Blood*, 31.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*

*Suffering and martyrdom.* *Suffering* and *martyrdom* are expressions that need clarification, especially in light of increased documentation of religious persecution. As stated previously, Christof Sauer and Thomas Schirrmacher posit that suffering is on the rise for those who are not followers of the dominant religion. “In sixty-four countries around the globe—a third of all countries—there is either no religious freedom or it is very restricted.”<sup>16</sup> Confusion arises regarding suffering for witness versus suffering by Christians for purposes other than witness for conversion to Christ. The murder of Christians in India, for example, may occur as a result of hostilities between ethnic rivals. Such deaths may not transpire as a direct result of active Christian witness. For the sake of this thesis, the example above is not classified as suffering for witness leading to Christian martyrdom.

In Pakistan, for example, Christians from the ethnic Punjabi minority have been burned out of their homes in the name of religion. Such Pakistani Christian suffering and death may be more related to ethnicity or to the fact that the Punjabi slum-dwellers were squatting illegally. In such cases the Christian squatters may have been negatively impacting the assets of wealthy and powerful landowners who encouraged the forced displacement. Without minimizing the reality of the terror and abuse, for the purpose of this study, Christian suffering and martyrdom are identified in line with Todd Johnson’s criteria, which always includes witness.

Martyrs and those who suffer in service to Jesus, according to Josef Ton, are “prompted by their allegiance to His (Christ’s) own Person and are endured for the purpose of spreading His gospel.”<sup>17</sup> Ton offers a distinguishing motivational characteristic of Christian martyrs.<sup>18</sup> “Their goal is not to suffer and to die; on the

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<sup>16</sup>Sauer and Schirrmacher, “A Global Survey,” 9.

<sup>17</sup>Josef Ton, *Suffering, Martyrdom, and Rewards in Heaven* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1997), 423-4.

<sup>18</sup>Some authors quoted in this paper capitalize the pronouns referencing God, and others use

contrary, their goal is Christ's Person and Christ's cause in the world, the spreading of His gospel."<sup>19</sup> Ton explains,

Suffering for Christ is not only the suffering of persecution. It begins when one leaves close relatives for the service of Christ. For some, it means selling their possessions and giving them to the poor, which often means giving them for the propagation of the gospel.<sup>20</sup>

Both Carey and Coke willingly suffered for Christ for the cause of the spread of his gospel. To paraphrase Ton's point, one who lives sacrificially for Christ and his gospel does not seek suffering, but he is willing to accept it when it comes. As such Ton incorporates into suffering for the sake of the gospel not only death in the process of Christian witness, but also a broader understanding of suffering that missionaries, indigenous or expatriate, may face when leaving family, province, or nation behind for the sake of Christian witness unto the life, death, and resurrection of Christ.

### **Background**

Fundamental to this discussion is the question—Are the motivations, attitudes, and practices of Carey and Coke representative of historical and contemporary pioneer missions? In pursuit of mission advance, biblical characters, early church fathers, prominent Christian reformers, and pioneer missionaries were motivated to risk potential death, extreme climates, the absence of healthcare, and separation from family.

The history of Christian missions evidences the occurrence of risky missionary behavior. In the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh, missionary Luis de Salvador, a priest of the Franciscan order, arrived in 1530 and obtained permission to preach Christianity. He was opposed by Brahmins and eventually killed by a Muslim in 1570.<sup>21</sup> Adoniram Judson

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British spellings. Original forms will be retained.

<sup>19</sup>Ton, *Suffering, Martyrdom, and Rewards*, 424.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Leonard Fernando and G. Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith*

endured illness, imprisonment, and harsh conditions in Burma. Judson's outlook on those extreme circumstances conveys an acceptance of difficulties as a necessary component of Christian sanctification: "Take the cup which God has appointed for your sanctification."<sup>22</sup> Judson embraced suffering as preparation for and participation in God's mission. Many of his journals and letters were intentionally destroyed during his prolonged imprisonment. While far more missionaries have served unharmed than have died violent or premature deaths, many have decanted their lives as daily, living sacrifices to God: "The world considers the life of a missionary a living death, endured like martyrdom, only for the sake of its crown in the life to come."<sup>23</sup>

As hostilities have increased between Western culture and Al Qaida-type movements around the world, mission-sending churches and agencies have wisely increased their security protocols. In some cases, however, senders prohibit missionaries from remaining in dangerous conditions. The danger is for security protocols to become isolated from prayer and fasting, dictating mandatory evacuation for missionaries who are called to remain in danger as living witnesses. From safe locations, professional security officers could make risk-averse decisions on behalf of missionaries, whose spiritual obedience may mandate persistent presence in the midst of danger. As contemporary Western culture influences mission sending, the likelihood increases that volitional missionary risk is viewed as deviant rather than normative. Western cultural values would compel today's Christian leaders to avoid risk at all cost, for themselves and their missionary personnel. Carey and Coke, on the other hand, documented their own anticipation of significant danger as inherent to their implementation of missions. Eusebius records Origen's childhood response to his father's imprisonment for faith:

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(New Delhi: Viking, 2004), 105.

<sup>22</sup>Arabella Stuart, *The Three Mrs. Judsons* (Springfield, MO: Particular Baptist, 1851), 187.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 250.

“(He) sent his father a letter pressing him strongly on the subject of martyrdom, and advising him exactly in these words: ‘Mind you don’t change your mind on our account.’”<sup>24</sup> Origen’s father instilled in his son a love for Jesus that compelled him to embrace martyrdom.

Has the Western church allowed safety and comfort to trump the biblical value of abandonment unto Christ, no matter the cost? Luke quotes Jesus’ words, “And he said to all, ‘If anyone would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily and follow me. For whoever would save his life will lose it, but whoever loses his life for my sake will save it’” (Luke 9:23-24).<sup>25</sup> When Christian faith and cultural values conflict biblical imperative must prevail. David Platt challenges the church: “Take back your faith from the American dream.”<sup>26</sup> The world of international missions learns much by reflecting upon the lives of earlier missionaries who dispensed themselves as living sacrifices. Early pioneer missionaries challenge contemporary procedures, and force missionaries and senders to examine prevailing practices.

### **Literature Review**

A survey of relevant literature reveals a handful of related themes, each of which falls short of, but contributes to, this study of correspondence and journals of missionaries. Eusebius’ *A History of the Church from Christ to Constantine* offers narratives of early church persecution and martyrdom.<sup>27</sup> Eusebius paints a picture that portrays persecution as normative in the early church. Another exemplary work, John

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<sup>24</sup>Eusebius, *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine*, ed. Andrew Louth, trans. G. A. Williamson, rev. ed. (London: Penguin, 1989), 180.

<sup>25</sup>Unless otherwise noted, biblical references are from the English Standard Version.

<sup>26</sup>David Platt, *Radical: Taking Back Your Faith from the American Dream* (Colorado Springs: Multnomah, 2010).

<sup>27</sup>Eusebius, *The History of the Church*.

Foxe's *Foxe's Book of Martyrs* offers an historical anthology of Christian martyrdom narratives beginning in the first century. Foxe records one brutal execution after another, the theme being, "a history of the lives, sufferings and triumphant deaths of the early Christian and Protestant martyrs."<sup>28</sup> James and Marti Hefley's *By Their Blood: Christian Martyrs of the Twentieth Century* narrates stories of martyrdom grouped geographically.<sup>29</sup> Hefley provides a very helpful geographically organized bibliography. Foxe communicates the normative sacrifice woven into the very fabric of fellowship in the body of Christ. In Foxe's book, one century of alacritous, sacrificial Christian living leads to the next era of living and dying with and for Jesus. The Hefleys' account draws from the more recent era but the result is similar. As Christians in the West read Eusebius, Foxe, and Hefley, they learn of a brand of Christianity that is strange and extraordinary to their ears. Unlike Westerners, Afghan believers would identify with Foxe's and the Hefleys' narratives of suffering as normative to the Christian life. Eusebius' historical narrative, as well as Foxe's and Hefley's genre of martyrdom narratives are helpful to this discussion. However, for purpose of this dissertation, personal journals and missionary letters are more useful for understanding the first-hand reflections and patterns of missionary risk. Neither Foxe nor the Hefleys consider personal journals for a thematic study of motivation that leads to risky behavior for the cause of cross-cultural missions.

In 1839, Gershom F. Cox edited the memoir of his late brother, *The Remains of Melville B. Cox, late Missionary to Liberia, with a Memoir*.<sup>30</sup> The narrative of Melville

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<sup>28</sup>John Foxe and William Byron Forbush, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs: A History of the Lives, Sufferings and Triumphant Deaths of the Early Christian and the Protestant Martyrs* (Philadelphia : John C. Winston, 1926).

<sup>29</sup>James C. Hefley and Marti Hefley, *By Their Blood: Christian Martyrs of the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1996).

<sup>30</sup>Gershom F. Cox, *Remains of Melville B. Cox, Late Missionary to Liberia, with a Memoir* (Boston: Light and Horton, 1835).

B. Cox represents a genre that cuts close to the heart of the purpose of this study in that the narrative exemplifies a genre of diaries and journals of dead missionaries who served under challenging circumstances. As a missionary to Liberia in the 1800s, Cox's salvation and calling propelled him through illness and challenges for God's grand purposes. Missionary diaries and journals such as Cox's serve as fodder for a comparative study of the personal reflections of a pioneer missionary.

In *The Church in the Catacombs: A Description of the Primitive Church of Rome*, Charles Maitland details much more than life in the catacombs. Maitland comments on a particular historical perspective that has shaped one of the thematic approaches toward martyrology. Maitland addresses the tendency of some martyrologists to present magnified hagiographies, which may primarily serve the Roman doctrine of merit and sainthood. According to Maitland, "martyrologists are incorrigible in their love of magnifying."<sup>31</sup> Missionary biographers may tend to fall into a similar pattern. To avoid the interpretive nature of second hand sources, the focus of this examination rests in journals and personal correspondence of individual missionaries.

Missionary biographies, such as Courtney Anderson's *To the Golden Shore: The Life of Adoniram Judson*, serve as background.<sup>32</sup> Missionary biographies are innumerable and serve as helpful secondary sources.<sup>33</sup> However, missionary biographies do not sufficiently narrow their focus as per this study. The examination of missionary

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<sup>31</sup>Charles Maitland, *The Church in the Catacombs: A Description of the Primitive Church of Rome* (London: Paternoster-Row, 1847), 168.

<sup>32</sup>Courtney Anderson, *To the Golden Shore: The Life of Adoniram Judson* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson, 1987).

<sup>33</sup>Other more recent examples include Brother Yun and Paul Hattaway, *The Heavenly Man: The Remarkable Story of Chinese Christian Brother Yun* (London: Monarch, 2002); Rosalie Hall Hunt, *Bless God and Take Courage: The Judson History and Legacy* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson, 2005); Hugh Steven, *A Thousand Trails: Personal Journal of William Cameron Townsend*, (Langley, BC: CREDO P, 1984); Jason Paton, *Missionary Patriarch: The True Story of John G. Paton, Evangelist for Jesus Christ Among the South Sea Cannibals* (San Antonio: The Vision Forum, 2002).

biographies has contributed to the decision to delimit this study to personal journals and letters. The more helpful use of missionary biographies for this research project is found when those biographies include extensive primary source material, including long journal entries and personal correspondence. Such is the case with Eustace Carey's *Memoir of William Carey, D.D.: Late Missionary to Bengal; Professor of Oriental Language in the College of Fort William, Calcutta*.<sup>34</sup>

*The Insanity of God: A True Story of Faith Resurrected* was written under the pseudonym Nik Ripken.<sup>35</sup> *The Insanity of God* is Ripken's personal story of mission work in the midst of violent opposition. Ripken's research is based on interviews with indigenous Christians living under persecution during the past twenty years. Ripken conducted interviews for the purpose of drawing insight from indigenous Christians. *The Insanity of Obedience: Walking with Jesus in Tough Places* is Ripken's sequel to the first book.<sup>36</sup> Ripken's two books are a personal reflection on the interviews and lessons that instructed him on effective indigenous church planting in the midst of risky environments. Ripken's work is informative and inspirational, highlighting broad implications about missionary approaches toward work among the persecuted church. Ripken's work does not broach a specific focus on journals, as per this dissertation.

Contemporary and ancient writings on the topic of suffering and martyrdom, as they relate to missions, generally follow one of the above-mentioned stylistic renderings (historical anthologies, missionary diaries, hagiographic martyrologies, missionary biographies, or narratives of persecution). Too often, these genres are amalgamated into popularized, unscholarly renditions that enamor the reader, but gravitate to folklore. A

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<sup>34</sup>Eustace Carey, *Memoir of William Carey, D.D.: Late Missionary to Bengal; Professor of Oriental Language in the College of Fort William, Calcutta* (London: Jackson and Walford, 1836).

<sup>35</sup>Nik Ripken and Gregg Lewis, *The Insanity of God: A True Story of Faith Resurrected* (Nashville: B & H, 2012).

<sup>36</sup>Nik Ripken and Barry Stricker, *The Insanity of Obedience: Walking with Jesus in Tough Places* (Nashville: B & H, 2014).



review of relevant literature does not reveal the development of a comparative, exegetical examination of missionary correspondence and journals, especially as it relates to an inherent theme of missionary risk as a normative missionary practice.

Another important component in this discussion is that of a biblical and theological examination of suffering and martyrdom in missions. Josef Ton, a Romanian pastor who experienced great suffering for Christ, adapted his dissertation into *Suffering, Martyrdom, and Rewards in Heaven*. Josef Ton addresses theological concerns regarding the issues of self-sacrifice and martyrdom as they relate to service to God in missions.<sup>37</sup> Ton's book is a comprehensive examination of Scripture on the topic of suffering and martyrdom. He explores the theological implications of suffering based on his biblical survey. John Piper also addresses the theological concerns related to the theme of this research. He posits that stress and danger are normal, whereas the Western mindset asserts entitlement to a "pain-free, trouble-free existence."<sup>38</sup> He explains, "If we will not freely take our cross and follow Jesus (Mark 8:34-38) on the Calvary road, it may be thrust on us. It would be better to hear the warnings now and wake up to the biblical reality."<sup>39</sup> Likewise, David Platt, in *The Cross and Suffering*, has developed a survey of seventy-five biblical passages that speak to the theological theme of God's sovereign design in the lives of Christians as related to suffering and the cross.<sup>40</sup> Works such as those mentioned above are particularly significant as sources that identify biblical-theological issues relevant to this study.

Two recent books deserve mentioning. Scott W. Sunquist has written a

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<sup>37</sup>Ton, *Suffering, Martyrdom, and Rewards*, preface.

<sup>38</sup>John Piper, *The Roots of Endurance: Invincible Perseverance in the Lives of John Newton, Charles Simeon, and William Wilberforce* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2002), 18.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>40</sup>David Platt, *The Cross and Suffering*, Secret Church Study Guide (Birmingham, AL: Radical.net, 2012).

textbook, *Understanding Christian Mission: Participation in Suffering and Glory*, that weaves the themes of suffering and God's glory throughout what would otherwise be considered merely another textbook on missions. Sunquist presents biblical missiology and mission history, as well as a scan of contemporary Christian missions through the broad lens of suffering and God's glory.<sup>41</sup> *Sorrow and Blood: Christian Mission in Contexts of Suffering, Persecution, and Martyrdom* is a collection of articles that address theological and historical issues relevant to the topic of suffering and martyrdom.<sup>42</sup> The greatest contribution of *Sorrow and Blood* is its collection of practical articles that address the topic on a surface level.

The above literary review contributes to the discussion, but none of the materials directly addresses the concern of the proposed dissertation. A review of relevant literature leads to helpful bibliographic information but inadequate primary sources to fully develop a comparative study of pioneer missionary journals, as those journals relate to the issue of motivation for missionary risk.

### **Limitations and Delimitations**

Significant questions that surround this treatment of the topic include, What distinguishes this work from missionary biographies? What differentiates this study from books on Christian persecution and missionary martyrdom? And, what lessons are learned and what academic contributions are made? The answers are found within a narrowly delimited comparative study of the journals and personal correspondence of two missionaries from a particular region, era, and type. This dissertation is neither a study of martyrdom nor a reiteration of another series of missionary biographies. Instead, the study employs a specific treatment of two missionaries' personal reflections on their

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<sup>41</sup>Scott W. Sunquist, *Understanding Christian Mission: Participation in Suffering and Glory* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2013).

<sup>42</sup>Taylor, Van der Meer, and Reimer, *Sorrow and Blood*.

missionary experiences. Both missionaries pressed toward work in a particular geographic region during a shared epoch. The study is further delimited by the lowering of the microscope onto a specific theme found in a comparison of Coke's and Carey's missionary journals.

An additional delimitation for this study is the decision to build upon rather than replicate the work of two scholars who have meticulously deciphered and compiled the journals of Coke and Carey. Other scholars have written biographies, but these two effectively deciphered and compiled the journals and letters of Carey and Coke. John A. Vickers was a member of the Methodist Archives and History committee and of the Wesley History Society Executive and Archivist for the Southampton Methodist District in Great Britain. Vickers' roles mentioned above positioned him well as the current authority on Coke, in whom he took interest when he realized the number references to Coke in records he reviewed. Vickers' compilation of various journals and letters serve as authoritative sources. He worked laboriously at great expense over forty years gathering and preparing Coke's journals for publication.<sup>43</sup>

Likewise, the second scholar is Terry G. Carter who spent extensive travel and investigative energies to examine Carey's hand written letters and the journal housed at the Regent's Park College in Oxford. Carey's journal was a single volume written over a two-year period, chronicling his early missionary life. After completing this journal Carey recanted of the practice due to his own frustration with the misuse of some of his writings. Carey's atrocious penmanship, creative use of grammar and random employment of capitalization made the process of deciphering meticulous.<sup>44</sup> While relying upon Vickers and Carter, other available writings from both Coke and Carey were examined and cited to enhance this dissertation.

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<sup>43</sup>Coke, *The Journals*, 16-17.

<sup>44</sup>Carey, *The Journal*, xii.

An additional delimitation is geographical. It would have been unwieldy to examine journals from across the globe. However, two representative journals—those of Coke and Carey—suffice for the development of a geographical narrowing from within one historic era. The journals selected represent two pioneer, Protestant, British missionaries who became fixated on South Asia during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Carey moved to South Asia and built his life and ministry in India, while maintaining a passion for global evangelization. In contrast, Coke engaged in global missions while pressing toward South Asia most of his adult life. Coke’s move to Sri Lanka was cut short by his death en route, preventing him from ever living in South Asia. Thus, Coke’s South Asia journal is only a small part of his extensive letters and journals. Nevertheless, Coke’s heart was turned toward South Asia.

A hindrance, and thus a limitation faced by this study, is the wealth of uncatalogued missionary records. No comprehensive collection of missionary journals exists. The study of old letters and missionary journals was engaged with a desire to draw lessons for future missionaries. In the process, dispersed treasures were unearthed. Collective evaluation could lead to thematic comparisons of other missionary journals and correspondence from other regions and eras. One could spend a lifetime seeking lessons for contemporary missions from historical missionary journals and correspondence. As a result, many worthy letters and journals remain unexcavated, awaiting the examination of future research projects. In future projects, the microscope could be exegetically lowered on one journal after another, seeking lessons for current and future missionaries and mission senders. The results of this study call for the exegetical examination of additional missionary journals from South Asia and other regions.

### **Methodology**

This project began with the author’s concern over two issues that impact contemporary mission—the importance of calculated personal and institutional risk in

missions, as well as the influence of the growing industry of missionary risk management. This student of missions began to explore historical missionary correspondence and journal entries in search of a glimpse into the ethos and motivation of missionaries who dealt with great risks in the midst of undying passion for global evangelism. In addition, biblical and historical sources were examined, revealing historical and biblical precedent for lives offered at great risk in service to God. Perusing the Duke library I uncovered obscure missionary journals, as hidden treasure from some obscure sources. I discovered that missionary journals, the missionaries' own reflections offer potent words of instruction to field missionaries and senders.

In preparing this dissertation, a treasury of correspondence and missionary narratives of various epochs have been examined through library research. Historically, missionaries wrote letters prior to departing on a one-way journey to a distant mission field. Indigenous and expatriate missionaries wrote letters and personal reflections under persecution or at the point of death. In some cases family members, coworkers, and indigenous partners gave accounts of the extraordinary sacrifice and selfless service of faithful Christian workers. The focus of this research narrowed geographically and chronologically to a smaller sampling of missionary correspondence and journals that demonstrate the missionary's deep love for Jesus, and resultant abandonment to God's mission. Both a broader and a more narrow examination can be useful in pointing to historical principles that can be employed profitably by contemporary churches, missionaries, and senders.

A thematic, comparative examination of these particular journals was viewed as contributing to missiology and to mission practice. As explained previously, the selection of these particular journals is not random. Both men were fathers of the modern mission era in their own denominations. Both men were driven to pioneer mission service in South Asia. Both men maintained personal journals during the timeframe of this study. The following methodology was applied to all the material being investigated. The

journals were examined and evaluated according to each missionary's personal reflections on his motivation for unreserved, sacrificial cross-cultural witness. In order to compare both journals, quotes were aggregated thematically on a spreadsheet. Subsequent examination resulted in the grouping of quotes into a handful of primary themes. Further examinations revealed three primary themes, which were examined and compared even further. For each journal, background information and the journal source were presented. Observations were drawn from the journal entries and grouped in appendices according to the missionary's: motivation for risk, practice of evangelism, and risks ventured as a result of risky missionary behaviors. The examination of the two missionary journals led to specific conclusions regarding Coke's and Carey's motivation for unreserved, sacrificial cross-cultural witness.

As the title suggests, the focus of the entire study is motivation for costly missions, but as relevant observations are made, such reflections have been noted in the research. The appendices include comparative, thematic lists of Carey's and Coke's journal entries as those comments relate to motivation for and results of risky missions. The heart of the study is a glimpse into the self-sacrificing, sent, missionary soul, with a view toward and implications for missionaries and their senders.

## CHAPTER 2

### PRECEDENT FOR SACRIFICIAL SERVICE FROM SCRIPTURE AND EARLY CHURCH FATHERS

An examination of biblical and theological precedent is necessary to advance the discussion of a strategic, missionary decision to suffer knowingly, possibly unto death, in obedience to the missionary call. Eusebius Pamphilus, Bishop of Caesarea, records the martyrdom of an early Christian Palestinian, Romanus. Romanus was a deacon of the church at Caesarea. According to Eusebius, after Romanus watched droves of men, women, and children offering sacrifices to false gods and emperors, he protested vociferously by reproaching the idolaters. As a result he was seized and tied to the stake, at which time Romanus chided the judge, “Where then is the fire?”<sup>1</sup> In response, the judge meted out more tortures and determined that Romanus’ tongue would be cut out. Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus, Bishop of Caesarea, in Palestine: In Ten Books* records the incident: “When, therefore, he learned the novel mode of punishment, the heroic man by no means alarmed, readily thrust out his tongue and offered it with the greatest alacrity to those who cut it out.”<sup>2</sup> One might opine that such a narrative must be an exaggeration, and perhaps it is. However, this event, amplified or not, is not isolated in the history of the early church. Numerous similar accounts exist portraying comparable risky Christian witness.<sup>3</sup> In a similar fashion, ancient and

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<sup>1</sup>Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus, Bishop of Caesarea, in Palestine: In Ten Books. Translated from the Original, by the Rev. C. F. Cruse, A.M.* (New York: Swords, Stanford, & Co., 1833), 351.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>For exemplary accounts of calculated risky Christian witness, see the appendices and other instances cited throughout this dissertation.

contemporary witnesses for God have walked knowingly into peril on God's mission. When a record, journal, or report of those incidents is read, there is opportunity for contemporary Christians to remember and to absorb. Diana Wood quotes Stuart Hall's reflection in her collection on martyrologies: "Dead martyrs no longer speak. But while they still live, they have become vessels of that special gift (martyrdom), and must be listened to with appropriate care."<sup>4</sup> Wood echoes Hall's admonishment to listen to those whose voices appear to have been temporarily silenced.<sup>5</sup> For the span of this dissertation one can eavesdrop on the living and the dead who have chosen missionary obedience along with the risk of potential death. The voices of God's servants may ring louder in absentia than when previously present. Could it be that God orchestrates the lives of his servants in order that they serve as witnesses in life, in suffering, in death and even in the spread of that message after death? The cases of William Carey and Thomas Coke answer the questions themselves through their journals and correspondence.

Reflecting on the personal journals of Carey and Coke, numerous questions arise. For example, could God have performed his mission in perilous lands like India and Sri Lanka without Carey and Coke? Does God actually send his servants on gospel missions knowing that they are bound for certain injury and death? If God does send missionaries into danger, do churches and mission agencies work in opposition to God when they extract those missionaries from dangerous areas during times of war and famine? Is it not true that during certain times in history God has used the sacrifice and the suffering of his messengers in order to orchestrate his good plans for peoples and nations? These types of questions should not be ignored.

Since so much has been written on the topics of suffering, persecution, and

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<sup>4</sup>Stuart G. Hall, "Women among the Early Martyrs," in *Christianity in Relation to Jews, Greeks, and Romans*, ed. Everett Ferguson (New York: Garland, 1999), 301.

<sup>5</sup>Diana Wood, "Studies in Church History: Martyrs and Martyrologies" (paper presented at the Ecclesiastical History Society Meeting, Cambridge, MA, Summer and Winter 1993), 1.



martyrdom, it is essential to clarify what is not addressed in this study. Most treatises on the topic of persecution, suffering, and martyrdom deal with broader issues than concern this paper. For example, Glenn Penner deals with the broad issues of the role of suffering in the process of Christian discipleship. Penner argues, “There is a clear scriptural link between persecution and discipleship. Indeed, there can be no discipleship without persecution; to follow Christ is to join Him in a cross-carrying journey of reconciling the world to the Father.”<sup>6</sup> Likewise Scott W. Sunquist concludes, “Missions is from the heart of God, to each context, and it is carried out in suffering in this world for God’s eternal glory.”<sup>7</sup> Obviously, it is impossible to completely isolate the discipleship process from suffering in the life of a Christian. Nevertheless, the broader issues of suffering as a disciple of Christ will be left to other writers.

This treatise also does not attempt to address the monastic concept of isolation and suffering for the cause of Christ. A review of available literature on martyrdom reveals the extensive treatment of the monastic life of suffering and martyrdom. Edward Eugene Malone declares, “In the apostolic age it was the martyr who set the standard of Christian perfection. The martyr was the perfect imitator of Christ.”<sup>8</sup> Malone presents the image of *militia spiritualis*, referencing the inner spiritual battle against Satan, the flesh, and the opponents of God’s servants. Malone posits, “In a sense, every Christian is a *miles Christi*.”<sup>9</sup> The Holy Spirit, for spiritual battle, perpetually arms every Christian as a soldier of Christ. Malone uses the military image to represent every good soldier’s contention for the faith. He employs the military imagery primarily to address a personal

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<sup>6</sup>Glenn Penner, “A Biblical Theology of Persecution and Discipleship,” April 2008, accessed January 15, 2013, [https://www.persecution.net/download/theology\\_persecution.pdf](https://www.persecution.net/download/theology_persecution.pdf), 1.

<sup>7</sup>Scott W Sunquist, *Understanding Christian Mission: Participation in Suffering and Glory* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2013), xii.

<sup>8</sup>Edward Eugene Malone, *The Monk and the Martyr: The Monk as the Successor of the Martyr* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1950), 91.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

battle against sin and Satan, not as a reference to Christian missions. Malone highlights the monastic lifestyle as the supreme example of a spiritual soldier. Like Penner, Malone uses *militia spiritualis* to address the suffering that is shared by all believers who identify with Christ, accepting any resultant suffering for righteousness sake.

### **Sacrificial Service**

This treatment of sacrificial service borrows Malone's term *militia spiritualis*, not to describe the monk, but the missionary or Christian witness who willingly walks into potentially perilous circumstances. Although military imagery is deemed politically incorrect and insensitive, this argument suggests that the dutiful missionary demonstrates *militia spiritualis* by marching voluntarily into a missionary cause, bound for almost certain fatalities, at the very least suffering. There are "battles" in which missionary obedience results in personal injury and martyrdom. Eusebius uses similar language of warfare in his description of early believers who succumbed to persecution and martyrdom in the midst of witness. One example is found in Eusebius' account of a female witness for Christ named Potamiaena. Eusebius describes Potamiaena's slow death through the pouring of boiling pitch over various parts of her body. Finally Eusebius explains, "Such was the battle won by this splendid girl."<sup>10</sup> A Christian's willingness to witness unto Christ through suffering or death is the good and godly battle referenced in this paper's treatment of the concept of *miles Christi*.

### **Questions Regarding Christian Witness**

What are the theological issues relevant to purposeful suffering in missions? Old Testament prophets are predecessors of the type of obedience found in Paul's life and in the lives of other New Testament witnesses. Ostracism, persecution, and even murder may accompany obedience to God's call in both Testaments. In the book of Daniel, three

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<sup>10</sup>Eusebius, *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine*, ed. Andrew Louth, trans. G. A. Williamson, rev. ed. (London: Penguin, 1989), 185.

men obediently stood with God and against idolatry, in direct disobedience to the king of Babylon. In the New Testament, Paul boldly followed God's call to distant lands preaching Christ, regardless of the cost. As a result, Paul was shipwrecked, beaten, imprisoned, and ultimately died in missionary obedience. These servants willfully chose God's mission in the face of certain persecution and in the shadow of potential death at the hands of the oppressors.

The word "martyr" is transliterated from the Greek *μάρτυς*. The literal meaning of martyr is "witness." Bernard Ruffin describes martyrdom in terms of "individuals who witnessed to their faith in Christ by choosing to die rather than compromise that faith. The Christian martyrs demonstrated that serving and loving Jesus was more important than anything life could give them."<sup>11</sup> In the book *Martyrdom and Noble Death*, Jan Willem van Henten and Friedrich Avemarie explain,

Scholarly definitions of martyrdom often mention the aspect of witness or confession as a central characteristic of the martyr's action, taking a semantic development of the Greek noun *martyrs* and the related verb *martyrein* into the early Christian title "martyr" and "die a martyr's death" as the point of departure.<sup>12</sup>

What are the basic theological issues regarding the obedient pursuit of God's mission?

The foundational question is, Why costly missions?

**Why costly missions?** What compelling foundation could be so pressing that it would lead a person to risk his or her life in the process of Christian witness? What cause is so urgent and essential that missionaries would hurl themselves into danger? What was the motivation that led missionaries to China during the Boxer Rebellion to choose, in some cases, torture and death along with their Chinese fellow workers? Missionary G. Peat hunkered in a cave during the Boxer Rebellion and explained the

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<sup>11</sup>Bernard Ruffin, *The Days of the Martyrs: A History of the Persecution of Christians from Apostolic Times to the Time of Constantine* (Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor, 1985), 1.

<sup>12</sup>J. W. van Henten and Friedrich Avemarie, *Martyrdom and Noble Death: Selected Texts from Graeco-Roman, Jewish, and Christian Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2002), 2.

matter eternally in his final letter to his mother, dated July 25, 1900: “What a glorious fruitage there will be in the future Church in China!”<sup>13</sup> Peat’s compelling vision was expressed in his prayer for spiritual fruit after his death. Some of the missionaries, like Peat, who died at the hands of marauding Chinese youth during the Boxer Rebellion may have been forced but some were willing to die for a cause much higher than the preservation of their own lives. Marshall Broomhall’s *Martyred Missionaries of the China Inland Mission* lists martyrs from that era, including 180 missionaries and their children.<sup>14</sup> Granted, many of those who died had no choice, being caught in seemingly unavoidable, but God-ordained circumstances.<sup>15</sup>

Missionaries have written letters and journal entries with similar sentiment prior to departure from their homelands, embarking upon one-way journeys to distant and perilous mission fields. Letters and journals record missionaries’ contemplation of the risk of crossing into hostile lands and facing potential difficulties.<sup>16</sup> Delving into the journals of Carey and Coke is for the precise purpose of asking, “What motivated them? Why did they risk so much?” These missionaries’ own words offer the best chance to gain firsthand insight into their motivation for risky missionary endeavors.

Servants of the gospel fixate on conveying God’s message to far-flung peoples. Some missionaries risk much to preach of the culminating act of Jesus’ death on the cross and his salvific resurrection from the dead. Why would missionaries risk their lives if the message and the mission were not absolutely essential? Could it be that such missionaries

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<sup>13</sup>Marshall Broomhall, *Last Letters and Further Records of Martyred Missionaries of the China Inland Mission* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1901), 30.

<sup>14</sup>Marshall Broomhall, *Martyred Missionaries of the China Inland Mission, with a Record of the Perils and Sufferings of Some who Escaped* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1901), xxi-xxiii.

<sup>15</sup>See appendix 14 for lists of martyred missionaries and their children from the Boxer Rebellion in China.

<sup>16</sup>See appendices 9 and 12 for samples of missionary letters sent prior to departing for the mission field.

are suicidal or at best emotionally unstable? Is it worth the risk for God's redeemed to sacrifice their lives in order to transmit God's message to the unredeemed?

**Is the Christian mission urgent and essential?** The Christian mission is only urgent and essential if the claims of Christ are sustainable. Brevard S. Childs, in his discussion of canonization of scripture, touches on a primary issue that influences this question. According to Childs, "In the early church the question was not whether the Jewish scriptures were still canonical, but whether the claims of Jesus Christ could be sustained on the basis of scripture."<sup>17</sup> For Irenaeus and Tertullian, the authority of Scripture, including the Old Testament, were tied to the indispensable gospel of Jesus Christ. Denis Minns offers a recap of Irenaeus' view of the essential nature of the gospel. Regarding the plan of salvation, Minns explains that Irenaeus believed

that the God revealed in the Old Testament is the Father of Jesus, and that Old Testament and New Testament both reveal that one God unfolding a single plan for the salvation of the creature he fashioned from the earth to come to be in his own image and likeness.<sup>18</sup>

Likewise Minns writes, regarding Irenaeus' Trinitarian theology: "Since God is the Creator of everything that comes into being, everything has a goodness, orderliness, and beauty which derives directly from the Trinitarian nature of the Creator."<sup>19</sup> Ross

Langmead explains the significance of the missionary nature of the Old Testament and New Testament, Trinitarian God:

If God is a missionary God, then the whole of theology ought to be about this sending God. To put it another way, if the Christian faith is centrally about God's Son Jesus Christ being sent to transform relationships through forgiving love, then the task of God-talk is to seek to understand it in order to participate in it.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 41-2.

<sup>18</sup>Denis Minns, "Irenaeus," *The Expository Times* 120, no. 4 (2009): 162.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 163.

<sup>20</sup>Ross Langmead, "What Is Missiology?" *Missiology* 42, no. 1 (2014): 70.

In spite of the love and benevolence of the Creator, the missionary God, sin entered the world through the rebellion of humankind. The archetypal sin of Adam is based on disobedience, with man seeking to play the role of the Creator on his own terms. Giving in to the deception of Satan, humans seek to become like gods. Only by God's resourceful grace, as revealed through the person of Christ, is man nurtured into the indescribable glory of God. God's incarnation is his provision for his lost sheep. The Holy Spirit is discharged at Pentecost, bringing to completion God's creative plan of salvation.<sup>21</sup>

Craig Ott, Stephen Strauss, and Timothy Tennent address the necessity and urgency of mission by asking three negative questions:

- (1) Is it too narrow and intolerant to advocate Christ as the only way to salvation?
- (2) How could a good and righteous God under any circumstances condemn people to eternal conscious punishment in hell?
- (3) Is it not unfair of God to condemn people who have never had the opportunity to hear the gospel of Jesus Christ?<sup>22</sup>

Ott, Strauss and Tennent articulate a clear systematic answer to these three questions. Their resolution of the three questions leads to an emphatic, Yes, God is good and just and the Christian mission is absolutely urgent and essential! The redeemed must participate in God's mission to the unredeemed. The danger and risk of missions are merited, even in the face of the potential loss of missionary life. Any void of the essential "yes" to Ott, Strauss, and Tennent's question of mission urgency and essentiality makes the missionary enterprise idiocy. A synopsis of Ott, Strauss and Tennent's approach to the abovementioned questions follows.

Christ is essential. Jesus himself claimed "the unique identity of the one true God of the Old Testament and insisted that he was the only way of salvation."<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Minns, "Irenaeus," 163-65.

<sup>22</sup>Craig Ott, Stephen J. Strauss, and Timothy C. Tennent, *Encountering Theology of Mission: Biblical Foundations, Historical Developments, and Contemporary Issues* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2010), 317.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 318.

Matthew's Gospel is particularly rife with evidence of Jesus' claims. Jesus fulfilled the Old Testament prophecies (Matt 5:17). He reinterpreted the law (Matt 5:21-44). Jesus claimed divine authority (Matt 28:18; John 8:58), including authority over the forgiveness of sin (Matt 2:5, 10). Jesus even claimed Old Testament titles and roles reserved only for God (Ps 8:1-2; Isa 8:13-15; Ps 27:1; Ezek 34:10-22; Ps 23:1-4; Dan 7:9-14; Joel 3:1-12). The relationship between God the Father and Jesus was intimate and unique (Matt 11:27; John 5:19-23). In John 14:6, Jesus claims to be the exclusive, singular, sufficient path to God.<sup>24</sup> The preponderance of Scripture and Jesus' own claims address the fact that there is only one narrow path to God, and that path is Jesus.

Hell is real. While Ott, Strauss and Tennent's second and third questions are essential, the affirmative answer to the first is singularly sufficient to propel missionaries to a potentially mortal risk, for the sake of the gospel. Aware that Christ alone is the answer, a Christian should be led, according to Scripture, to share God's message with anyone—Muslim, Buddhist or Hindu. If, on the other hand, a Christian questions the existence of hell and eternal judgment, he may doubt the essential nature of gospel witness. Of necessity, Ott, Strauss and Tennent are compelled to confront universalism and pluralism, as well as conditionalism.

Universalists assert that everyone will ultimately be saved. Universalists view the Christian missionary as foolish. Universalists argue that a loving God will not punish. Universalists posit that every person will eventually be saved. If every person will ultimately be saved and no person will be judged into an eternal hell, a gospel-preaching missionary has no essential purpose. According to universalistic logic, no missionary should put anyone at risk in the transmission of an unessential message. Universalists point to scriptures that reference God's compassion to all people. These passages point to God's desire that all be saved (Ezek 33:11; John 3:16; 1 Tim 2:4; 2 Pet 3:9), and that

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 319-20.

Jesus died to redeem all peoples and is in some universal sense, savior of all people (2 Cor 5:19; 1 Tim 4:10; 1 John 2:2). Universalists highlight Scriptures that they believe teach that all will eventually be saved (Rom 5:18; 11:32; 1 Cor 15:22; Phil 2:10-11; Col 1:20).<sup>25</sup>

Pluralists view no single religion as the exclusive source of truth: “Many universalists, like John Hick, are also pluralists who believe that all religions equally reflect ultimate truth and that all are ways of salvation.”<sup>26</sup> Thus, the Christian missionary is in essence intruding upon the truth of another’s religion when he or she enters an area hostile to the faith of the missionary. Logically, a pluralist would be reasonably justified in opposing a missionary who risks his life for the futile cause of forcing his message upon an audience that already possesses a different truth-bearing religion.

At issue is the decline in the belief in a biblical hell and absolute judgment. R. Albert Mohler traces the decline of such a biblical belief in hell through Western theology:

In the eighteenth century, Enlightenment skepticism took center stage. Philosophers began arguing that hell should be viewed metaphorically, not literally. Alternately Thomas Hobbes suggested in *Leviathan* that hell might be eternal, but the torments of the unsaved were not—another version of the Socinians’ annihilationism.<sup>27</sup>

Following the same logic, theologians can acknowledge the veracity of hell, but view it conditionally, with its purpose as restorative and temporary. Hell, in their view, is a measure of God’s grace in that it serves as an inducement to repentance. Pluralists, Universalists, and Conditionalists (described above) read the abovementioned Scriptures from the premise that God’s love prevails upon God not to judge absolutely and eternally. Coercive, but temporary judgment to hell is conceptually feasible to the

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 324.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>R. Albert Mohler, “Is Hell for Real?” in *Is Hell for Real or Does Everyone Go to Heaven?* ed. Christopher W. Morgan and Robert A. Peterson (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2011), 12.



Universalist. The symbiotic and paradoxical coexistence of both hell and a loving God is untenable in universalism. Therefore, Universalists may reconfigure the coexistence of judgment and grace through their own redefinition of a softer, gentler, temporary hell.

Wayne Grudem, on the issue of annihilationism explains that the passages used to reinforce that position are misinterpreted:

In response, it must be said that the passages which speak of *destruction* (such as Phil 3:19; 1 Thess 5:3; 2 Thess 1:9; and 2 Peter 3:7) do not necessarily imply the cessation of existence, for in these passages the terms used for ‘destruction’ do not necessarily imply a ceasing to exist or some kind of annihilation, but can simply be ways of referring to the harmful and destructive effects of final judgment on unbelievers.<sup>28</sup>

Grudem offers a logical debate with annihilationists but his strongest point is,

Though annihilationism can be countered by theological arguments, it is ultimately the clarity and forcefulness of the passages themselves that convince us that annihilationism is incorrect and that scripture does indeed teach the eternal conscious punishment of the wicked.<sup>29</sup>

Following Grudem’s argument, one can contend that hell must not be defined or constrained by the finiteness of human logic. God, not logic, defines both heaven and hell. The Bible is God’s Word for guiding and instructing Christians accordingly. Let the mind conform to the Bible rather than Scripture to the limitations of the human mind.

Christopher W. Morgan and Robert A. Peterson explain,

Hell emerges from a biblical understanding of God. It reminds us that though God’s love is central, it should not be viewed independently of his other attributes. His love is in unity with his justice and his holiness. . . . God’s love should not be viewed as an obstacle to his willingness to see justice executed.<sup>30</sup>

Ott, Strauss, and Tennent address the essential nature of mission:

The Bible’s teaching is clear: some people will persist in their rejection of God and as a result will condemn themselves to an eternity of separation from him. . . . God will not coerce them into accepting his love, forgiveness, and fellowship. Hell is a real place, and its misery will be the eternal state of all those who reject God’s

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<sup>28</sup>Wayne A. Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Biblical Doctrine* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 1150.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 1152.

<sup>30</sup>Morgan and Peterson, “Conclusion,” in *Is Hell for Real?* 1246.

revelation of himself and choose to follow the rebellious inclinations of their own will.<sup>31</sup>

Albert Mohler addresses the contemporary, pluralistic trend according to four cultural trends. The first is an altered view of God's love, which is non-coercive. The second trend is a view of justice, which rejects moral standards. Mohler points to John Stuart Mill, who asserts, "Justice is about restoration rather than retribution."<sup>32</sup> The third trend is a psychological view of man that excuses all responsibility. There is no judgment because people are not responsible for their actions. Finally, Mohler addresses an altered view of salvation. Sin is no longer sin; it is an unfortunate mishap. The gospel becomes a means of "release from bad habits rather than a rescue from hell."<sup>33</sup>

Along with Ott, Strauss, and Tennent, Mohler concludes that hell is real and salvation is essential. Without further argument one can logically deduce that the potential judgment upon those without Christ is evidence enough to confirm the urgency and the essential role of Christian missions. Nevertheless, one might press the argument further as it relates to the essential role of missions in the extension of the gospel message to a diversity of peoples throughout the earth.

Andreas J. Köstenberger and Peter T. O'Brien insist that this gospel message must be made known. Thus mission is the ingredient that both precedes Christian existence and constitutes a major motivation for Christian living: the saving mission of Jesus constitutes the foundation for Christian mission, and the Christian gospel is the message of mission, a mission that is not optional but mandatory.<sup>34</sup>

Köstenberger and O'Brien explain that the essential mission belongs to God (not men) to send Jesus for his death and resurrection, opening the way for proclamation to all peoples

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<sup>31</sup>Ott, Craig, Strauss, and Tennent. *Encountering Theology of Mission*, 81.

<sup>32</sup>Mohler, "Is Hell for Real?" 240.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, 265.

<sup>34</sup>Andreas J. Köstenberger and Peter Thomas O'Brien, *Salvation to the Ends of the Earth: A Biblical Theology of Mission*, New Studies in Biblical Theology (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2001), 19.

for repentance and forgiveness of sins. The new development with the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on Jesus' disciples is the role of his disciples in the realization of Jesus' mission to the nations. The mission remains Christ's, but his Spirit-equipped disciples are commissioned to carry out his mission.<sup>35</sup> Köstenberger and O'Brien confirm a sentiment found in the writings of Carey and Coke, "We are God's people under orders. Our proclamation of the forgiveness of sins in Jesus' name should be accompanied by a humble spirit (cf. John 12:1-5), mutual love (cf. 13:35; 15:13) and unity (17:21, 23, 25)."<sup>36</sup>

Reinhold Niebuhr, in *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, addresses the need for a response to the human sin issue and the resultant judgment. In his explanation, Niebuhr reveals the interaction between pre-Reformation Christianity and Reformation-influenced theology:

For the general answer of pre-Reformation Christianity was that the *justitia originalis*, the law of love, was not a possibility for natural man but that it could be realized by the redeemed man in whom 'grace' had healed the hurt of sin. . . . The Reformation took the fact of sin as a perennial category of historic existence more seriously and maintained that there is no point in history where history is fulfilled and where man's self-contradiction is ended. . . . The Renaissance regarded human nature and human history as a realm of unmeasured possibilities and felt that medieval religion failed to do justice to human freedom and human destiny. The Renaissance was right in this; but it was wrong in imagining that the possibilities of good would gradually eliminate the possibilities of evil. . . . [The] confusion of modern culture about human nature arise from this unresolved contradiction (between Renaissance and Reformation). Other confusion derived from the fact that the Renaissance triumphed over the Reformation so completely that the insights of the latter were preserved only in a few backwaters of eddies of modern culture.<sup>37</sup>

God is good, even in his judgment. The third question posed above is whether or not it is fair, that God would judge those who have heard or who have not heard the gospel? Essentially, this is a question of God's goodness. Evert D. Osburn argues that

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 265.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 266.

<sup>37</sup>Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man; a Christian Interpretation*, Gifford Lectures (New York: Scribner, 1964), 1:299, 300.

God may reveal himself apart from the proclamation of the gospel. He points to general revelation, illustrating his point with the example of the Yoruba people of Nigeria. Their concept of God parallels many aspects of the one true God. He insists that the Yoruba traditions regarding God's true character precede any era of Western Christianity. Osburn points to general revelation that he says can conceivably lead men to repent and sincerely seek God and the forgiveness he offers:

It is my contention that there is a possibility of salvation for the hidden peoples who, by the way of grace through faith, recognize their need and repent before God, seeking his forgiveness. . . . If such a person were to subsequently hear the gospel he would instinctively recognize its truth.<sup>38</sup>

Osburn's point is that the general revelation of God offers what he refers to as "inferred knowledge of God" as per Romans 1:18-21: "For his invisible attributes, namely, his eternal power and divine nature have been clearly perceived, ever since the creation of the world, in the things that have been made. So they are without excuse" (Rom 1:20). While agreeing that God does indeed reveal his own goodness in creation, one need not throw out the necessity of the proclamation of his gospel. Osburn goes too far in trying to prove God's goodness in spite of judgment, while acknowledging the lack of any specific Scriptural examples of such.

William Kirby refers to the general revelation as the works of God in and through creation revealing his goodness and power and mercy. The Word of God—the gospel, necessarily complements the works of God. Kirby refers to these as two doors, which by God's grace open the "temple of truth."<sup>39</sup> Irenaeus explains the goodness of God in light of judgment:

By the Law and the Prophets in like manner did the Word preach both himself and the Father; and while the whole people heard alike, all did not alike believe. And by

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<sup>38</sup>Evert D. Osburn, "Those Who Have Never Heard: Have They No Hope?" *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 32 (1989): 368.

<sup>39</sup>William Kirby, *On the Power, Wisdom and Goodness of God: As Manifested in the Creation of Animals and in Their History, Habits and Instincts* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1837), xxi.

the same Word, made visible and tangible, the Father was declared, though all did not alike believe him.<sup>40</sup>

Irenaeus explains the goodness of God: “For it was meet that the Truth should receive testimony from all, and should be a judgment unto salvation of them that believe, and unto condemnation of them that believe not: that all might be justly judged.”<sup>41</sup> With Irenaeus, one may agree that God’s goodness is self-evident in his own creation and in his own self-revelation to humankind. Men and women choose to receive or not and are redeemed or condemned according to their response to God.

The gospel is to be proclaimed. In constructing his interim definition of mission, David Bosch makes thirteen initial assertions. This study calls attention only to those assertions that specifically relate to the discussion of risk in missions. First, the most foundational of his assertions is that the essential nature of the Christian “is intrinsically missionary.”<sup>42</sup> His sixth assertion is that “the entire Christian existence is to be characterized as missionary existence.”<sup>43</sup> Bosch clarifies,

Mission includes evangelism as one of its essential dimensions. Evangelism is the proclamation of salvation in Christ to those who do not believe in him, calling them to repentance and conversion, announcing forgiveness of sin and inviting them to become living members of Christ’s earthly community and to begin a life of service to others in the power of the Holy Spirit.<sup>44</sup>

### **Subsequent Questions**

Having established that the Christian mission is essential and inherent to the Christian life, other questions follow. According to the biblical narrative, does God send his servants into peril on his mission? Ample evidence is provided to answer the question

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<sup>40</sup>Irenaeus, *Five Books of S. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons: Against Heresies*, ed. John Keble (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1872), 323.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>David Jacobus Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, American Society of Missiology Series (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1998), 8.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 9.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 10-11.

in the affirmative.

In exploration of biblical examples, a personal and an institutional question may arise. The first is a frequently asked theoretical question, and the answer is obvious. Can God do his dangerous missions without people? Yes, of course the omnipotent God is capable. A different question for the missionary follows: Does God desire to use me (or the missionaries applying to be sent) in a potentially perilous mission? Such a question is personal and specific and cannot be answered in this research project. The personal question must be approached privately through personal research, prayer, and fasting, based upon God's teachings in Scripture, some of which are explored next. The essentiality of the personal missionary question is critical to the contemporary application of the lessons learned from the research herein.

A follow-up to the personal question is the institutional question, both of which must be enlightened by Old and New Testament precedent. Do churches and mission sending agencies run the risk of opposing God's mission through policies and practices that elevate missionary safety and security above the urgency and necessity of God's calling on missionaries? Problems arise when a missionary's answer to the personal question conflicts with the institutional answers of senders, i.e., when the missionary is called to stay in danger and the sender says "no."

In light of scriptural precedent, the institutional question is complicated by a daunting, and perhaps libelous question for senders: Does God send envoys to proclaim his message, in perilous times and locations, even to the point of death and injury (even through our institution)? These institutional questions become barbed when asked more specifically: Should senders protect missionaries by preventing them from living and preaching in terrorist-controlled areas of Iraq? In the name of security, should senders compel missionaries to depart dangerous villages in West Africa during times of civil war? Should missionaries be prohibited from entering Taliban-controlled villages for the sake of spreading the gospel among a resistant, well-armed, and hostile audience? Should

missionaries necessarily be withdrawn from a North African nation while rebels engage in skirmishes?

Did William Carey contend by his own life that some missionaries are called specifically to preach the gospel in dangerous lands, among hostile peoples, even unto death? If so, what kind of God is this who propels faithful servants to their demise for the sake of his mission? If so, what is the role of senders? The above questions will be pursued in the final two chapters but they are raised now in order for Scripture to illuminate the concerns.

With Paul, one can conclude that the mission of God is ordained, and the role of the missionary rests with obedience, be it to follow God to Macedonia or to parts unknown. The missionary nature of God's message and his missionary messenger's role is critical, urgent, and necessary. In fact, both Testaments provide ample precedent for the willful, obedient pursuit of God's mission, even at the risk of personal injury. In light of the following biblical examples, the theological, personal, and institutional questions mentioned should be prayerfully considered.

**Can witness lead to noble death?** In his discussion of Old Testament views of the afterlife, Arik Greenberg refers to an Old Testament prototype that he terms "the suffering righteous" or the "noble death."<sup>45</sup> Among several theories lies the premise that justification for such a noble death comes in the afterlife. The noble death prototype is found in both Testaments. In the Old Testament, the righteous sufferer presents himself willing to die for the sake of the Torah or for the sake of the prophetic Word from God. Daniel never ceased to pray to the one true God, regardless of threats. Greenberg affirms "the rise of the noble death as an acceptable concept, a laudable practice."<sup>46</sup> Greenberg

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<sup>45</sup>L. Arik Greenberg, *My Share of God's Reward: Exploring the Roles and Formulations of the Afterlife in Early Christian Martyrdom*, Studies in Biblical Literature (New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 24-5.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

explains that, unlike the noble death concept, the earlier Deuteronomic theodicy does not allow for any evil to “befall the righteous and go uncorrected.”<sup>47</sup> The Deuteronomic thought was that God’s righteous ones will not suffer unjustly. Those sentiments are evident in Job’s dialogue with his friends who held such a view. His friends castigated Job, assuming that if he were righteous he would not be suffering. In both instances, the Deuteronomic theology and Job, the idea seems to be that suffering and judgment will fit the wrongdoing.<sup>48</sup>

One might ask, “Was not the wilderness suffering a due reward for unfaithfulness?” One might answer, “Well, this is not an example of the righteous suffering.” Furthermore, one might respond, “Yes, there were righteous Israelites in the mix, and they suffered alongside the unrighteous, and this by God’s determination.” But the example of noble death is quite a different matter.

Greenberg asserts that Hebrew thought evolved through more recent Old Testament narrative. The more recent Hebrew theodicy advances the understanding that God’s righteous servants actually might endure suffering and even death. Greenberg cites the examples of righteous suffering from the book of Daniel: the narrative of the three men in the fiery furnace and the story of Daniel in the lion’s den. Although the three men, as well as Daniel, submitted themselves to potential death, they were righteous and thus protected from harm: “The righteous individual is tested by worldly authorities, at the hand of God, and asked to turn away from ancestral law—i.e. piety and righteousness.”<sup>49</sup> In other words, the three Hebrew followers of God withstood the test of the ungodly king. They refused to worship a false deity and remained pious and righteous according to Hebrew law, regardless of potential death.

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 27.

<sup>48</sup>Old Testament examples are sited in the “Biblical Precedent” section of this chapter.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.



In these two narratives from the book of Daniel, God does not allow the righteous to die. They willingly march as good soldiers into suffering, but in these two cases God preserves them untarnished. Like Christian martyrs, “there is the understanding that they will be willing to die for the law, and that if they are truly righteous, they may hope to be saved by God prior to death.”<sup>50</sup> Greenberg posits that the noble death concept advances under later Hellenistic influence on Judaism. Such a *noble death* view of suffering insists that ideally, suffering on earth should not occur among the faithful. However, allowance is made that if suffering does occur in this life, it is rectified and vindicated in the afterlife.

In addition to the abovementioned example in Daniel, Friedrich Avemarie and Jan Willem van Henten cite Jewish stories of martyrdom from the Maccabees: “The First Book of Maccabees focuses on heroes as well, but in a very different way. It highlights the five sons of Mattathias the priest, who become freedom fighters and offer resistance to the Greek authorities.”<sup>51</sup> While Maccabees primarily offer stories of heroes, the concept of noble death is presented. According to Avemarie and van Henten, “The Jewish philosopher Philo pays very little attention to the theme of noble death. . . . Contrary to Philo, the Jewish historian Josephus highlights noble death wherever he can.”<sup>52</sup> Flavius Josephus (Josephus) describes the concept:

Each individual, having the internal witness of conscience, has come to believe as the legislator prophesied and as God provided firm assurance—that to those who keep the laws and, should it be necessary to die for them, meet death eagerly, God has granted renewed existence and receipt of a better life at the turn of the ages.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 27-28.

<sup>51</sup>van Henten and Avemarie, *Martyrdom and Noble Death*, 42.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., 49.

<sup>53</sup>Flavius Josephus, *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, vol 10, *Against Apion*, ed. John M.G. Barclay (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2007), 296.

**Is *devotio* an appropriate analogy for Christian martyrdom?** The Roman concept of noble death is found in a military tradition known as *devotio*:

*Devotio* is best explained as an act in which a general would plunge himself into the midst of the enemy, effectively committing suicide, but also appeasing the gods by his self-sacrifice and thereby ensuring the victory of his troops against previously insurmountable odds.<sup>54</sup>

According to Greenberg, the act of *devotio* had its subtle impact on Hellenistic Judaism and the growing theological acceptance of noble death. In the same manner that a Roman soldier calculated his options and purposefully drove himself into the heart of battle, the servant of God calculates the mission of God, plunging himself into the flames of spiritual battle.<sup>55</sup> Is *devotio* an appropriate analogy for Christian martyrdom?

R. Alan Culpepper, in *Designs for the Church in the Gospel Accounts of Jesus' Death*, connects noble death and the self-perception of New Testament Christians. He describes that connection of the New Testament Gospels to noble death. According to Culpepper, Mark's Gospel narrative provides the new temple imagery that characterizes Jesus ministry. "Luke provides ethical instructions for the church, interpreting Jesus' martyrdom as a noble death, and John develops a rich portrait by which the church could define itself through the themes, images, and allusions of Johannine passion narrative."<sup>56</sup> Culpepper insists that the concept of noble death was so familiar to New Testament Christians that explanation was not required.<sup>57</sup> Josephus' frequent articulation of the concept offers confirmation. Certainly Jesus' death (whether or not it fits with the noble death genre) and resurrection turned world history and established New Testament Christianity.

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<sup>54</sup>Greenberg, *My Share*, 30.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 30-31.

<sup>56</sup>R. Alan Culpepper, "Designs for the Church in the Gospel Accounts of Jesus' Death," *New Testament Studies* 51, no. 03 (2005): 376.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., 377.

Why mention these two concepts of noble death and *devotio*? The two images set the backdrop of ensuing discussion on the issue of self-sacrificial service in obedience to God. The dual imagery of noble death and *devotio* shed appropriate light on Josef Ton's discussion of *Suffering, Martyrdom and Rewards in Heaven*. The danger is self-evident of an overemphasis on sacrificial service, which could lead to death. Overzealously lauding the concept is to risk misunderstanding and misapplied zeal. However, for the purpose of subsequent discussions, contemporary missions efforts may need to re-acquaint itself with the plausibility of obedient service, and the possibility of obedience unto volatile environs.

### **Biblical Precedent**

J. W. van Henten and Friedrich Avemarie describe a Jewish and Christian pattern of witness and resultant martyrdom: First, hostile authorities establish parameters that create a crisis of faith for the servant or witness of God. A law or restriction is established, which limits God's servant's ability to carry out the will or mission of God. Second, the enforcement of the law forces the servant of God to make a conscious decision of loyalty, either to God or to the opponent of God. Third, the servant of God chooses faithfulness to God, along with the potential of incarceration, persecution, and death. Fourth, interrogation and torture of the incarcerated make it clear that the faithful servant of God is a relentless witness for God's law, or for Christ himself. In some cases a public verbal witness is given boldly. Finally, execution occurs. Such is the progressive path from witness to martyrdom, as outlined by van Henten and Avemarie.<sup>58</sup> They describe a common pattern of ancient and modern martyrdom.

Jeremy Cohen compares Hebrew martyrdom of 1086 to Christian martyrdom of the ninth century AD. Cohen addressed a concern that he believes was shared by

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<sup>58</sup>Henten and Avemarie, *Martyrdom and Noble Death*, 4.

Augustine of Hippo, who reacted to the contrived martyrdom of “some fifty Christians in Muslim Cordoba (who) sacrificed their lives in testimony to their faith.”<sup>59</sup> These fifty precipitated their deaths by deliberately insulting Muhammad and Islam in order to invoke a reaction. Cohen characterizes these deaths not as suicides but as voluntary death: “The act resulting from an individual’s intentional decision to die, either by his own agency, by another’s, or by contriving the circumstances in which death is the known, ineluctable result.”<sup>60</sup> As Augustine condemned this type of act, the sort of behavior chosen by the fifty provocateurs is not the model to be considered as an example found in Scripture or to be emulated in modern missions.

### **Old Testament Precedent**

In a similar fashion, Old Testament prophets meet the criteria of noble life and, at times, noble death for God. God established a covenant with Abraham, which required obedience to be met by uncertain consequences in an uncertain and distant land. Abraham obeyed and followed God on the mission that would give birth to God’s covenant people. In *Missiology: An Introduction to the Foundations, History, and Strategies of World Missions*, John Mark Terry, Ebbie Smith, and Justice Anderson described some of the missional characters in the Old Testament: “The Lord established this covenant plan with Abraham (Gen 12:1-3; 18:18-19; 22:15-18), later confirming it, first with Isaac (26:2-4) and then with Jacob (28:14).”<sup>61</sup> Another example of costly obedience is found in the life of Noah. God chose Noah to carry out a mission to preserve God’s creation (Gen 6-9). In spite of consistent and harsh ridicule, Noah obeyed and fulfilled the mission of God. The earth was cleansed and preserved for God’s glory.

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<sup>59</sup>Jeremy Cohen, *Sanctifying the Name of God: Jewish Martyrs and Jewish Memories of the First Crusade* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 26.

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>61</sup>John Mark Terry, Ebbie C. Smith, and Justice Anderson, *Missiology: An Introduction to the Foundations, History, and Strategies of World Missions* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1998), 55.

Moses reluctantly, but deliberately, followed and served God and the people of Israel despite the forceful opposition of the hard-hearted Pharaoh. The consequences were severe for Moses, as well as for the people of Israel. Pharaoh plotted harm against Moses and the Hebrews. As a result of Pharaoh's malice toward the Israelites and in light of Moses' obedience to God's mission, Pharaoh forced the people of Israel to produce more bricks with less straw. Moses' persistent obedience to God's mission in the face of terrible persecution resulted in the accomplishment of God's plan for the people of Israel. Terry, Smith, and Anderson expound, "Moses would be Yahweh's instrument to bring the Hebrews into a clear understanding of how they were to live in relation to God."<sup>62</sup>

Jeremiah was a prophet whose message brought scorn, public humiliation, and torture. He was mocked in the public square. An opposing false prophet deceitfully plotted against Jeremiah, yet Jeremiah persisted in his prophetic role, carrying out the mission of Yahweh. Jeremiah retorts to his oppressors, "And if I say, I will not make mention of him, nor speak any more in his name, then there is in my heart as it were a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I am weary with forbearing, and I cannot contain" (Jer 20:9 NAS). Jeremiah confessed that the enemies of God may defame him, denounce him, and do all kinds of evil against him, nevertheless, he relentlessly proclaimed the message of God, regardless of the personal injury incurred.

The vow of the Nazarite<sup>63</sup> is another Old Testament model of the noble life. The Nazarite took a vow that served as a seal of separation unto God for his purposes. The covenant of the Nazarite is an early example of the type of gauged devotion and sacrifice found in God's servants. George Buttrick states, "References to Nazarites span all of OT history and extend into the early Christian period."<sup>64</sup> Samson is a prominent

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid., 56.

<sup>63</sup>Both spellings "Nazarite" and "Nazirite" are used in various sources. Some sources present it as Nazarite/Nazirite. The following spelling will be used—"Nazarite."

<sup>64</sup>George Arthur Buttrick, *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: An Illustrated*

example. Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego lived out the same type of commitment found in the Nazarites. The three faithful servants were brought to serve the royal court of Babylon (Dan 1). Eventually Nebuchadnezzar made a golden idol and decreed that every person in the kingdom bow down to the god. The king declared that anyone who failed to bow down would be thrown into the fiery furnace. Aware of the penalty, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego valiantly refused to worship Nebuchadnezzar's god, and were bound and cast into the blazing furnace. They risked their lives in defiance of a king and his corrupt law that forced worshipers of Yahweh to bow to a false god. In the end, Yahweh spared the three servants and the king exalted the one true God. The three men would rather die than deny God. God used this dangerous event to advance the worship of Yahweh:

Nebuchadnezzar answered and said, "Blessed be the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who has sent his angel, and delivered his servants, who trusted in him, and set aside the king's command, and yielded up their bodies rather than serve and worship any god except their own God. Therefore I make a decree: Any people, nation, or language that speaks anything against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego shall be torn limb from limb, and their houses laid in ruins, for there is no other god who is able to rescue in this way." (Dan 3:28-29)

The story of Daniel's deliverance from the den of lions serves as a similar example of obedient witness for God and his law. Daniel was certainly a light in the midst of darkness. He boldly demonstrated his living witness for God. Daniel served along with the satraps of King Darius. The king was coerced to sign an edict that would ultimately lead to Daniel's strategic choice. Daniel would obey the edict, defying God, or he would defy the king, worshiping only the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Daniel obeyed God and was thrown into the den of lions:

Then King Darius wrote to all the peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth: "Peace be multiplied to you. I make a decree, that in all my royal dominion people are to tremble and fear before the God of Daniel, for he is the living God, enduring forever; his kingdom shall never be destroyed, and his dominion shall be to the end. He delivers and rescues; he works signs and wonders in heaven and on earth, he who has saved Daniel from the power of the lions." So

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*Encyclopedia* (New York: Abingdon, 1962), 3:526.

this Daniel prospered during the reign of Darius and the reign of Cyrus the Persian. (Dan 6:25-28)

Amos was the prophet who spoke to the people of Israel at a time when the nations of Judah and Israel were wealthy, but their devotion to Yahweh was at its weakest. Amos spoke out against the oppressive acts of the wealthy against poor farmers. Amos spoke of his passion to prophesy, regardless of the cost. The oracle of Amos, according to Brevard S. Childs, is intended “to indicate that the God who once offered divine protection to his people by inhabiting Zion now roars in anger against them.”<sup>65</sup> “The lion has roared; who will not fear? The Lord God has spoken; who can but prophesy?” (Amos 3:8). Amos prophesied in spite of the danger of speaking against the authorities of his day.

God led his servants in the Old Testament to carry out his mission, even in the face of persecution. Like Amos, God’s servants hear the Word of the Lord and struggle to contain themselves. The Lord sends, and his servants follow, even on a potential path toward personal injury or death. One can conclude from the Old Testament that God sends his servants on missions that may result in personal injury or even death.

### **New Testament Precedent and Guidance**

The second section of William Carey’s *Enquiry* presents a biblical and historical “short review of former undertakings for the conversion of the heathen.”<sup>66</sup> In his initial sentence he sums up the Old Testament and leaps immediately into his New Testament historical theology of missions: “Before the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ the whole world were either heathens, or Jews; and both, as to the body of them, were

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<sup>65</sup>Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 1<sup>st</sup> American ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979).

<sup>66</sup>William Carey, *An Enquiry: An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens by William Carey*, ed. John L. Pretlove (Dallas: Criswell, 1988), 9.

enemies of the gospel.”<sup>67</sup> Carey continues with a thorough historical review that traverses time from Pentecost to the Moravians.

Raymond E. Brown posits, “The New Testament is insistent that what befell Jesus matched what was found in the Law and the prophets. In particular the Old Testament portraits of how the just suffered at the hands of the wicked colored memories by Jesus’ followers.”<sup>68</sup> In the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus instructs his followers regarding the Holy Spirit’s role in God’s mission. In times of persecution, the Spirit plays an invaluable role in helping God’s servants carry out his mission (Matt 10:17-20; Mark 13:9-11; Luke 12:11-12; Luke 21:12-19). In light of the persecution of Old Testament prophets and the murder of John the Baptist, Jesus’ advice regarding future persecution is understood. William Weinrich points out, “persecution arises precisely because of the church’s mission.”<sup>69</sup> Jesus warns his followers regarding the dangerous nature of his mission and notes the assistance offered by the Holy Spirit:

Beware of men, for they will deliver you over to courts and flog you in their synagogues, and you will be dragged before governors and kings for my sake, to bear witness before them and the Gentiles. When they deliver you over, do not be anxious how you are to speak or what you are to say, for what you are to say will be given to you in that hour. For it is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father speaking through you. Brother will deliver brother over to death, and the father his child, and children will rise against parents and have them put to death, and you will be hated by all for my name’s sake. But the one who endures to the end will be saved. When they persecute you in one town, flee to the next, for truly, I say to you, you will not have gone through all the towns of Israel before the Son of Man comes. (Matt 10:17-23)

William Weinrich indicates four factors in the Holy Spirit’s work during persecution. First, the persecution is experienced by Christians, but is actually directed against Christ himself. Second, Christ’s followers must stand before the rulers as a

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid.

<sup>68</sup>Raymond E. Brown, “Review of *The Narratives of Jesus’ Passion and Anti-Judaism*,” *America* 172, no. 11 (1995): 10.

<sup>69</sup>William C. Weinrich, “Spirit and Martyrdom: A Study of the Work of the Holy Spirit in Contexts of Persecution and Martyrdom in the New Testament and Early Christian Literature” (Ph.D. diss., University Press of America, 1981).



witness unto Christ. Third, the disciples will be remembered for their decision at the moment of persecution. Will they stand with Christ or deny him? Finally, since the Spirit speaks through his disciple at the moment of persecution, the disciple accepts or rejects the leadership of the Spirit at the point of his decision to witness unto Christ or not. Weinrich asserts, regarding the faithful witness, “It is with Jesus’ mouth that the disciples shall speak wisdom.”<sup>70</sup> Weinrich’s description is a chilling reminder that God’s servants must be prepared to stand with Christ and witness unto Christ even in the midst of persecution (Eph 6:19-20; Luke 21:12-15). The comforting news is that the Holy Spirit actually works in the persecuted disciple and Christ himself speaks through the persecuted one in such times of peril. The role of the Christian is to submit and obey. The personal and institutional questions are particularly foreboding in light of this warning. It is a perilous endeavor to evade or attempt to prevent God’s prompting to witness in times and places of persecution.

Does Jesus warn his disciples that their mission might lead to their deaths? In fact, he warns them very clearly: “They will put you out of the synagogues. Indeed, the hour is coming when whoever kills you will think he is offering service to God” (John 16:2). God does not guarantee the safety of his missionary servants. God does not guarantee immediate victory to missionaries, or to any Christian.

R. Alan Culpepper points out, “The challenge the evangelists faced (in the writing of the Gospels) was how to communicate the distinctive meaning they attached to Jesus’ death.”<sup>71</sup> He argues that the narrative of Jesus’ death embedded implicit meaning to the death of Jesus, while explicit commentary was minimal. Nevertheless, he writes, “The fulfillment formula in John 19.28 is a narrative aside that provides explicit

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<sup>70</sup>Ibid., 19-21.

<sup>71</sup>Culpepper, “Designs for the Church,” 377.

commentary (regarding the fulfillment of scripture through the details of his death).”<sup>72</sup>

Acts 4 offers the first mention of physical opposition to the apostles. Peter and John were thrown into prison for healing a lame man and proclaiming Jesus’ resurrection. The priests imprisoned them overnight, questioning them regarding the authority and power in which they had healed the man. Peter and John were instructed to stop teaching and preaching in Jesus’ name. Acts 4 records Peter’s Spirit-empowered witness, which resulted in approximately five thousand new believers.

Stephen is known as the first Christian martyr, who willingly suffered death at the hands of the enemies of the gospel. According to Adolf von Harnack, Stephen’s death served a strategic purpose, setting the course of change for the advance of the church, “by his words and death he helped to set it up.”<sup>73</sup> The Christians were forced by persecution to move out from Jerusalem. The death of Stephen contributed to the preaching of the gospel beyond the Jews to Greeks as well. Harnack explains that the Christians dispersed after Stephen’s martyrdom “were the first missionaries to the heathen; they founded the first Gentile church, that of Antioch. In this work they were joined by Barnabas and Paul (Acts 11:23), who soon became the real leading spirits in the movement.”<sup>74</sup> Stephen’s death played a role in the pilgrimage of the apostle Paul.

Paul, at the time a persecutor of early Christians, was present at Stephen’s martyrdom. Soon, Paul’s life would be transformed from persecutor to follower of Christ, and his world mission would be launched. Paul explained the vision and breadth of his ministry in Romans 15:19-20: “So from Jerusalem all the way around to Illyricum, I have fully proclaimed the gospel of Christ. It has always been my ambition to preach the

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<sup>72</sup>Ibid.

<sup>73</sup>Adolf von Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, 2<sup>nd</sup> enlarged and rev ed., Theological Translation Library 19, 20 (London: Williams and Norgate, 1908), 1:57.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., 59.

gospel where Christ was not known, so that I would not be building on someone else's foundation" (NIV). Harnack described the strategic change that occurred in missions through Paul and his experience with Stephen's martyrdom. Harnack argues that the very concept of traversing the world was inherently an outgrowth of Stephen's impact upon Paul.<sup>75</sup> By tradition Paul was imprisoned and died preaching the gospel, encouraging the church and making disciples, regardless of the inherent risks. Adolf von Harnack acknowledges that God used the persecution of Rome, and its global dominance for his purposes:

God prepared the nations for his teaching, by causing the Roman emperor to rule over all the world; there was no longer to be a plurality of kingdoms, else would the nations have been strangers to one another, and so the apostles would have found it harder to carry out the task laid on them by Jesus.<sup>76</sup>

The narrative of Paul and the other apostles' ministry to the world is one of eternal gains, built on the foundation of extreme personal suffering and loss. Charles Maitland records Tertullian's profound remarks:

The Apostles poured out their whole doctrine with their blood; where Peter was conformed to his Lord in suffering; where Paul was crowned with the death of John; and where the Apostle John, after being put into heated oil without sustaining injury, received sentence of banishment to the island.<sup>77</sup>

Weinrich states, "Paul speaks of his suffering most extensively in 2 Corinthians. . . . In the face of such opposition, Paul argued that it was precisely his sufferings which showed the pneumatic nature of his apostolate."<sup>78</sup> To demonstrate that he is "a 'servant of Christ,' Paul lists his experiences of suffering and persecution (2 Cor. 11:30)."<sup>79</sup> Paul viewed

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<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 53-55.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., 333.

<sup>77</sup>Tertullian, *De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, cap. 36. As cited by Charles Maitland, *The Church in the Catacombs: A Description of the Primitive Church of Rome* (London: Paternoster-Row, 1847), 19.

<sup>78</sup>Weinrich, "Spirit and Martyrdom," 44.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., 48.

suffering for the gospel as something characteristic of being a servant of Christ. For Paul, suffering was counted as joy and identification with Christ. No one can deny the prominent role of Paul and his ministry, which advanced the gospel throughout the known world.

William Carey reviews the church tradition of his day as per New Testament early missionaries:

Thus far the history of the Acts of the Apostles informs us of the success of the word in the primitive times; and history informs us of its being preached about this time in many other places. Peter speaks of a church at Babylon (1 Pet. 5:13); Paul proposed a journey to Spain (Rom. 15:24), and it is generally believed he went there and likewise came to France and Britain. Andrew preached to the Scythians, north of the Black Sea. John is said to have preached in India, and we know that he was at the Isle of Patmos, in the Archipelago. Philip is reported to have preached in upper Asia, Scythia, and Phrygia; Bartholomew in India, on this side of the Ganges, Phrygia, and Armenia; Matthew in Arabia, or Asiatic Ethiopia, and Parthia; Thomas in India, as far as the coast of Coromandel, and some say in the island of Ceylon; Simon, the Canaanite, in Egypt, Cyrene, Mauritania, Lybia, and other parts of Africa, and from thence to have come to Britain; and Jude is said to have been principally engaged in the lesser Asia and Greece. Their labours were evidently very extensive, and very successful; so that Pliny the Younger, who lived soon after the death of the apostles, in a letter to the emperor Trajan, observed that Christianity had spread not only through towns and cities but also through whole countries. Indeed before this, in the time of Nero, it was so prevalent that it was necessary to oppose it by an Imperial Edict, and accordingly the proconsuls, and other governors, were commissioned to destroy it.<sup>80</sup>

One can conclude from the New Testament that Jesus warned his disciples of persecution, even death, for serving his mission. Jesus provides the Holy Spirit who plays a unique role during times of persecution. The servants of God under persecution will be given the choice to submit to the work of the Holy Spirit to speak through them, or to choose submission to the opponents of God. John and Peter's persecution resulted in thousands turning to Jesus. Stephen's martyrdom established a New Testament noble death prototype of persecution, bold witness, and execution. The result of Stephen's death was the launch of the church into a new era of expansion. Paul himself was dramatically impacted by his own participation in Stephen's murder. Paul's ministry demonstrated the life of *devotio*, a faithful warrior who plunged himself headlong into

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<sup>80</sup>Carey, *An Enquiry*, 18-19.

*militia spiritualis* around the world.

### Early Church Fathers

In *Enquiry*, Carey continues his historical sweep of the advance of the church. He references Justin Martyr from the middle of the second century, in dialogue with Trypho, who commented,

There was no part of mankind, whether Greeks or barbarians, or any others, by whatever name they were called, whether Sarmatians, or the Scenites of Arabia Petrea, who lived in tents among their cattle, where supplications and thanksgivings are not offered up to the Father, and maker of all things, through the name of Jesus Christ.<sup>81</sup>

Carey presents similar evidence from Irenaeus regarding work in Europe and North Africa; likewise, he holds up Tertullian regarding places and peoples penetrated with the gospel.<sup>82</sup> Carey writes, “So abundant were they in the three first centuries, that ten years of constant and almost universal persecution under Diocletian could neither root out the Christians nor prejudice their cause.”<sup>83</sup>

Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, was by tradition a martyred early church father. Cyril C. Richardson explains that *The Letters of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch* is an ancient collection of “letters of a prisoner on his way to martyrdom.”<sup>84</sup> The condemnation and persecution of Ignatius is paraded before the church of his day. He was arrested in Antioch and “condemned to fight with wild beasts in Rome . . . chained to a squad of soldiers, he is taken by the overland route through Cilicia and Asia Minor, and thence to Rome.”<sup>85</sup> He is taken through Laodicea, Philadelphia, and then to “Smyrna, where he is

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

<sup>82</sup>Ibid.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., 20.

<sup>84</sup>Cyril C. Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers*, Christian Classics Ethereal Library (New York: Westminster John Knox, 1953), 74.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., 75.

welcomed by Polycarp, the bishop of that city, and by delegates from the neighboring churches of Ephesus, Magnesia, and Tralles.”<sup>86</sup> Maitland points out the likelihood that many of these martyrologies are hyperbolic by the imaginative work of even ninth century martyrologist such as Simeon Metaphrastes.<sup>87</sup> While the veracity of the specifics of many lionized martyrdom accounts cannot be confirmed, persecution for the faith was a mark of the early church.

Likewise, at eighty-six years of age, Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, was called before the Roman proconsul to denounce his faith. Frederick Weidmann points out that Polycarp was considered the final living connection to the apostles.<sup>88</sup> Knowing of the potential for persecution, Polycarp’s advisors warned him to depart. He merely withdrew to a farm in the countryside. Three days prior to his arrest he was praying and experienced a vision. He “saw his pillow blazing with fire, and turning to those who were with him he said, ‘I must be burned alive.’”<sup>89</sup> The chief of police, Herod, pressed Polycarp, saying, “What harm is there to say, ‘Lord Caesar,’ and to offer incense and all that sort of thing, to save yourself?”<sup>90</sup> Through a spirited exchange with the proconsul, Polycarp was given the opportunity to save his life. He could curse Christ and live; however, he replied, “Eighty-six years I have served him, and he never did me wrong. How can I blaspheme my King who saved me?”<sup>91</sup> Eventually, Polycarp was martyred for his refusal to denounce Christ.

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<sup>86</sup>Ibid.

<sup>87</sup>Maitland, *Church in Catacombs*, 156.

<sup>88</sup>Frederick W. Weidmann, *Polycarp & John: The Harris Fragments and Their Challenge to the Literary Traditions*, Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 126.

<sup>89</sup>Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers*, 151.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., 152.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid.

David M. Scholer posits that the early church fathers, exemplified by Polycarp and Ignatius, carried with them a flame not to be consumed by temporal concerns. Their resolve propelled such men to the point of death for the sake of preaching the gospel.<sup>92</sup> Costly confession of Christian faith, much less, costly witness unto others, was so commonplace that Irenaeus distinguished between a confessor, one who is imprisoned for confessing Christ, and a martyr, a confessor who seals his public witness with death in persecution.<sup>93</sup> For the early church, as demonstrated by the early church fathers, risky confession and costly witness were inherent to faith in Christ.

Irenaeus' view was that martyrdom would be with the church in all times and in every place. Sacrificial witness was considered normative. Irenaeus' well-crafted theology of sacrificial witness unto death weaves together the pattern of suffering by OT prophets with the continual flow of martyrs in the NT church. Irenaeus explains that the prophets "with the rest of their prediction foretold this also: that they upon whomsoever the Spirit of God shall have rested, and who shall have obeyed the Word of the Father, and served Him with their might, shall suffer persecution, and be stoned, and slain."<sup>94</sup> Irenaeus explains,

Wherefore the church in every place, by reason of the love which she hath toward God, is at all times sending forward a multitude of martyrs to the Father; while all the rest on the other hand are so far from having such a thing to shew among themselves, that they do not even allow that such a martyrdom is necessary; for true martyrdom, they say, is being of their mind: except that one of two now and then, in all the time since the Lord appeared in the earth, have together with our martyrs, as though they too had obtained mercy, borne the reproach of the Name, and have been led out with them, as it were a kind of appendage granted unto them. For the reproach of those who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, and endure punishments, and are put to death for their love towards God and their confession of His Son—this the church alone purely sustains, (often maimed, and straightway putting forth new members, and becoming entire; even as her type, the wife of the aforesaid Lot, the statue of salt); like the Prophets enduring persecution, according

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<sup>92</sup>David M. Scholer, *Women in Early Christianity* (New York: Garland, 1993), 105.

<sup>93</sup>Irenaeus, *Five Books of Irenaeus*, 409.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid.

to the Lord's saying, *For so persecuted they the Prophets which were before you* (Matt. 5:12): implying that although the manner be new, yet it is the same Spirit resting upon her, and suffering persecution from those who receive not the Word of God.<sup>95</sup>

Eusebius described a perplexing reality that is far from a starry-eyed image of martyrdom. Eusebius' description is more believable than some of the accounts previously mentioned. His description of this reality reveals that many professing Christians recanted under the threat of persecution. Others recanted after minimal persecution. Even still some denied Christ after prolonged torture. Nevertheless, a few believers faithfully suffered in the name of Christ, as a witness even unto death:

Others were brought by their acquaintance, and when called by name, they approached the impure and unholy sacrifices. But, pale and trembling, as if they were not to sacrifice, but themselves to be the victims and the sacrifices to the idols, they were jeered by many of the surrounding multitude, and were obviously equally afraid to die and to offer the sacrifice. But some advanced with greater readiness to the altars, and boldly asserted that they had never before been Christians. Concerning whom the declaration of our Lord is most true, that they will scarcely be saved. Of the rest, some followed the one or the other preceding; some fled, others were taken, and of these some held out as far as the prison and bonds, and some after a few days imprisonment abjured (Christianity) before they entered the tribunal. But some, also, after enduring the torture for a time, at last renounced. Others, however, firm and blessed pillars of the Lord, confirmed by the Lord himself, and receiving in themselves strength and power, suited and proportioned to their faith, became admirable witnesses of his kingdom.

The first of these was Julian, a man afflicted with the gout, neither able to walk or stand, who, with two others that carried him, was arraigned. Of these, the one immediately denied, but the other, named Cronion, surnamed Eunus, and the aged Julian himself, having confessed the Lord, was carried on camels throughout the whole city, a very large one, as you know, and in this elevation scourged, and finally consumed in an immense fire, surrounded by the thronging crowds of spectator. . . . Another, who was a Lybian by birth, but both in name and blessedness a Macar (blessed), after much solicitation from the judge to have him renounce, still remaining inflexible, was burnt alive. After these, Epimachus and Alexander, who had continued for a long time in prison, enduring innumerable suffering from the scourges and scrapers, were also destroyed in an immense fire.<sup>96</sup>

Justin Martyr, the early church apologist from AD 100 to 165, was martyred along with some of his students. The only surviving works of Justin Martyr are his two *Apologies*. The first was addressed to Emperor Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius

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<sup>95</sup>Ibid., 408-9.

<sup>96</sup>Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, 259.



Augustus Caesar and the second was written to all Romans. Justin addressed the principle charges that Christians were atheist, immoral, and disloyal. He offered prophetic proof of the authenticity of Jesus as the Christ. He also presented the monotheistic theology of Christians:

Our teacher of these things is Jesus Christ, who was also born for this purpose, and was crucified under Piontius Pilate, procurator of Judaea in the time of Tiberius Caesar; and we will show that we worship Him rationally, having learned that He is the Son of the true God Himself, and holding Him in second place, and the prophetic Spirit in the third rank. For they charge our madness to consist in this, that we give to a crucified man second place after the unchangeable and eternal God, begetter of all things, for they do not know the mystery involved in this, to which we ask you to give heed as we expound it to you.<sup>97</sup>

In spite of his poignant appeal, Justin and others like him suffered and died under oppressive regimes that fought to silence Christianity. From the Old to the New Testament to the early church fathers, the issue of sacrificial service for the cause of God is certain. The matter of death, as it relates to service unto God, raises more issues. Gospel witness is elevated as a standard for suffering unto death. A consideration for Christian witnesses today raises the possibility of not only suffering in witness but also death in the process of witness.

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<sup>97</sup>Justin Martyr, *The First and Second Apologies*, ed. Walter J. Burghardt, John J. Dillon, and Dennis D. McManus, trans. Leslie William Barnard, *Ancient Christian Writers* (New York: Paulist, 1997), 31.

CHAPTER 3  
THE SOUTH ASIA JOURNAL OF WILLIAM CAREY

Stephen Neill considers it a misunderstanding to attach to William Carey the title “father of modern missions” since Carey was not the first Protestant to initiate modern mission endeavors. Carey was not the initiator of missions in India, as Roger E. Hedlund points out, “Christianity was firmly planted in Indian soil long before it arrived in Northern Europe.”<sup>1</sup> Hedlund was referencing the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar, who scholars know were influenced by Syrian or Persian Christians as early as the third and fourth centuries. Also prior to Carey’s arrival in India was Jesuit missionary, Roberto de Nobili (1577-1656), who is famous for his indigenous approach among Tamils. Likewise, the first Protestant missionary to India was Bartolomeo Ziegenbalg (1682-1719), who translated major portions of the Bible into Tamil.<sup>2</sup>

While Carey was not even the father of missions in India, Neill acknowledges that “Carey stood, and was conscious of standing, in a noble succession, as the heir of many pioneers in the past. Yet his work does represent a turning-point; it marks the entry of the English-speaking world on a large scale into the missionary enterprise.”<sup>3</sup> Neill explained that the English-speaking world had offered up four-fifths of all missionaries from Carey’s day until 1964 when Neill’s *A History of Christian Missions* was first published.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Roger E. Hedlund, “The Witness of New Christian Movements in India” (paper presented at International Association for Missions Studies, Malaysia, 2004), 1.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (London: Penguin, 1964), 222.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

## Source of the Journal

Complicating the process for this research project is the fact that no one has compiled the totality of Carey's journals and letters. Such an undertaking would be quite challenging. At the same time, a plethora of material has been written about Carey. According to Timothy George, "Since his death in 1834, some 50 biographies of Carey have been published in many languages of the world."<sup>5</sup> While much has been written about Carey drawing from letters and journals, two important sources have served this project more than others. William Carey's nephew Eustace Carey wrote the first and most significant biography, *Memoir of William Carey*.<sup>6</sup> The significance of *Memoir* is its abundance of principal sources—the actual letters of William Carey. In addition, *Memoir* is the only biography written with the direct involvement of William Carey.

Sadly, after the death of Andrew Fuller, a chasm grew between Carey and the Baptist Missionary Society that he founded. In spite of the great accomplishments of Carey and the Serampore missionaries, new leadership sought more control over the property and the decisions of the mission. In the midst of the struggle, Eustace Carey and a team of young missionaries were sent to India as the new mission to Calcutta, against Carey's recommendation.<sup>7</sup> By 1827, Carey and the Serampore mission severed ties with the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) founded by William Carey.<sup>8</sup>

Even though Eustace and his uncle William landed on opposite sides of the dispute, Carey participated with his nephew in bringing together some letters and records to compile *Memoir*. *Memoir* serves as a source of many letters, including some of the entries found in Terry Carter's edition of *The Journal and Selected Letters of William*

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<sup>5</sup>Timothy George, *Faithful Witness: The Life and Mission of William Carey* (Birmingham, AL: New Hope, 1991), xix.

<sup>6</sup>Eustace Carey, *Memoir of William Carey, D.D.: Late Missionary to Bengal; Professor of Oriental Language in the College of Fort William, Calcutta* (London: Jackson and Walford, 1836).

<sup>7</sup>More is explained about this dispute in chap. 5.

<sup>8</sup>George, *Faithful Witness*, 165.

*Carey*, the other primary source for this study. Early in the research the assumption was made that Carter's *Journal* would be the primary focus. *Journal* covers Carey's departure from England through his early months in India. *Journal* offers personal insights into young Carey's forging his way into a strange and distant land, largely on his own, with a wife who shows early signs of mental illness. As this project ensued, it became obvious that *Memoir* would serve as a primary source of equal value to *Journal*. While *Journal* covers Carey's own reflections on the first two years of missionary service, *Memoir* acts for this project as a storehouse of correspondence, covering the remainder of Carey's life and ministry.

John Clark Marshman, the son of Joshua and Hannah of the Serampore Trio, published his 1859 history of all three missionaries, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward*.<sup>9</sup> Marshman explains the achievements of the mission and presents his and the Trio's view regarding the dispute, which led to a severance between the Serampore Mission and the BMS.

George Smith published his *Life of William Carey, Shoemaker and Missionary*<sup>10</sup> in 1887. This work included accounts of Smith's visits with Indian believers from his own travels. Until Carey's great-grandson S. Pearce Carey published *William Carey, D.D., Fellow of Linnaean Society*, Smith's was viewed as the standard biography. Later, in 1978, Mary Drewery published the subsequent most popular biography, *William Carey: Shoemaker and Missionary*.<sup>11</sup>

Timothy George, timing his efforts with the bicentennial of the arrival of

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<sup>9</sup>John Clark Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward, Embracing the History of the Serampore Mission* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1859).

<sup>10</sup>George Smith, *The Life of William Carey, D.D.; Shoemaker and Missionary, Professor of Sanskrit, Bengali, and Marathi in the College of Fort William, Calcutta* (London: J. Murray, 1885).

<sup>11</sup>Mary Drewery, *William Carey: Shoemaker and Missionary* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1978).

William Carey in India, wrote *Faithful Witness: The Life and Mission of William Carey*.<sup>12</sup> Among other helpful resources, George included a family tree, significant events in the life of Carey, and appendices, including *Enquiry*.<sup>13</sup>

### **Historical Background of the *Journal***

As previously mentioned, *The Journal and Selected Letters of William Carey* by Terry G. Carter serves as the primary source, which includes Carey's journal from June 13, 1793, to June 14, 1795. Carey explained in a letter to John Sutcliffe that after the first two years he had ceased the maintenance of a journal. Carey eventually allowed his letter writing to serve as a *de facto* journal.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the correspondence and logs found in *Memoir* complement Carter's compilation, *Journal*. For a person merely wanting to read the narrative of Carey's life and ministry, *Memoir* is cumbersome. Carey's *Journal* logs his activities, impressions, and emotions during the first two years of his South Asian journey including his early missionary pioneering in India. To assist this study, other letters of crucial value are drawn from Carey's *Memoir*, *Serampore Letters*,<sup>15</sup> John Webster Morris' *Memoirs of Andrew Fuller*<sup>16</sup> and other sources, which will become self-evident. Carey's grammar (particularly in *Journal*) is at times of his own invention and his capitalizations appear to be used randomly or for emphasis. The language represents

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<sup>12</sup>George, *Faithful Witness*.

<sup>13</sup>William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens: In Which the Religious State of the Different Nations of the World, the Success of Former Undertakings, and the Practicability of Further Undertakings Are Considered* (Leicester: Printed by Ann Ireland, 1792).

<sup>14</sup>William Carey, *The Journal and Selected Letters of William Carey*, ed. Terry G. Carter (Macon GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2000), 3.

<sup>15</sup>William Carey et al., *Serampore Letters: Being the Unpublished Correspondence of William Carey and Others with John Williams, 1800-1816* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1892).

<sup>16</sup>John Webster Morris, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Andrew Fuller, Late Pastor of the Baptist Church at Kettering, and First Secretary to the Baptist Missionary Society* (Boston: Lincoln & Edmands, 1830).

an older British standard from the eighteenth Century.<sup>17</sup> Perhaps Carey would not be pleased with this in-depth discussion of those very journals. He opposed any efforts to celebrate and immortalize himself. As his self-written epitaph indicates, he wanted everyone to know him as but a worm, dependent wholly on the grace of Jesus Christ.

### **Author of the *Journal***

A handful of biographers offered the greatest source of information about the author, from which the narrative in this section was drawn. Eustace Carey's early biography of his uncle provided William Carey opportunity to speak autobiographically. Though Carey was a reluctant participant, he thought that his own involvement in Eustace's project might provide some editorial controls. His preference: "the less is said about me the better."<sup>18</sup> *Memoir* includes this entry by William Carey from August, 1804 regarding his early childhood,

Of my family I know nothing more than that my grandfather, who I have heard was born at Yelvertoft, was master of the school which my father now superintends. He died while my father was very young, and left two sons . . . and Edmund, my father, who was put apprentice to a weaver, which business he followed till I was about six years of age, when he was nominated master of the small free-school in which his father died.<sup>19</sup>

In the same narrative, William Carey annotates the major events of his life. He was born in Paulerपुरy, in Northamptonshire on August 17, 1761. Until fourteen he was not aware of "the scheme of salvation by Christ."<sup>20</sup> Carey testified that his obligatory church attendance made him generally acquainted with the Psalms and the historical writings. Carey faithfully read the Psalms, the *Book of Common Prayer* and other materials provided by the Church of England. At the same time, he described himself as

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<sup>17</sup>Carey, *The Journal*, xi.

<sup>18</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 20.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 6.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 7.

“addicted to swearing, lying, and unchaste conversations.”<sup>21</sup> Carey explained that the process of his conversion was related to his skin condition, leaving him unable to work in the sun and forcing him into a cobbler’s apprenticeship. The apprenticeship introduced Carey to a new acquaintance, a friend of the cobbler, John Warr, a dissenter who debated with Carey daily on spiritual matters, ultimately resulting in Carey’s visit to a dissenting house of worship.<sup>22</sup> Carey confessed, “I wanted something, but had no idea that nothing but an entire change of heart could do me good.”<sup>23</sup>

During the bicentennial (1993) celebration of William Carey’s voyage to India, personal research led this student to the Carey Memorial Baptist Church at Lal Bazaar in Calcutta, where Carey preached in the open-air market. From Calcutta the journey progressed to Serampore. At Serampore a casual cafeteria meal was shared with the Bible students at Serampore College, followed by a stroll through Carey’s beloved, but emaciated garden. The desk where Carey labored on translations of the Bible remains well preserved. A locked, air-conditioned room labeled “archives” revealed volumes of timeworn bound mission records. The visit concluded with tea in the office of the Dean, J. T. K. Daniel, who presented me with his new book. Together with Roger E. Hedlund, Daniel edited *Carey’s Obligation and India’s Renaissance*, a collection of scholarly papers on the impact of William Carey.<sup>24</sup> Of course, a highlight of the visit to Serampore was to visit the simple, uncelebrated cemetery where the Careys are buried.

From youth Carey was studious and inquisitive. According to George Winfred Hervey,

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 8.

<sup>22</sup>George, *Faithful Witness*, 6.

<sup>23</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 10.

<sup>24</sup>J. T. K. Daniel and Roger E. Hedlund, *Carey’s Obligation and India’s Renaissance* (Serampore, India: Council of Serampore College, 1993).

[Carey was] always bending over books, during school hours and after. He liked exceedingly books of science, history and voyages. He was disgusted with novels and plays, but found amusement in romances and the *Pilgrim's Progress*. While yet a boy, he was fond of studying scientifically flowers, insects and birds. Such was his manifest love of knowledge.<sup>25</sup>

As a result of his wide array and application of vast knowledge, Carey might be dubbed today as a bi-vocational minister, gifted to serve in many marketplaces. To illustrate Carey's diversity, Ruth and Vishal Mangalwadi, Indian nationals and teachers in Mussoorie, North India, wrote a 1993 tribute to William Carey, including a chapter that served as an imaginary quiz about Carey. On the Mangalwadis' fictitious quiz, some of the designations for Carey include the botanist responsible for introducing the Linnaean system<sup>26</sup> of gardening to India; economist introducing savings banks to replace the usury system in India; health advocate in India who introduced the humane treatment of leprosy patients; pioneer of Indian printing technology; founder of the first newspaper printed in an Oriental language; founder in the 1820s of the Agri-Horticultural Society (thirty years prior to the launch of the Royal Agricultural Society in England); first to translate and publish Indian classics into English (*Ramayana* and *Samkhya*); first to introduce the study of astronomy to India (as an alternative to the fatalistic influence of astrology); founder of lending libraries in Serampore; pioneer evangelist who ventured into the forest to witness to the remotest village; prominent social activist for the rights of women, the aged, infants, slaves, widows, the poor and neglected; historian; and of course missionary.<sup>27</sup> The Mangalwadis' 1993 tribute points to Carey's plethora of interests and to the magnitude of his influence, as viewed by many Indians even today.

Science, adventure, history, geography, philosophy, theology, and even pastors

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<sup>25</sup>George Winfred Hervey, *The Story of Baptist Missions in Foreign Lands* (St. Louis: C. R. Barns, 1885), 4.

<sup>26</sup>Carol Linnaeus (1707-1778) is the Swedish scientist who developed the genus and species taxonomic classification system for plant life.

<sup>27</sup>Ruth Mangalwadi and Vishal Mangalwadi, *William Carey: A Tribute by an Indian Woman* (New Delhi: Nivedit Good Books, 1993), 8-11.



and friends from the dissenter movement each had a profound and personal impact on Carey. The dissenter movement rocked Great Britain during the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Great Britain's Act of Uniformity of 1662 resulted in the expulsion of 2000 ministers from their posts in the recognized church. The expelled ministers had refused absolute assent to every word of the *Book of Common Prayer*. One of those dissenters was John Wesley's maternal grandfather, Sammuel Annesley. Likewise the Clarendon Code<sup>28</sup> imposed severe punishments on the likes of John Bunyan, who spent twelve years in the jail at Bedford. Between 1688 and 1700, the Act of Toleration began granting increased liberty to dissenters, including freedom of worship. According to Timothy George, remnants of the restrictions remained, including a law that directly influenced Carey's family, prohibiting teachers (such as Carey's father) from attending a meeting of dissenters. As a result, Carey's father was not seen in those meetings where his son preached. He is rumored to have slipped in and out quietly.<sup>29</sup> Significant is the fact that Carey's family was not originally counted among the dissenters, thus making it such a momentous decision for Carey to join them.

Carey's salvific enlightenment sparked as a result of his own deceptive handling of a brass (counterfeit) coin he received from the sale of shoes. Instead of reporting the facts to his boss, Carey tried to pass the coin off in the purchase of supplies. Afterward, Carey blatantly denied his illegal action. His guilt and shame led to the acknowledgement of his need for repentance by turning to Jesus. Carey admitted,

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<sup>28</sup>The Clarendon Code was a series of legislative acts in England designed to cripple Dissenters from 1661 to 1665. Municipal and church offices were forbidden to individuals who refused to take sacraments at a parish church; Dissenter meetings were outlawed from 1662 to 1700, even including meetings in homes; the Five-Mile Act of 1665 prohibited Nonconformist ministers from living or working within five miles of previous parishes which they had served. The Toleration Act of 1770 eased some of the restrictions, without removing the stigma. The complete abolition of the laws was only repealed in the nineteenth century. See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Clarendon Code."

<sup>29</sup>George, *Faithful Witness*, 9.

I found that my shilling was a brass one. I paid for the things which I bought by using a shilling of my master's. . . . I well remember the struggles of mind which I had on this occasion, and that I made this deliberate sin a matter of prayer to God as I passed over the fields home.<sup>30</sup>

Carey explains, "I trust that under these circumstances I was led to see much more of myself than I had ever done before, and to seek for mercy with greater earnestness."<sup>31</sup>

Carey's uncle Peter had served as a British soldier. Peter vanished for years, and was assumed lost at sea. When Peter finally returned to the family hamlet, replete with exotic tales, he became the surrogate father to young William. Peter dazzled William with "stories of adventure—sailing on the treacherous seas, fighting the French in Canada, tales of ships filled with slaves from Africa, of Indians and fur traders in the New World."<sup>32</sup> The adventure and intrigue of Peter's tales lured Carey to a much larger world. It is no wonder that Carey was drawn to Captain Cook's voyages.<sup>33</sup> Carey spoke of the influence of Cook's voyages: "I may only observe, that reading Cook's voyages was the first thing that engaged my mind to think of missions."<sup>34</sup>

Carey reported a significant event that occurred on February 10, 1779: "Mr. Chater, of Olney, preached, but from what text I have forgotten. He insisted much on the necessity of following Christ entirely."<sup>35</sup> During the dissenters meeting Carey made the two-fold decision to follow Christ and to throw himself fully into the scandal of the cross outside the protection of the law of the Church of England: "I ought to bear the reproach

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<sup>30</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 11.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, 12-13.

<sup>32</sup>George, *Faithful Witness*, 5.

<sup>33</sup>Emanuel Richter, *An Authentic Narrative of a Voyage Performed by Captain Cook and Captain Clerke, in His Majesty's Ships: Resolution and Discovery During the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780; in Search of a North-West Passage between the Continents of Asia and America* (Altenburg, Germany: Gottlob, 1788).

<sup>34</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 18.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, 12.

of Christ among the dissenters; and accordingly I always afterwards attended divine worship among them.”<sup>36</sup> At this point Carey made a complete and final breach with the Church of England.

William Law, from the same county as Carey, was a theologian and author whose work, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*,<sup>37</sup> had a great impact on Carey. One of Law’s followers was instrumental in Carey’s conversion.<sup>38</sup> Carey wrote, “I was by these means, I trust, brought to depend on a crucified Saviour for pardon and salvation; and to seek a system of doctrines in the Word of God. This man I frequently met, and he generally left with me some of Law’s writings.”<sup>39</sup>

Carey’s friend, Thomas Chater, not only mentored Carey but also was the man who recommended Carey to preach at Olney. Eventually Carey became the preacher at the meeting-house in Moulton.<sup>40</sup> In 1764, one of the significant alliances of the eighteenth century occurred with the formation of the Northamptonshire Baptist Association. Six Particular Baptist churches aligned for mutual support. The alliance had expanded by 1780 to include twenty-four churches from several counties. A vibrant revivalist movement was underway with powerful preaching and fellowship. Chater later recommended Carey as rector of Earle’s Barton church in 1782.

Carey married Dorothy Plackett when he was 19 and she 25, on June 10, 1781. Dorothy, being illiterate, marked the marriage license with an “X.” Her younger sister Katherine (Kitty) eventually traveled to India with William and Dorothy, later to marry in

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 12-13.

<sup>37</sup>William Law, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life; the Spirit of Love* (London: Paulist, 1978).

<sup>38</sup>John Brown Myers, *William Carey: The Shoemaker Who Became the Father and Founder of Modern Missions* (London: S. W. Partridge & Co., 1887), 10.

<sup>39</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 14.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 15-18.

India. While in England their first child, Ann, died at 2 years of age from a fever that also nearly killed William, leaving him forever bald. Carey is reported to have thrown his own ill-fitting wig overboard en route to India.<sup>41</sup>

While Carey had joined with the dissenters, he had yet to resolve the issue of baptism. By this point, the church he led at Hackleton, as well as the Baptist Association of Northamptonshire, accepted both paedobaptism and believer's baptism. Upon hearing a sermon by a paedobaptist in defense of the paedobaptist view, Carey became thoroughly unconvinced by paedobaptist arguments. He chose believer's baptism, and was immersed in the Nene River on October 5, 1783, by John Ryland's son.<sup>42</sup>

Continuing the narrative of Carey's ministry, John Sutcliff became a valued mentor of Carey. He was the seasoned pastor at Olney who insisted that Carey should be properly ordained, even though he was already leading the dissenters at Earle's Barton. As a result, Carey presented his trial sermon in the summer of 1785 at Olney. The response of the congregation was a polite snub—indicating that more preparation was needed. In that same year Carey was called as pastor of the chapel at Moulton, a particularly trying time as a young, bi-vocational preacher and student of the Bible. A year later the congregation at Olney declared their satisfaction with Carey's preparation. After yet another year, on August 1, 1787, Carey was finally ordained.<sup>43</sup>

In 1789 Carey was called to minister at the Baptist Church in Harvey Lane, Leicester. The church at Leicester was so divided over antinomianism that Carey led them to dissolve in 1790 and reorganize under a Particular Baptist covenant-membership.<sup>44</sup> Attendance increased significantly through the salvation of people Carey

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<sup>41</sup>George, *Faithful Witness*, 15-16.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, 11-12.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, 17-18.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, 27-29.

referred to as “scavenger(s) that sweep the streets.”<sup>45</sup> Upon criticism by local parish leaders, Carey declared his absolute disinterest in winning the wealthy and privileged members of the Anglican Church in Leicester.

William Carey’s monumental missions publication was released during his tenure at Leicester. In 1792 Carey published *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*. In spite of Thomas Coke’s earlier treatise on missions, George Smith overzealously lauded it “the first and still greatest missionary treatise in the English language.”<sup>46</sup> Carey became increasingly obsessed with the world and the plight of the lost. He preached missions incessantly to his congregations and colleagues in ministry, with a passion for those who had never heard the saving message of Jesus Christ. Carey worked toward a holistic expression of the gospel. He was passionately opposed to the evils of slavery. He carried to India his burden for the more earthly expressions of the gospel as seen in his social action for women, widows, the aged, and children.<sup>47</sup>

A new era in missions began when the twenty-four churches of Northamptonshire Baptist Association gathered at Nottingham on May 30, 1792. The evening was filled with testimonies and prayers. The following day at six in the morning there was a gathering for extended prayer, followed by the ten o’clock sermon by William Carey. He preached his famous sermon that his dear friend Andrew Fuller remembered:

Having observed that the church of God is there (Isaiah 54.2-3) addressed as a desolate widow, dwelling alone in a little cottage; that the command to enlarge her tent contained an intimation, that there should be an increase in her family; and that to account for so unexpected a change, she was told, that her “Maker was her husband,” who should be “called the God of the whole earth,” he took up what he

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<sup>45</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 74-75.

<sup>46</sup>Smith, *The Life of Carey, D.D.*, 35.

<sup>47</sup>George, *Faithful Witness*, 21-23.

conceived to be the spirit of the passage in two exhortations; namely, *Expect Great Things—Attempt Great Things*.<sup>48</sup>

John Ryland records,

If all the people had lifted up their voice and wept, as the children of Israel did at Bochim, (Judges 2) I should not have wondered at the effect, it would have only seemed proportionate to the cause; so clearly did he prove the criminality of our supineness in the cause of God.<sup>49</sup>

The pastors were all preparing to adjourn the meeting without action when Carey pressed Fuller for a decision. Ryland explained that it was Carey's persistence that moved the pastors from inspiration to action: "I must consider the Mission (formation of the Baptist Missionary Society) as originating absolutely with Carey."<sup>50</sup> Ryland reported that a resolution was taken as the final act, in spite of pastors pressing to leave the meeting in a rush to return to their parishes. Ryland documented the decision: "That a plan be prepared against the next minister's meeting at Kettering, for forming a Baptist Society for propagating the Gospel among the Heathens. . . . This society was actually formed in Mrs. Beeby Wallis's back parlour on October 2, 1792."<sup>51</sup>

Morris's *Fuller Memoirs* reported,

At two subsequent meetings, in October and November, Mr. Carey offered himself as a missionary, and was accepted. . . . Mr. John Thomas, who had formerly been a surgeon in London, and who was totally unknown to the Society, had been several years in Bengal, preaching the gospel occasionally to the natives . . . endeavored to establish a fund for a mission.<sup>52</sup>

Thomas had incurred severe debts and thus his reputation made him a questionable partner in missions. Nevertheless, Carey and Thomas joined forces with the Society, beginning their lifelong partnership in India. Creditors and attorneys habitually pursued

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<sup>48</sup>Morris, *Fuller Memoirs*, 86.

<sup>49</sup>John Ryland and Andrew Fuller, *The Work of Faith, the Labour of Love, and the Patience of Hope Illustrates* (London: Button & Son, 1816), 138.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, 137-38.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, 138-39.

<sup>52</sup>Morris, *Fuller Memoirs*, 87.

Thomas, seeking restitution. Carey's early forced relocation to the jungles was the direct result of Thomas' gratuitous depletion of all the Society's funds allotted for both missionaries. Regardless, Thomas' excellent language skills, fervent preaching, and shared dedication to the advance of the gospel among Indians bound Carey and Thomas in an unshakeable, but costly bond of love and mission. Fuller recounted the very words of Carey as the Society sought God's person to join Thomas' mission to Bengal. Thomas had said,

There was a gold mine in India, but it seemed almost as deep as the center of the earth. Who will venture to explore it?" "I will venture to go down," said Carey to his brethren; "but remember that you must hold the ropes." We solemnly engaged to do so, nor while we live shall we desert him.<sup>53</sup>

Unfortunately, it was after his co-founders of the BMS died, that Carey was left without anyone holding the ropes.

It was, however, the deep friendship between Andrew Fuller and William Carey that became the lifeline in the effectual partnership between the Society and the distant missionaries. Fuller's biographer and partner in the Society, John Webster Morris recounted a report by Mr. Hinton at the June 21, 1815, anniversary meeting of the Society:

Never were two minds more congenial, more powerfully directed towards one object, or less ambitious of the honour arising from its attainment. Mr. Hinton, with great propriety, in his sermon at the Spa-Fields Chapel, compared the mission to a chain, of which Fuller and Carey constituted the two end links, one fixed in the east, and the other in the western world.<sup>54</sup>

While Carey was greatly inspired by Jonathan Edwards' *Life and Journal of the Rev. David Brainerd, Missionary to the Indians*,<sup>55</sup> he faithfully devoured all of Andrew Fuller's works, chief among which include *The Gospel Worthy of All*

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., 90.

<sup>55</sup>Jonathan Edwards, *Life and Journal of the Rev. David Brainerd, Missionary to the Indians* (London: H. S. Baynes, 1835).

*Acceptation: the Duty of Sinners to Believe in Jesus Christ*,<sup>56</sup> and *Socinianism Indefensible, on the Ground of its Moral Tendency*.<sup>57</sup> During the later years of Carey's life, tensions mounted between the Society's struggles to accept the Moravian-style approach of the Serampore Trio; a shared, frugal, communal existence that was dependent upon the members earning and sharing together funds to support the joint living expenses and flourishing mission work. The meager thread that sealed the bond between senders (the BMS) and sent (Carey, Thomas, and eventually the Serampore Mission) was the love and trust between Fuller and Carey. Once Fuller died, there was no such trust, and Carey severed his ties with the Society.

In October 1815, Carey read an article in a Cambridge newspaper to learn of the loss of his western link in the chain of Baptist missions, the death of his beloved Andrew Fuller.<sup>58</sup> Certainly, lessons must be learned from this early case study on the growing mistrust and ultimate breach between distant, Western mission societies, and pioneer missionaries. Morris described the incalculable effect of Fuller on the work in India:

But the consultations which he held—the correspondence he maintained—the personal solicitations which he employed—the contributions he collected—the management of these and other funds—the selection, probation, and improvement of intended missionaries—the works which he composed and compiled on these subjects—the discourses he delivered—and the journeys he accomplished to extend the knowledge and to promote the welfare of the mission, required energy almost unequalled.<sup>59</sup>

Ryland temporarily took the role of Secretary of the Society after Fuller's death. Carey wrote to Ryland on February 22, 1816, suggesting immediate steps to secure

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<sup>56</sup>Andrew Fuller, *The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation; or, the Duty of Sinners to Believe in Jesus Christ* (Philadelphia: Charles Cist, 1805).

<sup>57</sup>Andrew Fuller, *Socinianism Indefensible, on the Ground of Its Moral Tendency* (London: Gardiner, 1797).

<sup>58</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 538.

<sup>59</sup>Morris, *Fuller Memoirs*, 92.



the continued effective operation of the Society. Certainly Carey demonstrated his own concern about the possibility of a divergent direction from the original purpose, vision, and operational procedures of the Society. Carey was most concerned about the dangers of an inappropriate use of the power of the secretary:

While brother Fuller lived, there was no danger of the power he possessed being wrongly used. . . . I therefore recommend the so modeling and enlarging the society, that all its acts shall originate from itself, and that the secretary be, as nearly as possible, the mere officer to record the transactions and resolutions of the Society, and to communicate them to the persons whom they concern.<sup>60</sup>

Carey feared the board's abuse of power and the potential for loss of vision. Apparently Carey only trusted Fuller to lead the Baptist Missionary Society.

Returning briefly to the beginning of Carey's adventure to India, British law thwarted the initial journey to India—namely, Carey's inability to obtain necessary permits. Carey's resolute motivation is demonstrated in the fact that he attempted to sail on the *Oxford*, arriving only as far as the Isle of Man, being forced by threat of arrest to disembark and return to London. That seemingly unfortunate obstacle led to a return to the homeland and the opportunity to convince Dorothy to bring the children and her sister on a lifelong journey to India. Neither Dorothy nor William would ever return to their native land after boarding the *Cron Princessa Maria*.<sup>61</sup>

Just prior to arrival in India, Carey's party was obliged to disembark in fishing boats in order to be smuggled to the interior into a Dutch-controlled area, evading British detection. Eventually, due to Thomas' financial indiscretions, Carey took his family and went farther into the interior to a more affordable, but meager existence. As a result, Carey was offered the opportunity to manage an indigo factory, which provided opportunities to learn the language and customs, preach among Hindus and Muslims, construct and maintain housing and subsistence gardening, and earn an income.

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<sup>60</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 540.

<sup>61</sup>Carey, *The Journal*, 3.

Eventually, floods overwhelmed the indigo crop, devastating the industry, and forcing Carey to Kidderpore. Subsequently, the arrival of new missionaries (who were prohibited from passage to Kidderpore) forced a decision to relocate the entire missionary endeavor to Serampore, some 16 miles from Calcutta. Joshua and Hannah Marshman and William Ward were not able to acquire the necessary documents to travel to Kidderpore, constraining the move to the new station, along with new arrival John Fountain. Carey travelled up the Hooghly River on October 6 and arrived at Myer's tavern, Serampore, on Sunday, October 12, 1799.<sup>62</sup>

William Ward arrived in India seven years after his first meeting with Carey at the church at Carter Lane in London, just prior to Carey's departure for India. Carey had preached in London and Ward heard the sermon. He approached Carey for a walk by the Thames River. According to George Smith's account, when Carey learned that Ward was a printer, he challenged the 23-year-old to help him print the Bible in India: "You must come over and print it for us."<sup>63</sup> Seven years after that momentous walk, the two men took on the Thames, the younger Ward's inability to obtain a resident permit forced the entire team to relocate in Serampore, situated on the Hooghly. William Ward, the printer and missionary would fulfill the challenge extended by Carey for Ward to come to India to print the Bible. The mutual love and commitment to a united mission grew steadily among the missionaries at Serampore. Initially the team included Carey, the Marshmans, Ward, and John Fountain, but Fountain died suddenly of a fever, leaving three to become dubbed the "Serampore Trio." On January 25, 1800, a letter to the Society from Carey, Fountain, Marshman, and Ward delivered a report from the team regarding expenses and other details. They reported tremendous financial constraints, having left everything behind to move to Serampore. The missionaries mentioned their love of the work and

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid., 356-63.

<sup>63</sup>Smith, *The Life of Carey, D.D.*, 51.

they articulated the pillars of the Serampore strategy—school, a Moravian style of field-based funding, and Bible printing:

We intend to teach a school, and make what we can of our press. . . . The Bible is wholly translated, except a few chapters, so that we intend to begin printing immediately, first the New and then the Old Testament. We love our work, and will do all we can to lighten your expenses.<sup>64</sup>

The influence of David Brainerd on Carey is well documented in Carey’s writings. In *Memoir*, Carey’s journal entry for April 21, 1794 reads, “I was much humbled to-day by reading Brainerd. O what a disparity betwixt me and him! He always constant, I as inconstant as the wind!”<sup>65</sup> When the Serampore mission was formed it is no wonder that the following motto was established, as reported by Earnest Alexander Payne:

Let us often look at Brainerd in the woods of America, pouring out his very soul before God for the people. Prayer, secret, fervent, expectant, lies at the root of all personal godliness. A competent knowledge of the languages current where a missionary lives, a mild and winning temper, and a heart given up to God—those are the attainments, which, more than all other gifts, will fit us to become God’s instruments in the great work of human redemption.<sup>66</sup>

The Serampore compound served the needs of the families and the work: “Ten grown people and nine children . . . besides, a printing-room, and a chapel for the reception of a small European congregation.”<sup>67</sup> By the time of a letter penned October 10, 1800, the missionaries reported several aspects of their work: Carey engaged in evangelism among “natives” five or six times per week, the mission has printed evangelical hymns (including one written by Ram Roshu), the mission distributed 200-300 copies of Matthew, and they printed a tract directed to Brahmans by Ram Roshu

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<sup>64</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 390.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., 169.

<sup>66</sup>Ernest Alexander Payne, *The Church Awakes: The Story of the Modern Missionary Movement* (London: Livingstone, 1942), 85-86.

<sup>67</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 399.

exposing the dangers of Hinduism, and the missionaries pursued their ongoing translation of the entire New Testament.<sup>68</sup>

Eustace Carey reported the increasing lack of trust and difference in philosophy between Serampore missionaries and the Society. The controversy extended from 1817 to 1827, when the mission eventually filed a legal petition in the Danish court of Serampore, severing the property ownership from the BMS. The BMS wanted the missionaries to move away from the mission property at Serampore, the BMS hoping to take possession of the land, creating a trust with more representation of the Society in England. By 1827 the western end of the original societal chain wanted more authority and deemed itself more capable of appropriate financial and strategic decisions on behalf of the eastern-based missionaries. The relationship was severed and the BMS sent young Eustace and a group of other missionaries to Calcutta, replacing the Serampore missionaries with a handful of young missionaries.<sup>69</sup>

In 1830, on his seventieth birthday, Carey pensively wrote to his son Jabez:

I am this day seventy years old—a monument of divine mercy and goodness; though, on a review of my life, I find much, very much, for which I ought to be humbled in the dust. My direct and positive sins are innumerable; my negligence in the Lord's work has been great; I have not promoted his cause, nor sought his glory and honour as I ought. . . . I trust for acceptance with him to the blood of Christ alone; and I hope I am received into the divine favour through him. I wish to be more entirely devoted to his service, more completely sanctified, and more habitually exercising all the Christian graces, and bringing forth the fruits of righteousness to the praise and honour of that Saviour who gave his life a sacrifice for sin. . . . I trust I am ready to die, through the grace of my Lord Jesus, and I look forward to the full enjoyment of the society of holy men and angels, and the full vision of God for evermore.<sup>70</sup>

Carey plodded along, working on manuscripts and grammars until he could no longer continue. He said of himself, regarding anyone who might attempt to

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<sup>68</sup>Ibid., 403-4.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., 542-43.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., 566-67.

monumentalize him, “If he give me credit for being a plodder, he will describe me justly. Anything beyond this is too much. I can plod. I can persevere in any definite pursuit.”<sup>71</sup> Carey suffered repeated battles with his health until June 9, 1834, when he died. He requested a simple funeral, and though married a third time to Grace, he requested burial beside his second and favorite wife, Charlotte Emelia Carey. The inscription on the tombstone was dictated by Carey’s last will and testament, “William Carey, born August 17<sup>th</sup>, 1761; died—(June 9, 1834). A wretched, poor, and helpless worm, on thy kind arms I fall.”<sup>72</sup>

### **Highlighted Journal Entries**

Having dissected the South Asian journals of Coke and Carey, initial patterns and themes become apparent. Groupings of quotes surfaced for further analysis: risk and personal sacrifice, evangelism, and resolute motivation for missions. Due to the fact that both Carey and Coke used correspondence as a form of journaling, many of their letters were analyzed according to the same categories. The potential of an expanded list of themes could include language learning, Bible translations, strategy, theological foundations, methodology, holistic ministry, etc. Such an expansion of topics could follow this current treatment. However, my commitment to an examination of the motivation for risky missionary endeavors enabled me to maintain only three themes for examination. All three groupings could address the discussion of this paper. Evangelism speaks to the mission. Risk points to the obstacles and barriers and price paid for involvement in that mission. The motivation question is the issue for which this study seeks enlightenment. Unavoidably, other themes and observations are cited as they are deemed pertinent.

No doubt, William Carey ventured much in his pursuit of great things for God

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid., 623.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., 572-3.

in India. Likewise he suffered great loss in the process. John Morris captures the essence of Carey's life, limitations, sacrifice, and accomplishments on God's mission in India as Carey lived out his mission:

It is only on account of the next to supernatural talents and application discovered by a native of England, under thirty years of age, in the torrid zone, without liberal education, patronage or friends, unfurnished with money, and scarcely supplied with the necessaries of life; often involved in domestic affliction, and suffering from ill health; who acquired the knowledge of numerous, and these the most difficult oriental languages, dissimilar in structure and genius to those of Europe; who translated the scriptures in whole or in part into all of these; who printed, published, and circulated them; who composed and printed large and voluminous grammars of these languages in English; who has translated some of the principal works into English, for these languages not one word of which he knew for more than twenty years before he began these tasks: all which acquisitions and employments were carried on without any view to emolument, receiving only bare support from the funds of the mission, while throwing into these his own salary of nearly two thousand pounds a year, as Professor of Sanscrit, Bengalee, and Mahratta, in the College of Fort William and while engaged in cares, undertakings, and personal labours, of themselves more than sufficient for most other men, living in their native country, and in the most favourable circumstance!<sup>73</sup>

Others have lauded him, but Carey humbly insisted that the focus should be on Jesus, not on his cobbler servant. Carey was certainly an intelligent, persistent student of a broad range of topics. Chief among Carey's self-confessed characteristics was his resolute plodding toward the mission of God, notwithstanding much tribulation and discouragement. Various quotes and observations illuminate his plodding in regard to the three themes.

### **Risk and Personal Sacrifice**

The goal of this section is not to paint Carey with hagiographic grandeur. Carey was not a martyr. He poured out his life translating Scriptures on pieces of paper. He also preached the gospel to lost Indians. Perhaps the greatest sufferings of Carey were his family struggles and even the pain of watching his spiritual children struggle, the new Indian believers who were ostracized by family and community because of their newfound faith.

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<sup>73</sup>Morris, *Fuller Memoirs*, 92.

Of course, government opposition and official barriers were among the constant risks, through which Carey endured. Carey ran the risk of being imprisoned upon arrival in Calcutta, because of his illegal entry. Regardless, he pressed forward to India. Once he arrived in India, the opposition continued. In *Memoir*, Carey records his own government's opposition to his mission work. In fact, the British authorities outlawed Carey's mission. The Governor General of India is quoted, "'Do you not think, Dr. Carey, it would be wrong to force the Hindus to be Christians?'" 'My lord,' it was replied, 'the thing is impossible; we may indeed force men to be hypocrites; but no power on earth can force men to become Christians!'"<sup>74</sup> Eustace Carey further retorts on behalf of William Carey:

But it is one thing for governors to exert a direct authority for the forcible establishment of Christianity; and quite another, to thwart and formally obstruct those who, by rational methods, seek to diffuse it. The missionaries desired nothing beyond simple permission to preach the gospel. But this was denied them.<sup>75</sup>

For years the British Empire denied the missionaries permission to preach, monitored their activities with suspicion, and threatened them with arrest and expulsion.

An obvious risk Carey acknowledged was the possibility of murder while serving the Lord among potentially hostile peoples in unknown lands. Even prior to his mission to India Carey addressed the issue of death—Christian duty, the goodness of God's cause contrasted by the destitute state of humanity warrants the mortal risk. In *Enquiry* Carey states clearly his commitment toward risky missions:

In respect to the danger of being killed by them, it is true that whoever goes must put his life in his hand, and not consult with flesh and blood; but do not the goodness of the cause, the duties incumbent on us as the creatures of God, and Christians, and the perishing state of our fellow men, loudly call upon us to venture all and use every warrantable exertion for their benefit?<sup>76</sup>

A compendium of quotes on the topic of risk and personal sacrifice has been

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<sup>74</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 351.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 351-52.

<sup>76</sup>Carey, *Enquiry*, 54.

collected in the appendices. One would be well advised from this point forward to read the remainder of this chapter and the next with the appendix in one hand and the chapter in the other. The intent of the next section is not to duplicate the long quotes that have been organized in the appendices. Most of what is found below is a synopsis with highlights drawn from the appendices. The more prominent samples are included below. Others are merely referenced and described, since each quote is fully explicated in the Appendix, as per the section heading. Each section lists the appendix number along with the entry number designated not in Carey's journal but in this document. In most cases the page number is provided, referencing the location in the primary source. The point of the following descriptions is to summarize the gleanings from the examination of Carey's letters and journal with a view to Carey's motivation to take great risk for the mission of God.

**Appendix 1, entry 1, *Journal*, page 9 January 15-16, 1794.** Carey describes the very tangible realities of life in the jungles. Due to John Thomas' misuse of the mission funds, Carey was left with nothing to support his family. He left the city and ventured into the forests looking for a shack or some simple dwelling. Where he settled, serpents, tigers and other dangers regularly attacked locals. In this entry Carey responded to those risks: "There are many Serpents & Tigers, but Christ has said his followers shall take up serpents & etc. unhurt—in the Evening poured out my soul to God; but still my Burden continued."<sup>77</sup>

Carey took with him an unwilling wife, who never shared his mission vision. She verbally abused him and the children. In the same entry Carey explains,

The next day had a pleasant time in prayer to God in the morning (but) afterwards the abusive treatment I received from her who should be an help to me quite overcame my spirits, I was vexed, grieved, and shocked, I am sorry for her who

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<sup>77</sup>Carey, *The Journal*, 9.



never was hearty in the undertaking, her health has been much impaired, and her fears are great.<sup>78</sup>

Carey made a similar observation about Dorothy a few days later on January 22 of the same year, though Carey was discrete and benevolent in his comments. Eventually, Hannah Marshman rescued Carey and his family by becoming a surrogate mother for the Carey children and a constant caretaker for Dorothy as she became completely incapacitated by insanity. Carey refused to place her in an asylum. Senders have gleaned uncomfortable lessons from the correlation between Carey's mission work and the devastating health well being of his first wife. Mission senders have learned that the willing missionary participation of a healthy husband and wife is essential. Psychological screening is rightly a priority in contemporary missions.

In *Enquiry* Carey compared missions to the enormous risks taken by a trading company seeking wealth abroad. He described the utmost limits to which the business extends its resources and the lives of its participants. In hopes of success, Carey wrote,

They cross the widest and most tempestuous seas and encounter the most unfavourable climates; they introduce themselves into the most barbarous nations, and sometimes undergo the most affecting hardships; their minds continue in a state of anxiety, and suspense, and a longer delay than usual in the arrival of a vessel agitates them with a thousand changeful thoughts and foreboding apprehensions which continue till the rich returns are safe arrived in port.<sup>79</sup>

Financial ruin was a perpetual pest for Carey, initially because of his partnership with Thomas. The lack of adequate funding by the BMS was another problem. The world was at war, so finances could be constrained for months. In the previous quote, Carey made the point—if for so temporal a matter as worldly riches individuals would risk all, how much more was Carey willing to risk for the sake of eternal matters. Neither financial ruin, failed relationships, lack of Society support, war, or any other matter kept Carey from venturing forward, though he faced obstacles of all sorts.

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<sup>78</sup>Ibid.

<sup>79</sup>Carey, *Enquiry*, 62.

**Appendix 1, entry 4, *Journal*, page 11, January 23, 1794.** Carey described his struggle with Thomas' extravagant spending: "Now he is buying, & selling, and living at the rate of I know not how much, I suppose 250 or 300 Rupees per month; has 12 Servants, and this day is talking of keeping his Coach—I have remonstrated with him in vain [sic]."<sup>80</sup> Thomas' outrageous spending forced Carey in desperation to venture into the jungles for a self-sustaining existence.

**Appendix 1, entry 5, *Journal*, page 34, June 19, 1794.** When Carey found a source of income he resolved not to use it personally. Carey implored the BMS asking them to use his allocated funds to send more missionaries to Sumatra or other locations. Carey had finally experienced the benefit of the Moravian approach by earning his support on the mission field. He would rather put himself at risk financially if his own risk would advance the gospel elsewhere:

Resolved to write immediately to the Society in England, that they send me no more supplies, as I shall have an ample sufficiency. This gives me great pleasure as I hope they may the sooner be able to send another Mission somewhere, and I should much recommend Sumatra or some of the Indian Islands, if they send to any part South or East of Bengal, it will be best to send them in a Foreign ship to Bengal, from whence their passage may be taken in a Country Ship to any place, and as we have houses here they may stay with either of us, till an opportunity offers which will save much expense.<sup>81</sup>

**Appendix 1, entry 6, *Journal*, page 51, January 30, 1795.** Carey's journal reflected his personal swaying on a spiritual and emotional rollercoaster, evidence of one of the risks of serving in challenging locations. His own emotional state was at risk as he attempted to manage family, including a clinically insane wife. He wrote of his spiritual and emotional despair:

My great crime is neglect of God & a spiritual stupidity; I always am best pleased when I feel most, but live from one day to another without seeing, or feeling, to any

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<sup>80</sup>Carey, *The Journal*, 11.

<sup>81</sup>Carey was allocated a locally earned stipend, which gave him the freedom to give up his own mission support funds for the potential of other missionaries being sent to other lands.

considerable degree. I am sure that my deadness and stupidity, want of a spirit to admire God, and honour him is the very reverse to that of Christianity. O may God make me a true Christian.<sup>82</sup>

**Appendix 7, entry M4, *Memoir*, page 266, June 17, 1796.** Carey, in his letter to his dear friend Andrew Fuller, addressed his emotional burden, which was the result of accusations against him and his Moravian approach to missions. It was understandable, due to Thomas' worldly pattern of spending, that Carey would also be accused of the same extravagance, but Carey exemplified quite the opposite lifestyle of Thomas. Nevertheless, Carey defended Thomas as a man worthy of his calling and one gifted for service in India: "Mr. T. and I are men, and fallible; but we can only desert the work of preaching the word of life to the Hindus with our lives, and are determined through grace, to hold on, though our discouragements were a thousand times greater than they are."<sup>83</sup>

**Appendix 7, entry M11, *Memoir*, page 287, November 11, 1796.** Carey had been dealing with accusations over the use of funds. Carey had been accused of chasing after wealth, due to the fact that he was secularly employed to earn support for the mission. The assumption is that the work would falter with Carey being distracted by secular employment. In this case John Fountain, as a newly arrived missionary, saw the life of Carey and refuted the accusations in his letter to the Society:

As to brother Carey, his very soul is absorbed in the work of the mission. His dear friends in England had no ground for their fears, that riches might alienate his heart from that work. He does not possess them. I am persuaded there is not a man who has not learned to deny himself but would prefer his situation when at Leicester to that in this country. But he, like a Christian minister, as described in his own publication, considers himself as having "solemnly undertaken to be always engaged as much as possible in the Lord's work, and not to choose his own pleasure or employment, or pursue the ministry as a thing which is to serve his own ends or interests, or as a kind of by-work. He has told me, that whatever his future circumstances may be, he durst not lay by a shilling for his children, for his all is

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<sup>82</sup>Carey, *The Journal*, 51.

<sup>83</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 266-67.

devoted to God. The utmost harmony and love subsist between him and brother Thomas. They are fellow-labourers in the gospel of the grace of God.<sup>84</sup>

**Appendix 7, entry M8, *Memoir*, page 281, November 16, 1796.** Carey reported the loss of a son in a peculiar way. His letter reported that his family was well, when, in fact, a son had just died. He spoke of the work rather than his own personal loss. One might assume that this is simply denial, one of the stages of grief. The event itself points to the personal loss Carey faced in missions:

My family are well. I have lost one son, and had one son born since here, so that my number is now four. . . . I am very low respecting the progress of the work of God. Yet we have never had so much reason for encouragement as we have now; and I trust we have some general revival in our own souls. I love the work and trust it will triumph.<sup>85</sup>

**Appendix 7, entry M9, *Memoir*, page 282-3, November 22, 1796.** More discouragement occurred through the discovery that Carey's trusted worker and fellow believer, Ram Ram Boshu had fallen into sin and been relieved of his duty. This loss was devastating due to the early stage of the work and the great assistance provided by Ram Ram Boshu. At times, in pioneer mission work, the greatest heartbreak comes through the disappointment faced when the fruit of the work turns sour:

We have had great discouragements, especially through the fall of poor Ram Ram Boshu, who was guilty of adultery, and is gone far from us. Mohun Chund was with me; but I had supported him some months, and found that my income would not be sufficient to continue to do so. My schoolmaster also went with Moonshi, so that at once Moonshi and Mohun Chund went away, and the school was broken up.<sup>86</sup>

**Appendix 7, entry M12, *Memoir*, page 293, December 20, 1796.** One of Carey's risks was to observe the suffering the gospel brings to new believers, because of their faith. Such suffering can prove more painful than any suffering inflicted directly upon the missionaries. First, Carey grieved over the lack of fruit and simultaneously he

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<sup>84</sup>Ibid., 287.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., 281.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., 282-83.

commiserated over the high cost that locals paid to receive Christ and subsequently join the church. Carey's mechanism, used throughout his ministry as a precursor to baptism, was the simple breaking of bread together. Such was a costly form of hospitality. For a Hindu, it was considered breaking caste to eat with a Christian. The mere thought of losing caste was unbearable to those considering faith in Jesus Christ, thus worthy preparation for the decision of baptism. He lamented, "So great is the difficulty of losing caste for the Lord Jesus, that none have yet avowed his name by an open profession, and joining us as a church of Christ."<sup>87</sup>

**Appendix 7, entry M13, *Memoir*, page 298, March 23, 1797.** One of the constant burdens for some missionaries is the struggle to maintain legitimate visas and permits. Carey and his team relocated to Serampore, at great loss of personal property. In his letter written on March 23, 1797, Carey presented to Andrew Fuller the great benefit and necessity for missionaries to establish legitimate platforms. John Fountain and Ward had been denied permits since (unlike Thomas, Carey and Powel) neither Ward nor Fountain had legitimate work in India, at least in the eyes of the government. Carey explained, "But you see by this that some worldly employment is necessary to our being permitted to remain in this country."<sup>88</sup> Carey set a precedent, along with the Moravians, for what is dubbed today as "business as mission."<sup>89</sup> C. Neal Johnson defines "business as mission:"

Broadly defined as a for-profit commercial business venture that is Christian led, intentionally devoted to being used as an instrument of God's mission (*mission Dei*)

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<sup>87</sup>Ibid., 293.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., 298.

<sup>89</sup>For further information about the contemporary missions phenomenon of business as mission, see C. Neal Johnson and Steve Rundle, *Business as Mission: A Comprehensive Guide to Theory and Practice* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2009).

to the world, and is operated in a cross-cultural environment, either domestic or international.<sup>90</sup>

Obviously, there was much more to the Moravian strategy than could be described by the phenomenon known today as business as mission. Nevertheless, working for subsistence and to maintain a legitimate visa was and is a risk and burden faced by pioneer missionaries, such as Carey.

**Appendix 7, entry M17, *Memoir*, page 441, December 29, 1800.** To Sutcliff, Carey recounted a great community contention over the first confessing believers at Serampore. Sunday, December 28, had been a full day. The entry for the December 29 mentioned that even after a full week of testimonies by new believers, ensuing imprisonment and persecution of the new believers, and then baptism of Felix and Krishnu, the missionaries preached Sunday evening in several other locations. Beyond that, at least Krishnu had gone back to Gokul that day to encourage the other new believers to pursue baptism. In subsequent entries it is apparent that Gokul's baptism was delayed until June 7 of the following year. Krishnu's thirteen year-old daughter began to seriously consider Christ. Unfortunately, relatives of a man from Calcutta to whom her family had long committed her in marriage murdered the girl because of her interest in Christ. As a seeker of Jesus, she was no longer willing to marry an unbeliever:

Yesterday was a day of great joy. I had the happiness to desecrate Gunga (the sacred Ganges River), by baptizing the first Hindu, viz., Krishnu, and my son Felix: some circumstances turned up to delay the baptism of Gokul, and the two women. Gokul's wife came on Saturday to make a trial what could be done towards getting him back; and the women, who stood persecution very stoutly, were brought to a state of hesitation, by the tears and entreaties of their relations. We went to them again and again, but though they all declared themselves stedfast on the side of Christ, they wished to defer their baptism a week or two. Krishnu's coming forward, alone, however, gave us very great pleasure, and his joy at both ordinances was very great.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>90</sup>Ibid., 27-28.

<sup>91</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 293.

**Appendix 7, M19, *Memoir*, page 456-62, Serampore, November 1801.** The following description references letters found in Carey’s *Memoir* regarding several matters including the deaths of four of his colleagues, translations of scripture, and the advance of the work. Carey describes the open style of community shared by the missionaries along with their indigenous believers. Carey reported,

We now form a public family; and we have been blessed with outward things far beyond what any one of us ever expected. Yet we have no private property; and it is happy that we have not, as I believe the existence of the mission depends, in a very great degree, on our never engaging in private trade, or any thing which shall divide us from the common families of missionaries.<sup>92</sup>

Regarding the deaths of missionaries Carey lamented, “Moreover, I have outlived four of my brethren, Mr. Grant, Mr. Fountain, Mr. Brundson, and last of all, Mr. Thomas, who died October 13<sup>th</sup> last. I know not why so fruitless a tree is preserved; but the Lord is too wise to err.”<sup>93</sup>

**Appendix 7, entry M21, *Memoir*, page 469, February 27, 1804.** To Fuller, Carey wrote of his mixture of hope and discouragement, which led him to “a season of prayer and humiliation of soul, and of serious individual examination.”<sup>94</sup> Carey faced the daily challenges of discouragement and harsh living conditions and the frustrations of ministry in a challenging setting. In the midst of his despair, Carey turned to a deep devotional life of seclusion and self-denial as he sought God’s wisdom and comfort.

**Appendix 7, entry M22, *Memoir*, page 475, December 10, 1805.** To Fuller, Carey reported the baptism of thirteen indigenous believers during November. He also explained the events in Dacca of a judge who prevented the distribution of Scriptures and tracts, in spite of the demand of the crowd for those materials:

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<sup>92</sup>Ibid., 441.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., 456-57.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., 469.

This has been the most prosperous year that the mission has yet seen. . . . I think about thirty-five or thirty-six have been baptized within the year; nor do I know of any season in which so many other propitious circumstances have combined in favour of the work.<sup>95</sup>

In the same entry he mentioned opposition:

I mentioned a recent circumstance, in which the judge of the city of Dacca forbid brother Moore and my son William from distributing books, though the people were so eager to get them, that they were obliged to moor their boat out from the shore to prevent its being sunk by the crowd.<sup>96</sup>

In the midst of celebration of baptisms there was government resistance.

**Appendix 7, entry M23, *Memoir*, page 479, December 10, 1805.** To his sisters, Carey writes that he will die in India:

I shall never more see either of you in this world; indeed, considering the work which lies before me here, and the loud calls to exert all my powers, if I had a thousand bodies as strong as this, I dare not entertain a thought or wish of seeing any of my friends any more while I am here below.<sup>97</sup>

Carey had no intention of returning to England to retire. The mission drove him and the work yet to be completed constrained him. What others might consider an entitlement, to rest and retire, Carey gave no consideration. What one might consider a sacrifice Carey never desired.

**Appendix 7, entry M24-25, *Memoir*, pages 483, 495, September 2, 1806, October 14, 1807.** The government in Calcutta took a blatant but cowardly stance in 1806 against expatriate and indigenous preaching of the gospel, as well as a stand against the distribution of tracts and Scripture. The missionaries were told by a mid-level government bureaucrat to cease and to order indigenous evangelists not to continue preaching and distributing literature. After considerable consternation and prayer, the missionaries sent Mr. Brown to visit the magistrate. The end result was that the

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<sup>95</sup>Ibid., 475.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., 476.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., 479.



bureaucrat admitted that he had no authorization to directly oppose the mission; he was merely trying to intimidate. In the end the officials denied their opposition to the mission and to the indigenous workers. This event was the first of many intimidations. Eventually an official order was written to remove the printing press from Calcutta. Nevertheless, in 1807 the order was rescinded. Carey wrote in a subsequent letter, “There are, however, many here who would rejoice to see Christianity wholly expelled the country, and, particularly, to see any embarrassment thrown in our way. We, therefore, have no security but in God.”<sup>98</sup>

### **Evangelism**

While on the *Kron Princessa Maria*, Carey’s journal records his reflections about his ongoing gospel witness to a French Deist on board.<sup>99</sup> Timothy George explained,

For Carey evangelism was never an optional add-on to the gospel; it was the motivating force of every soul delivered out of darkness into the light of grace. The message of salvation which Carey would sound through India for 41 years he first proclaimed in the humble villages of his birth and youth.<sup>100</sup>

On August 23, 1793, Carey reflected on the deep burden he felt for the lost:

[I] feel my heart set upon the great work upon which I am going—sometimes I am quite dejected when I see the impenetrability of the Hearts of those with us—they hear us preach on the Lord’s Day—but we are forced to witness their disregard to God all the Week—O may God give us greater success among Heathen.<sup>101</sup>

On November 9, 1793, Carey records his reaction to the first Hindus that he met. They were fishermen who paddled up to the ship. Carey made a plan to go and witness among them.<sup>102</sup> He developed a fivefold strategy of evangelism, which he defended and propagated with his own missionary society, and among other sending

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<sup>98</sup> Carey, *Memoir*, 496.

<sup>99</sup>Carey, *The Journal*, 4-5.

<sup>100</sup>George, *Faithful Witness*, 8.

<sup>101</sup>Carey, *The Journal*, 5.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., 7.

societies. Church and school were developed simultaneously. Carey was convinced that uneducated communities must become literate in order to read the Bible, so education was paramount. Second, Carey pressed the need for Scriptures in common languages of the world. One of his greatest achievements was the translation of Scripture. Third, Carey lived out his belief and persistent discipline that missionaries must work diligently to learn local customs and languages. He was not satisfied to learn one, rather many languages. Fourth, Carey and his team daily confronted the unsaved with the claims of Christ. The missionaries prayed daily for the conversion of many. Finally, Carey's desire was to see the development of indigenous churches with their own indigenous leadership, sooner rather than later.<sup>103</sup>

**Appendix 7, M7, *Memoir*, pages 278-79, November 16, 1796.** From Mudnabatty, Carey wrote to Fuller regarding his conviction that a business platform was a real issue in India. Carey was never in India in the official capacity of a missionary. In fact when he arrived, Carey's lack of visa or official permit required him to disembark far from land, re-embark on fishing boats, which took his family up the Hoogly River, so as not to be detected and arrested as illegal aliens by the British. Even though officials (namely, Sir John Shore) knew of Carey's missionary intent, Carey legally registered as an Indigo professional and carried out a legitimate practice in the industry, while fully engaging in missions. His business platform was nothing artificial. Carey worked managing the indigo industry during the busy season. Most of the year, however, he was able to work incessantly on language, translation and preaching. After Carey left the indigo industry he continued to use his intellect and skills instructing and working in secular pursuits. The marketplaces of industry in which Carey invested were also his classroom for learning language and culture and his pulpit for preaching the gospel.

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<sup>103</sup>George, *Faithful Witness*, 41.

**Appendix 7, M14, *Memoir*, pages 299-307, March 23, 1797.** From Mudnabatty, Carey sent Fuller a full report about his and Thomas' pioneer outreach to Bhutan. The report includes meticulous anthropological insights. They met with many challenges, including spending much time in the home of officers who needed to walk them through many processes of approval. Included are some humorous accounts of Carey's attempts to swallow unpalatable foods such as ghee and tea cakes and a foot-long strip of dried bacon, so pungent as to be able to smell the bacon at a great distance. He described an extravagant processional of horses and musicians, attendants and celebrants. Two or three thousand Hindus joined the parade as Carey and Thomas entered one particular village. They met with the Grand Lama and Soobah, a man of high stature. When eating, the Soobah attempted to imitate every mannerism of the Europeans. He had obviously never eaten in their style but he copied Carey's and Thomas's every move. There was a heated exchange between the Soobah and a lesser dignitary regarding Carey's presence there. Carey made some anthropological and linguistic observations regarding the interactions between the Hindus and the Bhutanese. He and Thomas carried on a debate about whether or not Tibet and Bhutan are the same country. This mission trip report serves as an exemplary report of Carey's pioneer explorations for the advance of missionary work in South Asia:

Mr. Thomas and myself are just arrived at home from an excursion to Bootan, in which we preached Christ in many places, where his name was never heard before, and were attended to with great ardour. The name of our Redeemer has been declared in that unknown country, and we have the greatest encouragement to hope a mission may be begun to great advantage in those parts. I will relate a little of our expedition.<sup>104</sup>

**Appendix 7, M15, *Memoir*, page 437, December 22, 1800.** The next three entries are significant regarding all three categories so they appear in part in all three locations. This was an extremely important series of events in the life of the Serampore

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<sup>104</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 299-307.

mission. As mentioned previously, in Carey's letter to Sutcliff, he recounted a witnessing experience with Krishnu and Gokul. The following excerpts describe the joy of their decision to follow Christ. The important symbol of eating together was practiced as a sign of disavowing the bondage of caste and joining in the fellowship of the family of God. Following this brief account is a long description of the testimonies of new believers. The December 23 entry then describes a great disruption that occurred in the community over the testimonies of the new believers. There were threats of violence upon Krishnu, in particular. Rumors spread that Krishnu and two others were imprisoned for their decision to follow Christ. Carey appealed to the governor to provide a guard for Krishnu the following night. By the subsequent Sunday, the first indigenous baptism occurred:

Gokul and Krishnu have this day thrown away their caste. They come on purpose to eat with us, and, after a few minutes spent in prayer by me, Krishnu, Gokul, and brother Thomas, they sat down to table, and ate with us in the presence of all. They, with the two women, will come tonight, to give in their experience, and next Lord's day I expect to baptize four natives, Mr. Fernandez (a Portuguese), and my son Felix.<sup>105</sup>

**Appendix 7, M16, *Memoir*, pages 440-41, December 23, 1800.** In Carey's subsequent entry, he reported the events following the momentous night of testimonies by new Hindu-background believers. The week's events serve as the first breakthrough in the witness by the Serampore mission. After the persecution and threat of violence to new believers, Marshman and Carey and William Carey, Jr., went to visit two marketplace congregations (Carey referred to the places he regularly preached as if they were already churches) three miles from the mission base. Carey's entry recounted his apologetic encounter with a group of Hindus. First, Carey told the Hindus of some of the vile personalities and actions of their gods as found in their sacred writings. Carey quoted

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<sup>105</sup>William Martin Harvard, *A Narrative of the Establishment and Progress of the Mission to Ceylon and India: Founded by the Late Rev. Thomas Coke, L.L.D., under the Direction of the Wesleyan-Methodist Conference, Including Notices of Bombay and the Superstitions of Various Religious Sects at That Presidency, and on the Continent of India, with an Introductory Sketch of the Natural, Civil, and Religious History of the Island of Ceylon* (London: printed for the author, 1823), 38.

their holy writings as proof. The crowd in this open marketplace longed for a sign.

Carey's tactic was perhaps overzealous, but he offered as a sign his own willingness to destroy (by hammer or fire) their village god to see if it would rise up to protect itself:

I asked them if they had not a guardian god to their town. They said, "Yes, Punchanon." I asked, is he a wooden one or made of stone? They said, "Who can tell what God is made of?" I said, what is the thing you worship made of? "Stone." Well, if it is God, I cannot injure it. Now, if the people of the town will agree to it, I will try whether he is God or not. I will bring a large hammer, and, if I cannot break him to pieces, you are right. If I can, your god is gone, and you are undeceived. I had on the road made a similar proposal, with respect to Juggunath; but, as he was a wooden one, I proposed to burn him.<sup>106</sup>

**Appendix 7, M17, *Memoir*, page 441, Serampore, December 29, 1800.**

Carey recorded the joyous experience of baptizing his son, Felix, along with the first Hindu-background believer in Jesus Christ. Due to persecution of Gokul, his baptism was delayed. The two women who had also confessed Christ decided to delay their baptism in the face of the persecution. Carey wrote,

Yesterday was a day of great joy. I had the happiness to desecrate Gunga (the sacred Ganges River), by baptizing the first Hindu, viz., Krishnu, and my son Felix. . . . Krishnu's coming forward, alone, however, gave us very great pleasure, and his joy at both ordinances was very great.<sup>107</sup>

Sunday, December 28 had been a full day. The entry for the December 29 mentioned that after a full week of new believers' testimonies, ensuing imprisonment and persecution, and then the baptism of Felix and Krishnu, the missionaries preached Sunday evening in several other locations. Beyond that, Krishnu had gone back to Gokul that same day to encourage the new believer and the two women toward continuing with baptism. One learns in subsequent entries that Gokul's baptism was delayed until June 7 of the following year.<sup>108</sup> Krishnu's thirteen year-old daughter began to seriously consider

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<sup>106</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 441.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid., 442.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid., 450.

Christ. Tragic events ensued at the hands of relatives—a man from Calcutta, to whom Krishnu’s daughter had been committed in traditional arranged marriage. The man’s relatives murdered her because her interest in Christ made her unwilling to marry an unbeliever.<sup>109</sup> The report continues,

I afterwards went with brother Marshman; we preached in the street, each to a congregation of Bengali’s, while brother Ward and Felix went to Krishnu’s house. I preached in the evening to a good congregation of Hindus, Mussulmans, Portuguese, Greeks, and Armenians. . . . After worship, Krishnu came to inform us that both Gokul and the women were again fully set to engage in the ordinance the first opportunity, which we expect in a Sabbath or two, when Mr. Fernandez has arrived. Krishnu’s daughter, a young person of thirteen, appears to be under impressions (considering Christ) of a serious nature.

Thus you see, God is making way for us, and giving success to the word of his grace! We have toiled long, and have met with many discouragements; but, at last, the Lord has appeared for us. May we have the true spirit of nurses, to train them up in the words of faith and sound doctrine! I have no fear of any one, however, in this respect, but myself. I feel much concerned that they may act worthy of their vocation, and also, that they may be able to teach others. I think it becomes us to make the most of every one whom the Lord gives us.<sup>110</sup>

**Appendix 7, M18, *Memoir*, page 451, Serampore, June 15, 1801.** It is appropriate that following an earlier report of fruit and baptism is a report regarding indigenous evangelistic efforts. In a letter to Ryland, Carey illustrated the mechanisms by which discipleship and spiritual multiplication occurred.

The manner in which our Hindu friends recommend the gospel to others is very pleasing. They speak of the love of Christ in suffering and dying, and this appears to be all in all with them. Their conversation with others is somewhat like the following. A man says, “Well, Krishnu, you have left off all the customs of your ancestors; what is the reason?” Krishnu says, “Only have patience, and I will inform you. I am a great sinner. I tried the Hindu worship, but got no good: after a while, I heard of Christ, that he was incarnate, laboured much, and at last laid down his life for sinners. I thought, What love is this! And here I made my resting-place. Now say, if anything like this love was ever shown by any of your gods? Did Doorga, or Kalee, or Krishnu die for sinners? You know that they only sought their own ease, and had no love for anyone.” This is the simple way in which they confront others; and none can answer except by railing, which they bear patiently, and glory in.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>109</sup>Ibid., 448.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., 443.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid., 451.

**Appendix 7, M20, *Memoir*, page 463-65, Calcutta, September 21, 1803.**

Nearly three years after that first baptism Carey discussed the results of the work as well as a controversy, fueled by paedo-Baptists, over Carey's insistence on the use of the word "immersion" in the translations being printed. A rumor was fueled that Carey was using the word "drown" instead. All of this created a stir among the missionaries and the reverberations reached the senders in the West. Also in the letter Carey accounted for twenty-five baptized Indian church members. He lifted up the school as of great benefit to the education of the Indians, as well as the fee-generating boarding school (with thirty-five students).

The heart of Carey on evangelism could be summed up in an earlier entry on November 30, 1793. Carey made a simple, but profound statement in his journal: "The blessings of the gospel are far greater than we can think unless we discourse with those who never had them."<sup>112</sup> Again on March 29 of the same year, "I feel a burning desire that all the world may know this God and serve him."<sup>113</sup> Carey's decisions seemed driven by that passion for all to know Jesus and serve him.

**Carey's Resolute Motivation**

As a young man, in his *Enquiry*, Carey addressed his resolute motivation for missions. He used an analogy to explain how Christians overcome fears regarding dangerous missions. He compared church to trading companies that risk much to seek great wealth. Obviously, there is no adequate comparison between temporal wealth and the spiritual gain that Christians should seek on God's mission in the advance his kingdom. Carey reflected on the issue of fear:

But why these fears? Whence all these disquietudes, and this labour? Is it not because their souls enter into the spirit of the project, and their happiness in a way

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<sup>112</sup>Carey, *The Journal*, 14.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid., 21.

depends on its success? Christians are a body whose truest interest lies in the exaltation of the Messiah's kingdom. Their charter is very extensive, their encouragements exceeding great, and the returns promised infinitely superior to all the gains of the most lucrative company. Let then everyone in his station consider himself as bound to act with all his might and in every possible way for God.<sup>114</sup>

**Appendix 3, entry 21, *Journal*, page 44, November 5, 1794.** The first entry which offers insight into Carey's motivation and determination comes after a period of discouragement in which Carey noted that regardless of his fever, the work must continue: "[I] set out to Malda where I staid till the 10<sup>th</sup>, had some return of fever—but preached twice on the Lord's Day, tho very weak and full of pain."<sup>115</sup> One of the most daunting issues in pioneer missions is living with illness, be it dysentery, malaria, dengue fever, or unknown maladies. The debilitating effect of constant illness can become overwhelming physically and spiritually taxing. One dare not underestimate such challenges to the preaching of the gospel in such circumstances. Nevertheless, Carey persisted.

**Appendix 3, entry 17, *Journal*, page 7, January 13, 1794.** Prior to the entry above, the following entry occurs upon Carey's great disappointment with Thomas over the complete depletion of mission funds. Carey mustered his resolve: "We changed our minds, and from that moment my mind was fully determined to go up into the country, and build me an hut, and live like the natives; Mr. T. had entertained thoughts of settling [in his profession] at Calcutta."<sup>116</sup> Financially destitute, Carey took his family into the jungle to find a place to live and work. Carey had no experience in exploring the jungles to prepare himself and his family a dwelling place. He did so without resources. Why not simply stay in Calcutta or depart for England? God had given him a mission and he would not waiver from it.

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<sup>114</sup>Carey, *Enquiry*, 62.

<sup>115</sup>Carey, *The Journal*, 44.

<sup>116</sup>*Ibid.*, 7.



**Appendix 7, entry M3, *Memoir*, page 262, January 13, 1796.** In Carey's letter to the Baptist Missionary Society on January 13, 1796, he actually mentioned Thomas Coke. In this letter Carey reported on the work in India but he also cast vision for global evangelism. He mentioned Bhutan and other areas of South Asia. Carey had obviously heard about Coke's missionary endeavors. Carey suggested that if Coke was planning to send missionaries, the Baptists should support Coke and his missionaries in South Asia. This letter is evidence of at least a desire by Carey to collaborate with Coke and the Methodists. Coke's band of missionaries eventually launched their work in South Asia in 1813. Carey was sacrificially committed to the mission of God, which exceeded far beyond his own work at Serampore.

**Appendix 7, entry M10, *Memoir*, page 286, November 8, 1796.** The new missionary, John Fountain, arrived in the jungle to find Carey at work both studying the language and preaching the gospel. In Fountain's letter to Fuller at the Society, he reported on Carey's effective and diligent ministry. He quoted Carey in describing the missionary: "A Christian minister is a person who, in a peculiar sense, is not his own; he is the servant of God, and therefore ought to be wholly devoted to him."<sup>117</sup> He confirmed that Carey was such a godly, devoted and diligent minister of the gospel.

**Appendix 7, entry M6, *Memoir*, page 272, November 16, 1796.** In Carey's letter to Andrew Fuller he discussed mission strategy and the requirements on women serving on the mission field. First he suggested that Baptists formally adopt a strategy similar to the Moravians. Several families should live together sharing locally earned support, having all things in common. Well aware of the painstaking suffering of his own wife, Carey insisted that the role of women in the mission is extremely important: "It is absolutely necessary for the wives of missionaries to be as hearty in the work as the

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<sup>117</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 286.

husbands. Our families should be considered nurseries for the mission; and among us should be a person capable of teaching school.”<sup>118</sup> Carey learned through the challenges of his own wife’s frailty that both missionary husbands and wives should share a profound motivation for missions.

**Appendix 7, entry M26, *Memoir*, pages 498-500, Calcutta, January 18, 1808.** Carey reported to Sutcliff that his wife Dorothy passed away in December of 1807, due to a fever. Having surpassed a few years of opposition and now the loss of Dorothy, Carey recounted the blessings of God’s work: “We are all overwhelmed with distress; but I am persuaded that we all felt a reliance on God, such as we have scarcely witnessed before.”<sup>119</sup> Carey contemplated the current fruit compared to the state of India and the gospel when he arrived:

When I arrived, I knew of no person in Bengal who cared about the gospel, except Mr. Brown, Mr. Udney, Mr. Creighton, Mr. Grant, and Mr. Brown, an indigo planter, besides brother Thomas and myself. . . . There are now in India thirty-two ministers of the gospel.

The Bible is now translated into, and printed in, the following languages: Sunscrit, Bengali, Mahratta, Orissa, Hindusthani, Guzeratti, Chinese, Seek, Telinga, Kurnata, Burman, and Persian.

The language on the continent, into which a translation is not yet begun, are, Nepaul, Bhootan, including Tibet, Assam, Arrakan, Pegur, Siam, Cambodia, and, perhaps, two or three more, of which I am not informed. In the idlands, they are numerous; viz., three languages in Sumatra, one at least, in Java, that of Borneo, Timor, perhaps ten more in Moluccas, that of the Philippines, and a few others; in all about thirty. . . . All this must be done, and men must be provided to carry these translations to the different countries, before the millennium, which cannot be far off.<sup>120</sup>

**Appendix 7, entry M27, pages 521-22, March 12, 1812.** Carey wrote to his nephew encouraging him to come serve in India. William Carey fell asleep after his opening paragraph, awakening the next morning to the devastating news of the

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<sup>118</sup>Ibid., 272.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid., 495-96.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid., 499.

destruction by fire of the printing house. The first paragraph was quite different than the hurriedly completed final half of the letter:

I am fully of opinion that every person to whom God has given abilities for the work, is bound to devote himself to the work of the ministry. It is not at the option of such a person whether he will engage in it or not, nor is it at the option of a church whether it will send one to the work of ministry upon whom God has bestowed spiritual gifts. If the church neglect to send such a member into ministry, the guilt lies on them. The number of persons now required to spread the gospel through the earth, is unspeakably great. If fifty thousand ministers, besides those actually employed, were now to go forth, they would be so thinly spread about, as scarcely to be perceived. The harvest is indeed great, but the labourers are very few.

I began this letter last night; this morning I close it hastily, having received intelligence of a dreadful loss which befell the mission last night. Our printing office was totally consumed by fire; and all the property, amounting to at least sixty or seventy thousand rupees, was destroyed; nothing was saved but the presses. This is a heavy blow, as it will put a stop to our labours in bringing the scriptures, for a long time to come. Twelve months' hard labour will not put it in the state it was in, not to mention the loss of property, manuscripts, and other things, which we shall scarcely ever surmount. I wish to be still, and know that the Lord is God, and to bow to his divine will in every thing. He will, no doubt, bring good out of this evil, and make it the occasion of promoting his interest; but to us, at present, the providence is exceedingly dark. Through divine mercy, no lives were lost. We cannot tell what was the cause of the fire.<sup>121</sup>

Carey's missionary resolve kept him from despair over this great loss by fire. He assessed the damage and went immediately to work.

**Appendix 7, entry M28, pages 522-25, March 25, 1812.** The destruction by fire of the printing operation set the work back, yet the mission immediately assessed damages and rebuilt again. Carey took inventory of the damage and reconstruction process. He mentioned that during the same period of time several members of the extended mission family had suffered devastating personal loss. Mr. Chamberlain lost all of his children within nine months. Mardon lost his wife then his youngest child. Ward lost his daughter and Marshman lost his youngest son. In spite of the fire, the presses were saved, though they lost some of the oriental and English types and punches. Production could begin quickly in one language and in a second language within a month. The missionaries used the melted metal to recast the lettering and they borrowed

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<sup>121</sup>Ibid., 521-22.

other letters from Calcutta. None of the sources of income was lost and no one died in the fire. The manufacturing of indigenous paper was not impacted. All were grateful for the kindness by the native community. The enormous losses, which Carey believed would require twelve months of his own effort, were the manuscripts of Telinga, Kurnata, Sikh, Sunscrit, and Assam:

We have all of us been supported under the affliction, and preserved from discouragement. To me, the consideration of the divine sovereignty and wisdom has been very supporting; and, indeed, I have usually been supported under afflictions by feeling that I and mine are in the hands of an infinitely wise God.<sup>122</sup>

**Appendix 7, entry M29, *Memoir*, pages 528-29, April 9, 1812.** To Robert Hall, Carey reported the damage caused by the fire. His 1812 letter was addressed to the pastor of his own former congregation at Leicester. The church at Leicester was one of Carey's early parishes that had been so divided that Carey disbanded it and restarted it (with excellent results). The following church planting report was recorded:

There are now belonging to the mission twelve churches, viz.: three in Hindusthan, at Agra, Digga, and Patna; five in Bengal, viz.: Dinagepore, Gomalti, Cutwa, Jessore, and Serampore, including Calcutta; one in Orissa; one at Rangoon; one in Java; at Samarang; and one in the Isle of Mauritius and Bourbon. Some of these are in a prosperous state, and only two which are very low. There is prospect of several other churches being formed.<sup>123</sup>

**Appendix 7, entry M30, *Memoir*, pages 531-32, March 25, 1813.** To Fuller, Carey reported additional language projects needed. Carey tirelessly pursued a Punjabi grammar (in the press), Kurnata grammar (nearly ready), Kashmeer, Pushto (Afghan language), Billochi, and Orissa. He also corrected his son Felix's Burmese grammar. Carey commented to Fuller, "All these are or can be brought within our reach."<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>122</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 525.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., 529.

<sup>124</sup>Ibid., 477.

**Appendix 7, entry M31, *Memoir*, page 533, August 3, 1814.** To Carey's sisters he wrote, "The cause of missions and of the Bible is the cause of God, and will prevail to the lasting ignominy of all who oppose it."<sup>125</sup> Carey continued, calling upon the phrase he used in that famous sermon before the launch of the Society: "The Lord has done great things for India, both here and in England. Here religion, which formerly had scarcely an existence, lives and prevails."<sup>126</sup> Carey sized up the work in South Asia:

I look round on the nations on all sides; see translations of the Bible either begun or finished in twenty-five languages at our house, and hope to be able to secure the other languages spoken around us, when I hope all will hear in their own tongues the wonderful works of God.<sup>127</sup>

**Appendix 7, entry M32, *Memoir*, pages 535-36, May 17, 1815.** To Fuller, Carey wrote a very honest, humble and effacing letter. At the same time, his self-deprecation seemed to be a pattern that Carey carried with him to his self-penned epitaph. He focused on his desire to love Christ more and he tied that to his own labor with Christ for the spread gospel. Likewise he commented on his pleasure in serving the Lord:

What I have always lamented as the great crime of which I am constantly guilty, is want of love of Christ. That fervency of spirit which many feel, that constant activity in the ways of God, and that hunger and thirst after righteousness which constitutes the life and soul of religion, I scarcely feel at all, or if I do perceive a small degree of it, its continuance is so short, and its operations so feeble, that I can scarcely consider it as forming a part of my character. I live a kind of mechanical life, going through the labours of each day as I should go through any other work, but in a great measure destitute of that energy which makes every duty a pleasure.

At the present time my labour is greater than at any former period. We have now translations of the Bible going forward in twenty-seven languages, all of which are in the press except two or three. The labour of correcting and revising all of them lies on me. I have lately been fully convinced of the necessity of having some brother associated with me in this department of the work, who shall be in some manner initiated into my ideas; and if I should be laid aside by sickness, or removed by death, should take charge of this department of the work.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>125</sup>Ibid., 533.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid.

<sup>127</sup>Ibid.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., 535-36.

**Appendix 3, entry 23, *Memoir*, pages 566-67, May 17, 1831.** Eustace Carey's *Memoir* included a letter from William Carey to his son, Jabez. Carey reflected on his desire to be more devoted to service to the Lord: "I wish to be entirely devoted to his service, more completely sanctified, and more habitually exercising all the Christian graces, and bringing forth the fruits of righteousness to praise and honour of that Saviour who gave his life a sacrifice for sin."<sup>129</sup> Carey tied his motivation directly to his love for and devotion to Jesus who saved him.

**Appendix 3, entry 24, *Memoir*, pages 575-77, April 13, 1836.** Carey's son, Jonathan, recounted the dedication of his father to the work of translation and studies. Carey's schedule began so early and continued so late with few breaks, that it required three different assistants who worked in shifts to attend to the work alongside of Carey: "So scrupulous was he of his time, that, if overcome by sleep, he would double his vigilance to regain what he had lost."<sup>130</sup>

**Appendix 3, entry 26, *Memoir*, page 623.** Eustace Carey reflected on a revealing conversation with his uncle. William Carey referred to himself as nothing but a plodder. The condition under which Carey agreed to work with his nephew on the biography is as follows, "If, after my removal, anyone should think it worth his while to write my life, I will give you a criterion by which you may judge of its correctness. If he give me credit for being a plodder, he will describe me justly. Any thing beyond this will be too much. I can plod."<sup>131</sup> Carey explained his persistence in the task:

I can persevere in any definite pursuit. To this I owe everything. But, how few can plod! Many can devise a splendid scheme, a magnificent enterprise; but the plodder

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<sup>129</sup>Ibid., 567.

<sup>130</sup>Ibid., 576.

<sup>131</sup>Ibid., 623.

is the man who will rise to respect and eminence; and, should he live sufficiently long to effect his designs, will make the world his insolvent debtor.<sup>132</sup>

J. W. Morris pointed to a motivational theme in Carey's correspondence and preaching—the kingdom of God. Morris said that there was a “principle operating which led to this result, though its effects were not immediately observed; and the fire which Carey kindled, was in effect taken from a coal which had been burning upon another altar.” Morris further explained Carey's motivation,

“The kingdom of heaven cometh not with observation;” its coming is generally unobserved, and the lowly form which it assumes, give but little notice of its approach. Its first appearance is as imperceptible as a ‘grain of mustard seed, which indeed is the least of all seeds.’<sup>133</sup>

Carey's vision for a coming kingdom was inexorably linked to the church's involvement in using means to preach the gospel among the lost in the remotest parts of the earth. The risks taken in that process were balanced by the reward of the coming kingdom.

Carey alluded, on more than one occasion, but especially in his later letters, that once he left England he had no intention of returning. Upon the death of his Baptist Missionary Society friend, Ryland, he wrote to Mr. Dyer on December 9, 1825:

“Wherever I look in England, I see a vast blank; and were I ever to revisit that dear country, I should have an entirely new set of friendships to form. I, however, never intended to return to England when I left it . . . I certainly shall not do it.”<sup>134</sup> Carey's heart and life had left England behind. His eyes were fixed on God's mission to the world. Everything else was “a vast blank.”<sup>135</sup>

### **Observations and Significance**

What general observations can be drawn regarding Carey's resolute motivation

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<sup>132</sup>Ibid.

<sup>133</sup>Morris, *Fuller Memoirs*, 79.

<sup>134</sup>Ibid.

<sup>135</sup>Ibid.

to risk much for personal and global evangelism? It would be difficult to discuss Carey's motivation for risky missionary endeavors without acknowledging statements made in his *Enquiry*. Travis Myers argued that the motivation in Carey's life and work was a theology of the kingdom of God. Myers evaluated Carey's *Enquiry* as a case study, keying on Carey's watchword, "great things." Myers posited,

Through the heuristic lens of the kingdom motif, I believe we see that Carey understood Christians to be the beneficiaries and instruments of the triune God's own kingdom-extending program, as well as 'partakers' of the very character and Spirit of a God on mission.<sup>136</sup>

Carey was motivated to participate with God on his mission, and Carey, in *Enquiry*, encouraged his audience by calling upon Matthew 6:19-20, Galatians 6:7, and 1 Thessalonians 2:19. Carey wrote, "Surely it is worth while to lay ourselves out with all our might in promoting the cause and kingdom of Christ."<sup>137</sup> Myers asserted that Carey's incentive was "gracious reward or increased heavenly joy."<sup>138</sup> According to Myers, Carey also made the point,

The kingdom of Christ makes inroads, establishes beachheads, and takes ground in its undermining and overthrow of Satan's kingdom. It is Christ himself who 'fixes his throne' through the activity of his faithful subjects, even through their responses to persecution.<sup>139</sup>

A third argument that Myers posited from *Enquiry* is that God calls Christians to fight in this spiritual battle against the supernatural enemy who wages war across the globe even among believers. As evidence, Carey challenged Christians against doctrinal impurity and corrupt practices that hinder the Christian witness among the lost: "Revival and

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<sup>136</sup>T. L. Myers, "Tracing a Theology of the Kingdom of God in William Carey's *Enquiry*: A Case Study in Complex Mission Motivation as Component of 'Missionary Spirituality,'" *Missiology* 40, no. 1 (2012): 39.

<sup>137</sup>Ibid.

<sup>138</sup>Ibid., 40.

<sup>139</sup>Ibid.



political reform at home can recover the witness of expatriates abroad.”<sup>140</sup> The argument that many recall about Carey’s proposal is for the use of means for the advance of this heavenly kingdom. According to Myers,

Carey’s missionary motivation amounts, in part, to an argument from teleology. It also amounts, but only in part, to an obligation to make disciples of all nations. And it amounts, surprisingly in part, to the Christian’s ontological status: his or her spiritual union with the Lord, citing, as Carey does, 1 Corinthians 6:16.<sup>141</sup>

Carey’s broad impact is seen in the explosion of the missionary society movement, the utilization of mission schools in raising indigenous education, the prominent role of Bible translations and the importance of diligent language learning. Carey gleaned much from the Moravians emphasizing shared finances, field-based fund generation through local financial endeavors (not to the neglect of the mission of God), and the importance of the mission station. Andrew McFarland comments,

Carey had never anticipated just how much he would need their support. He had foreseen the strategy, and yet, not his own utter reliance on it. Furthermore, he was quite surprised by the bond of love that, almost immediately was experienced by all of them.<sup>142</sup>

The rise in mission societies and the sending of missionaries caused Carey to speculate on the possibility of a global meeting in Cape Town. Carey opined with Fuller in a letter from Calcutta on May 15, 1806:

Let the first meeting be in the year 1810, or 1812, at the furthest. I have no doubt but it would be attended with very important effects. We could understand one another better; and more entirely enter into one another’s views’ conversation.<sup>143</sup>

Carey’s aspiration of a grand mission gathering would remain an unfulfilled dream.

On April 5, 1794, early in Carey’s pilgrimage, he stated his resolve: “I am

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<sup>140</sup>Ibid., 41.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid., 42.

<sup>142</sup>Andrew McFarland, “William Carey’s Vision for Missionary Families” (paper presented at Evangelical Missiological Society, Dallas, 2013), 11.

<sup>143</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 481.

resolved to spend and be spent in the work of my Lord Jesus Christ.”<sup>144</sup> On June 30, he made a statement that is a profound complement to the previous: “And [I am] much concern[ed] lest I should become negligent after so great mercies; but if after God has so wonderfully made way for us, I should neglect the very work, for which I came here.” Carey continued, admitting a darker side of his motivation: “The blackest brand of guilt—infamy must lie upon my soul; found myself desirous of being entirely devoted to God and disposed of by him just as he pleases; I felt likewise much concern for the success of the gospel among the Heathen.”<sup>145</sup>

Carey’s commitment to the gospel and his resolve to abandon himself to the cause of the gospel in the world made risk a secondary concern. One could minimize the challenges faced by Carey, since “wild natives” did not murder him. One could canonize him as a saint, elevating his every difficulty as a merit earned through his suffering. Carey’s very existence was lived out through the school, the students, each manuscript of each new Scripture portion, and through every journal article distributed in the local dialect. He poured out his life, sacrificing whatever was required in order to advance the gospel.

Carey was not thrown into prison, as was his friend Adoniram Judson. Nevertheless, what Carey did not suffer does not minimize Carey’s submission to whatever challenges God might have presented to him in the way of risk and potential suffering. The important matter is Carey’s obedience and availability to serve God’s plan for the advance of the kingdom. Carey devoted himself to plod along for the success of the gospel, regardless of what might come. Carey did not plod for his own cause, but for the glory of Christ. Illness would come. Fires would destroy manuscripts. Impoverishment would chase health. Authorities would legislate and intimidate his

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<sup>144</sup>Carey, *The Journal*, 22.

<sup>145</sup>*Ibid.*, 35.

freedom to witness. Laws would restrict mission activities. Colleagues died. Children and wives died. Some of Carey's sufferings were commonplace. Nevertheless, the mission of God among the lost would press forward through the obedience of Carey, the Serampore Trio, indigenous workers, and new believers.

How would the missionaries not falter in the face of life in a very challenging epoch in the jungles of India? Because, danger, even death was secondary to the message and the mission of the kingdom of God. As the church listens to the journals and letters of missionaries, the church can err by fleeing from risk. In the same vein, missionaries can stumble by flailing themselves into danger for faulty motives. Carey's vision was big and costly, but it was not a vision of his own making. Perspective is gained by remembering Carey as a schoolboy and cobbler who became consumed by Jesus. His interest in the world was spurred through reading of the adventures of ocean voyages and the study of geography. Two great risks stand out in Carey's journey. The first was the entire ordeal of challenging his friends in the Northamptonshire Baptist Association to consider the scriptural mandate in light of the spiritual condition of the world. There was no mechanism or plan in place. God provided the plan and Carey would be the first to walk through the new channel of mission sending. This first great risk was the entire endeavor of starting the BMS and serving as the first missionary. The second great risk one might observe was the faithfulness he demonstrated in venturing from Calcutta with no money into the jungles. God used the second great risk to build his linguistic skills, his understanding of the culture and his love for the peoples. Many other risks followed and his godly motivation enabled him to persist regardless. Carey risked much for great gain.

CHAPTER 4  
THE SOUTH ASIA JOURNAL OF THOMAS COKE

In 1784, Thomas Coke had published his twelve-page pamphlet *An Address to the Pious and Benevolent, Proposing an Annual Subscription for the Support of Missionaries in the Highlands and Adjacent Islands of Scotland, the Isles of Jersey, Guernsy, and Newfoundland, the West Indies, and the Provinces of Nova Scotia and Quebec* (see appendix 15).<sup>1</sup> Carey’s publication in 1792 of *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens: In Which the Religious State of the Different Nations of the World, the Success of Former Undertakings, and the Practicability of Further Undertakings Are Considered*<sup>2</sup> may have been influenced by Coke’s earlier pamphlet. Perhaps Coke had his hand in influencing “the first and still greatest missionary treatise in the English language.”<sup>3</sup> Coke’s brief pamphlet contained a plan for setting up the “Society for the Establishment of Missions Amongst the Heathen.” Coke was a relatively affluent man who invested a great deal of his later years, wealth, and time in “the most vile, the most glorious drudgery of begging

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas Coke, *An Address to the Pious and Benevolent, Proposing an Annual Subscription for the Support of Missionaries in the Highlands and Adjacent Islands of Scotland, the Isles of Jersey, Guernsy, and Newfoundland, the West Indies, and the Provinces of Nova Scotia and Quebec* (London: J. Paramore, 1786).

<sup>2</sup>William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens: In Which the Religious State of the Different Nations of the World, the Success of Former Undertakings, and the Practicability of Further Undertakings Are Considered* (Leicester: Printed by Ann Ireland, 1792).

<sup>3</sup>George Smith, *The Life of William Carey, D.D.; Shoemaker and Missionary, Professor of Sanskrit, Bengali, and Marathi in the College of Fort William, Calcutta* (London: J. Murray, 1885), 28.

money [for the cause of missions].”<sup>4</sup> His entreating for funds on behalf of other missionaries eventually required his own participation on those same fields of ministry around the globe. Coke was the preeminent Methodist pioneer of international mission work. He founded British Methodism’s overseas mission efforts. He labored passionately at global evangelization, but he yearned specifically for the Indian subcontinent. Yet his death prior to fulfilling his calling to Ceylon prevented him from ever walking on the soil for which he poured out his life. What was Thomas Coke’s vision and motivation? Why was he so passionate for the lost people of Ceylon? Coke expressed his yearning for South Asia:

I am now dead to Europe and alive for India. God Himself has said to me, “Go to Ceylon.” I am so fully convinced of the will of God that methinks I had rather be set naked on the coast of Ceylon, without clothes, and without a friend, than not go there.<sup>5</sup>

### **Source of the Journal**

From as early as 1784, Coke corresponded with Charles Grant of the *East India Company*. In 1813, Coke was able to lead a small band of dedicated Methodists to Ceylon. Coke’s journal to Asia began on February 19 as he departed on the *Cabalva* from the shores of Great Britain. The journal continued until his death just off the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>6</sup>

Much prior to his incomplete journey to India, Coke kept a meticulous journal from as early as 1784, chronicling his missionary journeys to America. His pattern of daily logs continued throughout his various missionary endeavors. In contrast to Francis Asbury’s journal<sup>7</sup> and John Wesley’s journals, “Coke’s narrative, on the other hand,

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<sup>4</sup>Walter J. T. Small, *A History of the Methodist Church in Ceylon, 1814-1964* (Colombo, Sri Lanka: Wesley, 1971), 20.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 22.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 20.

<sup>7</sup>Francis Asbury, *Journal of Rev. Francis Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church*

gives quite detailed impressions.”<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, “Coke wrote his journal more or less from day to day.”<sup>9</sup> Asbury began his journal on August 7, 1771 with his recollection of the 1771 Conference prior to his departure from Bristol for America. Asbury’s journal is in part a historical recollection, written in the past tense, and in other sections a daily log. Thus the beauty of Coke’s and Carey’s journals, as opposed to historical recollection, is the spontaneity and immediacy of thought and emotion in the midst of events.

Coke’s journals of his nine trips to America and the journals of his four Caribbean journeys were individually published during his lifetime. John A. Vickers indicated that there is no evidence of any journals prior to the one maintained on his September 1784 excursion to America.<sup>10</sup> His first journal was published in 1789 in Philadelphia, without his knowledge or consent. Eventually, in 1793, a second collection of his journals was published in which Coke himself addressed omissions and inconsistencies of the clandestinely published versions. Finally, after his death, a compiled edition was published in 1816 in London and Dublin. The text of the 1816 edition was reproduced in the most recent 2005 edition, including comments by John A. Vickers, retired Head of Bognor Regis College, Department of Religious and Social Studies. Vickers was a member of the Methodist Archives and History committee and of the Wesley History Society Executive and Archivist for the Southampton Methodist District in Great Britain. Vickers’ roles, mentioned above, positioned him well as the contemporary authority on Coke, in whom he took interest when he realized the number of references to Coke in records he reviewed as an archivist for Methodism. Vickers’

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(New York: Lane & Scott, 1852).

<sup>8</sup>Thomas Coke, *The Journals of Dr. Thomas Coke*, ed. John A. Vickers (Nashville: Kingswood, 2005), 16.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 16-17.

biography and compilation of the various letters serve as authoritative sources.<sup>11</sup>

In *Thomas Coke: Apostle of Methodism*, Vickers lists five biographers on Thomas Coke, all of whom are referenced to some degree in this work: Joseph Sutcliffe—1815; Jonathan Crowther—1815; Samuel Drew—1817; J. W. Etheridge—1860; and William Candler—1923.<sup>12</sup> In addition, in 1823, W. M. Harvard, one of Coke's fellow missionaries to Ceylon, wrote his *A Narrative of the Establishment and Progress of the Mission to Ceylon and India Founded by the Late Rev. Thomas Coke, L.L.D. Under the Direction of the Wesleyan-Methodist Conference: Including Notices of Bombay, and the Superstitions of Various Religious Sects at That Presidency, and on the Continent of India with an Introductory Sketch of the Natural, Civil, and Religious History of the Island of Ceylon*.<sup>13</sup> Vickers, who maintained access to the most reliable archives, was able to offer much insight into the history, journals, and letters of Coke.

Significant is the fact that the focus of the research for this project is not to uncover hidden or undiscovered writings of Coke. Instead, this effort seeks to apply a topical exegesis of the journal and letters surrounding Coke, with a view to contemporary missiological applications. The final of Coke's journals (though it is the briefest) is the one that most contributes to the examination of Coke's motivation for his final voyage, which cost him his life. This ultimate journal appeared as the final chapter in Vickers' collection under the title, *1813-14: Extracts of the Journals of the late Rev. Dr. Thomas Coke's Nearly Finished Voyage to Asia with the Messrs. Ault, Lynch, Erskine, Harvard,*

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>John A. Vickers, *Thomas Coke: Apostle of Methodism* (London: Epworth, 1969), ix.

<sup>13</sup>William Martin Harvard, *A Narrative of the Establishment and Progress of the Mission to Ceylon and India: Founded by the Late Rev. Thomas Coke, L.L.D., under the Direction of the Wesleyan-Methodist Conference, Including Notices of Bombay and the Superstitions of Various Religious Sects at That Presidency, and on the Continent of India, with an Introductory Sketch of the Natural, Civil, and Religious History of the Island of Ceylon* (London: printed for the author, 1823).

*Squance, and Clough*.<sup>14</sup> Due to the journal's brevity, and due to the fact that his motivation and work toward reaching South Asia grew for a number of years, much insight for this project was gleaned from Coke's earlier correspondence and journals.

### **Historical Background of the Journal**

As an advocate for missions, Coke attempted to raise the vision and support to send William Ault and William Martin Harvard to "the first grand outpost of our mission to India."<sup>15</sup> Coke had no personal plans to join Ault and Harvard in Ceylon, until his first wife died in January of 1811. Shortly thereafter, his second wife passed in 1812. At the death of his second wife, nothing would stop him from joining the team heading to Asia. His friend Samuel Drew wrote and begged him to remain behind, due to Coke's age. Nevertheless Coke set his face toward Ceylon, resolved to build yet another great undertaking for the global church. Coke penned his strategy for South Asia in a series of final letters, just prior to and shortly after the ship's circumnavigating of the Cape of Good Hope around March 14, 1814. His plan was to leave three missionaries at Bombay, taking the other three with him to Surat. Coke planned to station missionaries in Ceylon and then travel to Tanjore, Madras, Calcutta, and Rajamahal. In his letters, he begged the mission society, which he founded, to send him two more missionaries to station in Calcutta. His work ethic was relentless and his selfless commitment was extraordinary, as noted by those who commented on his final days of tireless language study in preparation for South Asia. In his correspondence about Coke's death, Benjamin Clough explained,

Yet, I believe, this kind of labour was too severe for a man of his advanced age in this hot climate; and I am sorry to add, not only from my own thoughts, but also from the evidence of the medical gentlemen on board, that it was one means of hastening his sudden death.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Coke, *The Journals*, 253.

<sup>15</sup>Harvard, *A Narrative*, 21.

<sup>16</sup>Coke, *The Journals*, 273-74.



Coke's final letters were desperate appeals for more laborers to be sent into the harvest field, which he had yet to see with his own eyes. In April, still en route to Ceylon, Coke, an aged man, became ill from the tropical climate and from ceaseless linguistics studies and translation work on the ship. At five thirty in the morning on May 3, he was found dead on the floor of his cabin. He died from apoplexy, an archaic term indicating cerebral bleeding or possibly a stroke.<sup>17</sup>

### **Author of the Journal**

Coke was born in 1747, joined John Wesley's Methodism in 1777, and died in 1814. John A. Vickers introduces Coke,

Coke was born in Brecon in mid-Wales on 28 September 1747 into a middle-class family (Bartholomew and Anne). His father was an apothecary who prospered both in business and in public life. Thomas went up to Jesus College, Oxford, in 1764 as a gentleman commoner, graduated in 1767, and proceeded to MA in 1770. In 1775 he obtained a doctorate in civil law with the support of no less a person than Lord North, a leading figure in government circles. He was ordained into the Anglican ministry, as deacon in 1770 and as priest in 1772, and from 1771 to 1777 served as curate in South Petherton, Somerset.<sup>18</sup>

Oddly enough, Coke's biographers disagree over Coke's date of birth. Samuel Drew reports a September 9, 1747, birth,<sup>19</sup> while Warren A. Candler dates Coke's birth to October 9.<sup>20</sup> This study will not seek to rectify the disparity. According to Samuel Drew, Coke's parents, Anne Phillips and Bartholomew Coke, dedicated their young son to the service of God. As a boy Coke was frivolous, was inclined to dance and was admired by

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 266-67.

<sup>18</sup>Thomas Coke, *The Letters of Dr. Thomas Coke*, ed. John A. Vickers (Nashville: Kingswood, 2013), 718-26.

<sup>19</sup>Samuel Drew, *The Life of the Rev. Thomas Coke, L. L. D., Including in Detail His Various Travels and Extraordinary Missionary Exertions, in England, Ireland, America, and the West-Indies: With an Account of His Death, on the 3d of May, 1814, While on a Missionary Voyage to the Island of Ceylon, in the East-Indies. Interspersed with Numerous Reflections; and Concluding with an Abstract of His Writings and Character* (London: Thomas Cordeux, 1817), 3.

<sup>20</sup>Warren A. Candler, *Life of Thomas Coke* (Nashville: M. E. Church, 1923), 3.

the girls.<sup>21</sup> Drew countered, “He was not, however, even in these years of indiscretion, wholly destitute of the fear of God, nor ignorant of his super-intending Providence.”<sup>22</sup> Bartholomew was a surgeon and Chief Magistrate of the town in which the family lived but his early death left Thomas Coke’s oversight to his mother. Coke was 16 when he entered Jesus College of Oxford, and there he came under the influence of deism.<sup>23</sup> Drew explains the theological process in Coke’s pursuit of deism:

On finding revelation assailed by sophisms, which he had never heard before, and those principles attacked, which he had never been instructed to defend, silence succeeded to astonishment at first; but the poison was working its way through unguarded avenues to his heart; so that by slow and imperceptible degrees, he became a captive to those snares of infidelity, which he had at first surveyed with detestation and horror.<sup>24</sup>

At this developmental juncture, Coke attended a church service of a Welsh clergyman whose preaching convicted and challenged him. He began to read Bishop Sherlock’s *The Trial of Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*.<sup>25</sup> Drew described the journey of conversion for Coke:

The reasonings of Sherlock, however, only made him a Christian in theory. He was still a stranger to the religion of the heart, and knew nothing of the necessity of being born again. But an important point was gained; it had brought him within the precincts of Revelation, and even laid him under an obligation to examine with deep attention the various doctrines of that system which he had thus embraced.<sup>26</sup>

The next influence in Coke’s theological progression was John Witherspoon’s

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<sup>21</sup>Drew, *Life of Coke*, 3.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 3-5.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>25</sup>Thomas Sherlock, “The Trial of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ,” The Society of Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1729, accessed September 15, 2014, <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/5608/pg5608.html>.

<sup>26</sup>Harvard, *A Narrative*, 9.

*A Practical Treatise on Regeneration*.<sup>27</sup> As a result of these two influences, Coke denounced deism and skepticism: Candler writes, “Sherlock’s argument cleansed his [Coke’s] mind of skepticism, and Witherspoon’s exposition of the new birth awakened his soul to the need of spiritual life.”<sup>28</sup>

Having completed his Bachelor’s degree, Coke returned home to Brecon at age twenty-one, to be chosen Common Councilman in February 1768. By age twenty-five, Coke was elected Chief Magistrate, following the pattern of his father. Coke’s aspiration was to the clergy, but two years elapsed beyond his graduation before he was recognized as a deacon, being commissioned to serve at a small village in Somersetshire on June 10, 1770. Three days later, Coke obtained his Master of Arts.<sup>29</sup> After serving as curate (priest’s assistant) in South Petherton, Coke was ordained August 23, 1772, in “the chapel of St. John within the palace of Abergwilly by letters dismissory from the Bishop of Bath and Wells.”<sup>30</sup> By June 17, 1775, Coke received his Doctor of Civil Laws degree.

Jonathan Crowther described Coke’s voice as soft and sweet. In conversation his voice seemed weak, but from the pulpit Coke would “[begin] to swell and elevate it . . . (even) piercing, as well as clear and melodious. But sometimes when addressing very large congregations, he so energetically exerted himself, as to border upon screaming.”<sup>31</sup>

Crowther compared Coke to Wesley in temperament, specifically related to anger.

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<sup>27</sup>John Witherspoon, *A Practical Treatise on Regeneration* (London: James Nisbet, 1824).

<sup>28</sup>Candler, *Life of Thomas Coke*, 5.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, 6-8.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, 7-8.

<sup>31</sup>Jonathan Crowther, *The Life of Thomas Coke: A Clergyman of the Church of England, but Who Laboured among the Wesleyan Methodists for the Last Thirty-Eight Years of His Life, and Who Died Suddenly on Shipboard, after Being Four Months at Sea, on His Passage to the East Indies, Whither He Was Conducting a Company of Christian Missionaries, of Whom He Was the Superintendent* (Leeds: Alex Cumming, 1815), 511.

[His temperament was] ardent and irritable. On some occasions this was very apparent, in every state of his life; generally this was but for a moment. . . . A proneness to manifest too much sensibility of mind, when provoked, in my opinion, was his greatest defect. But seldom, if ever, did the sun go down upon his wrath.”<sup>32</sup>

Crowther described Coke’s complement to that weakness of anger, relating a contrasting character of nobility, diplomacy and poise:

He was a remarkably agreeable man to be associated with in any employment or undertaking. He did not treat an inferior with contempt or neglect, but behaved to all descriptions of people with due civility and respect. He possessed and exercised a large portion of true and sincere, yet very graceful politeness . . . peculiarly fitted for his situation.<sup>33</sup>

Though Coke’s stature was merely five feet and one inch, his influence would grow great, as did the importance of the gospel in his life.<sup>34</sup> In his study and preaching, Coke was drawn to the gospel, and when he borrowed homilies, he employed selections from the most evangelical English homilists. Coke was motivated to “enlighten the minds, convince the judgments, affect the hearts, and reform the lives of his hearers.”<sup>35</sup> During his early preaching, Coke was deeply impacted by Joseph Alleine’s *Alarm to the Unconverted*.<sup>36</sup> Alleine was the assistant to George Newton, rector of the Church of St. Mary Magdalene in South Petherton. It was Alleine’s book that quickened Coke’s spirit and mind toward the urgency of conversion and zeal.<sup>37</sup> During this same formative period, Coke came under the tutelage of one of the early Methodist lay-preachers, Thomas Maxfield, who was staying in South Petherton. “A close friendship was formed

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 512.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 511.

<sup>36</sup>Joseph Alleine, *An Alarm to the Unconverted* (Wellington, New Zealand: F. Houlston and Son, 1812).

<sup>37</sup>Candler, *Life of Thomas Coke*, 9.

between them. Maxfield became Coke's spiritual guide."<sup>38</sup> Findlay and Holdsworth reported that Coke's conversion experience occurred as he was preaching in a cottage: "The light came into Coke's soul and he experienced the forgiveness of his sins. His ministry received a new accession of power. Crowds flocked to hear the converted clergyman, and many were convinced of sin under his preaching."<sup>39</sup>

The influence of his Wesleyan friend, the books provided, and the working of God's Spirit, built into Coke's heart an unquenchable desire for a life of holiness and passionate preaching, both of which resulted in a conflict with the powers of the parish. While zealous for the gospel, in his early days Coke was equally committed to ministry within the established church. A turning point for Coke was a meeting he held secretly at an undisclosed farmhouse. It was there that Coke met with a dissenter, the Rev. Hull, who chipped away at the final impediment of Coke's prejudice toward the established church.<sup>40</sup>

After three years in pursuit of holiness and under the influence of Methodists, Coke was no longer content to regurgitate written sermons: "Extemporaneous sermons, attended by the unction of the Holy One, fell from the lips which had been touched, like Isaiah's, with a coal from God's altar."<sup>41</sup> After his first extemporaneous sermon, three people were converted. Coke soon prayed without a book and introduced hymns into the singing of the church. The result was a revolt among his parishioners. Eventually Coke was summarily dismissed on a given Sunday following the preaching, without the normal courtesy of allowing a farewell sermon. Nevertheless, for the two subsequent Sundays,

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 9-10.

<sup>39</sup>George G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, *The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society* (London: Epworth, 1921), 12-13.

<sup>40</sup>Candler, *Life of Thomas Coke*, 11-12.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 15.

Coke zealously positioned himself outside the church, preaching to friend and agitator as his former congregants departed worship. On the second Sunday of preaching outside the church building, Coke was warned that he would be stoned if he performed the same act of defiance. Unabashed, Coke preached even at the sight of stones in the hands of his former parishioners.<sup>42</sup> Defiance in the midst of opposition characterized even Coke's early experience as a young passionate gospel preacher.

Wesley achieved little success at forming a "union of Clergyman of the established Church for promoting a revival of religion."<sup>43</sup> Jonathan Crowther repeats Wesley's expression of frustration: "I know of none such who is willing to cast in his lot with us. And I scarcely expect, I shall: because I know how fast they are riveted in the service of the world and the devil, before they leave the University."<sup>44</sup> Coke was the rare exception: "A very few clergymen, such as they were, threw in their lot with Mr. Wesley, in his latter days; but scarcely one of them was of any eminence or special service, Dr. Coke excepted."<sup>45</sup>

Coke's role in Methodism had legal implications for its survival. It was Coke who, with his legal expertise, concocted the "poll deed" in February of 1784. The controversial maneuver established 100 of the prominent Methodist preachers as the "Conference of the people called Methodists."<sup>46</sup> Although Coke was criticized and censured for including himself on the list, Wesley defends Coke's intentions with the results being that the various preaching houses would not fall to whomever chose to occupy them. W. M. Harvard, one of Coke's colleagues traveling to Ceylon, explained

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 17.

<sup>43</sup>Crowther, *The Life of Thomas Coke*, 40.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 109-10.

the climate of Methodism in that day:

Mr. Wesley, in the formation of His societies, avoided every thing which might have a sectarian tendency. Out of respect to the National Church, his preachers were not ordained by imposition of hands, and were forbidden to call themselves Ministers, or to take the title Reverend. Divine service, also, was never performed in what are called church-hours.<sup>47</sup>

Wesley and Coke took great pains to avoid placing themselves in opposition to the Church of England. Harvard agreed that Wesley held out a faint hope that

in some future day, the Church of England would be disposed to receive his Connexion more fully within her pale; and perhaps, on that account, united with his own firm attachment to her institutions, he sanctioned no usages among his people which might tend to multiply difficulties in the way of so desirable measure.<sup>48</sup>

Coke and Wesley joined forces to advance the Methodist mission of preaching the gospel in the world. In 1763, Wesley was disappointed when Thomas Maxfield, his first lay-preacher (and Coke's mentor in Methodism), split from the Methodists to form his own church. Wesley had viewed Maxfield as the man who could assist in developing the Methodist movement. After Coke had exerted every effort to live out his conviction to work within the established church, he lost his good name by being dismissed abruptly, freeing him unreservedly to join the Methodists. It was Coke who became the second to John Wesley in the Methodist circles. The two were a complement to one another. Both were Oxford scholars. Coke held a Doctor of Laws while Wesley completed his fellowship there in Lincoln College.

Vickers described the setting that led to the union of John Wesley and Coke in the ministry of the gospel. At the Wesleyan Bristol Conference in 1777, Coke was in attendance as a new recruit of just less than 30 years of age. More senior Methodists viewed him with suspicion, but John Wesley felt abandoned in the work. Charles Wesley had married and settled in Bristol. Several other co-laborers, in whom John Wesley had

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<sup>47</sup>Harvard, *A Narrative*, 4.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, 5.

trusted, had either died or had withdrawn. The young Thomas Coke was not only energetic and bright, but he had obtained Anglican ordination, of particular importance to the nearly seventy-year-old John Wesley. The partnership emerged and Coke became Wesley's most trusted assistant in Methodism.<sup>49</sup> The two men complemented one another through contrasting characteristics. Wesley was considered a more self-controlled Englishman. Coke was a zealous, impulsive Welshman: "His impulsive nature was inclined to lead him into tactlessness; but of his sincerity and zeal only his sworn enemies could harbor any doubt."<sup>50</sup> From 1777 to 1814, Coke served the Methodist movement. He preached throughout London but was more often preaching throughout the world representing Wesley in advancing the Methodist Societies. Crowther, Chandler, and Vickers record the suspicion held toward Coke's presumed ambition. Crowther explains,

Some [who opposed Coke, including Charles Wesley] thought that he had an aspiring, though lurking ambition, to be one day at the head of Methodists. This it is certain he never attained to, and yet he continued among them, and was their willing drudge in whatever service they thought proper to employ him.<sup>51</sup>

Paul S. Sanders explained the complicated milieu of Methodism at the time:

The Sacramental Controversy (in American Methodism) which racked the movement from 1772 through 1781 revealed the lack of any effective relationship between Methodism and its putative parent together with a growing sectarian spirit among the (American) Methodists.<sup>52</sup>

John Wesley played an increasingly autocratic role, which did not portend well among American Methodists. Coke's proximity to Wesley made him suspect by Americans. Nevertheless, Coke and Asbury together played the role of resolving the issue through their co-bishopric and the ordination of more preachers. The newly ordained

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<sup>49</sup>Vickers, *Thomas Coke*, 42-43.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>51</sup>Crowther, *The Life of Thomas Coke*, 41.

<sup>52</sup>Paul S. Sanders, "The Sacraments in Early American Methodism," *Church History* 26, no. 4 (1957): 360.



provided a sacramental solution for American Methodists, enabling more frequent integration of the sacraments in the Methodist societies. The uncomfortable alliance between Coke and Asbury broke the American Methodists free from British Anglicanism, and from Wesley's autocracy, clarifying Methodism's distinct move toward sectarianism in America.<sup>53</sup>

On April 1, 1805, after his ninth tour of America, Coke's life changed dramatically when, as a bachelor of 57, he married Penelope Goulding Smith of Bradford. His travel was not abated, but suddenly there were self-imposed limits placed on his relentless schedule.<sup>54</sup> Coke met Smith in 1804 as he solicited funds for global missions. A friend had encouraged Coke to visit Smith in order to obtain a healthy donation. Upon visiting her, Coke discovered the expected donation was generously doubled. After marriage, the two labored together, claiming no resting place for a home. They worked tirelessly together traveling in their carriage serving on behalf of Methodism and missions. Coke's refusal to travel without Penelope set him up for a controversy in America. Aware of his wife's tentative health, he presented the American Methodists with his proposal that he and Penelope move to America permanently for Coke to serve in a capacity as Bishop. The mere proposal that a Britain serve as bishop or even co-bishop of America incensed the Americans, thus setting the tone for American antagonism toward Coke. Coke never again visited America.<sup>55</sup>

Penelope's life ended abruptly after six years of marriage. In *A Narrative of the Establishment and Progress of the Mission to Ceylon and India*, W. M. Harvard wrote,

In the beginning of the year 1811, it pleased Divine Providence to dissolve a union which had been unusually happy, by the death of Mrs. Penelope Coke, to whom the

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid., 361.

<sup>54</sup>Vickers, *Thomas Coke*, 248.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 254-57.

Doctor had been married about six years. The susceptible heart of our widowed friend received no common wound in this bereavement; his suffering was extreme.<sup>56</sup>

Harvard explained that it was actually the occasion of Penelope's death that led to his first encounter with Coke, who at that time had no intention of joining the team heading to Ceylon. In his first encounter with Coke, the two engaged their immediate conversations about missions. Harvard was not surprised that by the following July he received a letter from Coke asking Harvard to join William Ault on the mission to Ceylon. Harvard willingly agreed.<sup>57</sup>

Just over a year later, Coke met Ann Loxdale from Liverpool and they married. Her health was also delicate and she died within seven months, on December 5, 1812, and was buried in Brecon along with his former wife. At Loxdale's death, Coke turned his focus squarely to India.<sup>58</sup> Vickers reports that the result of Ann's death was Coke's steadfast desire to move east:

When in due course he emerged once more from the valley of the shadow, it was to take up with renewed singleness of purpose the threads of his plans. Henceforth he declared himself 'dead to Europe' and before long had determined that he would accompany the missionaries in person when they sailed.<sup>59</sup>

According to Warren Thomas Smith, Thomas Coke learned much from a failed attempt at mission work in Africa. In 1795, Zachary Macaulay, the governor of Sierra Leone, together with Coke, forged a plan to send Methodist missionaries to Freetown and eventually to the interior Fula kingdom. Macaulay and Coke schemed to bring two families with useful agricultural, teaching, and carpentry skills along with two single preachers. Sending tradespeople was a risk and a diversion from the Methodist practice of only sending preachers. Coke promoted the plan and funded the project through his

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<sup>56</sup>Harvard, *A Narrative*, 17.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, 17-19.

<sup>58</sup>Crowther, *The Life of Thomas Coke*, 491-92.

<sup>59</sup>Vickers, *Thomas Coke*, 340.

preaching and regular appeals for laborers. Warren Thomas Smith reported, “The party finally sailed, with Coke’s blessings, February 23, 1796, on the *Calypso* with Admiral Gardener’s convoy.”<sup>60</sup> The plan proved to be a disaster within less than a month of the missionaries’ arrival in Freetown. Macaulay was grateful that the missionaries never travelled to the Fula kingdom, quickly returning home to England instead. Smith’s evaluation was that Coke’s enthusiastic promotion of the project resulted in little attention given to the screening of the participants: “It was a sad Thomas Coke who attended the Methodist Conference in London, July 25, 1796, to report the tragic failure. . . . Now, just five months after leaving England, the mission to Africa was over, with only sad experience to show for it.”<sup>61</sup> Finally, in November 1811, a new missionary to Sierra Leone arrived. Unfortunately, George Warren only survived the African climate for eight months before his early death.<sup>62</sup> Coke’s African mission was filled with heartache and frustration.

George G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth reported on the development of the vision for the formation of a Wesleyan Mission Society (WMS). In 1784, roughly thirty years prior to WMS’s formation, “John Wesley informed Thomas Coke of his desire to send him as ordained Presbyter to ordain Asbury for the service of the Methodist Church in America.”<sup>63</sup> This was a significant move for Wesley because some of the American Wesleyans would not offer or take communion without the authorization that came through an ordained minister. To resolve that problem, Wesley wanted Coke to ordain Asbury so that Asbury could then ordain the other Wesleyan ministers. Even at that early

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<sup>60</sup>Warren Thomas Smith, “An Appraisal of Thomas Coke’s Africa Mission, 1796-1811,” *Church History* 40, no. 3 (1971): 312.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, 314.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, 315.

<sup>63</sup>Findlay and Holdsworth. *The History*, 11-12.

time (just six years after Coke's name appeared in any Wesley records), Coke was already

feeling the missionary impulse, and was corresponding with a gentleman in Bengal as to the possibilities of beginning a Mission to the Hindus. So early in the course of his ministry did he hear the call in obedience to which his whole life was thenceforth consecrated.<sup>64</sup>

Coke conducted nine missions to America, consisting of approximately three years in the United States. His global missions included West Indies, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and the Channel Islands. His first American journey exemplified the intensity of his circuit preaching. On horseback, Coke pressed through rain and storm, across rivers and into forests, to preach each night in a new setting. The precarious relationship between England and America put Coke in an awkward situation. The issue of ordination beyond the Church of England was a tenuous matter for both Coke and Wesley. Eventually Coke was ordained superintendent of the Methodist Societies in America, enabling the resolution of ordination in America: "In America there are none (bishops with legal jurisdiction), neither any parish ministers; so that for some hundreds of miles together there is none either to baptize or administer the Lord's Supper."<sup>65</sup> Coke's ability, in turn, to ordain American ministers cleared an ideological and practical hurdle for the development and affirmation of Methodist leaders in America.

From his journal, one observes the variety of literature on which Coke feasted while traveling: *St. Austin's Meditations*, the *Life of Francis Xavier*, the *Life of David Brainerd*, Bishop Hoadley's *Treatises on Conformity and Episcopacy*, the Greek Testament, and the *Pastorals* of Virgil.<sup>66</sup> According to Crowther, Coke was a prolific writer, having published extensively—"numerous and voluminous publications"—in the

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid, 12.

<sup>65</sup>Candler, *Life of Thomas Coke*, 52.

<sup>66</sup>Coke, *The Journals*, 25-31.

last quarter of his life.<sup>67</sup> In 1801, Coke published his *Commentary on the Old Testament*,<sup>68</sup> followed by his *Commentary on the New Testament* published in 1803.<sup>69</sup> He also published *A Series of Letters, Addressed to the Methodist Connection, Explaining the Important Doctrines of Justification by Faith, and the Direct Witness of the Spirit . . . And Vindicating These Doctrines from the Misrepresentations and Erroneous Conclusions of the Rev. Melville Horne, Minister of Christ Church, Macclesfield, in Five Letters, Written by That Gentleman*<sup>70</sup> as well as his sermon *Witness of the Spirit*.<sup>71</sup> These writings were “occasioned by an attack made, in the year 1809, on the Doctor and the Methodist preachers, respecting those points, by the Rev. Mellville Horne, of Macclesfield.”<sup>72</sup> Crowther noted that Coke employed the assistance of Samuel Drew to begin, but not complete, the publication of three volumes of a history of the Bible. A number of smaller publications included two volumes of “a new edition of *The Life of Christ*,<sup>73</sup> an heroic poem, in ten books: originally written by the Rev. Samuel Wesley, Vicar of Epworth, in Lincolnshire, and the father of the late Rev. and venerable John Wesley, in two

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<sup>67</sup>Crowther, *The Life of Thomas Coke*, 333.

<sup>68</sup>Thomas Coke, *A Commentary on the Holy Bible [O.T. Only]* (London: self-published, 1801).

<sup>69</sup>Thomas Coke, *A Commentary on the New Testament* (London: self-published, 1803).

<sup>70</sup>Thomas Coke, *A Series of Letters, Addressed to the Methodist Connection, Explaining the Important Doctrines of Justification by Faith, and the Direct Witness of the Spirit . . . And Vindicating These Doctrines from the Misrepresentations and Erroneous Conclusions of the Rev. Melville Horne, Minister of Christ Church, Macclesfield, in Five Letters, Written by That Gentleman* (London: self-published, 1810).

<sup>71</sup>Thomas Coke, “A Sermon on the Witness of the Spirit” (sermon given at General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Baltimore, November 4, 1792) (Philadelphia: Parry Hall, 1793), accessed June 13, 2013, <http://opac.newsbank.com/select/evans/25312>.

<sup>72</sup>Crowther, *The Life of Thomas Coke*, 335.

<sup>73</sup>Samuel Wesley and Thomas Coke, *The Life of Christ, a Poem: Corrected by T. Coke* (London: self-published, 1809).

volumes.”<sup>74</sup> Other than his final journal, the last book published was, in three volumes, *A History of the West Indies*,<sup>75</sup> including not only the natural history and civilization of each island, but also an account of the mission work therein.<sup>76</sup> One of his final gestures before boarding for Ceylon was to dispose of all of his publication and donating all future book sales to the Methodists. Crowther reported that Coke’s publication and sale of books did nothing to bring him any financial gain, and it was no surprise that he was relieved to sell off his entire stock to the Methodists at a loss: “In his will, he had given all his books on sale to his executors, in trust for the conference.”<sup>77</sup> Nevertheless, while on board the *Cabalva*, Coke busied himself passionately correcting part of the Old and New Testament of the Portuguese *Vulgate*, with the intention of publishing it in Ceylon. On second thought he decided to postpone such printing for the more useful and less cumbersome smaller projects, “such as Tracts, Prayers, Hymns, Sermons, Portuguese Prayers, and translate our Hymns; I [Crowther] believe he has translated nearly 50.”<sup>78</sup>

J. W. Etheridge in his *Life of the Rev. Thomas Coke* quoted from Coke’s letter to William Wilberforce:

My influence in the large Wesleyan Connexion,<sup>79</sup> the introduction and superintendence of our Missions in different parts of the globe, and the wide sphere opened to me for the preaching of the Gospel to almost innumerable and attentive congregations, have opened to me a very extensive field for usefulness. And yet I

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<sup>74</sup>Crowther, *The Life of Thomas Coke*, 336.

<sup>75</sup>Thomas Coke, *A History of the West Indies Containing the Natural, Civil, and Ecclesiastical History of Each Island: With an Account of the Missions Instituted in Those Islands, from the Commencement of Their Civilization but More Especially of the Missions Which Have Been Established in That Archipelago by the Society Late in Connexion with the Rev. John Wesley* (London: A. Paris, 1811).

<sup>76</sup>Crowther, *The Life of Thomas Coke*, 337.

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid.*, 304.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*, 523.

<sup>79</sup>The term “connexion” is used throughout early Wesleyan/Methodist documents referring to the loosely organized circuits of Wesleyan preachers. In later references, such as this one, the term points to the more formalized organization of Methodists.

could give up all for India. Could I but close my life in being the means of raising a spiritual Church in India, it would satisfy the utmost ambition of my soul here below.<sup>80</sup>

A second quote, which captures the motivation for Coke's risky mission endeavors in India, is found in the same letter: "My prime motive was to be useful to the Europeans in India; and my second, though not the least was to introduce the Christian religion among the Hindus, by the preaching of the Gospel, and perhaps also by the establishment of Schools."<sup>81</sup>

Coke resolved that he was no longer needed in Methodism so much as he once was, and he was willing to sacrifice his position within Methodism if only he might be enabled to begin or revive "a genuine work of religion in the immense regions of Asia. . . . India cleaves to my heart. I sincerely believe that my strong inclination to spend the remainder of my life there originates in the divine will."<sup>82</sup>

Many of the missionaries who followed Coke became incapacitated by chronic illness or even insanity, and their names appear on lists of deceased missionaries as "invalided home." Many of the sick were furloughed home due to illness, died, and were buried at sea, en route to treatment for their incapacitating illnesses. In September of 1989, Mrs. Scott, a twenty-five year old young lady, died in confinement after one year on the mission field. She died from insanity. F. W. Newham died in a carriage accident at age 24, having served three years on the mission field. Mrs. Rhodes died in 1875 after three months in Colombo. W. C. Tucker died at 27 after only 8 months in Ceylon. This list represents the honor roll of those who died for Christ's cause. As Thomas Coke described, these faithful would prefer to sit alone, friendless and deprived of shelter or clothing on the beaches of Ceylon than to remain wealthy, healthy, and within the

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<sup>80</sup>J. W. Etheridge, *The Life of the Rev. Thomas Coke, D.C.L.* (London: J. Mason, 1860), 368.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid.

<sup>82</sup>Small, *A History of the Methodist Church*, 21.

comfort of the West.<sup>83</sup>

In Ceylon, the Protestant missionary movement followed the efforts of Roman Catholics. Any Protestant missionary work in Ceylon could not avoid the foundation laid by Roman Catholics, as per the Portuguese colonialists. James Emerson Tennent reports that in contrast to their more violent strategy of forced baptism, as occurred in Goa, the Portuguese missionaries employed a winsome strategy of non-compulsory conversion in Ceylon. When Portuguese arrived in AD 1505 to conquer the maritime provinces of Ceylon, Brahmanism and Buddhism reigned among the Tamils and Singhalese respectively, throughout the other areas of Ceylon. Roman Catholic influence in Colombo grew from Portuguese assistance offered to the civil authorities and the favors proposed to any who would convert to Catholicism. Instead of force, the Portuguese strategy for Ceylon was manipulation and enticement by potential fiduciary gain.<sup>84</sup> With that backdrop, Baptist missionaries arrived in Ceylon in 1812, followed by Coke's Wesleyan-Methodists in 1814, and the Church Missionary Society in 1815. Anglicans, Presbyterians, and others followed these earliest Protestant missionaries in Ceylon.<sup>85</sup> David Barrett reports that in the year 2000, 9.4 percent of Sri Lanka included 1.7 million professing Christians.<sup>86</sup> The church grew numerically in Ceylon since the sacrificial efforts of Coke and others who gave their lives for missions in South Asia.

Coke's fundraising and organization of support for Methodist mission work

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<sup>83</sup>Ibid., 658-59.

<sup>84</sup>James Emerson Tennent, *Christianity in Ceylon; Its Introduction and Progress under the Portuguese, the Dutch, the British, and American Missions: With an Historical Sketch of the Brahmanical and Buddhist Superstitions* (London: John Murray, 1850), 6-9.

<sup>85</sup>Takeuchi Yoshinori, *Buddhist Spirituality: Indian, Southeast Asian, Tibetan, and Early Chinese*, World Spirituality (London: SCM, 1993), 99-101.

<sup>86</sup>David B. Barrett, George Thomas Kurian, and Todd M. Johnson, *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 1:695.



had a direct if not residual impact on the seminal enterprise of societal global mission work. Crowther insisted,

The missions carried on by the Methodists, had no small share in prompting the formation of those other societies, and especially the London Missionary Society. . . . But the formation of the London Missionary Society, especially was a great loss to the Methodist missions, as to pecuniary aid. To their honour be it spoken, the Dissenters were almost the best, if not the very best contributors to the missions of the Methodists, before they had missions of their own.<sup>87</sup>

By 1814, the year of Coke's death, there were 222,020 Methodists reported in Great Britain, Ireland, France, Gibraltar, Sierra Leone, Nova Scotia, Quebec, Newfoundland, and in the West Indies. In the United States in July of 1813, there were 171,448 whites and 42,859 black Methodists, bringing the total to 436,327. Also, 685 travelling preachers resided in Great Britain, 56 (missionaries) in foreign missions, 114 (preachers) in Ireland and 678 with the American Methodist Connexion. In all, there were 1533 global travelling preachers by 1814, which is "three times as many as they were twenty-four years before at the conference of 1790, the last before Mr. Wesley's death."<sup>88</sup> Coke constantly appealed for and raised all the funds for these global missionary efforts. Crowther reported that while Coke was originally a man of wealth,

in process of time, all this was gone, except a small annuity, for money which he had advanced to relieve some of the missionary chapels in the West Indies. The rest of his property had been consumed, in promoting the different missions, and in his expenses to and from America and the West Indies, upon the different visits he had paid them. For about a year he had no private resource.<sup>89</sup>

### **Highlighted Journal Entries**

An examination of Coke's South Asian journal, as well as his earlier journals, reveals several patterns in his writings. Some of those arrangements parallel configurations within William Carey's South Asian Journal. To continue this study of Coke's journal, quotes were collected according to the same three categories that were applied to William

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<sup>87</sup>Crowther, *The Life of Thomas Coke*, 366.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., 486-87.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., 489.

Carey's writings: risk and personal sacrifice, evangelism, and resolute motivation for missions. Due to the fact that both Carey and Coke began using correspondence as a form of journaling, a few letters were also analyzed according to the same categories.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the themes grow apparent after numerous readings and analysis. In Coke's journals it became evident that he encountered danger and risk in the process of conducting the mission of God. It is also clear from Coke's history and his journal that his motivation for mission is only magnified and intensified throughout his life's journey. Journal entries point to Coke's rigorous commitment to personal evangelism. While other observations emerge through further study, the abovementioned patterns are glaring. The comments regarding each journal or letter may be examined more carefully in the relevant appendix.

### **Risk and Personal Sacrifice**

One of Coke's colleagues who joined him on that pioneer journey to Ceylon, William Martin Harvard, wrote in his *A Narrative of the Establishment and Progress of the Mission to Ceylon and India* that the earliest missionaries to Ceylon were Malabar missionaries: "Singhalese annals record that in the fourth century the throne of the island was usurped by two Malabar Missionaries, who administered the government with great prudence upwards of twenty years."<sup>90</sup> According to Harvard's explanation, quite an interesting story unfolds of two Malabar priests who allegedly conquered the kingdom temporarily and were eventually overthrown and executed, leaving an unsavory Ceylonese taste of Christianity. The influence of Nestorian Christians from Persia during the fifth and sixth centuries is also referenced obscurely in loosely kept records, according to Harvard.<sup>91</sup> Likewise, Leonard Fernando and G. Gispert-Sauch point to early

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<sup>90</sup>Harvard, *A Narrative*, xiii.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid.

Christian contact in India by “Christians of West Asia.”<sup>92</sup> It seems logical that the Malabar or Syrian mission associated with the South Indian Thomas Christians would have an influence in Ceylon, concurrent with their influence in South India. James Emersen Tennent is convinced that the Nestorian or Persian-influenced church of the fifth and sixth centuries continued its influence in Ceylon until the arrival of the Portuguese who destroyed their buildings, along with the Buddhist temples.<sup>93</sup> Regardless, this backdrop is set in order to clarify the fact that the rough history of Christianity in Ceylon created a hostile environment for the launch of the Methodist mission. Nevertheless, Tennent reports that Methodists gained much ground through the launch of their seminary in Jaffna, according to an early Bishop of Colombo of 1846.<sup>94</sup> Regardless, Coke pressed the Methodists toward Ceylon and the Methodist mission was born, after his death.

Coke’s formative years prepared him for risk. From Coke’s teenage pursuit of truth, one can see a glimpse of a future man of principal and stature. In his search for God, Coke ventured temporarily from his parents’ faith. However, as Coke personally weighed the wisdom of philosophy, Scripture and the nature of man, he fell headlong into a compelling faith in God, through Jesus Christ. As Coke’s convictions and faith solidified, his vigor and zeal to live beyond his own affluence and inherited position intensified. In seeking to understand the motivation for risking much in advancing the gospel, several early decisions reveal Coke’s rudimentary commitment that drove him to risk progressively more of himself, his wealth, his name, and his own life. His propensity toward risk increased as he pursued God and God’s mission.

The progression of faith is evident as his life unfolded. First, among those early

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<sup>92</sup>Leonard Fernando and G. Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith* (New Delhi: Viking, 2004), 55-56.

<sup>93</sup>Tennent, *Christianity in Ceylon*, 2.

<sup>94</sup>*Ibid.*, 155.

decisions was Coke's dissatisfaction with a prominent and successful political and legal career. Through his early preaching ministry, Coke's examination of the Bible deepened his preaching style as he intentionally shifted from recited, prearranged sermons. He began to associate with Wesley and preach fiery biblical messages. Soon he was praying extemporaneous prayers "out of a heart stirred to its depths."<sup>95</sup> Coke took great risk when he was cast out of his pulpit. In spite of congregational shunning and potential violence he preached in the streets in front of his former church, defying those who threatened to stone him for his defiance. Threats of stoning did not deter him.

Stoning and other sorts of abuse were a considerable risk, especially in light of the fact that the first Methodist martyr, William Seward, had died in Wales at Hay—his eye blinded by one stone and his coat torn from beating and wig ripped from his head, Seward was finally struck in the head by a villainous crowd as he preached.<sup>96</sup> In spite of certain danger, Coke was undeterred to preach in the streets, outside his former church.

Fully impacted by the gospel, Coke propelled himself into a kingdom-of-God-focused enterprise that led to Ceylon. His church environment offered no respite from danger, neither did the lost worlds of America or the West Indies. The stage of history was set for Coke to live out the mission of God in the world. The following excerpts offer insight into Coke's embracing of risk. The point of this section is not to magnify the risks or suffering endured. Instead, the goal is to document from their own journals the challenges faced in advancing the gospel during their day and era.

**Appendix 2, entry 7, September 23, 1784.** On the rough first voyage to Americ, Coke recorded his inability to keep anything in his stomach: "For the last days, my brethren and myself tasted no flesh, nor hardly any kind of meat or drink that would

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<sup>95</sup>Candler, *Life of Thomas Coke*, 10.

<sup>96</sup>William Wallace Bennett, *A History of Methodism, for Our Young People* (Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden, 1878), 56-57.

stay upon our stomachs.”<sup>97</sup> This passage is included simply as an illustration of the arduous nature of ocean travel during Coke’s era. Seasickness overwhelmed him and his fellow travelers.

**Appendix 2, entry 8, March 9, 1785.** Coke was on a vigorous preaching trip by horseback in North America. During his press to travel between preaching venues that were prearranged by Francis Asbury, Coke and his horse became lodged under a log in a rushing stream. The situation appeared dire, which left Coke contemplating both the risk and his motivation for carrying forward with the mission:

I did not observe that a tree brought down by the flood, lay across the landing place. I endeavoured but in vain, to drive my horse against the stream, and go round the tree. I was afraid to turn my horse’s head to the stream, and afraid to go back. In this dilemma I thought it most prudent for me to lay hold on the tree, and go over it, the water being shallow on the other side of the tree. But I did not advert to the danger of loosening the tree from its hold. For no sooner did I execute my purpose so far as to lay hold of the tree, (and that instant the horse was carried from under me,) but the motion that I gave it, loosened it, and down the stream it instantly carried me. . . . I was not jammed up for a considerable time (a few minutes appeared long at such a season) expecting that my strength would soon be exhausted, and I should drop between the tree and the branch. Here I pleaded aloud with God in good earnest; one promise which I particularly urged, I remember well, *Lo, I will be with you always, even to the end of the world.* I felt no fear at all of the pain of dying, or of death itself, or of hell, and yet I found an unwillingness to die. All my castles which I had built in the air for the benefit of my fellow-creatures, passed in regular array before my mind, and I could not consent to give them up.<sup>98</sup>

Worthy of highlight is Coke’s revealing reflection in the midst of nearly drowning—Coke’s earnest desire to live in order to see the completion of “all of my castles which I had built in the air for the benefit of my fellow-creatures.”<sup>99</sup> Coke admitted that his own ambition for the advancement of the church is at least one motivation to keep him alive and working.

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<sup>97</sup>Coke, *The Journals*, 26.

<sup>98</sup>*Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>99</sup>*Ibid.*

**Appendix 2, entry 9, April 8, 1785.** In this citation Coke reflected on an incident that had greatly troubled him in America. Early in his American circuit riding, Coke unabashedly confronted slavery in his preaching:

The testimony I bore in this place against slave-holding, provoked many of the unawakened to retire out of the barn, and to combine together to flog me (so they expressed it) as soon as I came out. A high-headed lady also went out, and told the rioters (as I was afterwards informed) that she would give fifty pounds, if they would give that little doctor one hundred lashes. When I came out, they surrounded me, but had only power to talk.<sup>100</sup>

In this instance, his vociferous stand against slaveholders stirred a barn full of listeners to riot. Coke's journal records that one "high-headed lady" bribed and chided the crowd to extend to "that little doctor (Coke) one hundred lashes. When I came out, they surrounded me, but had only power to talk."<sup>101</sup> In subsequent sermons he focused more on preaching the gospel and less on his utter opposition to the issue of slaveholding, something that was to Coke morally reprehensible. Nevertheless, Coke faced opposition by an unruly crowd for his preaching of the gospel.

**Appendix 2, entry 10, October 27, 1787.** On the roughest seas he had ever experienced, en route to West Indies, Coke reflected on his motivation and resolve for God's mission: "Last night was the most tempestuous I ever knew at sea. . . . This morning we found that the leak lets in more water than it did yesterday. I retired in the morning to meditate seriously on that circumstance."<sup>102</sup> As the leaky condition of the ship grew bleak, Coke asked himself his reason for continuing on this earth? His own response, "I have really forsaken all for Christ, and have neither motive nor desire to live but for the church of Christ."<sup>103</sup> It is interesting that he saw himself as driven for the

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<sup>100</sup>Ibid., 55.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., 72.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid.

church of Christ. The church was Coke's life, his work, and his mission.

While on board the listing ship, Coke asked himself why his desires were so strong? Coke seems to be probing into his own motivation for his driven mission. His reply, "I am therefore willing to die. I do love my God, and have an indubitable assurance that whatever is wanting he will fully supply, before he takes me into the world of spirits."<sup>104</sup> While his constant activity and mission surround the advance of the universal church of Jesus Christ, Coke's motivation for mission was his love for Christ himself.

**Appendix 2, entry 11, August 6, 1796.** This journal entry was written while sailing on tempestuous seas during Coke's sixth journey to North America in 1796. In light of the listing ship, Coke reflected with gratitude on the formational role the previous three days of illness and the ongoing abuse by the two ship captains played in strengthening his mission calling and absolute resolve. The rations provided on this journey were inhumane and unsanitary. Coke was subjected to constant verbal abuse by the two captains of the *Friendship*. Eventually Coke became significantly ill and incapacitated in his bed. Those three days of illness, the abuse by the captains, and the intolerable circumstance, served to wean Coke from the follies of the world and remind him of his willingness "to be any thing or nothing, as the Lord pleased: to be employed or laid aside, as he judged proper."<sup>105</sup> In this journal entry he acknowledged a novel element of his divinely instilled resolve. For some time Coke had been dedicated to activity for God, even at the risk of death in that service unto God: "I had been long willing to die, but not to be inactive while I lived. But now through the grace of God, I could say, 'Thy will be done.'"<sup>106</sup> The more challenging notion for Coke, but one to which he was newly resolved, was the possibility that his sovereign Lord might lead him into inactivity, be it

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<sup>104</sup>Ibid.

<sup>105</sup>Coke, *The Journals*, 206.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid.

through illness or something worse than death.

The journal entry revealed that although Coke had previously resolved to willingly die on mission for Christ, if necessary, the thought of death on mission was a less painful conception than that of remaining unused in God's mission. This voyage led Coke to an even greater dependence upon God and a heightened thankfulness for adversity. Coke began to view suffering and difficulties as gain.

**Appendix 8, entry 66, November 10, 1797.** The letter to John Pawson includes a portion that Coke removed from his Journal. The section conveys Coke's captivity by a French privateer, while traveling on board the *President*. Privateers were authorized by letters of the marque to attack and capture vessels sailing the flags of enemy nations. The privateers took Coke's vessel, the *President*, captive, along with the passengers and crew. The passengers were at the mercy of the privateers for several days. Coke reflected intently on God's grace and mercy and the role of suffering in preparing him for more worthy service.<sup>107</sup>

The boat was ordered out, and now began the scene of plunder, in spite of all commands of the captain of the privateer, if such commands were given; two of them searched me (one of them especially) in a manner which it would be shocking to modesty to describe. They did not leave me so much as a single sixpence. . . . But the Lord had mercy upon us, for I have no doubt but the insolence of the privateer's men would have daily increased. I would just remark, as another kind of interference of the good providence of God, that as soon as our boat hosted out to carry us to the brig, a violent storm of wind and hail commenced; I candidly confess, I prayed as earnestly to the Lord on that occasion, as I ever did in my life. The storm soon abated, and during the short interval between the two gales (the last of which continued) we were delivered from our captivity.<sup>108</sup>

If one wonders about Coke's suffering for the sake of the gospel, here is a clear example of the dangers he ventured in his frequent ocean travel. Ocean travel was not only physically dangerous; political realities made maritime travel particularly risky.

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<sup>107</sup>Appendix 8 includes a much longer section of personal reflections on the matter of suffering and God's mercy and refinement through suffering.

<sup>108</sup>Coke, *The Letters*, 222-27.



**Appendix 8, entry 67, to the Earl of Liverpool, May 29, 1801.** Coke wrote a series of letters to various government officials, including this one, regarding the oppressive laws on the Island of Bermuda. The laws restricted the activities of any ministers not ordained by the Church of England. These oppressive anti-Dissenter restrictions had been outlawed in England, nevertheless, in Bermuda, one of the Methodist missionaries, Reverend Stephenson, was imprisoned by local authorities and fined for his evangelistic activities:

Permit me most humbly to lie at your Lordship's feet, and to trouble you once more without offence in respect to the persecuting law lately passed in the Island of Bermuda.

For the Government of that Island to exclude all Ministers and Preachers who have not been ordained by the Church of England or the Church of Scotland, from preaching, exhorting, etc. under severe penalties, is, I conceive, (I write with the greatest deference) directly contrary to the Letter of the Toleration Act, which I believe binds the whole Empire except his Majesty's possessions in the East Indies and the Norman Isles; and contrary to the spirit of the British Constitutions and the universal practice of the Illustrious House of Hanover.

**Appendix 8, entry 68, letter from Asbury to Coke, May 7, 1806.** Francis Asbury, who did not write nearly as often as Thomas Coke, wrote an affectionate letter reflecting on the challenging circumstances under which the two men had preached the gospel in America:

I feel the happiness of seeing each other again, can we ever forget the days and nights we have sweetly spent together; spirits sweetly joined, and not a jar, unless Diotrephes's here, or there, formed for discord, whisper'd easily. Ah my brother the deep rivers, creeks, swamps, and deserts we have travelled together, and glad to find a light to hear the voice of human, or domestic creature; the mountain rains, and chilling colds or burning heats, to say nothing of the perils of the deep. How oft you have stemmed the flood, the vast Atlantic with Columbian courage. Only be thou faithful unto death and Jesus will give thee the crown of life, Life eternal Life!<sup>109</sup>

Asbury's sentimental letter verifies Coke's journal entries regarding rivers forged, nearly drowning, and the great challenges of preaching from town to villa through the rugged American terrain. Coke ventured great physical risk in order to preach the

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<sup>109</sup>Ibid., 431-32.

gospel among American sinners, who, according to Asbury, “are the greatest sinners upon earth.”<sup>110</sup>

**Appendix 8, entry 72, letter to Asbury, February 3, 1808.** In his letter to Francis Asbury, Coke mentioned his sense of homelessness. Coke and his wife spent so much time on the road visiting churches and begging money for missions that they barely rested in their own bed:

My precious wife and I are continually on the wing. We have no home but God, and he is indeed our home, our constant home, our comfortable home, our dwelling place, our tabernacle, our heaven here below, our all in all. Glory, for ever glory be to his name! She unites with me in love to you and our brethren, the preachers. God bless you! Pray for us.<sup>111</sup>

One of the prices paid for pioneer missions can be a sense of homelessness. Coke experienced it just as Carey did when he left the comforts of Calcutta for the jungles.

**Appendix 8, entry 73, to Brackenbury, February 7, 1808.** In light of persecution of the Methodist mission work in Jamaica, Coke articulately explained the spiritual battle Methodists engaged for the glory of God. The following letter is to Robert Carr Brackenbury, a French speaking Methodist who founded Methodism in the Channel Islands:

Awful times, very awful time, you may depend upon it, my dear Sir, are at hand: and we, as a nation, have cause to tremble. If the seeds of persecution do not exist in the nation, we shall not, I believe, fall into the hands of man. But if they do, woe be to us! The Lord Jesus is at this time peculiarly jealous for his own glory. He has drawn the glittering sword, and I am afraid it never will be sheathed till it has done its complete work. But why should we be afraid. The war, the death, the pestilence, all proclaim his coming. And is it not the cry of every pious soul, Come, Lord Jesus, O come quickly? If we be safe in the cleft of the Rock, we need [not] be afraid of anything that can happen.

By this day's Post I received intelligence that the Government of Jamaica is determined to crush our work entirely. Brother Gilgrass, whom you saw at Raithby-Hall, was committed to prison for a month. Bother Knowlan, another of the

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<sup>110</sup>Ibid., 432.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid., 540-42.

Missionaries, would have been imprisoned at the same time if he had not lain very ill.<sup>112</sup>

Coke pointed to the imprisonment of Methodists in Jamaica for the preaching the gospel. He exclaimed that Jesus “has drawn the glittering sword” and he will not sheath that sword until the work is complete. Coke took the imprisoning of these workers very personally. These were his Methodist missionaries, whom he had funded. One could argue that this persecution and suffering was not directly upon Coke. To the contrary, Coke was so intimately intertwined with all of the mission work that he received it as if it had occurred to him. He saw these persecutions as attacks upon all Christians and particularly upon all Methodists.

**Appendix 8, entry 75, to Missionary Committee, November 29, 1809.** Coke wrote another letter about the challenging work in Jamaica. Two new Methodist workers foolishly signed a legal document essentially admitting the guilt of their predecessors in doing wrong by preaching the gospel. In their legal document, they promised not to do the same. Coke was very upset with their foolish decision:

The Jamaica business exceedingly affects my mind. It robbed me of about two or three hours sleep last night. . . . But it was dreadful for him to sign a petition noticing belief and reports in disfavour of his predecessors, and promising to behave better, sealing in effect their imaginary guilt. The missionaries have committed themselves. . . . It may perhaps be best for Brother Johnston to preach in the chapel, and to suffer imprisonment for a month, and then to remain quiet, till after preachers arrive. Do as you please in this matter, and join me with yourselves in the directions sent over. But let us not sacrifice the eternal interests of half a million of our fellow creatures to delicacies of feeling for individuals who have acted most foolishly.<sup>113</sup>

Several significant points are apparent. Coke was unhappy with the admission of any wrong doing for preaching the gospel. Coke was more than willing to make known his concern. He then puts forth the proposal that in spite of having signed an agreement not to do so, these men should proceed with preaching the gospel and obtain the resultant punishment of jail. This is quite an interesting turn of events as it relates to the discussion

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<sup>112</sup>Ibid., 543-45.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid., 598-600.

of this paper. Coke, the secretary of missions, advised the preachers to disobey the proclamation that they had so foolishly signed. Likewise he advises that they knowingly suffer for the sake of preaching.

**Appendix 2, entry 12, February 10, 1814.** Coke recorded his reflections regarding Mrs. Ault's illness during his journey to Ceylon. The narrative surrounding the brief excerpt is more significant than the words cited. Mrs. Ault began the journey extremely ill, with consumption. The Aults prayerfully considered remaining behind. In spite of illness, they pressed on with Coke and the band of missionaries. Throughout the journey the illness deteriorated and when the flags of the Ault's ship were hoisted at half-mast Coke knew that his fellow missionary on the accompanying ship had finally succumbed to death, never to reach the mission field to which she was called. Upon her death at sea, the list of lives sacrificed for God's mission to Ceylon began for the Methodists.

Elizabeth Harvard recorded her own sentiments regarding the death of young Mrs. Ault in a memoir entry from Bombay. She addressed her comments to Harvard's mother on August 1, 1814:

We lost Mrs. Ault about six weeks after leaving England. We felt the bereavement extremely; both on Mr. Ault's individual account, as well as the being so soon deprived of one of our small party. But the Lord knows what is best; his ways are not our ways, nor his thoughts our thoughts. She was favoured with an easy and happy death; and said she had no objections to her remains being committed to the deep. "It matters little," said she, "what becomes of the body, so that the soul is secure!" She was a pious young person; and I had promised myself that I should find in her a comfortable companion or correspondent in a foreign land.<sup>114</sup>

**Appendix 2, memorial entries 13 to 16, May 3, 1814.** Entries 13 to 15 (see appendix 2) make up a joint account (from the surviving Ceylon-bound Methodist Missionaries) of the death of their leader, Thomas Coke. Entries 13 to 15 all appear in the

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<sup>114</sup>William Martin Harvard and Elizabeth Harvard, *Memoirs of Mrs. Elizabeth Harvard, Late of the Wesleyan Mission to Ceylon and India: With Extracts from Her Diary and Correspondence, by Her Husband* (London: John Mason, 1833), 40.

biographies written by Harvard, Vickers, and Crowther, but apparently existed, also, as a separate document, possibly sent as a circular. Entry 16 is Benjamin Clough's account of Coke's death. The significance to this discussion is the first hand record of the nature of his death as a direct result of his zealous and rigorous pursuit of the mission of God, even while limited to the confining atmosphere of the ship.

From these passages one may learn that Coke died laboring at God's work. His driving passion was the establishment of the gospel in Asia. With assiduity he pressed to increase his knowledge of Portuguese and the day he died he was writing sermons and translating hymns into Portuguese for use on the mission field. Clough testified that the intensity of Coke's work in the hot and confined environment led to his death. Clough verified the medical officer's assessment. Clough's conclusion is that the beloved Coke worked himself to death for the cause of Christ in Asia.

Coke's reflections regarding the risks he encountered in missions were not overblown in his journals. Instead, he mentioned those sufferings as either matter of fact or as framework for more significant reflection. His September 1784 mention of the rough seas and resultant nausea were recorded merely as part of his meticulous log of events. The March 1785 mention of his near drowning in a rushing river in North America serves as opportunity for Coke to record a profound reflection regarding his eternal purpose, to build "castles . . . for the benefit of my fellow-creatures."<sup>115</sup> Nearly one month later Coke recorded a potentially lethal confrontation with an unruly American crowd that threatened to lash Coke for offending them with his preaching against slavery. In October 1787, Coke recorded his passage on another severely listing ship. This near disaster led Coke to another profound reflection: "I am therefore willing to die. I do love my God, and have indubitable assurance that whatever is wanting he will fully supply,

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<sup>115</sup>Coke, *The Journals*, 47.

before he takes me into the world of spirits.”<sup>116</sup> Nine years later, in 1796, Coke recorded a challenging journey on the *Friendship*. Once again the risk and sacrifice were tools in God’s hands for Coke’s refinement and for strengthening resolve. Coke’s reply in that circumstance—“Thy will be done.”<sup>117</sup> From Coke’s reflections on risk and suffering for the sake of the gospel, one might conclude that those risks were not considered by Coke as extraordinary, rather inherent to sharing Christ and advancing his kingdom. One may also deduce that some of those challenges increased Coke’s resolve and commitment.

One of the most profound comments made by Coke regarding the cost of missionary service appeared in his letter to John Hughes, a potential recruit for the work in India. His final statement in the letter, “Consent to go in the spirit of martyrdom.”<sup>118</sup>

### **Evangelism**

Thomas Coke’s zeal for piety and his resolve for the conversion of the lost were cemented during his first three years of preaching, which eventually led to opposition and absolute rejection by his congregation. Coke’s Welsh temperament and unwillingness to recoil under persecution became clear during his abrupt removal from the rectory, resulting in his belligerent preaching in the square outside the church. Upon Coke’s first meeting with John Wesley, Candler reported Wesley’s greeting to Coke, “Brother, go out, go out and preach the gospel to all the world!”<sup>119</sup> Apparently Coke’s evangelistic fervor came to the attention of Wesley.

This section on evangelism examines Coke’s reflections on Jesus, the person of the gospel, and the message of the gospel. In addition, this section draws insights into Coke’s participation in evangelism. Why? Because at the core of missions is a

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<sup>116</sup>Ibid.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid., 206.

<sup>118</sup>Coke, *The Letters*, 659.

<sup>119</sup>Candler, *Life of Thomas Coke*, 19.

relationship with Jesus and participation in the spread of Christ's gospel message. appendix 8 cites several journal entries that highlight Coke's relationship with Jesus and his approach toward evangelism. Coke's colleagues have also written several entries that serve as eyewitness accounts of Coke's personal evangelism.

**Appendix 8, entry 48, September 24, 1784.** While sailing from King-Road, England, for New York, on a journey that endured from September 18 to November 3, 1784, Coke spoke of his desire to preach the gospel to the ends of the earth:

Employ myself in reading the life of *Francis Xavier*. O for a soul like his! But, glory be to God, there is nothing impossible with him. I seem to want the wings of an Eagle, and the voice of a trumpet, that I may proclaim the gospel through the East and the West and the North and the South.<sup>120</sup>

Coke's reflections on Xavier call him to a similar resolve. Coke prays, "That I may proclaim the gospel through the East and the West and the North and the South."<sup>121</sup> Coke withdrew daily into the presence of Christ and he prayed for God to enable him to preach the gospel throughout the earth.

**Appendix 8, entry 50, *American Journal*, October 3, 1784.** During nine voyages to America, much time was spent living the Christian life on board cramped seafaring quarters. It is no wonder that much reflection is recorded on those long voyages. During the 1784 journey, Coke and Thomas Vasey both were engaged in preaching and evangelism, as well as distributing gospel materials, while traveling to America. Coke wrote,

Brother Vasey this morning, described to the sailors the tremendous transactions of the Day of Judgment; and in the afternoon I endeavored to make them sensible of the necessity of being born again. They gave apparent attention, and that is all I can say. We also distributed among them, the *Word to a Sailor*.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>120</sup>Thomas Coke, *Extracts of the Journals of the Rev. Dr. Coke's Five Visits to America* (London: Paramore, 1793), 8.

<sup>121</sup>Ibid.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid., 10.

By reputation and practice, Coke's lifestyle was one that engaged frequently in personal evangelism.

**Appendix 8, entry 51, *American Journal*, October 4, 1784.** Thomas Coke, like Carey, embraced the passion of *David Brainerd*: "I have finished the life of *David Brainerd*. The most surprising circumstance in the whole, I think, is this, that the great work which (by the blessing of God) he wrought among the Indians, was all done through the medium of an interpreter."<sup>123</sup> Like Brainerd, Coke was personally engaged in communicating the gospel among people who were neglected or overlooked. Unlike Brainerd, Coke recognized the need for language acquisition in order to preach the gospel in indigenous languages. Coke later applied himself diligently to language learning throughout his journey to Ceylon. Why learn languages? So that he could effectively communicate the gospel.

**Appendix 8, entry 52, *American Journal*, October 22, 1784.** Coke reported the joy of seeing one of the sailors receive salvation: "The Lord has I trust now given us one soul among the sailors; that of Richard Haze. His mother lived in Stepney, near London, and was a member of our Society. I believe he is in a measure awakened, blessed be God, by our ministry."<sup>124</sup> This entry is important for this discussion because Coke not only believed in evangelism, he practiced personal evangelism and God provided fruit. With great joy Coke celebrated God's work in the salvation of Richard Haze.

**Appendix 8, entry 53, *American Journal*, November 14, 1784.** Coke reported his first encounter with Francis Asbury, who was eventually named by John Wesley as co-bishop (along with Coke) of American Methodists. Coke was preaching at

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<sup>123</sup>Ibid.

<sup>124</sup>Ibid., 12.



Barret's-Chapel on Sunday morning. After his sermon, he met Asbury for the first time:

After the sermon, a plain, robust man came up to me in the pulpit, and kissed me: I thought it could be no other than Mr. Asbury, and I was not deceived. . . . Mr. Asbury has also drawn up for me a route of about eight hundred or a thousand miles in the mean time. He has given me his black (Harry by name) and borrowed an excellent horse for me<sup>125</sup>

Harry was a freedman, who being illiterate memorized large portions of Scripture and became a famous preacher in his own right. The meeting with Asbury was significant in that Coke, during this encounter, revealed his secret mission from Wesley to ordain Francis Asbury and other Methodist leaders.

Coke's letter to John Wesley, dated August 9 of the same year, discussed the plan that was carried out on November 14 in America. In the letter, Coke addressed the expediency of the ordination of Asbury, as well as the tension between Asbury and any who would assert authority over him:

I do not find the least degree of prejudice in my mind against Mr. Asbury; on the contrary, a very great love and esteem; and I am determined not to stir a finger without his consent, unless sheer necessity obliges me; but rather to lie at his feet in all things. But as the journey is long, and you cannot spare me often, and it is well to provide against all events, and an authority formally received from you will be fully admitted by the people, and my exercising the office of ordination without that formal authority may be disputed, if there be any opposition on any other account; I could therefore earnestly wish you would exercise that power in this instance, which I have not the shadow of a doubt but God hath invested you with for the good of the Connexion.<sup>126</sup>

Through this event, Coke served as God's instrument for Methodist church multiplication in America. William Henry Williams referred to November 14, 1784 as "an extraordinary day in the history of American Methodism."<sup>127</sup> The significance of this move was to free the American church for more rapid multiplication. Ordaining American ministers allowed preaching houses to become churches. The concern was warranted and Coke

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<sup>125</sup>Ibid., 16.

<sup>126</sup>Coke, *The Letters*, 57-58.

<sup>127</sup>William Henry Williams, *The Garden of American Methodism: The Delmarva Peninsula, 1769-1820* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1984), 64.

worked against British opposition and American suspicion to make it happen.

**Appendix 8, entry 76, November 27, 1811.** Later in his life, Francis Asbury, Coke's co-bishop of America, wrote of his desire to preach the gospel throughout North America:

Should my life be spared a few years, I shall push to preach the gospel in all the world of America, though I should find it three thousand miles in length and as many in breadth. I long to preach the gospel to all the British, Spanish, and the United States of America. I hope the Lord will open an effectual door for thousands in your happy isle, by village missionaries, or other ways and means.<sup>128</sup>

Coke and Asbury traveled thousands of miles on foot and by horseback preaching the gospel. Asbury's passion was to cover more territory throughout North America. The burning desire of both Coke and Asbury was to preach the gospel to all. Asbury, was solely focused on America, while Coke focused on global evangelism.

**Appendix 8, entry 43 and 44, late 1813.** The following entries are from Coke's South Asian journal. In the first entry Coke recorded the number of people (26) with whom his party dines on the ship: "In the dining room our number is twenty-six, inclusive of the Captain and his two first officers. They are very polite; but oh! We want to save souls."<sup>129</sup> Coke described the setting and makes it clear at the end of this entry that his ultimate goal was for the salvation of those twenty-six at the dining table during his voyage.

Entry 44 more specifically addressed his growing burden for Muslims, with whom he has been speaking on board the ship. Coke explained,

About 50 of the sailors are Lascars (East Indian seamen), and chiefly, if not entirely, I am afraid, for I have been talking with some of them. . . . The gospel-door, as it respects that people, seems entirely shut. Their religion was established by the

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<sup>128</sup>Coke, *The Letters*, 649.

<sup>129</sup>Coke, *The Journals*, 255.

sword, and I will fear that the sword must go through their nations before they will bow to the scepter of Jesus.<sup>130</sup>

Coke expressed his speculation that the door for evangelism seemed tightly closed and that Muslims would be won to Christ only with much difficulty. Again, his focus was evangelism, in this case, among Muslims.

**Appendix 8, entry 45, the death of Coke.** This entry comes from the earlier cited collective responses by Coke's colleagues, after his death. They mentioned in their joint statement that in May of 1813 God had revealed to Coke a powerful clarity on the subject of evangelism:

The propagation of the knowledge of Christ in Asia was a subject which had rested on the mind of our late venerable father for more than 20 years, but (according to his own account,) he received a stronger and clearer evidence of the will of God on this subject in May 1813, and was then more especially convinced of the absolute necessity of adopting immediate measures to hasten that important period, when the heathen shall be given to our Lord Christ.<sup>131</sup>

God gave Thomas Coke the vision and compelling burden for South Asia. He was convinced that the church should take immediate action on the mission of global evangelism among the lost. His theological comment indicates a belief that measures could and should be taken to hasten the return of the Lord through Christian witness among the lost.

**Appendix 8, entry 46, Clough, December 30, 1813.** Included in Vickers' compilation of Coke's journals is a short letter by Clough. Clough mentioned his winsome approach among the lost. Coke's comportment was gentle and pointed his acquaintances to Jesus:

The next morning he rose, and commenced his usual practice, as one amidst busy multitudes alone. . . . The ship's company began soon to notice him as being a singular character. . . . The Doctor seemed alike unmoved, and pursued his labors of prayer, study, reading and writing, with as much settled composure of mind, as

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<sup>130</sup>Ibid.

<sup>131</sup>Ibid., 269-70.

though he had been on land. Now it was the Doctor, who had been to the present a suspected person, began to gain the good opinion, attention, and even respect of all the passengers. His polite and easy address, his attainments in literature, were conspicuous traits in his character; and these, together with the sacred office which he sustained, attracted the veneration of all.<sup>132</sup>

Coke's method of evangelism was wrapped up in the very nature of his lifestyle and comportment among the lost. It was the person of Thomas Coke, not merely the preacher, who attracted the admiration and respect of all, according to Clough. Certainly his manner and character contributed to his ability to communicate the gospel. Drew explained that Coke could just as comfortably preach the gospel in West Indies or among senators: "To everyone he was alike, easy of access; so that the most exalted became familiar, and the most bashful grew confident in his presence, after the interchange of a few expressions."<sup>133</sup> Drew also described the overwhelming confidence with which Coke preached "the important truths of the Gospel, by proofs and evidences that led to conclusions in which his mind found repose, he delivered their results without their process, in a tone of confidence, which corresponded with his own convictions."<sup>134</sup> Drew explained the frailty of the abovementioned approach: "This method of addressing his audience frequently operated to his own disadvantage, by exposing him to the charge of dealing in bold assertions, in the support of which he advanced no satisfactory reasons."<sup>135</sup> Coke was dedicated to personal evangelism.

**Appendix 8, entry 47, Clough, January 8, 1814.** Clough described one of Coke's meetings aboard ship with a group of soldiers in this entry. Coke customarily gathered the passengers in the evenings to preach the gospel or discuss the Bible, often reading from one of the commentaries he authored. When seas were rough or difficulties

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<sup>132</sup>Ibid., 272.

<sup>133</sup>Drew, *Life of Coke*, 382.

<sup>134</sup>Ibid., 381.

<sup>135</sup>Ibid., 382.

abounded, Coke became a source of encouragement to the passengers and crew. After one such meeting with a group of rather fearful young soldiers heading to Asia, Clough sized up Coke's sentiments about the meeting:

When he had the soldiers together who desired to flee from the wrath to come, how lovingly and earnestly he would address them! And how fervently would he address the Lord Jesus on their behalf! These little meetings he considered as the dawns of the Gospel in the East.<sup>136</sup>

Coke never knew that his purpose in Asia would only be fulfilled through those who followed him. Correspondence with Charles Grant revealed Coke's early intent to launch evangelism work in India.

**Appendix 8, entry 54, letter to Charles Grant, January 25, 1786.** Coke wrote to Charles Grant, a retired director of the East India Company, after his meeting with retired Danish missionary Christian Friedrich Schwartz. Coke sought information about the work in Bengal and about the potential of launching a future Methodist mission. He also explained the distinct Methodist approach of evangelism. He mentioned the persecutions that occur as a result of proclamation of the gospel:

We have gone on what appears, at first sight at least, to be a more evangelical plan. Our missionaries have not at all concerned themselves with applications to the Civil Power. They have been exact in their submission to all its laws, and laid themselves out in the most extensive manner for God.

We have thought the plan on which the Danish and Moravian missionaries have proceeded, (whose piety, intentions and abilities we greatly admire) has no resemblance to that of the Apostles and their successors. In all the places, which we have hitherto visited, we have gone to the high ways and hedges to compel sinners to come in. In the public fields and streets we have proclaimed the gospel in the midst of great persecutions, and sinners have frequently fallen down in a most wonderful manner under the word: and I believe the majority of those in our Society do experience the assurance of faith. At the same time, every prudential method that is Consistent with a plan of extensive usefulness should be observed.<sup>137</sup>

This letter addresses the centrality of the gospel in Wesleyan evangelism and missions. Coke's description of the Methodist missionary approach is not surprising in

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<sup>136</sup>Coke, *The Journals*, 274.

<sup>137</sup>Coke, *The Letters*, 69-71.

light of the general Wesleyan approach of preaching, as illustrated by Coke's own methodology.

From the highlighted journal entries one can see that Coke was passionately drawn to Jesus and he persistently communicated the gospel among the lost. He was inspired by the likes of Francis Xavier and Richard Brainerd who proclaimed Christ among neglected or overlooked peoples. Coke presented Christ in a winsome manner among people from diverse walks of life. Together with Wesley, Coke embraced a strategy in America that they would actually resist in England, that of ordaining ministers of the gospel outside the parameters of the Church of England. Such a move was unorthodox in England, but the approach freed the church in America to multiply and advance. Coke recorded his exuberance in his journal when a young sailor came to faith in Christ. He also recorded his burden for Muslims, who seemed, to him, to be lost in a deep chasm of seemingly impenetrable darkness. Coke's letter to Charles Grant revealed a longstanding resolve to lead Wesleyans to preach the gospel in the East. Coke's personal experience with the gospel appeared to be a motivating factor in his resolve to risk much for the advance of the kingdom of God.

### **Coke's Resolute Motivation**

By examining risks taken for the advance of the gospel, in light of Coke's love of Jesus and his commitment to the gospel, one is led to the question, "What motivated him?" In a letter from Coke to Ezekiel Cooper the reader can grasp a glimpse of Coke's motivation for missions.<sup>138</sup>

**Appendix 8, entry 55, to Ezekiel Cooper, October 30, 1789.** Upon return from America, Coke wrote with enthusiasm about the work of God in America. He pointed to the effectual work in America and calls the Methodist to robust zeal in

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<sup>138</sup>See appendix 8 for letter from Coke to Ezekiel Cooper.

preaching the gospel among the lost:

I bless the Lord. I do feel an unremitted desire to glory for him in the salvation of souls. But O how little I do for him in comparison to what I would: and for that little to him be all the praise and all the Glory. . . .

And now my dear brother and friend let me entreat you to continue in your zeal for God and his cause: Be much in prayer: much in the exercise of the presence of God. The enemies of the church of Christ are alas too active. Let us be as active and if possible more so in the best of causes and for the best of masters; and our Lord will make us the honored instruments of wresting the prey out of the hands of the mighty. Never fear: God is and will be for us; and I believe will make the Methodist Connection the grand instrument of bringing in the much to be wished for, the most ardently to be prayed for Millennium. O that we may be found faithful that we esteem it an honor to be instruments in any measure in the hands of God for the hastening of his benign plan of general Happiness!<sup>139</sup>

Coke explained his “unremitted desire” to glorify Christ through the “salvation of souls.”<sup>140</sup> He contrasted that desire with his self-assessment of the little that he does for Jesus. Likewise, Coke constrained Ezekiel Cooper to do several things: continue in zeal for God, pray much, be aware that the enemies of Christ are very active, remain active in the work of the Lord, and do so without fear. Coke reassured Cooper that God remained with them in this process. Through such means, Coke believed the Methodists would be effective instruments in “the hastening” of God’s plan.<sup>141</sup> Coke pointed to two primary motivations for his mission: the spread of the glory of God among the nations and the coming millennium.

**Appendix 8, entry 56, to Joseph Sutcliffe, January 16, 1790.** Upon return from America, Coke wrote with enthusiasm about a proposed mission to the Bay of Honduras in South America: “The Bay of Honduras is about three days Sail from Jamaica. If the Mission takes place, I intend to visit the Bay in about ten months after the

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<sup>139</sup>Coke, *The Letters*, 113-5.

<sup>140</sup>Ibid.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid.

arrival of the Missionary.”<sup>142</sup> Coke appealed to Sutcliffe to join him on the mission to Honduras. Although Coke’s mission to Honduras never materialized, missionary Thomas Wilkinson eventually carried it out in 1825.<sup>143</sup> As was true of his mission to Ceylon, the mission to Honduras continued after Coke’s death. His resolve challenged Methodists toward the task of global missions. His motivation was specific and persistent, thus he gave his life raising money for missions, preaching the gospel, mobilizing missionaries, and making plans to advance the gospel.

**Appendix 8, entry 57, to Thomas Morrell, June 23, 1790.** Coke wrote to Thomas Morrell revealing his own eschatological motivation for missions. He also emphasizes the importance of prayer in missions:

Take care to keep up the spirit and exercise of prayer, which I have with great delight observed among the preachers each time I have visited America; and exhort your fellow-laborers to preserve the same spirit, and to exert themselves in the same divine exercise. Prayer is the key which opens the kingdom of heaven to believers; yea, it brings down the gift of faith into the soul; yea, it sets up a little heaven in the heart.

Surely you cannot be mistaken in the signs of the times. The Lord is hastening apace the great Millennium, when Christ shall reign with his ancients gloriously a thousand years. O that you and I may be the subjects of that reign! Or, at least, enjoy the sight of it out of paradise. Endeavour to quicken the people to live up to the privilege of this dispensation, by preserving and retaining the perfect love of God. One of the most sure signs of the approach of the Millennium will be the having a multitude of real possessors of that might blessing in our Society.<sup>144</sup>

For Coke, prayer was the key to salvation, “which opens the kingdom of heaven to believers; yea, it brings down the gift of faith into the soul; yea, it sets up a little heaven in the heart.”<sup>145</sup> Prayer is what opens the doors of sinners’ hearts. Likewise, Coke was motivated by the impending millennial reign of Christ.

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<sup>142</sup>Ibid., 117.

<sup>143</sup>Ibid.

<sup>144</sup>Ibid., 121-23.

<sup>145</sup>Ibid., 122.



**Quotes from Coke prior to departure for India.** Both Coke's letters and his journal entries reflect his passionate resolve to work diligently, even feverishly in the mission of God to advance the church. Increasingly Coke's focus narrowed to the advance of the gospel in Asia, thus some of his early correspondence and late reflections focused on India and Ceylon. Coke's early struggle to discern whether or not to believe specifically in Jesus Christ solidified the foundational preeminence of the Christ of the gospel in his own life. The supremacy of Christ in Coke's life was foundational for the mission work he forged with the Methodists. His own personal relationship with Christ developed in him more than a nominal religion. He was raised in the Church of England then soundly rejected many of her teachings by associating with Methodists. Coke's thorough examination of the gospel brought him to an even greater love for the mission of God's church. Through Coke's own internal striving for spiritual truth, he discovered and accepted the gospel firmly and unequivocally, launching him into God's mission to the world. Coke's missionary resolve was founded on the fact that he became thoroughly convinced and invested in the gospel of Jesus Christ and all of its ramifications.

The early opposition incurred from the local church Coke pastored during his early ministry served as a crucible for confirming his own calling and resolve. Later, that resolve was applied to his devotion to serve the advance of Methodism. Even later, the consummation of resolve was fleshed out when Coke left his influential role among the Methodists in order to pour himself out in Ceylon. Etheridge, in his *Life of the Rev.*

*Thomas Coke*, presented two quotes from Coke's letter to William Wilberforce:

My influence in the large Wesleyan Connexion, the introduction and superintendence of our Missions in different parts of the globe, and the wide sphere opened to me for the preaching of the Gospel to almost innumerable and attentive congregations, have opened to me a very extensive field for usefulness. And yet I could give up all for India. Could I but close my life in being the means of raising a spiritual Church in India, it would satisfy the utmost ambition of my soul here below.<sup>146</sup>

A second quote landed Coke into another controversy, accused of seeking to

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<sup>146</sup>Etheridge, *The Life of Coke*, 370-71.

elevate himself as Bishop of India. Coke was merely proposing that he take advantage of the British need for an Indian Bishop. Coke filled that role and participated in his mission to South Asia. The accusation of arrogance and presumption swirled around Coke, overshadowing the sentiments that captured Coke's motivation for risky missions into Ceylon:

I enlarged on the earnest desire I had of closing my life in India; observing, that if his Royal Highness the Prince Regent and the government should think proper to appoint me their bishop in India, I should most cheerfully and gratefully accept of the offer. . . . I observed that I should, in case of my appointment to the episcopacy of India, return most fully into the bosom of the Established Church, and do everything in my power to promote its interests; and would submit to all such restrictions, in the fulfillment of my office, as the government and the bench of bishops at home should think necessary;—that my prime motive was to be useful to the Europeans in India; and that my second, though not the least, was to introduce the Christian religion among the Hindoos, by the preaching of the Gospel, and perhaps also by the establishment of schools.<sup>147</sup>

**Circular letter by Coke prior to departure, June 28, 1813.** The following excerpt from a circular reveals Coke's commitment and resolve. He was prepared to serve alone in India, paying his own way. At the same time he believed the need demanded a response from the church. Coke's newsletter is found in Etheridge's biography:

And yet the will of God concerning me is so evident, that, as far as I know myself, I would rather be set down naked on the coast of Ceylon, to make my way from that spot, than not to go at all. I cannot sail till about October; and if the Conference think it best for me to raise all the money necessary for the whole onset, even of ten Missionaries, I would engage to do it.—I would engage absolutely, according to the vulgar adage, "to bind or to find." The Missionary Fund should be at no expense. I should have ten Missionaries to go with me, inclusive of a secretary, and of another companion, as a half-servant to travel with me. My own expenses I should bear myself, inclusive of the expenses of the two brethren, who on the above plan, would travel with me. But I would go with eight, with six, with four, with two, with one, with none.<sup>148</sup>

In this document Coke revealed the extent of sacrifice he was willing to make, including his tremendous influence among the Wesleyans and in turn among the

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<sup>147</sup>Ibid., 371.

<sup>148</sup>Ibid., 377.

Protestants in England, America, and the world. There was much more that Coke could have done for the church within his realm of influence. Coke also revealed his ultimate ambition—to complete his life by raising up “a spiritual Church in India, it would satisfy the utmost ambition of my soul here below.”<sup>149</sup>

The latter portion of the entry reveals the intended platform and goal for his mission in India. In essence, Coke would do whatever possible to serve Europeans in India. He made it clear that his ultimate goal was to introduce Christianity to Hindus, specifically through preaching the gospel and establishing schools.

**Appendix 5, entry 27 and 28, Coke prior to departure for Ceylon.** The following is Coke’s most memorable statement about his resolve—“Dead to Europe, and alive for India: methinks I had rather be set naked on the coast of Ceylon, without clothes, and without a friend, than not go there.” Coke either reused the phrase often, since it appears in more than one entry, or it was captured and harnessed after his death. Could there be a more reflective statement regarding Coke’s vision, purpose, and resolve? Coke would rather be destitute in Ceylon than remain behind in England. Clough added a testimony that confirms the same sentiment. While Coke was still in London, the two of them were in a carriage en route to a meeting. Clough gave Coke a paper for him to peruse. Coke’s terse response is recorded: “Brother, said the Doctor, I beg your pardon, but excuse me, I am dead to all things but Asia.”<sup>150</sup> W. M. Harvard recorded Clough’s comments about the incident: “Though I wished him to read my paper, yet I admired his unremitting zeal in so holy a cause. I confess, it was one of the most powerful and instructive lessons to me.”<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>149</sup>Ibid., 371.

<sup>150</sup>Ibid., 371-72.

<sup>151</sup>Harvard, *A Narrative*, 52.

Entry 28 in appendix 5 found Coke using the word “alacrity” to describe his anticipation of the upcoming journey to Ceylon. Coke was eagerly ready to turn his focus squarely to Asia. He described his resolve and passion for Asia as “deeply interwoven with the very strings (of his heart).”<sup>152</sup> He stated,

If all human aid had apparently been withdrawn from those missions, the interests of which are so deeply interwoven with the very strings of my heart—my divine call to Asia has been so indubitably clear, that I should have been obliged to have thrown everything into the hands of my God, and to have said to Him, “Here I am, send me” to Asia.<sup>153</sup>

Coke left no doubt about his absolute resolve and calling to Asia.

**Appendix 5, entry 273, comments from Clough.** Clough, in his comments, described the witness and impact of Coke on those on the ship. Some onboard viewed Coke’s upright conduct and lifestyle as a living reproof of their own lives. His fellow missionaries were awed by his relentless pursuit of his studies in preparation for ministry in Asia. Clough explained the phenomenon:

As Asia had so long occupied his serious attention, and to send the Gospel to so great a number of immortal souls, who were in heathenish darkness and superstition, was now the chief concern of his life; as more than once, since we came on board, he had told me that if he had not succeeded in establishing the present Mission, he believed it would have broken his heart; but having so clear a discovery of the will of God on the subject, he cast himself upon his direction, fully persuaded that his way would be opened; and having so far succeeded, he took it as a proof of the divine approbation of the undertaking, and now determined to spend and be spent in so glorious a cause.<sup>154</sup>

**Near death experience, March 9, 1785.** During one of Coke’s near-death experiences on March 9, 1785, he confessed that his compelling motivation to live was

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<sup>152</sup>Thomas Coke, *Extracts of the Journals of the Late Rev. Thomas Coke, L.L.D.; Comprising Several Visits to North-America and the West-Indies; His Tour through a Part of Ireland, and His Nearly Finished Voyage to Bombay in the East-Indies: To Which Is Prefixed, a Life of the Doctor* (Dublin: R. Napper, 1816), 264.

<sup>153</sup>Coke, *The Journals*, 256.

<sup>154</sup>*Ibid.*

both worldly and spiritual: “All my castles which I had built in the air for the benefit of my fellow-creatures, passed in regular array before my mind, and I could not consent to give them up.”<sup>155</sup> Coke was driven with specific goals and ambitions and he pursued them with zeal for the advance of the gospel.

**Journey to America, September 24, 1784.** One of the more prophetic entries regarding his passion for the spread of the gospel is found in the journal from his first trip to America on September 24, 1784. Coke wrote of his desire to preach the gospel to the ends of the earth: “But, glory be to God, there is nothing impossible with him. I seem to want the wings of an Eagle, and the voice of a trumpet, that I may proclaim the gospel through the East and the West and the North and the South.”<sup>156</sup> That vision to preach to all peoples in every location motivated Coke to persist in the mission of God, despite opposition, despite the requirement that he beg ceaselessly for financial support, and despite the rigorous travel involved. Coke was motivated to preach to the East, West, North and the South—to all the peoples of the earth.

**Appendix 8, entry 77, The Missionary Committee, December 26, 1811.** In this long report, Coke commented on the state of various missionary efforts, including West Indies, Africa, and the evangelism among French prisoners. A considerable portion of the report dealt with financial issues. The report made it apparent that Coke expended considerable personal resources to cover the mission work. Regarding the failed Africa mission, he liquidated his own assets, including annuities, in order to cover what he considered his own ill-planned mission to Africa. Coke demonstrated no love for meetings and unnecessary reporting:

In respect to the African missions. I never engaged (it is a perfect mistake to suppose it, my dear Brethren) that I would pay all the expenses of those missions

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<sup>155</sup>Ibid., 47.

<sup>156</sup>Coke, *Extracts of the Journals of the Rev. Dr. Coke's*, 8.

out of my own pocket. . . . I engaged to raise all the money necessary for the support of that work without any application whatever to the General Fund; and I engaged no more. . . . I have gone much too far already this year—1811. I have expended twelve hundred pounds more than my annual income. To meet this, I was obliged to dispose of two of my redeemable annuities, producing £120 per annum, which were to have made a part of the £1000 per annum, which I intended to secure to the Preachers' Fund. . . . In respect to the French Missions. I did engage in the Conference, exactly as I engaged for the African Missions, that I would raise all the money necessary for them, without any application to the General Fund. . . . Mr. George Walker, I know, looks to me for the payment of his bond, and if [I] do not take care to raise that money, I shall be obliged to pay the thousand pounds out of my own pocket. I would not intrude upon you, my respected friends, by saying if you take up that Bond I will send you what I have raised, and make it up £1000 on a loan to the fund, for what end would that answer. . . . I hardly know what to do for you to satisfy you. I must not melt away all my fortune. You, yourselves, my good dear brethren, have been the sole cause of my doing so little as I have done. I told you that every Friday morning you kept me among you, we lost £20. . . . Even this letter, will rob me of three hours of begging time.<sup>157</sup>

In his letter, Coke applied a monetary amount to every hour he spent writing reports, attending meetings, or selecting hymns for meetings. He even calculated that the time spent writing this letter cost the General Missions Fund three hours of begging time. The Friday meetings that he was obliged to attend cost the Mission Fund £20 that could otherwise have been earned in Coke's solicitation of missions funds. By 1811, Coke's resolute motivation for missions had become stridently fixated to the point that he viewed every superfluous activity in terms of its cost to funds that could have been raised for missions. Even though he complained about his incessant begging for missions, he guarded that solicitation time as an absolute necessity for the advance of the kingdom of God.

### **Observations and Significance**

Through the narrative of Coke's life, as recorded in his journals and letters, his commitment to evangelism and the advance of the kingdom of God is apparent. Through Coke's letters and journals his missionary resolve to make Christ known among all peoples is founded in his love of Christ and passion for the gospel. Coke worked his way past Deism and skepticism, through scholarly enquiry and biblical study. Coke's journals reveal his devotional life, nurtured through extensive study of Scripture and by his

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<sup>157</sup>Coke, *The Letters*, 652-55.

practice of prayer and spiritual disciplines. Coke's journals and some of his zealous letters reveal his conviction for piety and the conversion of the lost, as seen as early as his first three years of preaching and pastoral ministry. Coke's Welsh temperament and unwillingness to recoil under pressure characterized his persona and ministry, thus landing him in some controversy and misunderstanding. He was not without personal aspirations and ambition, as evidenced by his self-nomination to bishop of India and his insistence that his own American bishopric be equal in authority to that of his co-bishop, Asbury.<sup>158</sup>

Coke's journals and discipline of language study indicate his recognition of the significance of the communication of the gospel at least in the *lingua franca*, if not the heart language of recipients. Crowther reflected on Coke's "great desire to establish missions among the Roman Catholics [in Ireland], in their own language."<sup>159</sup> Crowther explained, "He made several fruitless attempts for that purpose."<sup>160</sup> Crowther reported that within a handful of years "a considerable number of Roman Catholics were brought from sin and superstition, to be ornaments of scriptural Christianity. Thousands more were somewhat enlightened, and a general enquiry after truth spread through the land."<sup>161</sup> Coke's journal to Asia indicates that he was rigorously studying and translating in Portuguese, the *lingua franca* of his destination.

Coke and Wesley's Methodist mission strategy made it a priority to congregate converts and later move on to new areas for preaching and spreading the gospel. The strategy was explained: "In these missions . . . as soon as a society becomes organized, it is generally delivered up to the regular circuits. This leaves the missionaries at liberty to

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<sup>158</sup>Ibid., 143-45.

<sup>159</sup>Crowther, *The Life of Thomas Coke*, 461.

<sup>160</sup>Ibid.

<sup>161</sup>Ibid.

visit new places, in order to erect again the standard of the cross.”<sup>162</sup>

Warren A. Candler addressed the reality that among Wesleyans, Coke was not always appreciated. Coke was a source of controversy, partially because he was so close to the founder of Methodism. Coke was also the irritating voice constantly begging money for missions. Nevertheless, Candler sized up Coke:

Thomas Coke has not been justly appreciated by the Christian World. Even the Methodists, who he served so unselfishly and zealously, have estimated him far below his real worth. . . . In the propagation of Methodism he was second only to John Wesley, and in some respects he was superior to that illustrious man”<sup>163</sup>

Considering the extensive missionary endeavors of Coke to America, the West Indies, and to Asia, Candler asserted,

Coke has been characterized justly as the “Foreign Minister of Methodism.” No man in his day advocated more earnestly or more effectively the cause of foreign missions, and no man was more abundant in labors for their establishment and promotion.<sup>164</sup>

Warren Candler was among Coke’s closest circle of influence, along with Andrew Fuller. In Candler’s work on Coke he cites Andrew Fuller who confirms Coke’s direct influence on Carey’s understanding of unreached peoples. Candler explained the extent of Coke’s role:

Coke framed the plan for a missionary society before the day of William Carey, and Andrew Fuller in his *Life of Rev. Samuel Pearce*<sup>165</sup> informed us that a sermon preached by Coke at Birmingham first directed the attention of that great and holy man (Carey) to the sad state of the heathen world and the supreme obligation of the Christian Church to send the gospel to the ends of the earth.<sup>166</sup>

Crowther’s final description of Coke was as a man of action and piety:

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<sup>162</sup>Ibid., 467-68.

<sup>163</sup>Candler, *Life of Thomas Coke*, iii.

<sup>164</sup>Ibid., 364.

<sup>165</sup>Andrew Fuller, *Life of the Rev. Samuel Pearce, of Birmingham Christian Biography* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1835), 25.

<sup>166</sup>Candler, *Life of Thomas Coke*, 364.



The piety of Dr. Coke was lively and genuine, but was to be sought for more in his actions than professions. It consisted more in godly activity than religious contemplation, and imposing appearances. He followed after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, and meekness; fighting the good fight of faith, laying hold on eternal life, whereunto he was called 1 Tim 6:11-12.<sup>167</sup>

Vickers, the foremost expert on Thomas Coke, described Coke's influence: "No man in Methodism had a greater significance for his own age, for Methodism, and for the Missionary movement, than Thomas Coke. No man, deserving to be remembered, has been more completely forgotten."<sup>168</sup>

Accolades and criticisms aside, the question remains, "What was Coke's motivation that led him to take great risk for the cause of global evangelism?" His journals and letters point to several contributing motivations. The first was his love for Jesus and the proclamation of the gospel message. His journals list people for whom he was praying for salvation. His journals record personal witnessing encounters. His circular letters bleed his enthusiasm for the gospel and the salvation of the lost from North, South, East and West. The simple explanation of Coke's missionary motivation is the gospel itself. Is there need for any greater motivation than to have personally experienced Jesus for oneself?

In addition to the gospel, or perhaps because of the impact of the gospel on Coke, he often mentioned the glory of Christ and the advance of the church and Christ's kingdom. In addition, Coke increasingly mentioned a millennial motivation—the coming of Christ. There was an apocalyptic motivation for Coke as well as his compassion for the lost, heathen, as he called them. Coke preached the gospel both out of his love for Jesus and the gospel and out of his desire to see the glory of Christ spread throughout the earth, even unto Christ's impending reign. In his letter to a Welsh preacher, and potential recruit for India, Coke wrote with enthusiasm, appealing to Hughes to come to Ceylon: "Half the world, in regard to population, are in that part of Asia." Coke was profoundly aware of

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<sup>167</sup>Crowther, *The Life of Thomas Coke*, 512.

<sup>168</sup>Vickers, *Thomas Coke*, 2.

the status of global evangelism and the immense populations that were lost and dying without Christ. Finally, Coke appealed to Hughes: “Go in the spirit of martyrdom.” The burden, the task, and the mandate were sufficient to venture the potential of martyrdom for the advance of Christ’s kingdom.

## CHAPTER 5

### OBSERVATIONS AND QUESTIONS

In utter contrast with William Carey, Thomas Coke was a man of great wealth and influence. Coke descended from the lofty places in society, lowering himself to the work of the Methodists. However, even among Methodists, Coke's prominence was seen almost immediately through his poll deed, his confidence earned by Wesley and his initiative taken for missions. Carey, on the other hand came from a poor family. His father Edmund Carey trained as a weaver, but was eventually appointed schoolmaster and parish clerk. The school existed as a charity school, not for the well-to-do families. Charity school or not, Edmund's platform afforded his son William exposure to books and opportunities to learn about the world.<sup>1</sup>

Ernest A. Payne illustrates how these two distinct individuals were linked by momentous events of the era. First, the American Revolution

let loose ideas which led to modern conceptions of democracy. . . . Secondly, the lengthy and complex process known as the Industrial Revolution began. . . . Thirdly, the voyages of Captain Cook brought to the notice of British statesmen and the British public the South Seas and Australia. Even more important than Cook's actual discoveries . . . [was] the appeal they made to the popular imagination.<sup>2</sup>

Thomas Coke and William Carey were exemplary among British whose imaginations were loosed and launched by the combination of these three pivotal historical factors. British culture was ripe for the ideas and innovative leadership of pioneers such as Carey and Coke. Payne explained further regarding the influence of the Industrial

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<sup>1</sup>Mary Drewery, *William Carey: Shoemaker and Missionary* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1978), 8.

<sup>2</sup>Ernest Alexander Payne, *The Church Awakes: The Story of the Modern Missionary Movement* (London: Livingstone, 1942), 16.

Revolution:

Men were living in much the same manner in 1760 as in 500 B.C. But within twenty years of Watt's steam-engine (1765), the first cotton factory was being run by steam, and the era of the machine had begun its triumphant and often frightening course. . . . There was movement from villages to the towns, from the towns to the industrial areas, and before long considerable emigration overseas.<sup>3</sup>

The two men could not have come from more contrasting backgrounds—Carey would have made shoes for barristers such as Coke. Nevertheless, both men shared a commitment to evangelism and the advance of Christ's kingdom. Coke worked within the courts and parliament to firm up the legal future of Methodism, while Carey labored with low caste Indians, evangelists, and university students. Both men founded mission societies that ultimately sent them to South Asia. Eugene Stock, in his *History of the Church Missionary Society*, lists the significant historical events of 1786, the year Coke challenged Methodists to launch a mission society:

Then it was that Wilberforce resolved "to live to God's glory and his fellow creatures' good," and dedicated himself, under the oak-tree at Keston, to the task of abolishing the slave-trade. The same year Clarkson published his famous essay against the slave-trade, and Granville Sharp formulated his plan for settling liberated slaves in Sierra Leone. The same year Thomas Coke, the Methodist, setting out across the Atlantic for Nova Scotia, was driven by storms to Antigua and began his enthusiastic and fruitful interest in the West Indies. The same year the British Parliament passed an Act which enabled the Church of England to appoint the first colonial bishop—a measure which had been far too long delayed. The same year the first ship-load of convicts sailed from England to Australia, and, thanks to Wilberforce and others, a chaplain was sent with them—a momentous step for the future welfare of that distant continent. The same year Schwartz, the Lutheran missionary in South India, visited Tinnevely (where later most successful missionary work was established), David Brown reached Calcutta as one of the chaplains of the East India Company, and Charles Grant, the senior merchant of the Company, sent home a scheme for a mission in Bengal. The same year the Bishop of Lincoln, preaching the annual sermon of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, boldly advanced the evangelization of India; a little group of clerics and laymen in London, known as the Eclectic Society, discussed "the best method of planting and propagating the Gospel in Botany Bay" to which the convicts were being sent; and William Carey proposed, at a meeting of Northamptonshire Baptist ministers, that they should consider their responsibilities to those overseas who were brethren.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 18.

<sup>4</sup>Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), 57-58.

Thomas Coke was a friend of Parliamentarian William Wilberforce, who reconstructed the culture of his day through his relentless battle against slavery. In his memoir, Wilberforce recalled the consummation of that battle, which ended in the approval of laws to abolish slavery:

Thus ended one of the most glorious contests, after a continuance for twenty years, of any ever carried on in any age or country. A contest, not of brutal violence, but of reason. A contest between those who felt deeply for the happiness and the honour of their fellow-creatures, and those who, through vicious custom and the impulse of avarice, had trampled under foot the sacred rights of their nature, and had even attempted to efface all title to the Divine image from their minds.<sup>5</sup>

Like William Wilberforce in his arduous and righteous campaign against slavery, neither Coke nor Carey cowered at risk or obstacles in their campaign for the gospel among the lost. Coke ventured numerous ocean voyages to preach the gospel. Carey battled fevers, gurus, floods, and fires. Both men ventured much for the abundant glory of Christ and his mission. Both men faced criticism for unremittingly clamoring for more funds, more missionaries, and a greater commitment by churches and pastors for missions among the “heathen.” Both men came into sharp disagreement with their senders. Since their senders never seemed to provide adequate resources, Carey and Coke personally funded most of their own work, as well as the work of other missionaries. Both men could be fairly criticized for spending themselves into poverty with an apparent reckless abandon for the cause of missions. It is difficult to imagine either man serving well within the constraints of one of today’s mission sending organizations. Comparing their journals reveals their brotherhood in faith and mission.

### **Observations Regarding Risk, Evangelism, and Resolve**

What is to be learned from the personal reflections of Thomas Coke and William Carey regarding their resolute motivation to engage in risky mission endeavors

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<sup>5</sup>William Wilberforce, *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians, in the Higher and Middle Classes, Contrasted with Real Christianity* (London: Fisher, Son, & Co., 1834), 43.

to achieve personal and global evangelization? The following observations become apparent upon comparing the two journals.

### **Risk and Personal Sacrifice**

Both Thomas Coke and William Carey wrote about danger and risk. Both logged reflections and lamentations about suffering they experienced. Does the record demonstrate that their writings and convictions resulted in living out those convictions?

Both endured dangerous travel, tempestuous seas, inclement weather, harsh environmental conditions, fevers, and exhaustion. Both men embraced meticulous study and labor, endured the loss of loved ones, and ultimately succumbed to death while continuing the mission of God in distant lands.

What commonalities can be observed regarding both of their experiences with risk and personal sacrifice in their pursuit of God and his mission to the world? How does journal and letter match the lives of these two men? Did journals merely reflect on danger and risk and personal sacrifice, or did their lives match their feigned convictions, as per their journals?

**Physical danger.** Before departing for India, Carey acknowledged and embraced the potential of physical danger—so much so that Carey wrote about that risk in *Enquiry*. With an almost childish simplicity he described risk as part of the equation of missions. The balance sheet, however, is overwhelmingly weighted in favor of the potential gains from such risk. In light of potential kingdom gains, it is worth the risk to face assault or danger or even loss of life.

By way of example, and to tie Carey's willingness to risk with his own behavior, one can compare lifestyle with journal reflections. Carey demonstrated his willingness to risk his life by standing down a crowd of mourners who prepared a widow to be burned alive with her deceased husband. He challenged the crowd and unsuccessfully sought her rescue as they constrained the woman with bamboo on the funeral pyre. Carey not only

stated in his *Enquiry* and his journals the connection between risk and mission, he also practiced it.

Likewise, Coke faced verbal and physical assault as a young rector, when one Sunday morning the church ousted him without warning. The next Sunday he preached at the doorstep of the church as the members assembled with stones in hand. Coke was nearly lashed for preaching against slavery in America. Both men forged into wilderness, pushed across streams and rivers, through storms and seas, to preach the gospel.

From their journals, one can conclude that both Carey and Coke understood the connection between risk and the mission of God to the lost around the world. From their behavior and lifestyle, their willingness to act upon stated convictions is apparent.

**Opposition.** In a similar fashion, Carey and Coke logged or wrote letters about specific opposition, sometimes defending themselves, at other times merely acknowledging or lamenting the opposition. By their behavior, they demonstrated their willingness to pursue the mission of God even in the midst of opposition on the mission field, aboard ship, among fellow missionaries, by governments, or by family members of new believers. Both persisted through the opposition about which they wrote.

For example, before Carey left for India he unsuccessfully applied for permission to embark for British-controlled India. He was denied British authorization, yet Carey pressed on as an illegal alien. Eventually Carey slipped into Danish-controlled territories, including Serampore. By way of example, the reason the mission located in Serampore was because of government opposition to the missionaries. In addition, Coke's mere affiliation with Wesleyans and his fund raising for missions, particularly to America, befuddled and exasperated his friends, his government, the Church of England and many of his early circles of influence. Coke stood in good company with friends, such as William Wilberforce who fought tirelessly on behalf of the enslaved. Coke and Carey not only recorded opposition, which they faced, they made their home in the domain of resistance.

**Misunderstanding and insufficient support.** Coke and Carey made specific financial appeals through correspondence and circular newsletters. Both men faced resistance from established churches and senders. The establishment of a mission to the heathen was unconventional for its day. The first matter of business after writing plans for the establishment of organizations to send missionaries was the funding of those missionaries. Coke and Carey were among the first and most exemplary in their writing of letters on the subject. They also exemplified personal sacrifice by giving away their own funding to support other missionaries. The results included both a general lack of understanding, and consequent shortfall in support by the very ones “holding the ropes.” Carey made it clear in *Enquiry* that church leaders and senders were supine in their half-hearted praying, sending, and supporting of gospel ministry among the peoples of the world.<sup>6</sup>

Carey and Coke’s constant pressing in their letters and journals for more funds and more missionaries made them a clanging symbol to churches and pastors that were lethargic in response to global darkness. Both men ended their careers underappreciated by many. Carey ended at odds with his own senders. American Methodists held Coke suspect, due to his closeness to Wesley, which led to Coke being named co-bishop of American Methodists. With the American Revolution still in the hearts of Americans, it was offensive that John Wesley would not relent to the idea of Francis Asbury, an American, being fully capable of serving as the solitary bishop, without an Englishman’s assistance. Coke received the blunt force of the American accusation.

In his correspondence, Carey wrote about the misunderstandings that occurred among Indians over the gospel and its salvific fruit. On the occasion of the first fruits, after years of witness and ministry, Carey faced much opposition by the Indian community around Serampore. A night of testimonies by new believers was followed by community

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<sup>6</sup>Carey, *Enquiry*, 62.



pressure for the new believers to recant. One Indian believer was arrested. Carey, Ward, and Marshman appealed for his release, visited family members, and continued to preach. The thirteen-year-old daughter of the first believer was murdered. From both Carey and Coke one can deduce that breakthrough is costly and may come after years of discouragement with nationals and Western co-laborers.

Both men wrote about their deep burden over injustice and human suffering. With the encouragement of Coke and other dissenters, William Wilberforce actively battled the official recognition of slave trade in England. The slave trade was a particular burden for both Coke and Carey. Each prayed fervently for the lost, for weaker brothers and sisters, for the emancipation of the enslaved, and for those who belligerently resisted the gospel. In their writings and through their lives, Carey and Coke persistently focused on the kingdom mission in order to persist against and through opposition, injustice, misunderstanding, and insufficient funding.

**Isolation from family and nation.** Perhaps more so than was apparent in his journal, Coke's correspondence reveals that his first wife was ill-prepared for the physical burden of the immense travel involved in his work. Though Coke married Penelope Goulding Smith late in life (at age 57), he loved her deeply and tempered his travel somewhat after marriage. He brought her in a carriage on every journey possible. Coke wrote that they hardly could claim any place as home. She remained sickly and died after only six years of marriage and ministry alongside of Coke. He deeply grieved over the loss but married his second wife, Ann Loxdale, after a year of bereavement. Coke's second wife lived only seven months after the marriage. For all practical purposes Coke experienced less than seven years of family life. He was alone much of his life and ministry. As a result, his journals (which cover his missionary journeys) contain little reference to marriage. His letters, however, reveal a deep love and broken heart over the loss of his two short-lived marriages. The rapid succession of bereavements led to Coke's resolve to turn his attention fully to Asia.

It should also be noted that Coke engaged in a very difficult controversy with Francis Asbury over the fact that Coke was considering moving to America with his wife, but only under the condition of being recognized fully as co-bishop. Asbury and the American Methodists refused. The controversy was fueled over Coke's refusal to make such a long journey without his wife—thus the proposal to permanently move to America. One might say that the entire controversy with American Methodists grew from his refusal to abandon his wife, and his role as bishop. Coke's approach to his wife seems quite a contrast to Carey, who persuaded Dorothy to India at the eleventh hour, and against her wishes.

The journals, and to a greater degree the letters, bring all of this information to light. Two factors in the divide between Coke and Asbury include the anti-British sentiment of the new Americans, and Wesley's incomprehension of the American Methodists' disregard of Wesley's (and Coke's) desire not to offend the Church of England. Coke had always been Wesley's hope to maintain the connection between American Methodists and British Wesleyans. The British insistence on dual bishops (Coke and Asbury) led to the eventual severance. It is quite understandable that Asbury and the American Methodists preferred to completely rebuff any interference from the British Methodists.

Carey wrote about his love for his wife in his journals. He also wrote about the incessant abuse he and the children received at the hand of his first wife, Dorothy. Carey's family life is not a happy tale. His wife initially refused to travel to India, a warning sign that Carey blatantly ignored. Dorothy subsequently went insane, showing early signs of mental illness in their first year in India. Undoubtedly, the couple would be ruled unfit by sending institutions today. Regarding his extended family, Carey remained connected to his sisters in England, corresponding with them periodically. Carey did log the burial and bereavement of children and wives in India. He likewise wrote to his sisters that he never intended to return to England.

All three of the Serampore Trio families found joy in the fact that some of their children survived, and a few even continued in the work of global missions in South Asia. For all practical purposes, Carey's family was a shipwreck. A worse family disaster was averted by the loving care by Hannah Marshman, for Dorothy and the Carey children. The shared life and ministry on the Serampore compound is what enabled Carey to work so diligently and accomplish so much, perhaps minimizing the impact of neglect toward his own children. The journals and letters reviewed record the unraveling of the Carey family.

Coke's family story is limited in longevity but filled with love and tragedy, as revealed through his letters. Carey's family saga was, no doubt, tragic, but restored by loving colleagues. Carey's journals and correspondence about family life reveal a narrative like a melodramatic novella, with twisting subplots.

**Personal sacrifice.** As their journals reflect, both Coke and Carey rejected, without reservation, promising careers and wealth. Coke was endowed with a family estate, opportunity, and connections to rise exponentially in society and influence. In his letters, Coke begged the Methodists for funds to send more missionaries to the foreign fields. When money was short, Coke paid from his own estate, spending it down to a meager subsistence. Prior to his death, Coke recorded in his journal his bold plan, obviously expanded while en route to Ceylon. Coke had already overextended his own resources to fund his fellow travelers and his own passage. Coke was accustomed to sacrifice and expected it of others, as his final circular and his journal and letters reflect.

Carey's early journal bemoaned the self-serving spending of his beloved colleague, John Thomas. He could have followed the example of Thomas—spending his earnings on servants, personal property, and a European-style social life. The temptation was available to him and Carey was falsely accused of such self-indulgence. To the contrary, Carey established for the mission a selfless pattern of plowing the vast majority of his earnings into more Bibles, more schools, more witness, and more service to the community. In the height of the controversy of accusations Carey acknowledged in a

letter that he could scarcely afford a coffin if his third wife were to die. Carey and Coke lived sacrificial lifestyles, exhausting all of their personal resources for God's mission.

### **The Gospel and Evangelism**

Carey confessed that his Christian conversion was profound. He sought something from God but did not realize what he would find. Carey admitted, "I wanted something, but had no idea that nothing but an entire change of heart could do me good."<sup>7</sup> Coke was zealous for piety and experienced a profound intellectual and volitional conversion, from deism to a deeply personal relationship with Jesus Christ. Wesley even commissioned Coke, "Brother, go out, go out and preach the gospel to all the world!"<sup>8</sup> Coke did precisely that, as his journals document his missionary journeys. Coke meticulously logged his relentless preaching schedule. Carey's Baptist Missionary Society, as well as the Methodists who sent Coke, were birthed from a commitment to spread vibrant faith in Jesus Christ.

A profound and vibrant faith should always characterize the church, sender, and sent. Undoubtedly, the ramifications of self-identification with dissenters created a dynamic hardly understood by churches in the West today. Donald Alban, Jr., Robert H. Wolds, Jr., and Marsha Daigle-Williamson reported that the publishers of *Enquiry* were

reputed radicals. The government prosecuted Richard Phillips, publisher of the *Leicester Herald* was prosecuted for circulating Paine's *The Rights of Man*. John Ireland, possibly the husband of the printer, was threatened with similar prosecution. London distributors T. Knott, of Lombard Street, and Joseph Johnson were no less suspect.<sup>9</sup>

To compare the legislative and official prohibitions placed upon dissenters in England is

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<sup>7</sup>Eustace Carey, *Memoir of William Carey, D.D.: Late Missionary to Bengal; Professor of Oriental Language in the College of Fort William, Calcutta* (London: Jackson and Walford, 1836), 10.

<sup>8</sup>Warren A. Candler, *Life of Thomas Coke* (Nashville: M. E. Church, 1923), 19.

<sup>9</sup>Donald Alban, Jr., Robert H. Woods, Jr., and Marsha Daigle-Williamson, "The Writings of William Carey: Journalism as Mission in a Modern Age," *Mission Studies: Journal of International Association for Mission Studies* 22, no. 1 (2005): 90.

not a fair comparison to the situation for Christians either in England or the United States today. There are no comparable legislative restrictions to the most basic behaviors of Christians living today in the West.

Furthermore, there is a tendency to take comfort in a nominally Christian West. One dare not forget, as Philip Jenkins reminds, “Much of what we today call the Islamic world was once Christian.<sup>10</sup> Why is the background of official oppression of Protestantism so significant to mention? Perhaps today’s senders offer a higher degree of missionary comfort than is advantageous to indigenous ministry? Perhaps Western culture influences the perception of normal Christianity to one of entitlement and self-service. Senders may need to be wary of assuming that missionary applicants have encountered the type of complete change of heart that Carey expresses. The price for association with Christians in the West is less analogous than ever to the price of associating with dissenting Baptists and Methodists in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Regardless, mission begins with a complete change of heart through the person and work of Jesus Christ. Without a deep understanding of and affective transformation by the gospel, missionaries run the risk of serving as mute and impotent mouthpieces whose lips utter gospel-less gibberish. The gospel is central to mission. Both Carey and Coke express in writing and demonstrate in action the profound impact held by the gospel on their lives.

Coke and Carey actively communicated the gospel in their homeland, aboard ships, and in their missionary ministries. Their journals and letters demonstrate a burden for the lost, as exercised through prayer and witness. Journal entries name specific people with whom they were evangelizing. Coke and Carey witnessed among soldiers. They witnessed among British authorities. Carey witnessed among Hindu religious leaders and scholars. Both men were considered winsome evangelists among all kinds of people. The

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<sup>10</sup>Philip Jenkins, *The Lost History of Christianity: The Thousand-Year Golden Age of the Church in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia- and How It Died* (New York: HarperOne, 2008), 4.

gospel and personal evangelism remained at the core of their lives and identities.

**Profound theological conviction.** The amount of theological investigation that entered into the salvation and ongoing nurture of Carey and Coke is evidenced by the pursuit of their minds and expression of their hearts, as recorded in their journals. Coke studied philosophy and theology in his scrutiny of Deism and skepticism. Donald Alban, Jr., Robert H. Woods, Jr., and Marsha Daigle-Williamson reported that Carey was as much a product of literature as he was a producer of literature for his day:

Carey's philosophy of life was formed largely by the written works of his predecessors and contemporaries Jonathan Edwards, John Bunyan, Jeremy Taylor, Captain James Cook, and Robert Hall, among others. . . . (These men) clearly affected his outlook on theology, missions, Bible translation, ecumenism, and a host of related topics.<sup>11</sup>

Carey's and Coke's journals and correspondence bear out these influences. Chapter 3 demonstrated that Carey's own letters reveal his study of the writings of William Law prior to his conversion. Carey read everything he could obtain by his friend Andrew Fuller. Law, from the same county as Carey, was a theologian and author whose work *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*<sup>12</sup> greatly impacted Carey. Law wrote a number of controversial and inspirational works, including *Several Discourses upon Practical Subjects*, co-authored with George Whitefield.<sup>13</sup> A man of deep conviction, Law lost his position in the Church of England because of his refusal to take an oath of allegiance to King George I. Law's influence on Carey is apparent. Beyond theology, Carey's knowledge extended to other disciplines such as science, geography, linguistics, oriental studies, and agriculture.

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<sup>11</sup>Alban, Woods, and Daigle-Williamson, "The Writings of William Carey," 88.

<sup>12</sup>William Law, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life; the Spirit of Love* (London: Paulist, 1978).

<sup>13</sup>George Whitefield and William Law, *Several Discourses Upon Practical Subjects: The Arguments of Which May Be Collected from the Contents* (London: Printed for J. Hodges on London-Bridge, 1738).

Coke's reading list onboard ship was impressive enough. During his first journey to America, Coke read Jonathan Edwards, Dominic Bouhours' *The Life of Francis Xavier*, Virgil's *Georgics*, the *Life of David Brainerd*, Benjamin Hoadly's *Treatises on Conformity to the Church of England*, the works of St. Jerome, and St. Augustine of Hippo's *Meditations*.<sup>14</sup> He was obviously well-educated, earning Bachelors, Masters, and Doctor of Civil Law from Jesus College, Oxford. Both men thought and acted theologically, being shaped profoundly by scripture and its application to their lives.

**Personal devotion and worship.** Reading the journals of both men, one finds they disciplined themselves to days of fasting and prayer, periods of personal Bible study, and public worship multiple times per week. In his early reflections, Carey transparently revealed a grappling with his own limitations. Carey would swing from one extreme of emotion to the next as he bemoaned the verbal and psychological abuse meted out by Dorothy. Interestingly, both men responded to adversity and strife with a renewed commitment and zeal for God and his mission.

Missionaries arriving on a new field often attest to a significant void of fellowship and worship experienced on their first Sunday in a new culture. When Carey and his family landed in the jungle there was no church schedule, no church building at all. Beyond family worship, Carey logged the fact that he went out to the markets and bazaars and preached and led worship among his new "congregations" of Muslims and Hindus who merely stared and attempted to understand Carey's efforts at their language.

The spirit of the revivalist movement made a great impression on the devotional lives of both men. A contemporary of Carey and Coke, John Newton, was born in 1725, the son of a slave-ship captain. Newton eventually captained his own slave ship from August 1750 until 1754, after which time he moved to Liverpool and came under the

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<sup>14</sup>Thomas Coke, *Extracts of the Journals of the Rev. Dr. Coke's Five Visits to America* (London: Paramore, 1793), 7-13.

influence of George Whitefield and John Wesley.<sup>15</sup> Newton was deeply convicted over his own involvement in the evils of slavery. The depth of his sin, led him to the well of God's grace. Newton was graciously saved through faith and began preaching in 1758. Newton is known today for the work he contributed to the *Olney Hymns*<sup>16</sup> of 1779—hymns such as *Amazing Grace*. Carey and Coke were products of a devotional era of great revivalist preachers, reformed theological writers, and insightful hymnologists.

**Diligent labor.** His journal records that Coke died studying the language and translating sermons and hymns into Portuguese.

Though near 67 years of age, in a short time he acquired so competent a knowledge of the Portuguese language, that he had written many sermons in it, and translated many hymns into it: this work he was engaged in but yesterday, and now is enjoying his reward.<sup>17</sup>

Coke's travelogues document rigorous journeys, incessant preaching, and propagating the global work of the Methodists.

The list of accomplishments of Carey and the Serampore Trio is astounding. When the manuscripts and printing operation were destroyed, a series of Carey's letters record that the aging Carey took inventory of the damage, estimated the timing and resources needed to rewrite the manuscripts, and went back to work with all diligence. The missionaries borrowed, recast, or purchased new typeset in order to begin printing again almost immediately. The genius of the Moravian system employed by Carey (and defended in letters to his senders) facilitated minimal shared costs, the ability to fund the work on the mission field, and maximize the amount of work that could be accomplished

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<sup>15</sup>D. Bruce Hindmarsh, *John Newton and the English Evangelical Tradition: Between the Conversions of Wesley and Wilberforce*, Oxford Theological Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), xvi.

<sup>16</sup>John Newton and William Cowper, *Olney Hymns: In Three Books* (London: Chiswick by C. Whittingham, 1818), xvi.

<sup>17</sup>A. W. Wilson, *Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Nashville: Southern Methodist, 1882), 111.



working together. Maintaining a spirit of diligence, accountability, encouragement, and hard work was inherent to the makeup of both men.

**Pioneer outreach.** Of course Coke and Carey inspired a spirit of collective pioneer evangelism by personally reaching deep into new countries and outlying areas. Carey's exploratory mission trip report was written from Mudnabatty on March 23, 1797. Carey's report of the trip describes as a glorious pioneering effort to Bhutan. He and John Thomas were met with many challenges, but the men relished the experience. In the report, Carey recorded anthropological and linguistic observations regarding the interactions between the Hindus and the Bhutanese. Carey wrote, "The name of our Redeemer has been declared in that unknown country, and we have the greatest encouragement to hope a mission may be begun to great advantage in those parts."<sup>18</sup> Nearly every journey that Coke took overseas would be considered a pioneer exploration.

**Evident fruit.** Although the harvest of spiritual fruit was delayed, when fruit finally arrived, Carey wrote in great detail about the significant events surrounding the testimonies and baptisms of the first believers. Coke also recorded the numbers of those that were saved and baptized on some of his preaching tours. In addition to a plethora of benefits produced by their ministries, people were saved and congregations multiplied, leaders were trained and sent out.

**Family involvement.** Little is said of Coke's family, but Carey doggedly cared for his mentally ill wife, Dorothy, refusing to commit her to an asylum. Hannah Marshman's loving care for Dorothy enabled Carey and the team to work diligently, and she provided much-needed oversight of the Carey children. At age 16, Felix began preaching to the locals and was later commissioned and sent as a missionary to Burma. He eventually abandoned the mission to serve as ambassador to the king of Burma, but it

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<sup>18</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 299-307.

was Felix who opened doors to Burma for Adoniram Judson.

Carey's son William served with his family through great difficulty in a remote outpost. Neither Coke nor Carey, however, would be reputed as exemplary in family matters. Coke had little experience and Carey's brief second marriage was the only one he wrote about with much sentiment.

**Urgency.** Coke and Carey were convinced that the church should take immediate action on the mission of global evangelism. Carey wrote of that urgency in *Enquiry*. In one of his letters to his nephew Eustace he wrote,

I am fully of opinion that every person to whom God has given abilities for the work, is bound to devote himself to the work of the ministry. It is not at the option of such a person whether he will engage in it or not, nor is it at the option of a church whether it will send one to the work of ministry upon whom God has bestowed spiritual gifts. If the church neglect to send such a member into ministry, the guilt lies on them. The number of persons now required to spread the gospel through the earth, is unspeakably great. If fifty thousand ministers, besides those actually employed, were now to go forth, they would be so thinly spread about, as scarcely to be perceived. The harvest is indeed great, but the labourers are very few.<sup>19</sup>

Both men lived their lives with a sense of urgency regarding the task, even until their final days. Coke's colleagues wrote at the occasion of his death,

Though sudden, his death was glorious: he died in the work of God, with his soul fired with an ardent desire and zeal for the enlargement of his church, and the Divine glory. For some time before his death, it appeared that he had no desire to live, but to see the Gospel established in Asia; and it is astonishing with what assiduity he pursued his object.<sup>20</sup>

In the third section of *Enquiry*, Carey delivered a status of the work of the kingdom in the world. At the time he wrote that there were 731,000,000 inhabitants on the earth and that 420 million were "still in pagan darkness."<sup>21</sup> The tone of urgency became more clear as he opined,

It must undoubtedly strike every confident mind, what a vast proportion of the sons of Adam there are, who yet remain in the most deplorable state of heathen darkness,

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 499-500.

<sup>20</sup>Wilson, *Mission of Methodist Episcopalians*, 111.

<sup>21</sup>Carey, *Enquiry*, 49.

without any means of knowing the true God, except what are afforded them by the works of nature; and utterly destitute of the knowledge of the gospel of Christ, or of any means of obtaining it. In many of these countries they have no written language, consequently no Bible, and are only led by the most childish customs and traditions. . . . Barbarous as these poor heathens are, they appear to be as capable of knowledge as we are; and in many places, at least, have discovered uncommon genius and tractableness. . . . All these things are loud calls to Christians, and especially to ministers, to exert themselves to the utmost in their several spheres of action, and let's try to enlarge them as much as possible.<sup>22</sup>

Carey called the church to action. To those were already employed in the work of preaching the gospel, Carey implored them to even more activity to advance the spread of God's kingdom.

### **Resolute Motivation**

Carey and Coke were driven by a vision for the kingdom of God. That vision only gained momentum in the face of turmoil and obstacles. Coke and Carey denied themselves in a resolute manner, sacrificing their own personal needs for the cause of the mission. They preached the gospel in the midst of resistance. Both planned great kingdom ventures and plodded diligently to realize the completion of said labor.

**Driven by a kingdom vision.** The mission of God for the spread of the kingdom of God served as fuel for overcoming any fears or obstacles. From the perspective of both men, those who enter Christ's kingdom should be emboldened to advance his mission. The cause—the gospel is worth the risk. Carey believed that the advance of God's kingdom was worthy of death.

In Carey's letter of January 13, 1796, there is a recorded intersection of the lives of these two men. Carey declared the great possibilities before the church and cast vision to his senders for the certainty of great global advance. Ironically, in this very letter Carey mentioned his own recommendation for Baptists to partner with Thomas Coke and the Methodists. Carey had caught wind of Coke's efforts in America and in the West Indies.

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 50-51.

He knew of Coke's desire to send teams to South Asia. Carey expressed his own desire to personally fund some of Coke's mission efforts in the cause of kingdom advance.<sup>23</sup>

Both men were driven by a theology of the coming kingdom of God and they shared enormous dreams that men must work to offer Christ's kingdom to the scattered peoples of the earth. In the face of dangers, discouragement, and opposition, both men ignored or pressed through toward those means they believed to be God-ordained imaginings—Bible translations, churches, salvations, schools, new mission fields, more missionaries, and gospel advance.

**Risk fueled resolve.** Through the storms and verbal abuse of two captains, Coke recommitted himself to die for the love of God:

What reason have I to desire to live? I have really forsaken all for Christ, and have neither motive nor desire to live but for the church of Christ. And why should my desires be so strong on that account? With what perfect ease can the Lord fill up my province with one that is infinitely better qualified? I am therefore willing to die. I do love my God, and have an indubitable assurance that whatever is wanting he will fully supply before he takes me into the world of spirits.<sup>24</sup>

On Aug 6, 1796, Coke's journal recorded his reflections during tumultuous seas on a ship led by two captains who despised and abused Coke. The danger and abuse became instruments of God to firm up Coke's conviction and calling. Death would be bearable to Coke if God so chose. But inactivity or lack of participation in God's mission would be unbearable. Coke reflected, "Became willing to be anything or nothing, as the Lord pleased, as the Lord pleased: to be employed or laid aside, as he judged proper."<sup>25</sup>

**Disciplined self-denial.** Both men practiced the discipline of self-denial and connected the practice to the fruit experienced in the ministry of the gospel. Coke

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<sup>23</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 262.

<sup>24</sup>Coke, *The Journals*, 72.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, 206.

reflected on his willingness to sacrifice all for the mission of Christ:

I still equally long for the conversion of souls: but I find myself entirely resigned in respect to the instruments he uses. I am sensible. I wanted all I have suffered. From that time I have hardly known which to thank my God most for, his open or disguised blessings; prosperity or adversity.<sup>26</sup>

Carey and the Serampore Trio personally funded two-thirds of the property and ministry of their mission work. Their commitment became a major source of conflict for the next generation of missionaries that arrived in the early 1800s. These new missionaries were not prepared for, nor were they willing to embrace, the same level of self-sacrifice as had their forefathers. The decision to live in community at Serampore facilitated a degree of frugality and shared labor, freeing more funds and time to be channeled into ministry.

**Planning, plodding, and persisting.** Coke and Carey were driven to great plans. Coke was driven to lead a team in Ceylon and send missionaries to West Indies, Various Islands, America, Ireland, and beyond. Carey plodded away producing Bibles, magazines, churches, schools, marketplace evangelism, and numerous ministries in India and he cried out for more workers in outlying areas. Carey's sons, Felix and William, tried to join in the work but with a minimal degree of success. Carey viewed himself not as an ingenious visionary but as a mere plodder:

I can plod. I can persevere in any definite pursuit. To this I owe everything.' But, how few can plod! Many can devise a splendid scheme, a magnificent enterprise; but the plodder is the man who will rise to respect and eminence; and, should he live sufficiently long to effect his designs, will make the world his insolvent debtor.<sup>27</sup>

Coke prayerfully schemed and raised funds for missions for most of his adult life. Coke's final circular letter mentioned the years of planning and preparation that led to this final journey:

Permit me to recommend most earnestly to your consideration, our plan for the instituting of missions in Asia. I have, for about fourteen years, had a very ardent desire to visit Asia: Providence and grace have now opened the way. Our late Conference, after most mature deliberation, have chosen six missionaries to

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Carey, *Memoir*, 623.

accompany me to that part of the globe; besides one whom they have appointed for the Cape of Good Hope; which last missionary I am to leave at the Cape in the course of our voyage. Two of the missionaries are to travel with me as my personal companions and attendants; one is to be stationed in Java; and three are to labour in the island of Ceylon. We have every reason to believe that considerable help will be obtained in those countries for the support of the missionaries, when they respectively enter on their fields of action. . . . I need to urge upon you the innumerable arguments which have been published to the world on behalf of Asia, and particularly in favour of sixty millions of British subjects covered with heathenish darkness.

Ceylon is most advantageously situated as our first grand out-post for the Asiatic work. It contains, within the British territories, according to Dr. Buchanan, five hundred thousand Christians, almost all of whom are as sheep without a shepherd. About a million of Pagans are mixed with these.<sup>28</sup>

**Preaching in the midst of suffering.** On November 5, 1794, Carey preached twice in Malda when he was suffering a fever and was quite ill: “Tho very weak and full of pain.”<sup>29</sup> Coke, with an African assistant, Harry, and Asbury’s horse, rode through storms and nearly lost his life merely trying to maintain the rigorous circuit of preaching night after night. In the streets, in barns, in markets, at funerals, at government offices—anywhere was their pulpit to proclaim Christ’s expanding and impending kingdom.

**Tirelessly engaging the task.** According to the medical officer on board ship, Coke died of exhaustion and “consumption” while working on language study and translations in the heat of his cramped quarters. John A. Vickers’ collection of Coke’s journals included a letter from Benjamin Clough, reflecting on Coke’s death,

Yet, I believe, this kind of labour was too severe for a man of his advanced age in this hot climate; and I am sorry to add, not only from my own thoughts, but also from the evidence of the medical gentlemen on board, that it was one means of hastening his sudden death.<sup>30</sup>

Carey toiled such long hours it took three different Pundits working in shifts to keep him awake and focused on the labor. Much has already been demonstrated in previous pages regarding the exhaustive schedules of Coke and Carey. Neither considered

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<sup>28</sup>Crowther, *Life of Coke*, 520.

<sup>29</sup>Carey, *The Journal*, 44.

<sup>30</sup>Coke, *The Journals*, 273-74.

retirement in old age. They could only consider what labors were left undone.

**Mobilization.** Both Coke and Carey were involved in calling out others to the task. Coke’s droning on and on among the Methodists gave him the reputation of beggar—constantly appealing for funds and personnel for missions. Carey wrote his very personal appeal to his nephew. He repeatedly appealed to the Society to send more missionaries, not only to his mission, but to other areas of the world. J. W. Morris wrote of Carey’s mobilization efforts:

But the consultations which he held—the correspondence he maintained—the personal solicitations which he employed—the contributions he collected—the management of these and other funds—the selection, probation, and improvement of intended missionaries—the works which he composed and compiled on these subjects—the discourses he delivered—and the journeys he accomplished to extend the knowledge and to promote the welfare of the mission, required energy almost unequalled.<sup>31</sup>

**Never looking back.** Lot’s wife is remembered for the fact that she looked back to the lure of Sodom and Gomorra. In contrast, Coke claimed that he could only focus on Ceylon. In a letter to his sisters, Carey explained rather bluntly his disinterest in returning to England: “Whenever I look to England, I see a vast blank.”<sup>32</sup> England was but an empty void to Carey. Thomas Coke explained his singular focus on South Asia with a simple statement: “Dead to Europe, and alive for India: methinks I had rather be set naked on the coast of Ceylon, without clothes, and without a friend, than not go there.”<sup>33</sup> There was no turning back the ship—no reversing course. Both men set their course toward the heathenish darkness to preach the gospel that had so revolutionized their own lives.

Admittedly, a certain level of personal ambition influenced the motivation for

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<sup>31</sup>John Webster Morris, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Andrew Fuller, Late Pastor of the Baptist Church at Kettering, and First Secretary to the Baptist Missionary Society* (Boston: Lincoln & Edmands, 1830), 92.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>33</sup>Coke, *The Journals*, 253.

both men. Perhaps the best illustration is Coke's own admission after a near death experience trapped by a tree in a rushing river. The prevailing thought that kept him alive at that moment was his drive to complete the ambitious goals that he had envisioned. Coke refused to die, consumed with the thought of unfinished ministry: "All of my castles which I had built in the air for the benefit of my fellow creatures."<sup>34</sup>

### **Questions**

The thematic compilation of journal entries and correspondence is the heart of this research project. Having explored Coke and Carey's own reflections and lifestyles pertaining to missionary resolve, the question of contemporary implications surfaces. The observations above yield questions and concerns as related to contemporary missionaries and their senders.

It is fair to acknowledge that every missionary is not of the essence of Carey or Coke, nor should any seek such stature today. Mission legacy is not the concern of this discussion. The concern is with motivation for risky missions then and today. As far as risk and extraordinary twenty-first century mission pioneering, few missionaries today need to pursue the same level of risk as did Carey and Coke. Travel is much safer. International healthcare is superior in many parts of the world. Advanced communications and other technologies add to a heightened awareness of dangers, risks and opportunities. Most missionaries will not engage in the same daily level of risk as did Carey and Coke. Missionaries and senders have access to many more resources today to enable well-informed decisions regarding risk.

### **What Are the Significant Dangers Today?**

The question arises—is the task of global mission safer today? Contemporary missionaries and indigenous workers have recently been assaulted, arrested, kidnapped

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<sup>34</sup>John A. Vickers, *Thomas Coke: Apostle of Methodism* (London: Epworth, 1969), 36.



and killed. In July of 1991, my own team members, Joel DeHart and Bill Lewis, were taken hostage in the central mountains of Afghanistan. One hostage was held for three months and the other for six months.<sup>35</sup>

During 2001, Dayna Curry, Heather Mercer,<sup>36</sup> Peter Bunch, Margrit Stebner, Georg Taubmann,<sup>37</sup> Silke Duerrkopf, Katrin Jelinek, and Diana Thomas—a team of Christian workers in Afghanistan—were kidnapped and held hostage until rescued by United States soldiers. In September of 2001, Chinese underground church leader Brother Yun was finally reunited with his family (in Frankfurt) after years of imprisonment and torture. These types of arrests and persecution of Christians continue in the Peoples Republic of China.<sup>38</sup> In December of 2002, Bill Koehn, Martha Myers, and Kathy Gariety were murdered at the Jibla Baptist Hospital in Yemen.<sup>39</sup> In 2004, Carrie and David McDonnall were brutally attacked working among Arab Muslims in Iraq.<sup>40</sup>

In 2012, Nik Ripken and his wife, Ruth, published *The Insanity of God: A Story of Faith Resurrected*, which was written following interviews with seven hundred believers from seventy-two different countries where Christians have been or continue to be persecuted. Ripken raised concerns that the persecuted believers raised about the importance of embracing suffering.<sup>41</sup> Also in 2012, William D. Taylor, Antonia van der

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<sup>35</sup>Joel DeHart, *The Upper Hand: God's Sovereignty in Afghan Captivity* (Islamabad, Pakistan: Joel DeHart, 1994).

<sup>36</sup>Dayna Curry, Heather Mercer, and Stacy Mattingly, *Prisoners of Hope: The Story of Our Captivity and Freedom in Afghanistan* (New York: Doubleday, 2002).

<sup>37</sup>Eberhard Muehlan and Shelter Now Organization, *Escape from Kabul* (Sydney: Strand, 2003).

<sup>38</sup>Paul Hattaway and Brother Yun, *The Heavenly Man: The Remarkable Story of Chinese Christian Brother Yun* (London: Monarch, 2002).

<sup>39</sup>Erich Bridges and Jerry Rankin, *Lives Given, Not Taken: 21st Century Southern Baptist Martyrs* (Richmond, VA: International Mission Board, 2005).

<sup>40</sup>Carrie McDonnall, *Facing Terror* (Nashville: Integrity, 2005).

<sup>41</sup>Nik Ripken and Gregg Lewis, *The Insanity of God: A True Story of Faith Resurrected*

Meer, and Reg Reimer published *Sorrow & Blood: Christian Mission in Contexts of Suffering, Persecution and Martyrdom*.<sup>42</sup> Taylor, Meer, and Reimer present numerous contemporary cases of persecution and martyrdom. During December of 2013, an Associated Press article by Esam Mohamed and Ramit Plushnick-Masti reported the shooting death of American Christian worker, Ronald Thomas Smith II, of Austin, Texas. Smith was teaching chemistry at Benghazi's International School in the very area where the United States Ambassador, only months before, had been killed in a calculated attack on the United States compound. The article reports,

[Smith's murder] came five days after al-Qaida's American spokesman called upon Libyans to attack U.S. interests everywhere as revenge for U.S. Special Forces snatching an al-Qaida suspect off the streets of Tripoli in October, whisking him out of the country.<sup>43</sup>

Smith was a teacher whose kingdom of God motivation led him to serve at great risk. The abovementioned article included the following statement by representatives of Smith's home church:

Daphne Bamberg, the executive pastor of operations at the church [Austin Stone, where Ronnie had previously been employed] said in an email. "Ronnie's greatest desire was for peace and prosperity in Libya and for the people of Libya to have the joy of knowing God through Christ."<sup>44</sup>

Christof Sauer and Thomas Schirrmacher, in an article in *Sorrow and Blood*, comment that persecution of Christians is without parallel.<sup>45</sup> Pew Forum reported on the

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(Nashville: B & H, 2012), 262.

<sup>42</sup>William David Taylor, Antonia Van der Meer, and Reg Reimer, eds., *Sorrow and Blood: Christian Mission in Contexts of Suffering, Persecution, and Martyrdom* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2012).

<sup>43</sup>Esam Mohamed and Ramit Plushnick-Masti, "American Teacher Shot Dead in Libya's Benghazi," December 5, 2013, accessed December 5, 2013, <http://www.breitbart.com/Big-Peace/2013/12/05/American-teacher-shot-dead-in-Libyas-Benghazi--hospital>.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Christof Sauer and Thomas Schirrmacher, "A Global Survey: Religions Freedom and the Persecution of Christians," in *Sorrow and Blood*, 10.

status of religious persecution in sixty-four countries around the globe:

One-third of the countries in the world—have high or very high restrictions on religion. But because some of the most restrictive countries are very populous, nearly 70 percent of the world’s 6.8 billion people live in countries with high restrictions on religion, the brunt of which often falls on religious minorities.<sup>46</sup>

Sauer and Schirrmacher identify a worsening scenario for global religious freedom, including three phases of persecution: disinformation, discrimination, and violent persecution. Overall, they report that globally, religious freedom is worsening.<sup>47</sup>

John Piper, in *Roots of Endurance*, describes the current crisis of faith in a dangerous global missionary setting. He challenges the church in her reticent posture toward risk on mission: “The twenty-first century has begun with the shuttering realization that there is no safe place on earth.”<sup>48</sup>

### **Who Are Contemporary Pioneers?**

Who are the pioneers in missions of this era? Pioneer missionaries cross a variety of daunting geopolitical, social, cultural, methodological, and ideological barriers in gospel-centered missions. Some of the greatest mission pioneers are never published and are little known. These may be indigenous workers diligently making disciples and planting churches in barely heard of settings. Ideological or methodological missionaries have influenced modern missiology by pressing for a Pauline mission strategy in environs when the most basic biblical principles have been neglected. Such pioneers may catalyze new methodologies that refocus on evangelism, discipleship and effective cross-cultural communication of the gospel. Other pioneers may enter uncharted or neglected terrain to plant churches. Historical mission leaders often drew from cross-cultural experiences of

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<sup>46</sup>Pew Forum, “Global Restrictions on Religion,” accessed June 12, 2013, <http://www.pewforum.org/2009/12/17/global-restrictions-on-religion/>.

<sup>47</sup>Sauer and Schirrmacher, “Global Survey,” 11-14.

<sup>48</sup>John Piper, *The Roots of Endurance: Invincible Perseverance in the Lives of John Newton, Charles Simeon, and William Wilberforce* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2002), 17.

the predecessors to pioneer new strategies and contribute to movements that have shaped contemporary missions.

Many contemporary missionary pioneers include people whose names are not known but their ideas or ministries made an impact on specific unevangelized peoples in limited geographic regions. Few will recognize the name Charles Brock. He explored and implemented effective church planting multiplication in Texas and in the Philippines for years. In 1981, the innovative church planting methodologies of Charles Brock were eventually published.<sup>49</sup> Essentially, the public was finally able to see and understand, for the first time, his basic church planting training manual that greatly impacted missions advance in the Philippines. Brock's systematic evangelism and discipleship methodology was basic but brilliant in that his approach resulted in indigenous church multiplication.

Some mission pioneers dwell in remote places, living Christ-centered lives, sharing Christ and making disciples among the unreached. For example, on April 3, 1956, Hubert and Bettie Addleton from Macon, Georgia, along with their seventeen-month-old son David boarded the *Steel King* at New York Harbor as Conservative Baptist missionaries to Karachi, Pakistan. The Addletons moved to the desert in Sindh, Pakistan, one of the hottest places on earth. They lived with another missionary family, the Browns, in a shack until an abandoned home became available, as a result of the partition of Pakistan and India. Almost no one knows that this humble, effective missionary couple would be responsible for launching Southern Baptist Missions in the area, and more importantly, for translating the Bible into the Sindhi language. The Addletons serve as examples of modern, obscure missionary pioneers.<sup>50</sup> They began their career with Conservative Baptists; they worked with people from numerous theological backgrounds.

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<sup>49</sup>Charles Brock, *The Principles and Practice of Indigenous Church Planting* (Nashville: Broadman, 1981).

<sup>50</sup>Bettie Rose Addleton, *The Day the Chicken Cackled: Reflections on a Life in Pakistan* (Bloomington, IN: Crossbooks, 2009).

The Addletons eventually shifted to work under Southern Baptists. They endeared themselves to Pakistanis who loved them. The Addletons made radical lifestyle and methodological decisions for the advance of God's kingdom.

Outside of Central Asia, few will know the name of J. Christy Wilson. He is universally reputed as the founder of contemporary missions in Afghanistan. Wilson began in the 1950s as a tentmaker in Afghanistan, when the doors to witness were closed. Education became his platform and his innovations opened the door for multiple missionary sending organizations to work together under the International Assistance Mission, SERVE, Shelter Now International and a host of humanitarian aid organizations in the region. Wilson published three books articulating the work of God in Afghanistan: *Today's Tentmakers*, *The Forbidden Harvest*, and *More to Be Desired than Gold*.<sup>51</sup>

Preceding Wilson to the region was a humble Presbyterian physician, William McElwee Miller. Miller's story is outlined in *My Persian Pilgrimage*. Miller led clinics, started churches, and trained Iranian evangelists and church leaders throughout Iran. Miller wrote many of the currently used gospel tracts and Bible study tools.<sup>52</sup>

George Verwer, a contemporary of Christy Wilson, departed for Mexico in 1957 on a pickup truck loaded with gospel literature. Over time Verwer's blatant evangelistic efforts yielded an organization to sustain a movement of young radicals, Operation Mobilization. The heart of Verwer's vision is expressed in the titles of his books *Out of the Comfort Zone*, and *Come! Live! Die! The Real Revolution*.<sup>53</sup> Greg

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<sup>51</sup>J. Christy Wilson, *Today's Tentmakers: Self-Support—An Alternative Model for Worldwide Witness* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale, 1979); idem, *Afghanistan—the Forbidden Harvest: The Challenging Story of God's Work in a Resistant Land* (Elgin, IL: D.C. Cook, 1981); idem, *More to Be Desired Than Gold: A Collection of True Stories* (South Hamilton, MA: Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, 1994).

<sup>52</sup>William McElwee Miller, *My Persian Pilgrimage* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1989).

<sup>53</sup>George Verwer, *Out of the Comfort Zone* (Minneapolis: Bethany, 2000); idem, *Come! Live! Die! The Real Revolution* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale, 1972).

Livingstone's belief in God's use of teams to reach the more difficult to reach peoples of the world led him to form Frontiers. His growing passion was to reach cities in Muslim population centers. His book, *Planting Churches in Muslim Cities: A Team Approach*, was novel for the focus on Muslim cities and for his vision for the deployment of teams, not individuals.<sup>54</sup>

In the late 1980s, R. Keith Parks, then president of the International Mission Board, risked his reputation by hiring a nerdy, soft-spoken Anglican researcher named David Barrett, who developed the *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World*,<sup>55</sup> a standard for mission research. Barrett's database established the foundation of people group information used by today's missiologists. It was Barrett who fueled an innovation that would be fleshed out by Bill Smith as the first nonresidential missionary (a nomenclature later replaced with the term "strategy coordinator"). The strategy was simply to "figure it out" and employ any means to see to the evangelization of a people who had been viewed as closed and resistant to the gospel. Strategists were to work with any evangelical partners and employ a variety of strategies until churches multiply among the people group. There was no manual. There were no success stories. Barrett was another type of pioneer.

The aforementioned contemporary pioneers are simply a few of the ones about whom one can find published information. Pioneers of the past and present, including Carey, have in some cases pressed the limits of protocol for risk management, accountability, and administrative support. Other pioneers have simply conducted their work unnoticed, serving with resolve in the challenging or dangerous places, sharing Christ and making disciples among the least reached. Why focus on contemporary

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<sup>54</sup>Greg Livingstone, *Planting Churches in Muslim Cities: A Team Approach* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993).

<sup>55</sup>David B. Barrett, George Thomas Kurian, and Todd M. Johnson, *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

pioneers and who they are? Because the application of lessons learned from Carey's and Coke's motivation speaks most directly to today's contemporary pioneers and their senders.

**The perplexing nature of pioneers.** The personalities, vision, persistence, and innovative methodologies of pioneer missionaries can certainly be a challenge to any organization. The Serampore Trio is a notable example of the perplexity of pioneers for organizations. The Marshmans, Wards, and Fountains, along with a host of national workers, supported the bold vision and mission of William Carey.

In Coke's case, he mobilized and sent a host of missionaries around the world. Finally, he mobilized a team that he eventually joined and led to Ceylon. Pioneers create confounding problems for some missionaries who work alongside of them and for those who support and send them. The triangular dispute between the Serampore Trio, the new missionaries, and the Baptist Missionary Society exemplifies such problems. The narrative is very familiar. New friars and pioneer missionaries are fresh wine that can break old wine skins—these missionaries are fraught with perplexing challenges and potential kingdom advance.

**The Serampore dispute.** Explosive issues led to a severed relationship with the Baptist Missionary Society and the new missionaries they sent. The descendants of the Trio, John Clark Marshman (son of the Marshmans), and Eustace Carey (nephew of the Careys), postured on opposite poles of the dispute. Eustace Carey's *Memoir* revealed his bias toward the BSM's new vision while John Clark Marshman defended the Trio's position in *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*. The seasoned missionary pioneers were incensed that new, untested board members of the Society would question their integrity and management of resources, less than a third of which was contributed by the BMS. The word "control" plays prominently in Marshman's explanation: "They (Serampore Mission) facetiously remarked, that if control was to be regulated by

contribution, they who had contributed two-thirds of the funds had a greater right to the control of the mission than the Society itself.”<sup>56</sup> The missionaries viewed the Society’s desire for control as the battle line and evidence of more sinister motives—to dissolve the mission and its vision.

There were also problems with the new missionaries, according to Mary Drewery. New missionaries were sent without adequate orientation. They arrived expecting quite the opposite of what Carey had recommended to the BMS. Some of them came bringing too much cultural baggage. William Yates from Leicester arrived in 1815, demanding his own servants and a private stable. William Moore brought with him a thirst for the European colonialist lifestyle that characterized expatriate interactions in Calcutta. Carey had warned the Society to send missionaries who would not come expecting to reside among Europeans in Serampore or Calcutta, but to prepare for life in remote mission outposts to advance the gospel into pioneer areas.

Mary Drewery offered a balanced perspective on the dispute. She explained that the required duties of the BMS were never fully articulated, though Carey stated his opinion on the matter. He understood that the Society existed merely to provide funding and encouragement to the missionaries. The BMS was not to legislate strategy and methodology. Nor was the BMS to demand accountability for anything beyond the resources the Society provided. The historical BMS relationship between sender and sent was built on friendship and trust that preceded the Society’s founding in Sister Beebe’s parlor. With Fuller, Sutcliff, and Ryland in charge in the home office, issues were handled relationally. However, upon the deaths of Fuller and Sutcliff,

this happy, if somewhat casual relationship ceased. Johns’ [not clear which John] complaints about Serampore did not pass unremarked in England. Whispers grew

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<sup>56</sup>John Clark Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward, Embracing the History of the Serampore Mission* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1859), 145.



into rumors, and rumors into slanders that the missionaries at Serampore were amassing private fortunes. Nothing could be further from the truth.<sup>57</sup>

The Serampore dispute has been repeated many times over. The dispute serves as a window into three competing perspectives in contemporary missionary conflict: the perspective of the new missionary, the perspective of the old missionary, and the perspective of a fluctuating missionary sending agency.

**Relational versus structural solutions.** Since its inception, the Baptist Missionary Society and her missionaries was analogous to a secret society of friends and brothers, bound together by a zeal for God’s mission to the world. The “home office” consisted of four volunteers who sacrificially traveled to India to resolve problems, build trust, and offer spiritual encouragement. The secretary of the Society would return from each trip to India to raise funds in England—rife with new stories of God’s amazing advance against the darkness.

When new board members were appointed in 1801, they incited a controversy, which grew out of a two-year communication vacuum. The silence was followed by an authoritarian mandate that undermined the Society’s brotherly spirit that had prevailed since its inception. Buried in John Marshman’s description of the dispute is a revealing statement regarding the distance that grew between sent and sender. After Andrew Fuller’s (the former secretary of the Society) death, the very first communication received in Serampore from the Society was a demand for foundational, structural, and legal change. Instead of traveling to India (as did Andrew Fuller), getting to know the old mission force and discussing concerns and solutions, the new board fired off a mandate. The new trustees at the Society took action demanding that the property at Serampore be handed over to trustees in England who would then determine the affairs of the mission. Marshman wrote,

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<sup>57</sup>Drewery, *William Carey*, 168-69.

For twenty months the committee had preserved an injudicious silence, which seemed to bode no good. The resolutions were regarded with feelings of the deepest anxiety. They appeared to substantiate the worst fears of Dr. Carey and his associates.<sup>58</sup>

The Trio's concerns were substantial. Marshman explained,

On the question of the premises [the Serampore property], they felt that to place them [properties] in the hands of a majority of trustees in England, chosen by the committee would deprive them [the Trio] of all control over them, endanger their continued residence on them, and expose all their missionary operations to the risk of interruption."<sup>59</sup>

To make matters worse, the missionaries that the Society had more recently sent to Calcutta had completely decried the work in Serampore. In addition, those same missionaries "were the personal friends of the men now in power at home."<sup>60</sup> The new trustees of the Society did not know Carey and showed no respect or trust in the judgment of the missionaries who had been managing more receipts from Indian sources than they received from the Society. The committee did not respect the fact that the missionaries had spent their lives pouring their own personal resources into the mission for the advance of Christ's kingdom in South Asia.

The new Society scarcely acknowledged the amazing accomplishments of the mission. Marshman reported that two-thirds of the funds, which purchased the property and supported the mission, were funded beyond the contributions of the Society. If the Society were to disperse with the property and the mission of Serampore, the families would be destitute with perhaps four months of earnings to survive.<sup>61</sup> Evidently, Fuller correctly anticipated that any effort to legislate rather than parley with the missionaries could result in such a breach. Marshman explained,

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<sup>58</sup>Marshman, *The Life and Times*, 140.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

It was scarcely possible for the Serampore missionaries with their enlarged views, and least of all for Dr. Carey, to submit to the supremacy of a body which had inaugurated its accession to power by endeavoring to curtail the mission. Nor could they contrast, without some feeling of indignation, the mistrust and suspicion manifested by the new committee.<sup>62</sup>

Pioneer missionaries and sending societies mutually present a challenge one to another. Even societies that were created by pioneers, such as Carey and the BMS, tend to wake up one day to discover that they no longer fit one another. Greg Livingstone left Frontiers to form another ministry. J. Christy Wilson moved on to other innovations beyond the International Assistance Mission. Pioneers can be restless and as disconcerting for senders as senders are to them. A relational, rather than an institutional, approach toward pioneers may prove much more effective for both senders and missionary pioneers.

### **Are Some New Friars and Next Christians?**

Another phenomenon is impacting mission sending today, perhaps more so outside the realm denominational sending agencies. It is a regularly observed phenomenon of young pastors, missionary candidates, and contemporary church leaders who are seeking a cause worthy of their lives. Scott Bessenecker, Associate Director for Missions for Intersociety Christian Fellowship, popularized the phrase “new friars,” which he uses in reference to a new iteration of an old genre missionary.<sup>63</sup> New friars, according to Bessenecker, are young, self-sacrificing missionary-types who are more zealous for the oppressed than concerned for their own wellbeing. Are these a new type of pioneer missionary pioneers? Are Bessenecker’s new friars merely naïve idealists? New friars seem attracted to adventure and drawn to risk in the fulfillment of a cause. These new friars enter marketplaces and mission fields addressing both spiritual and social issues. A dichotomy of worldviews is encountered between so-called new friars

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid., 145.

<sup>63</sup>Scott Bessenecker, *The New Friars: The Emerging Movement Serving the World’s Poor* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2006).

and historic missionary sending agencies.

For various reasons new friars are problematic to the established, financially stable, and mature sending organizations. As a result of the dichotomy, new friars birth their own new missions and marketplace mechanisms that reflect their own qualities, rather than the characteristics of previous generations. New friar mission agencies and technologies are not necessarily novel; they are, however, uniquely characteristic of the essence of new friars. Perhaps the original Baptist Missionary Society that was born in a parlor in Northamptonshire was similar in spirit to those created by new friar entities of today. New friars would view Carey and Coke's sending societies as organically dependent upon a high level of trust between a handful of dedicated men who created novel mechanisms and that could flex with fluidity upon the word of one friend to another. For British Baptists, that flexibility and fluidity only lasted until the old friends died and new leaders took the reins, seeking control and standardization.

The eighteenth and early nineteenth century journals and letters explored in this study exude characteristics that would appeal to and resonate with new friars of the twenty-first century. The narratives and letters of missionary sacrifice and risk point to costly, historical mission strategy; such narratives are appealing to a "certain breed" of missionary pioneer of the past and present. The lifestyles of Carey and Coke and the sending mechanisms they created provide common ground with new friars. Scripture, as well as the reflections of Carey and Coke, provide instruction and inspiration to the current generation of mission leaders, as well as to the young new friars. Likewise, the tragic breach between the second generation leadership of the Baptist Missionary Society of Northamptonshire and the aging Serampore Mission offers sobering instruction to missionaries and senders alike.

Gabe Lyons' book, *The Next Christians: How a New Generation is Restoring Faith*, describes a generational and sociological clash of worldviews. Lyons is an expert on the emerging culture of a new generation of Christians. Lyons insists that some within

the emerging church strive to live for purposes greater than themselves. For several years, Gabe has hosted an inventive gathering known as “Q.” The conference is an eclectic, cross-disciplinary assembly of young Christian leaders seeking to live on the edge of change in missions, the arts, science, business and education. The speakers at Q are Christians living out their Christian calling in the marketplace of a changing cultural milieu. Yet this young group of innovators clings to pioneers of the past for inspiration and guidance. Gabe tells of a revealing conversation between himself and Billy Graham. In the casual meeting, Gabe attempted to describe to Graham the characteristics and missional activities of next-generation Christian leaders. Gabe explained that young business leaders leverage “their talent for the benefit of others—creating microfinance banks . . . lending hundreds of millions of dollars to the poor, building wells throughout the third world, developing media campaigns to increase awareness about adoption.”<sup>64</sup> Graham contemplated all that Lyons was saying about the uniqueness of the younger generation’s efforts to impact the world. Eventually, with a smile Graham responded:

Back when we did these big crusades in football stadiums and arenas, the Holy Spirit was really moving—and people were coming to Christ as we preached the Word of God. . . . But today, I sense something different is happening. I see evidence that the Holy Spirit is working in a new way. He’s moving through people where they work and through one-on-one relationships to accomplish great things. The new generation is demonstrating God’s love to those around them, not just with words, but in deed.<sup>65</sup>

Billy Graham’s comments in contrast to Gabe Lyons’ reflections on a subsequent trip to London. In the United Kingdom he was confronted with churches that had lost their way and he came to a conclusion:

If we fail to offer a different way forward, we risk losing entire generations to apathy and cynicism. Our friends will continue to drift away, meeting their need for

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<sup>64</sup>Gabe Lyons, *The Next Christians: The Good News About the End of Christian America* (New York: Doubleday, 2010), 7-8.

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*, 8

spiritual transcendence through other forms of worship and communities of faith that may be less true but more authentic and appealing.<sup>66</sup>

Clearly, the phenomenon that Lyons described relates to but does not fully address the phenomenon that this paper addresses. Lyons' description of "next Christians," and Bessenecker's discussion of "new friars" combine to add light to this discussion. The phenomenon of new friars and next Christians may be related or could be an entirely separate issue from that of pioneer, pioneer-type missionaries. Managing risk now becomes complicated by one part calling and gifting another part sociological and yet a third part naïve passion. There may be a degree of the new friar movement that is a sociological phenomenon, reflecting a new generation of young Christians who are rediscovering purpose and the mission of God. If so, this new movement may be a good thing. Some of these next Christians and new friars may be gifted and called and equipped as pioneer missionaries.

How does the contemporary phenomenon of next Christians and new friars and the historical phenomenon of pioneer missionaries relate to this examination of the journals and letters of missionaries across the generations? While Bessenecker and Lyons warn the church about losing touch and missing the opportunity to partner with next generation pioneers, the letters of deceased missionaries warn mission leaders that agencies, sending churches, and mission mentors need to address the issues of young, zealous pioneers.

### **What Are the Concerns of Senders?**

Bessenecker would hold that a contemporary movement of young, zealous "Stephens" insists on burning up on the frontlines in the flame of missionary zeal. Some young friars prefer to move behind "enemy lines," regardless of the risk of death or the paucity of material support. The same could be said of pioneer missionaries. In the eyes of young missionary friars and pioneer missionaries, traditional standards for mission sending appear policy-constrained, financially-focused, and litigiously-guarded. In the

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., 11.

view of pioneer missionaries, too much concern with security appears contrary to the Bible. To audacious young friars, agencies appear void of kingdom-passion. Senders, from the perspective of new friars appear to mandate the exclusion of divine unction from much needed support systems. How can mission senders today synchronize current mission resources and mechanisms with Holy Spirit anointed and called missionary dreamers and schemers of tomorrow?

Mission sending entities tend to focus on increasing or maintaining the number of missionaries and national workers, perfecting discipleship tools, increasing baptisms, maintaining a diminishing financial reserve, satisfying shifting regulations of numerous nations where work is engaged, balancing the unpopular administrative costs, systematizing and reporting on church planting, and innovatively restructuring and systematically shoring up policies surrounding a revolving menu of trustee and constituent driven concerns. Certainly, each of the abovementioned values is worthy of examination in its own right. Each is a potential instrument for improving efficiencies and technologies of the mission industry. However, new friars and pioneer missionaries might argue that the systematization of missions is precisely the problem. They would argue that making the mission industry more industrious simply moves senders and the sent in the opposite direction. New friars press toward the edges—moving beyond the margins and “outside of acceptability.”<sup>67</sup> Pioneers and new friars might respond that to build a better mission industry is to exclude pioneers like William Carey and Thomas Coke. Carey lamented that the reorganization of the BMS was counterproductive at a time when previously closed doors were swinging wide open.

Like Carey and Coke, new friars create their own utilitarian mechanisms relationally and organically. The wisdom of traditional mission senders teaches that the fluid, and unfettered approach of young pioneers may be unsustainable and in some cases

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<sup>67</sup>Bessenecker, *The New Friars*, 135.

catastrophic. New friars could benefit from partnerships with experienced sending churches and agencies; those partnering churches and agencies would likewise benefit by yielding their industrialized ethos toward a more flexible “friarization” of missions.<sup>68</sup>

### **What is the Radicalization of Sending?**

David Platt, a 33 year-old former seminary professor, is the unlikely pastor of an established mega-church in Birmingham, Alabama. Platt has challenged his church, and any other church that is listening, to a radical lifestyle for Jesus. Rick Wood of *Mission Frontiers* described Platt’s challenge, “David boldly lays out a vision of the church’s mission in this world that is wholly biblical and God-centered.”<sup>69</sup> Platt not only calls the church to a radical commitment, he is leading his church on a journey to biblical literacy, obedient discipleship, and radical living. Wood described the American religious culture as but a mirror image of the secular culture: “Like the culture at large, our church culture in America is centered on entertainment, not on equipping people as effective disciple-makers. The pastor is the ‘performer’ and the people are the spectators.” Wood explains, “We need a new biblical model for doing church that equips all believers to be disciple-makers, not just the pastor.”<sup>70</sup> Platt’s book *Radical* and the direction that he is leading his church, does exactly what Wood mandates. Platt lays before the church the hard teachings of Jesus, the radical call to a life of abandonment unto Christ for His purposes. Platt rekindles the radical lifestyle of missionaries who packed their belongings in a casket, loaded their families on an ocean freighter, and wrote their last letters to their families and friends. Those radical missionaries had every intention of dying in foreign lands and being buried in the caskets, which they meticulously packed for a death-bound

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<sup>68</sup>“Friarization” is my own term, referencing the process of transition from “mission industry” to mission systems which serve new friars.

<sup>69</sup>Rick Wood, “A Call to Radical Christian Disciple-Making,” *Mission Frontiers* 32, no. 6 (2010): 5.

<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.*



journey.

There are pioneers and new friars within established mission agencies today. Some lead those agencies. Others hide on the extremities of well-organized agencies. Some pioneer missionaries struggle under policies that forcibly recall them at the first sign of danger. Pioneers of today, just as was the case yesterday, will either reluctantly tolerate established mission senders or they will go on their own. The conviction of this student of missions is that both the sober senders and the pioneers need one another. Traditional mission senders gravitate over time toward insulation away from the healthy expansion pioneered by the Stephens and Pauls of tomorrow's mission narrative. The "freelancing" of future William Careys and Thomas Cokes could ultimately trivialize sending institutions that have no room for pioneers and risk takers.

Scott Bessenecker and Gabe Lyons inform the conversation about a cultural or generational phenomenon that resonates with the very ethos of pioneer missionaries. This study does not try to lump all into one category, but the milieu confronts the church with issues that complicate the future of sending. With the contemporary table set, what lessons must pioneer missionaries and missionary senders extract from the letters and journals of Carey and Coke?

Perhaps Carey and Coke would call mission agencies, as well as mission sending churches, to equip and send young friars and next Christians toward a lifestyle that is much more sacrificial, increasingly fluid, diminishingly institutional, much more dangerous, highly connected and much less Western than has become normative during the modern mission era. Mission-sending institutions face two challenges. On the one hand, they must address risk practically. On the other, they dare not fail to address the entire matter theologically and spiritually. Otherwise, existing, very productive institutions run the risk of becoming empty museums such as those that were once the thriving churches of England (per Lyons' illustration). Missionary pioneers face an even more serious matter, how to respond to the urgent mission of God.

## CHAPTER 6

### IMPLICATIONS FOR MISSIONARIES AND SENDERS

The parameters and rationale for an exegetical study of Thomas Coke's and William Carey's journals have been presented, along with the biblical and historical precedent for sacrificial service to the Lord. The heart of the research is the exegetical examination of the journals and personal correspondence of the two prominent missionary innovators. The journals were scrutinized in light of the risks embraced by Coke and Carey in carrying out the mission of God. This examination focused on Coke's and Carey's personal reflections regarding their motivation for resolute commitment to mission advance. Finally the erudition discovered was evaluated by a collective look at both journals and correspondence of the two men. A description was presented of a sociological dilemma facing senders today—the issue of next Christians and new friars, as well as the perplexing ethos of pioneer missionaries. Questions and issues were raised as related to a contemporary application of the knowledge gained from Coke and Carey.

In light of the industry of missionary risk management and the highly regarded Western cultural value of safety and the preservation of institutional assets, specific recommendations and subsequent implications are suggested for the church, senders, and missionaries. Biblical and historical precedent confirm that God's servants are, at times, harmed as a result of, or in the process of the ministry of the gospel. Some people may be injured and even die in the cause of God's mission. Therefore, churches, missionaries, and senders must operate carefully, but they must do so without compromising missions. Since institutions that venture into dangerous ministries run the risk of lawsuit and crippling financial judgments, senders should carefully navigate the liability of missions among unreached peoples, while boldly fulfilling the commission of God for the church

unto all peoples, regardless of location and danger. Contemporary missionary risk management may become problematic when missionaries are deployed among unreached peoples who live in areas of inherent hostility toward the gospel. This final chapter takes a look at contemporary missionary risk management through the lenses of Coke's and Carey's journals and their personal letters. In this final section, one is left with more implications than solid answers for the church, for senders, and for missionaries.

### **Missions and the Business of Risk Management**

In order to achieve a contemporary application of the perspective gained through this study of Carey's and Coke's journals, a description is needed of a prevailing concern in contemporary missionary deployment—the mounting influence upon missiological decision-making by the business of risk management.

### **Terror and Litigation**

Obviously, from the days of Carey and Coke until now, the environment for missionary deployment has dramatically changed. Two major contemporary factors influencing this discussion include the business of terror and risk management, as well as the ever-present threat of debilitating litigation upon individuals and institutions. To illustrate the reality of terror and litigation, my own involvement in a hostage situation serves as an example. In 1991, a team of two men experienced a six-month hostage situation in Central Asia. The two Americans were taken hostage simultaneously by two separate warlords in the same valley. In the midst of the crisis a distant relative of one of the American hostages threatened litigation against the sending organization. Overnight, the crisis management team faced two hostage negotiations with two separate captors and a subsequent threat of litigation by a family member of one of the hostages. This illustration exemplifies the invaluable role of professional crisis managers and attorneys that guided the crisis response to the six-month crisis.

The multiple threats to individuals and the institution could have rendered the

organization catatonic. With excellent coaching, the crisis was resolved over six months, a period of time that felt like an eternity for everyone involved. The hostage event led to calculated responses by multiple parties. The mere suggestion of litigation, for example, resulted in immediate measures and procedures that dramatically altered day-to-day operations for everyone managing the hostage calamity. Due to the mention of potential litigation, the crisis management team established additional procedures that paralleled the ongoing hostage negotiation. Without professional assistance, the lives of the two men would have been placed in even greater danger. Without legal counsel, the organization could have taken missteps, threatening the support of missionaries around the world.

Terrorologist Chester Quarles of the University of Mississippi and Crisis Consulting International (CCI) moved onto the scene and guided every step. Chief Executive Officer Bob Klamser of CCI established a crisis management team in the institution's home office. Klamser's team coached the crisis management team who met daily, reviewing data and strategies. International confidential prayer strategies were engaged—people prayed around the world for an unspecified urgent need. The negotiation was resolved and much gospel witness was engaged during and after the six-month crisis.

Today, as a matter of normal procedure, contingency plans and precautions have been established. Those procedures dictate predetermined steps, regarding the above-mentioned risks and liabilities. Now international Christian and secular workers undergo much preparation as preventative measures for living in and surviving through dangerous situations. The illustration points to the increased role of attorneys, terrorologists, risk assessors, hostage negotiators, and many other highly specialized experts, who, as a matter of standard protocol, make daily decisions regarding the advance of the gospel among unreached peoples. In their book *The Changing Face of World Missions: Engaging Contemporary Issues and Trends*, Michael Pocock, Gailyn Van Rheenen, and Douglas McConnell do not address the trend of crisis management as

a growing influence on global missions decision-making.<sup>1</sup> David J. Bosch in *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* does not address the theological and missiological impact of crisis management and asset protection on missions today.<sup>2</sup> Philip Jenkins cites the reality of conflict between Christians and Muslims in places like Pakistan, but he merely speculates about an imaginary “future Christendom not too different from the old, defined less by an ideological harmony than by its unity against a common outside threat.”<sup>3</sup> Jenkins’ speculation and wishful thinking offers no assistance to contemporary mission senders, as pertaining to the risk management trend in the future of missions. Which missiologists have called attention to the fact that mission history, mission strategy, and certainly mission tactics are being altered dramatically today by the growing role of the guardians of personal safety and institutional asset protection? Risk managers, not pioneer missionaries, are deciding if it is safe or not to obey God and follow him unto the ends of the earth. A great struggle derives from an attempt to reconcile the business of safe missions with the resolute motivation of Carey and Coke and others, such as Paul and Moses and Noah, to obey God’s mission, regardless of the risk. By looking at this contemporary issue in missions through the lens of a Carey or a Coke, an important discussion ensues.

Spirit-led missions decisions should be guarded against an inordinate amount of influence by legal advisors whose goal is to avoid litigation. Steps may be taken to separate institutional senders from the most risky missionary endeavors. How might such steps be taken? A practical recommendation for high-risk missionary activities is for financially well-endowed senders to partner with leaner sending entities. Tear Fund

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<sup>1</sup>Michael Pocock, Gailyn Van Rheenen, and Douglas McConnell, *The Changing Face of World Missions: Engaging Contemporary Issues and Trends* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2005).

<sup>2</sup>David Jacobus Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, American Society of Missiology Series (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1998).

<sup>3</sup>Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*, The Future of Christianity Trilogy (Oxford: New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 190.

International, for example funds Christian humanitarian aid projects around the world. In such cases, Tear Fund provides grants and accompanying reporting procedures regarding those grants. The International Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, for example, could operate in a similar manner in high-risk environs—as a grant provider.

How might such an arrangement work? By way of example, experienced missionaries John and Janet Jones have demonstrated high competency and effectiveness in disciplinmaking and church planting using the Khorasani language. John is also a water engineer. The Nation of Khorasan was recently overthrown by a hostile, oppressive anti-Christian regime. The IMB offers the Jones family an opportunity to voluntarily resign, severing direct ties with the parent organization. An informal agreement is made between the IMB and the CEO of a friendly Christian agency. On behalf of John and Janet Jones, the IMB offers an equivalent multi-year, renewable project grant to *Water for Khorasan*, a small but reputable humanitarian non-profit. In a similar fashion, Tear Fund International routinely offers financial grants to likeminded less-viable entities by agencies. In the past, the IMB has seconded personnel to non-profits, but without several personnel and financial ties. The novelty of this concept is found in the fact that the IMB would relinquish direct financial and personnel oversight. Continued IMB funding is directly related to a positive working relationship and reporting among the missionary, the secondary agency and the IMB.

**Risk management is essential.** During the past thirty years, this new, extremely significant phenomenon of risk management has emerged within the mission-sending community. The International Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, New Tribes, and a host of other missionary sending and support-providing agencies have utilized the services of Christian professional security providers and attorneys. Two of the prominent missionary security-consulting companies are Crisis Consulting International (CCI) and Fort Sherman Academy (FSA). Both reputable organizations have made clients aware of the increasing risk of debilitating litigation against mission

institutions, churches, and individuals. There is an increasing propensity of missionary relatives and volunteers to take legal action on behalf of ill, deceased, or psychologically injured missions participants. Hostage incidents and targeted attacks on missionaries have increased in rapidity and impact. CCI and FSA are exemplary in preparing missionaries to avoid, appropriately respond to, and manage the risks of an increasingly volatile world. Yet, in spite of obvious risks, some missionaries continue the historical practice of following God's leading to hostile and dangerous environs. Agencies seeking to protect missionaries and institutional viability find themselves drowning in conflicting values and worldviews. The church is called to penetrate spiritual darkness. However, those same geopolitical regions are either more dangerous than ever, or, at a minimum, inherent risks are increasingly apparent.

CCI, for example, offers training in crisis management, field security, hostage/kidnap management, risk assessment, security orientation, and security management. Fort Sherman Academy has created online security training for local churches known as "safe travel solutions."<sup>4</sup> Both organizations offer much more than training. With the availability of such useful resources, churches and senders are more accountable than ever to insure that missionaries and mission team members are well prepared to face danger and manage risk wisely. Senders have no excuse for not availing themselves of these and other resources that protect their missionaries and partners. Everyone is liable for any display of abject or inadvertent disregard for potential risks that might possibly result in injury. Nevertheless, pioneer missionaries, in the spirit of William Carey and Thomas Coke, press toward dangerous settings for the purpose of preaching Christ crucified, resurrected, and returning.

Pioneer missionaries, for example, who have already died to themselves and moved their families to Mosul, bristle when security assessors demand their forced

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<sup>4</sup>Fort Sherman Academy, "Safe Travel Solutions," accessed March 18, 2013, [www.safetravelsolutions.org](http://www.safetravelsolutions.org).

extraction from a place they knew to be dangerous when they originally located there. Nevertheless, in today's litigant-heavy and risk-averse world, security standards for missionaries have typically been pre-established, requiring automatic evacuations when risk levels reach a pre-determined volatility. For all practical purposes, those safety standards and procedures are a very good thing for missionaries and senders alike.

A practical recommendation is that every missionary write a "last letter to family and friends" that will be kept on file in the home office. Such a letter would be revealed at death to the designated recipient(s). Sample last letters would be provided to missionaries in pre-departure orientation. The missionary last letter should primarily be personal and instructional to family and friends in case of unexpected death. A portion of such a letter should include approved indemnifying language. Missionaries in particularly high-risk environs should discuss the existence of the last letter with their closest family members. The indemnifying sections of the letter may need to be discussed with some family members prior to departure.

**Automatic evacuation raises theological concerns.** A serious concern of this safety-driven trend is the fact that when trigger-events<sup>5</sup> demand automatic evacuation, missionaries and senders face more than the question, "How soon and by what means should evacuation occur?" Missionaries, not risk managers, are asking the Lord, "Do you want me to remain here in danger for the advance of the kingdom?" Consistent with the biblical and historical precedent that was proffered in chapter 2, and in light of the resolute motivation found in the letters and journals of Carey and Coke in chapters 3 and 4, the recommendation of these findings is that the higher realm of Christian calling must not be overlooked in the matter of missionary safety and automated evacuation protocols. Coke and Carey demonstrated an acute awareness of the driving force of the kingdom of

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<sup>5</sup>Trigger-events are predetermined incidents written into contingency plans as warnings of heightened risk. Trigger-events may result in automatic steps such as mandated withdrawal of personnel.



God. The prevailing factor in their decision-making was not safety, but instead the advance of the kingdom of God.

Regarding the application of security policies, global compliance to standard organization-wide security procedures offers the greatest possibility of safety for missionaries. Any deviance from those standards increases the likelihood of perilous missteps, injury, and litigation. Standardization means mandatory evacuation in certain predetermined circumstances. Such a mandate might overlook the fact that some missionaries may need to remain in danger because of Christian obedience, even in the midst of the most heightened security alerts. CCI at least leaves open the possibility of field-based missionaries making the final decision regarding evacuation. CCI's openness to field missionaries making that final call does not appear to be based on theology, rather, from the acknowledgement that missionaries often maintain access to security information that is only available from within the country.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, the goal of security protocols is not the advance of the gospel, but the protection of missionaries and senders. In fulfillment of the mission of God, theological and missiological concerns, as well as spiritual obedience, should take priority over the maintenance of industry standards for personal safety and asset management.

While this recommendation insists that theology, missiology, and obedience trump safety and security, risk managers can make legitimate anecdotal rebuttal. By listing missionaries who have died in missionary service, a heart-wrenching argument can be made that in spite of precautions taken, missionaries have and will die on the mission field. Therefore, the argument follows, "We (risk managers and senders) must do everything possible to evacuate and protect missionaries, including mandating evacuation when trigger events occur." The logic follows—God will decide who lives and dies.

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<sup>6</sup>Crisis Consulting International, "Policy Recommendations," in *Sorrow and Blood: Christian Mission in Contexts of Suffering, Persecution, and Martyrdom*, ed. William David Taylor, Antonia Van der Meer, and Reg Reimer (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2012), 399-406.

Senders must simply do their part to protect them at all times. Admittedly, such is a compelling argument, because the risks are so high and the potential impact so devastating. Likewise, to err on the side of precaution seems to always indicate the application of wisdom, does it not?

At the same time, until the onset of the missionary risk management industry, many mission senders embraced the very proposals that are asserted through this study—a less automated process with greater prayerful involvement of God-called missionaries. For the long history of missions, missionaries personally addressed risk management decisions through the prayerful consideration of locally available knowledge. Upon the occasion of heightened security concerns missionaries would consult their senders, persisting in prayer and fasting and consideration of scripture in order to decide whether or not to remain in danger or to evacuate. The recommendation proffered here is not to leave this matter singularly in the hands of missionaries on the field. The proposal is for an adaptation of current evacuation practices by bringing biblical precedent, theological conviction, and individual missionary calling equally, if not more compellingly, into the crisis management process.

A practical recommendation regarding automatic evacuation is that some missionaries (for example, those with no children and high language competency) pre-arrange for a higher risk tolerance level. Automated evacuations may only apply to missionaries in all categories of risk other than the high-risk tolerance category.

### **Theology, Missiology, and Obedience**

The recommendation being tendered is that church and sender decisions, regarding missionary safety and security, should routinely include a more rigorous and robust examination of historical precedent, biblical theology, missiological impact, and the spiritual convictions of missionaries. Industry standards for risk management must never trump the mandate of God, even in the height of danger. Security-related deployment decisions must not be made in the absence of a serious consideration of the volitional

concerns of pioneer missionaries—the matter of obedience to the calling of God. While a church’s decision or a sender’s policies may demand logistical evacuation in certain circumstances, the Lord might very specifically lead certain missionaries to remain in the midst of danger. Herein lies the conflict—in the mission of God, deployment issues must not be reduced to mere tactical, predetermined, security maneuvers. Theology, missiology, and historical precedent, particularly as portrayed in the examples of Carey and Coke, as well as the specific direction of God upon the lives of pioneer missionaries, must routinely influence security-related missionary decisions.

From Coke’s *An Address to the Pious and Benevolent* to his reflections penned during his tempestuous voyages and rigorous preaching circuits, the obstacles, the dangers, and the risks he encountered confirmed his calling and increased his resolve to obey God, no matter the risk. Coke declared in his journals and letters his preference for nakedness, abandonment, and financial ruin in the process of obedience to God’s mission. The demand for a standardized, automated response, as required by security and risk management professionals, could significantly erode an inherently theological, missiological, and volitional matter.

Likewise, in his *Enquiry*, before ever traveling to India, William Carey articulated a biblical and historical foundation of missions, as well as a clear understanding of the cost. Carey’s journal reveals a man who at times plummeted into despair, but seemed to propel himself from depression through preaching to a group of hostile Muslims and Hindus. Both men acknowledged the risks and dangers at various points before and during their missionary activities. Both men followed God’s leadership to either temper their activities or press further into danger. While preaching in America, Coke tempered his preaching against the practice of slavery after an unruly crowd of slaveholders nearly killed him. Carey sought the assistance and protection of authorities when his new converts were being mortally threatened. One could argue that Carey and Coke exercised a balanced level wisdom and risk management, albeit without the benefit

of a highly refined science of security. At other times Coke and Carey pushed resolutely into danger, preaching the gospel regardless.

**New circumstances require novel criteria.** It would be difficult to make the case that Carey departed England as a well-equipped and seasoned missionary candidate. The fact that he coerced Dorothy, clearly against her wishes and beyond her emotional capacity, into the dangerous jungles of India is evidence of Carey's shortcomings. He took his wife to the interior and she went insane. Nevertheless, he deployed among the unreached in what he believed to be obedience to God. God did great things through Carey, but at great expense to Dorothy and the Carey family. So the case cannot be made that Carey necessarily made the best decisions for his own family. Likewise, there was no support system in place for Carey.

William Carey's circumstances were different than the circumstances faced later by Eustace Carey and the new influx of missionaries to Calcutta shortly after the turn of the nineteenth century. Likewise, today's mission senders are living in a new era, compared to generations past. The new knowledge and experience acquired thus far, demand that new factors, such as risk management, enter the process of missiological decision-making.

For the Baptist Missionary Society of Eustace Carey's day, the complete leadership turnover among new trustees brought new decision-making criteria, which William Carey did not appreciate. The new trustees ignored requests from Carey to send new missionaries to new territories and new nations. Instead, the trustees sent young missionaries to urban colonial center of Calcutta without any guidance from the culturally-aware, field-prepared Serampore Trio. In addition, the young missionaries arrived with their own demands, rather than with a learner's spirit. The new leadership of the Baptist Missionary Society was postured to sell the Serampore property and move all missionaries to the safer, more comfortable metropolis of Calcutta. Giving the new BMS trustees the benefit of the doubt, certainly one can acknowledge that changing circumstances, at least

by their calculation, mandated the consideration of additional decision-making criteria.

Such is the process of change. The challenges associated with change then are not entirely dissimilar to those faced today. Heightened risk and new technologies for risk management should be appropriately applied to missionary deployment. At times, new technologies can be over-emphasized for a season, until balance is reassessed. The conviction herein is that such a readjustment is needed today, and that Carey and Coke, through their journals and letters, can assist the process. New technologies in risk management may have become so helpful during recent years that the ageless systems, such as prayer and fasting and missionary obedience to calling, have been neglected in the crisis-management process. The intent is not to indict church leaders and mission senders for a lack of prayer, but to suggest a greater involvement of missionaries, who routinely receive a one-way notification that they are required to evacuate.

**The ancient mission of God requires certain ageless criteria.** Obviously, a problem presents itself when one-size-fits-all policies are created for all missionaries, based on the needs of the least prepared, such as Eustace Carey. Compared to Eustace Carey and the new missionaries, different standards should be applied to William Carey, the Wards, and Marshmans. Standardization of risk management increases security for all, but may limit strategic and obedient missionary response for pioneers. Secular industry standards of risk management, when applied wholesale to missionary deployment, have created an untenable clash for missionaries seeking to obey the Lord, while remaining submissive to their senders.

Eustace Carey and the young missionaries were friends of the new Baptist Missionary Society trustees. The trustees and newly commissioned missionaries shared a greater appreciation for European social life, comfort, and safety. The young missionaries had greater opportunity of influence on the trustees and the Baptist Missionary Society made a decision to accommodate the preferences of the new missionaries. Of greater concern is the dichotomy between Carey's fixed focus on the longstanding historical

vision of kingdom advance, and the new trustees' focus on other factors. In spite of new legitimate factors, perhaps the new BMS trustees erred most by overlooking Carey's demand, informed by biblical and historical precedent, to maintain the original vision pressing the Baptist Missionary Society to the jungles of India.

The biblical and historical precedent and the examples of Carey and Coke portray God's mission as penetrating the darkness of the least reached around the world. God's mission being paramount, the church cannot settle for keeping all missionaries in the safest and most secure locations. Since risk management is far more advanced today than in Carey's day, churches and senders must take full advantage of novel technologies' benefits, but they must do so in a manner that never dilutes or diminishes the ageless missiological mandate for Christian obedience. One cannot understate, however, the grave error of divorcing the realities of kingdom advance from the ever-present reality of terror and risk. Much care and wisdom, as well as obedience, must be exercised.

In addition to the caution Coke exercised while preaching to slaveholders, he also practiced drastic obedience and persistence in the face of risk. In the midst of turbulent seas Coke expressed his willingness to die on the mission of God:

I have really forsaken all for Christ, and have neither motive nor desire to live but for the church of Christ. And why should my desires be so strong on that account? With what perfect ease can the Lord fill up my province with one that is infinitely better qualified? I am therefore willing to die. I do love my God, and have an indubitable assurance that whatever is wanting he will fully supply, before he takes me into the world of spirits.<sup>7</sup>

### **Final Implications**

After reviewing the journals and letters of two men who changed the face of missions, one can conclude that Thomas Coke and William Carey found Christ and were compelled by Christ to preach the gospel among the lost peoples of England and of the world. That singular factor drove them into, through, and beyond risk for kingdom

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<sup>7</sup>Thomas Coke, *The Journals of Dr. Thomas Coke*, ed. John A. Vickers (Nashville: Kingswood, 2005), 72.

advance. Both men lived by a divine unction to create the mission innovation of sending societies. While their constant activity and mission surround the advance of the universal church of Jesus Christ, their motivation for mission was a love for and devotion to Christ himself. Obviously, the context for Carey and Coke differs significantly from the current missions context. Consequently, the argument is not that senders or missionaries imitate Carey and Coke in every way possible. There are, however, insights and lessons to be gleaned from a study of their lives as displayed in their journals.

Accompanying the calling of Coke and Carey was the capacity and apparent authority from God to found missionary efforts. Both men mobilized church leaders to invest in missions so that others could go and serve around the globe. However, Carey and Coke did not only insist on faithfulness on the part of others. They themselves went and personally participated with God in the advance of his kingdom among the least and the lost. How does one understand their examples, and how might one apply this understanding to contemporary missionary practices related to risk?

The argument has already been proffered for the need to wed Carey's and Coke's obsession with the kingdom of God to new security technologies for the protection of missionaries and senders. The kingdom of God is a driving motivation and current senders may need to re-emphasize Carey's and Coke's passion for kingdom advance. What other implications may be drawn directly from the journals of Coke and Carey?

In *Roots of Endurance*, John Piper admonishes the church: "There is a mind-set in the prosperous West that we deserve pain-free, trouble-free existence. . . . This mind-set gives a trajectory to life that is almost universal – namely, away from stress and toward comfort and safety or relief."<sup>8</sup> Christians fight the daily tension between loving this world and loving Jesus and his kingdom. Piper reminds Christians that they should

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<sup>8</sup>John Piper, *The Roots of Endurance: Invincible Perseverance in the Lives of John Newton, Charles Simeon, and William Wilberforce* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2002), 18.

not expect a carefree life in the service of Christ. Piper states in *The Pleasures of God: Meditations on God's Delight in Being God*, "Trusting in God to meet our needs breaks the power of sin's promise to make us happier. But what we need to see here is that the essence of faith is being satisfied with all that God is for us in Christ."<sup>9</sup> The Moravian missionary, Jiri Schmidt, on December 4, 1736, expressed a similar motivation to Piper's, Carey's, and Coke's: "I love Him and He is my friend. Whatever He calls me to do, I do gladly. I want to go to His dwelling, for He has preceded me there."<sup>10</sup>

Why set this portion of discussion with these quotes? Because these citations point to a trajectory of life and motivation that supercedes the American demands for safety and comfort. Piper and Schmidt point to the joy of serving the person of Christ who liberates Christians to a more weighty freedom to suffer for the advance of the kingdom of God.

Josef Ton states, "Suffering for Christ does mean that the disciple will voluntarily involve himself in suffering and in sacrificial living for Christ and his gospel."<sup>11</sup> The teaching and preaching and discipleship of God's church needs to reflect the reality that suffering will occur as members of the body of Christ proactively and sacrificially make disciples among unreached peoples in the most challenging settings. Three issues emerge from the study of Carey's and Coke's journals.

### **Kingdom Advance Merits Risk**

Is God good and worthy of obedience when he calls some of to suffer or die for the advance of his kingdom? Churches in China, Afghanistan, Russian, North Korea,

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<sup>9</sup>John Piper, *The Pleasures of God: Meditations on God's Delight in Being God* (Sisters, OR: Multnomah, 2000), 254.

<sup>10</sup>Radim Kalfus and Leontina Mašínová, *The Moravians; Sketches from the History of the Moravian Church* (Praha, Czechoslovakia: Jednota Bratská, 1967), 166.

<sup>11</sup>Josef Ton, *Suffering, Martyrdom, and Rewards in Heaven* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1997), 428.



Iran, and the persecuted world cannot avoid this question. Christians in the West seem ill-prepared to address this theological concern. Yes, Christians in America may need to address the issue of suffering as a matter of the regular course of human life and death. However, are churches preparing future missionaries with theological foundations sufficient to equip a contemporary young Coke to be so intoxicated by the kingdom of God that obsession with personal safety would be obliterated? If it is true, that in the advance of Christ's kingdom into "heathenish darkness" (to use the vernacular of Carey and Coke) God may choose some to live as testimonies in dangerous settings, then perhaps churches must more aggressively advocate the sending of more of her own sons and daughters into danger. Carey acknowledged the risks in *Enquiry* prior to his deployment—he understood the theological and historical precedent. For the church, the issue becomes one of embracing personal suffering and institutional risk that accompany kingdom advance in a dangerous world.

As God has demonstrated his great love by his sacrifice, so his servants will demonstrate their love toward him by a willingness to risk all. John Piper explains,

When the Father forsook the Son and handed him over to the curse of the cross and lifted not a finger to spare him pain, he had not ceased to love the Son. In that very moment when the Son was taking upon himself everything that God hates in us, and God was forsaking him to death, even then the Father knew that the measure of his Son's suffering was the depth of his Son's love for the Father's glory. And in that injurious, redeeming love the Father took deepest pleasure.<sup>12</sup>

By today's standards, William Carey risked too much by breaking the laws of his own country to illegally embark for India with an emotionally unstable wife on an uncertain mission under the guidance of the financially disgraced debtor John Thomas. A representative of a reasonable mission agency today, could not approve of Carey's mission. But Carey called upon his theological convictions that led to his own submission to the direction of God and mission. Tactically, any mission agency would be correct to deny Carey passage to India. At the same time, it would be fundamentally wrong to prevent

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<sup>12</sup>Piper, *The Pleasures of God*, 176-77.

Carey from the mission of God. Churches, senders, and missionaries face missions decisions with theological and kingdom ramifications that supersede ostensible human astuteness. Therein lies the complicated task of senders.

### **Contend for the Unreached**

Harley Schreck and David Barrett asked key questions in 1987, and those questions remain viable today:

It is time to ask ourselves if we, as the church and the heirs of this mandate, have really heard and obeyed him. Have all “nations” indeed been baptized? Have “nations” indeed been taught to observe all Jesus commanded? The church may need to ask: How have we done? And what should we be doing?<sup>13</sup>

The church must continue to struggle with Matthew 28:19 and Luke 24:47 and *ethnos* or peoples. The church is the repository of the gospel and the channel for the advance of the kingdom of this gospel. Schreck’s and Barrett’s questions are specifically pointed to the church on behalf of the peoples that Carey and Coke referred to as heathen. In 1786, Coke raised the same questions about the heathen in his *An Address to the Pious and Benevolent*. In 1792, Carey raised the question regarding the heathen in his *Enquiry*. In 1979, the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization raised it through a series of publications called *Unreached Peoples*. In 1985, The Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention initiated *The AD 2000 Series* in order to provide essential information on the subject and to appeal to the church.<sup>14</sup> Coke, Carey, Barrett, Schreck, Lausanne, and the AD 2000 series are on the same page regarding those who have yet to hear and respond to the gospel. Numerous initiatives have continued to press similar questions. Terms and measures of success have been reconfigured, but the questions remain viable. How has the church done? What should the church be doing to reach the unreached? The answers to these questions must be addressed in discipleship, in

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<sup>13</sup>Harley Schreck and David Barrett, *Unreached Peoples: Clarifying the Task* (Monrovia, CA: MARC, 1987), 5-6.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, iii-iv.

preaching and teaching, and in missions engagement.

William Carey demonstrated that he, along with all Christians, must personally struggle with the matter of heathen: “If I now only labour alone, but even if I should lose my life in the undertaking—I anxiously desire the time when I shall so far know the language as to preach in earnest to these people.”<sup>15</sup> Carey’s response to the unreached was to go to them, live among them, and learn their languages in order to earnestly preach the gospel among them, and translate scriptures.

Coke’s response was to abandon a stable career and certain success. He joined forces with John Wesley and unrecognized preachers for pioneer missions in America, the West Indies, and South Asia. Until his final day Coke’s restlessness for the unreached of Ceylon drove him to study language in preparation to preach and teach the gospel among the heathen. Following the same missional heritage, contemporary Christians must not cease to contend for the salvation of the unreached. Inevitably, when Christians contend for the unreached, risky decisions are engaged for the advance of the gospel.

### **The Importance of Devotion and Prayer**

The inherent resources for ministry in the midst of risk are found in a life devoted to God, strengthened through prayer. John Wesley and the Methodists spiritually mentored Coke. Dissenters like John Ryland and Andrew Fuller invested in Carey’s spiritual discipleship. The Northamptonshire Baptist Association was formed for encouragement in the Word. Both Carey and Coke were devoted to personal biblical studies. Their journals confirm that urgency for missions was preceded and fueled by their love for Jesus. The mission of God is not a human endeavor—it draws upon the very person of Jesus and the work of the Holy Spirit in the lives of his instruments, such as Carey and Coke.

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<sup>15</sup>William Carey, *The Journal and Selected Letters of William Carey*, ed. Terry G. Carter (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2000), 11.

Carey's journal flowed from peak to valley as his devotional life wavered with frustrations in the work, anguish with Dorothy, and spiritual dryness. By perusing Carey's two-year journal, one can observe the influence of Carey's devotional life in sustaining him through turmoil fueling him for ministry. At one of his low moments, Carey contemplated his own sense of spiritual failure. There were days in which he admitted severe neglect of his devotional life. In his journal, Carey expressed a desperate need for greater devotion to God:

What I have always lamented as the great crime of which I am constantly guilty, is want of love of Christ. That fervency of spirit which many feel, that constant activity in the ways of God, and that hunger and thirst after righteousness which constitutes the life and soul of religion, I scarcely feel at all, or if I do perceive a small degree of it, its continuance is so short, and its operations so feeble, that I can scarcely consider it as forming a part of my character. I live a kind of mechanical life, going through the labours of each day as I should go through any other work, but in a great measure destitute of that energy which makes every duty a pleasure.<sup>16</sup>

Coke was not as self-revealing regarding his own spiritual deserts. He reported the exertion of his ministry and near death experiences that drew him closer to God. Coke's devotional life was seen through his record of regular days of prayer and fasting, as well as long periods of reading substantive biblical and theological literature. Coke and Carey's devotional lives sustained them through rigorous ministry among the heathen. From the examples of Carey and Coke one could conclude that Christians who engage in challenging ministry require the daily intake of scripture, prayer and fasting, and theological pursuit. This most basic practice of prayer and devotion by Carey and Coke were foundational for their pioneer ministry.

On his first journey to America, Coke recorded repeated periods of fasting and praying, such as the entry on October 6, 1784: "I devoted this morning to fasting and prayer. It was a good time. O that I never may lose anything I gain in the divine life."<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Eustace Carey, *Memoir of William Carey, D.D.: Late Missionary to Bengal; Professor of Oriental Language in the College of Fort William, Calcutta* (London: Jackson and Walford, 1836), 535-36.

<sup>17</sup>Coke, *The Journals*, 28-29.

Again on October 8, he wrote, “I devoted the morning to fasting and prayer, and reading the scriptures, and found it a truly profitable time.”<sup>18</sup> On September 15, “I set apart this morning for fasting and prayer, as I did also last Wednesday, and found it a refreshing season for my soul.”<sup>19</sup> The discipline of prayer nourished Coke for the rigors of spiritual exertion.

The Moravians, who preceded Carey and Coke, were a disgruntled, splintered body until they yielded to God in repentance through protracted prayer. Distraught over the calamitous state of the Moravian church, Zinzendorf preached a three-hour sermon on unity, which launched a spirit of brokenness over the church. Brokenness led to twenty-four hour, unending prayer sessions that lasted for one hundred years, starting in the summer of 1727. The Moravian prayer movement “would fuel one of the greatest mission movements to the margins of the planet the church has ever known. . . . They knew hardship and marginalization, and it gave them a passion for prayer, for the kingdom and for the outer edges.”<sup>20</sup>

Andrew Murray explains the exponential role of prayer in global missions: “Then the results of foreign missions will be a hundredfold greater when the church is what she ought to be in the matter of prayer.” Murray continues,

Since there are many who give but do not pray, or give little and pray little, those who know what prayer is must pray and labor more earnestly. Let them pray that the life of Christians may be so deepened by the Holy Ghost, that it shall become “as natural and easy to pray daily for foreign missions as to pray for daily bread.”<sup>21</sup>

Samuel Pearce illustrated Murray’s point with a specific example of the impact

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Thom Wolf, “Globalshift: The New History Vectors,” Distinguished Speaker Series 2006 (Belton, TX: University of Mary Hardin-Baylor 2006), 4.

<sup>21</sup>Andrew Murray, *Key to the Missionary Problem* (Fort Washington, PA: Christian Literature Crusade, 1979), 150.

of prayer for Carey: “Did you notice, that the very day on which we invited all our friends to a day of prayer on behalf of the mission (Dec. 28, 1796), was the same in which brother Carey sent his best and most interesting accounts to the Society?”<sup>22</sup> December 28, 1796, is the very day in which Carey wrote from the Hooghly River (in Serampore) to the Baptist Missionary Society proposing a new Moravian strategy—missionaries living together sharing expenses and creating a greater force for the kingdom.<sup>23</sup> On the day Pearce assembled a group to pray for Carey—December 28, 1796—Carey was seated along the Hooghly River near the future site of the Serampore mission. Pearce was convinced that through prayer, God led Carey to this Moravian strategy for Serampore—a strategy birthed out of Zinzendorf’s prayer movement seventy years earlier. Murray rightly declared that the impact of missions is greater as the church prays and devotes itself daily to Jesus. From the journals of Carey and Coke the church is reminded of this most basic foundation of daily devotion and prayer. Prayer was practiced faithfully, both by the missionaries (Carey and Coke) and those who sent them.

### **Closing Thoughts**

What contribution was gained by evaluating Carey’s and Coke’s personal reflections regarding their motivation for risks ventured in order to preach in dangerous locations? The topical examination of the letters and journals of Thomas Coke and William Carey produced insights that were beneficial for application to the contemporary practices of mission strategy in the midst of heightened risk management. The topic of pioneer missionary resolve, as employed in the midst of risk, relates directly to current risk management issues that dramatically impact sending policies. Carey’s and Coke’s kingdom of God motivation is relevant to the growing concern in missions regarding

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<sup>22</sup>Andrew Fuller and John Ryland, *Memoirs of the Late Rev. Samuel Pearce . . . With Extracts from Some of His Most Interesting Letters* (Newark, NJ: E. B. Gould, 1809), 38.

<sup>23</sup>Carey, *The Journal*, 137-38.

intensified dangers and complimentary risk management technologies. The perspective of Carey and Coke on risk begs for a deeper examination of risk management policies, particularly as applied to the automated evacuation of missionaries in the midst of severe risk. A biblical and historical vantage point, such as provided by the abovementioned journals, opens the discussion in a new light.

This research project provided an opportunity for the exegetical examination of missionary journals and letters, with a view toward a narrowly defined topic. A potential byproduct of such examination was to offer a different tool for illuminating discussions among contemporary missions practitioners. A similar topical exegesis of other journals and writings from the same era would add insight to the same discussion. An examination of the journals of the original members of the Baptist Missionary Society and the early Methodists would be a worthy expansion for the continuation of the study. Of interest also is the notion of exegetically examining journals from other eras, such as that of the Moravians, who directly influenced Carey's strategy. Both the exegetical methodology and its application to a contemporary mission subject matter offered the potential of new insights for contemporary missionaries and senders.

In the same manner that Coke and Carey drew from the lives of Francis Xavier and David Brainerd, the journals and letters of historical missionaries introduce a bridge to missionaries of today and tomorrow. On the matter of missionary resolve for the advance of the kingdom among the unreached, Coke's final circular newsletter explained his steadfastness. The letter was written from Dumfries on June 18, 1813. He sent the letter just prior to his departure for Ceylon. The newsletter was addressed to the Methodists in Dublin:

My very Dear and Esteemed Friend,

I am certainly going to India with the help of God, to Ceylon in the first instance. How far we may afterwards stretch our borders, must depend upon Providence. After thirty-seven years' attachment of the most inviolable kind to our [Methodist] Connexion, and attention both at home and abroad to the business in which I have been employed by Mr. Wesley and the Conference, with incessant patience and perseverance, I believe that the Conference will not suffer me to go alone. And yet

the will of God concerning me is so evident, that, as far as I know myself, I would rather be set down naked on the coast of Ceylon, to make my way from that spot, than not to go at all. I cannot sail till about October; and if the Conference think it best for me to raise all the money necessary for the whole onset, even of ten Missionaries, I would engage to do it. I would engage absolutely, according to the vulgar adage, “to bind or to find.” The Missionary Fund should be at no expense.

I should have ten Missionaries to go with me, inclusive of a secretary, and of another companion, as a half-servant to travel with me. My own expenses I should bear myself, inclusive of the expenses of the two brethren, who on the above plan, would travel with me. But I would go with eight, with six, with four, with two, with one, with none.<sup>24</sup>

Observations and lessons have been learned from the personal reflections and documented behaviors of William Carey and Thomas Coke. Their personal reflections serve as instruction for today’s church, particularly as it concerns motivation that leads to personal risks taken by pioneer missionaries and senders for the sake of Christian missions. The journals and letters of Coke and Carey open a window into their motivation for extending the kingdom of God among those who had yet to hear. Likewise, new generations will follow with a similar resolve, venturing much toward boundless gain. Carey’s and Coke’s own writings appeal to mission senders today to equip and send young new pioneer missionaries toward a more sacrificial service unto God and his mission. Through insights gained from the reflections of Coke and Carey, senders face the two-fold challenge of addressing risk both technologically and spiritually, insisting the latter trump the former. In light of Coke and Carey, pioneers face an even more serious matter, how to personally respond to the urgent mission of God with wisdom and obedience.

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<sup>24</sup>Joseph Entwisle, *Memoir of the Rev. Joseph Entwisle, Fifty-Four Years a Wesleyan Minister; with Copious Extracts from His Journals and Correspondence, and Occasional Notices of Contemporary Events in the History of Methodism* (Bristol: N. Lomas, 1848), 304.



## APPENDIX 1

### WILLIAM CAREY JOURNAL ENTRIES: RISK AND SACRIFICE

Carey, William, and Terry G. Carter. *The Journal and Selected Letters of William Carey*.  
Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2000.

Entry Number. Page - Entry Date

1. Page 9 - Jan 15-16, 1794

There are many Serpents & Tigers, but Christ has said his followers shall take up serpents & etc. unhurt - in the Evening poured out my soul to God; but still my Burden continued - The next day had a pleasant time in prayer to God in the morning (but afterwards the abusive treatment I received from her who should be an help to me quite overcame my spirits, I was vexed, grieved, and shocked, I am sorry for her who never was hearty in the undertaking, her health has been much impaired, and her fears are great, tho five parts of six are groundless), towards Evening had (more) Calm both within and without; Oh that I may have Wisdom from above - the undertaking in which I am engaged is to me a Consolation & pleasure, and the Word of God is made sweeter by my Afflictions.<sup>1</sup>

2. Page 9 - Jan 17, 1794

“Went to Calcutta to Mr. T. for money but to no purpose - Was very much dejected all day. Have no relish for anything of the world, yet am swallowed up in its cares.”<sup>2</sup>

3. Page 11 - Jan 22, 1794

“My Wife is within this day or two Relapsed into her affliction, and is much worse than she was before, but in the Mount of the Lord is seen - I wish I had but more of God in my Soul, and felt more submission in my Heart to his Will.”<sup>3</sup>

4. Page 11 - Jan 23, 1794

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<sup>1</sup>In this passage Carey mentioned the daily danger of serpents and tigers. In addition he mentioned his own receipt of abusive treatment by his mentally ill wife.

<sup>2</sup>Financial troubles put Carey and his family at risk. Thomas, his missionary colleague, spent lavishly and used up the shared mission resources.

<sup>3</sup>His wife becomes progressively ill and verbally abuses Carey, deeply distressing him.

“If I now only labour alone, but even if I should lose my life in the undertaking - I anxiously desire the time when I shall so far know the Language as to preach in earnest to these people.”<sup>4</sup>

Now he is buying, & selling, and living at the Rate of I know not how much, I suppose 250 or 300 Rupees per Month; has 12 Servants, and this day is talking of keeping his Coach - I have remonstrated with him in vain, and I am almost afraid that he intends to throw up the Mission - how all things can be agreeable to a spiritual Mind I know not - but now all my Friends, are but one. I rejoice however that he is all sufficient and can supply all my wants, spiritual, and temporal, my Heart bleeds for him, for my Family, for the Society whose steadfastness must be shaken by this report, and for the success of Mission, which must receive a sad Blow from this; But why is my Soul disquieted within me, Things may turn out better than I expect, everything is known to God, and God cares for the Mission - O for Contentment, delight in God, and much of his fear before my Eyes - Bless God I feel peace within, and rejoice in having undertaken the Work & shall, I feel I shall.<sup>5</sup>

5. Page 34 - June 19, 1794

Resolved to write immediately to the Society in England, that they send me no more supplies, as I shall have an ample sufficiency. This gives me great pleasure as I hope they may the sooner be able to send another Mission somewhere, [and I should much recommend Sumatra or some of the Indian Islands, if they send to any part South or East of Bengal, it will be best to send them in a Foreign ship to Bengal, from whence their passage may be taken in a Country Ship to any place, and as we have houses here they may stay with either of us, till an opportunity offers which will save much expense.]<sup>6</sup>

6. Page 51 - Jan 30, 1795

My great Crime is neglect of God, & a spiritual stupidity; I always am best pleased when I feel most, but live from one day to another without seeing, or feeling, to any considerable degree. I am sure that my deadness and stupidity, want of a spirit to admire God, and honour him is the very reverse to that of Christianity. O may God make me a true Christian.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Carey acknowledged the risk of death and he directly tied this risk to his desire to learn the language in order to earnestly preach the gospel to the Indian people.

<sup>5</sup>Carey reflects on Mr. T's excessive spending and the resultant burden to Carey and God's gospel mission to the Indians.

<sup>6</sup>Carey was allocated a stipend, which gave him the freedom to give up his own mission support funds for the potential of other missionaries being sent to other lands.

<sup>7</sup>One of Carey's great sacrifices is what he describes as an overwhelming desperation for Christian community and encouragement from God's Word and corporate worship.

## APPENDIX 2

### THOMAS COKE JOURNAL ENTRIES: RISK AND SACRIFICE

Coke, Thomas. *The Journals of Dr. Thomas Coke*. Edited by John A. Vickers, Nashville: Kingswood, 2005.

Entry Number. Page - Entry Date

7. Page 26 - Sept 23, 1784 (Coke's first journey to North America)

“For the five last days, my brethren and myself tasted no flesh, nor hardly any kind of meat or drink that would stay upon our stomachs.”

8. Page 47 - March 9, 1785 (Coke's first journey to North America)

I did not observe that a tree brought down by the flood, lay across the landing place. I endeavoured but in vain, to drive my horse against the stream, and go round the tree. I was afraid to turn my horse's head to the stream, and afraid to go back. In this dilemma I thought it most prudent for me to lay hold on the tree, and go over it, the water being shallow on the other side of the tree. But I did not advert to the danger of loosening the tree from its hold. For no sooner did I execute my purpose so far as to lay hold of the tree, (and that instant the horse was carried from under me,) but the motion that I gave it, loosened it, and down the stream it instantly carried me...I was not jammed up for a considerable time (a few minutes appeared long at such a season) expecting that my strength would soon be exhausted, and I should drop between the tree and the branch. Here I pleaded aloud with God in good earnest; one promise which I particularly urged, I remember well, *Lo, I will be with you always, even to the end of the world*. I felt no fear at all of the pain of dying, or of death itself, or of hell, and yet I found an unwillingness to die. All my castles which I had built in the air for the benefit of my fellow-creatures, passed in regular array before my mind, and I could not consent to give them up.

9. Page 55 - April 8, 1785 (Coke's first journey to North America)

The testimony I bore in this place against slave-holding, provoked many of the unawakened to retire out of the barn, and to combine together to flog me (so they expressed it) as soon as I came out. A high-headed lady also went out, and told the rioters (as I was afterwards informed) that she would give fifty pounds, if they would give that little doctor one hundred lashes. When I came out, they surrounded me, but had only power to talk.

10. Page 72 - Oct 27, 1787 (Coke's first journey to West Indies)

Last night was the most tempestuous I ever knew at sea...This morning we found that the leak lets in more water than it did yesterday. I retired in the morning to meditate seriously on that circumstance. I considered, What reason have I to desire

to live? I have really forsaken all for Christ, and have neither motive nor desire to live but for the church of Christ. And why should my desires be so strong on that account? With what perfect ease can the Lord fill up my province with one that is infinitely better qualified? I am therefore willing to die. I do love my God, and have an indubitable assurance that whatever is wanting he will fully supply, before he takes me into the world of spirits.

11. Page 206 - Aug 6, 1796 (Coke's sixth visit to North-America)

However the cruel usage I received, brought on a fit of illness, which confined me to my bed for three days. During this time the Lord did truly speak to my heart. I received such instructions and blessings from him, as I shall never forget. O how was I weaned from the world and all its follies; and not only so, but became willing to be any thing or nothing, as the Lord pleased; to be employed or laid aside, as he judged proper. This was a spirit I was but little acquainted with before. I had sincerely loved God for many years and had no ambition but to be the instrument immediately and remotely of converting millions to him. I had been long willing to die, but not to be inactive while I lived. But now through the grace of God, I could say, "Thy will be done." At the same time I lost, I hope, none of my zeal. I still equally long for the conversion of souls: but I find myself entirely resigned in respect to the instruments he uses. I am sensible. I wanted all I have suffered. From that time I have hardly known which to thank my God most for, his open or disguised blessings; prosperity or adversity.

12. Page 261 - Feb 10, 1814 (Coke's journey to Ceylon)

We were all at breakfast, and an officer of our ship came in and informed us that several ships had hoisted their flag half-mast, as a signal of death. Our signal was immediately hoisted. But our whole company, who had previously known of Mrs. Ault's illness, concluded that the signals were raised on account of her death.

13. Page 267 - May 3, 1814 (The account by Coke's colleagues on Coke's death)<sup>1</sup>

Though sudden, his death was glorious: he died in the work of God, with his soul fired with an ardent desire and zeal for the enlargement of his church, and the Divine glory. For some time before his death, it appeared that he had no desire to live, but to see the Gospel established in Asia; and it is astonishing with what assiduity he pursued his object. Though near 67 years of age, in a short time he acquired so competent a knowledge of the Portuguese language, that he had written many sermons in it, and translated many hymns into it: this work he was engaged in but yesterday, and now is enjoying his reward.

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<sup>1</sup>Entries 13-15 are included in Vicker's publication of Coke's journal, Thomas Coke, *The Journals of Dr. Thomas Coke*, ed. John A. Vickers (Nashville: Kingswood, 2005). However, the primary source is an Appendix to Jonathan Crowther, *The Life of Thomas Coke: A Clergyman of the Church of England, but Who Laboured among the Wesleyan Methodists for the Last Thirty-Eight Years of His Life, and Who Died Suddenly on Shipboard, after Being Four Months at Sea, on His Passage to the East Indies, Whither He Was Conducting a Company of Christian Missionaries, of Whom He Was the Superintendent* (Leeds: Alex Cumming, 1815). The primary source is cited for each of these entries but they are included in this appendix along with Coke's journal entries.

14. Page 266-7 - May 3, 1814 (The account by Coke's colleagues on Coke's death)

This day God has visited us with a most awful and afflictive dispensation. Our highly esteemed and venerable leader is taken from us. Dr. Coke is dead. This morning he was found dead in his cabin. While we view every circumstance of this most distressing visitation, we are led to wonder and adore. The event would have been less alarming had he been encircled by his friends, who might have heard his latest testimony, received his dying instructions, and obtained directions how to proceed in the work of this great mission; but these advantages were not enjoyed, and we are now left to lament the departure of our Elijah, and to tremble for the cause of God. He is gone! and he is gone to receive a crown of righteousness that fadeth not away.

15. Page 268 - May 3, 1814 (The account by Coke's colleagues on Coke's death)

“His zeal, fortitude, and patience (in contending with difficulties which invariably stood in the way of so important an undertaking, from the above period till he left London,) are too well known by many in England to render any further information necessary.”

16. Page 273-4 - January 8, 1814 (Benjamin Clough's account of Coke's death.)

Yet, I believe, this kind of labour was too severe for a man of his advanced age in this hot climate; and I am sorry to add, not only from my own thoughts, but also from the evidence of the medical gentlemen on board, that it was one means of hastening his sudden death.

### APPENDIX 3

#### WILLIAM CAREY JOURNAL ENTRIES: RESOLUTE MOTIVATION

Carey, William, and Terry G. Carter. *The Journal and Selected Letters of William Carey*.  
Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2000.

Entry Number. Page - Entry Date

17. Page 7 - Jan 13, 1794

“We changed our minds, and from that moment my mind was fully determined to go up into the Country, and build me an hut, and live like the Natives; Mr. T. had entertained thoughts of settling (in his profession) at Calcutta...”<sup>1</sup>

18. Page 22 - Apr 5, 1794

“I am resolved to spend & be spent in the Work of my Lord Jesus Christ.”

19. Page 35 - June 30, 1794

And much concern lest I should become negligent after so great mercies; but if after God has so wonderfully made way for us, I should neglect the very work, for which I came here; the blackest brand of Guilt – infamy must lie upon my soul; found myself desirous of being entirely devoted to God and disposed of by him just as he pleases; I felt likewise much concern for the success of the Gospel among the Heathens.

20. Page 44 - Nov 3-4, 1794

“Feel in some measure humbled before God under a sense of my own unprofitableness. Yet am not without hope that the Lord may soon Work.” SIC

21. Page 44 - Nov 5, 1794

“Set out to Malda where I stayed till the 10th, had some return of the Fever - but preached twice on the Lord's Day, tho very weak and full of Pain.”

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<sup>1</sup>Carey broke from the other missionaries and set his face toward the jungles in a radical commitment to learn the language and live like the people.

22. Page 48-50 - Jan 25, 1795

“I bless God for some little revival of Soul and pleasure in the Work of God.”<sup>2</sup>

Carey, Eustace. *Memoir of William Carey, D.D.: Late Missionary to Bengal; Professor of Oriental Language in the College of Fort William, Calcutta*. London: Jackson and Walford, 1836.

23. Page 566-7 - May 17, 1831 (Eustace Carey's *Memoir* included a letter from Carey to his son Jabez.)

“I wish to be more entirely devoted to his service, more completely sanctified, and more habitually exercising all the Christian graces, and bringing forth the fruits of righteousness to praise and honour of that Saviour who gave his life a sacrifice for sin.”

24. Page 575-6 - April 13, 1836 (Letter by Carey's son, Jonathan to his cousin)

In discharging his work as translator, my father acquired habits of close and steady application, which enabled him to accomplish much. So scrupulous was he of his time, that, if overcome by sleep, he would double his vigilance to regain what he had lost. In Calcutta he formerly attended three days in the week in the discharge of his duties as professor; and such was his incessant attention to his studies, that three pundits were obliged alternately to attend him through the day; one in the morning before breakfast, who was relieved by another after breakfast, occupying his time till his college duties required his attendance. Upon his return from college, another attended him for the afternoon.

25. Page 585 - April 13, 1836 (Letter by Carey's son, Jonathan to his cousin)

“Often, during his illness, he lamented his unprofitableness, and was fearful he should prove a burden to others.”

26. Page 623 (Eustace Carey's reflections on a conversation with Carey)

He once said to me: 'Eustace, if, after my removal, anyone should think it worth his while to write my life, I will give you a criterion by which you may judge of its correctness. If he give me credit for being a plodder, he will describe me justly. Any thing beyond this will be too much. I can plod. I can persevere in any definite pursuit. To this I owe everything.' But, how few can plod! Many can devise a splendid scheme, a magnificent enterprise; but the plodder is the man who will rise to respect and eminence; and, should he live sufficiently long to effect his designs, will make the world his insolvent debtor.

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<sup>2</sup>Carey describes a day of preaching and encountering the lost, engaging them in dialogue about their lostness, the futility of idolatry and their need for redemption. Repeatedly, Carey's spirit was revived after days of despair, only after he was finally able to preach the gospel to the heathen, or when he had an encounter with the lost.

## APPENDIX 4

### THOMAS COKE PERSONAL LETTERS AND OTHER SOURCES: RESOLUTE MOTIVATION

Entwisle, Joseph. *Memoir of the Rev. Joseph Entwisle, Fifty-Four Years a Wesleyan Minister*. Bristol: N. Lomas, 1848, p. 304.

Included in Joseph Entwisle's *Memoir* is the following personal letter from Thomas Coke regarding Coke's resolve to lead a mission team to India and Ceylon. Entwisle's explanation about Coke's letter states, "Dr. Coke had long had his heart set upon an Indian Mission, and had repeatedly urged its establishment, but in vain. But being now persuaded that the set time to favour India was fully come, the ardour of his desire became irrepressible."

The following letter from Coke was intended as a circular to be shared with the Methodists in Dublin.

Dumfries, June 18, 1813

My very Dear and Esteemed Friend,

I am certainly going to India with the help of God, - to Ceylon in the first instance. How far we may afterwards stretch our borders, must depend upon Providence. After thirty-seven years' attachment of the most inviolable kind to our Connexion, and attention both at home and abroad to the business in which I have been employed by Mr. Wesley and the Conference, with incessant patience and perseverance, I believe that the Conference will not suffer me to go alone. And yet the will of God concerning me is so evident, that, as far as I know myself, I would rather be set down naked on the coast of Ceylon, to make my way from that spot, than not to go at all. I cannot sail till about October; and if the Conference think it best for me to raise all the money necessary for the whole onset, even of ten Missionaries, I would engage to do it. - I would engage absolutely, according to the vulgar adage, 'to bind or to find.' The Missionary Fund should be at no expense. \* \* \* I should have ten Missionaries to go with me, inclusive of a secretary, and of another companion, as a half-servant to travel with me. My own expenses I should bear myself, inclusive of the expenses of the two brethren, who on the above plan, would travel with me. But I would go with eight, with six, with four, with two, with one, with none. \* \* \* \*

I have been studying the Portuguese language for about six weeks, and part of the time with a Portuguese master: I can now pronounce the language as well as a native of Portugal. There is now nothing wanting but labour, which I find, I can easily and completely give.



\* \* \* \* Will you favour me with a letter at the preaching-house, Dublin. If you please, you may show this letter to any of the brethren. Methinks I could, if I had time, fill you a quire of paper on this subject. Adieu  
T. Coke.

Harvard, William Martin. *A Narrative of the Establishment and Progress of the Mission to Ceylon and India, Founded by the Late Rev. Thomas Coke, with an Intr. Sketch of the Natural, Civil, and Religious History of Ceylon*. London: for the author, 1823.

Included in Harvard's history of the Methodist work in South India is an account by Clough of an incident and a pattern he experienced with Thomas Coke in London. Upon receipt of encouraging news or letters of support Coke would pull aside and bow together with Clough and others present. Together with others Coke would celebrate prayerfully in great joy. Likewise Coke and the missionaries labored in prayer for the recipients of those missionary circulars (newsletters). Harvard's description of one such encounter between Clough and Coke follows:

Every request the Doctor made to any great personage, for the favour of a recommendatory letter in behalf of the mission, was formed in the spirit of prayer. Many of these letters of request were written by him in his carriage, as he travelled from place to place. My esteemed friend, Mr. Clough has informed me, that, when travelling with the Doctor, whenever, he had finished any important letter concerning the Mission, he was accustomed to pull down the blinds of the carriage, and say, "Come, Brother Clough, let us offer this letter to God, and pray that he may give it success."

I remember, on one occasion, being present with him in London, when some favourable and encouraging letter, affecting the Mission, was received by him, from a certain nobleman. The joy of his heart, as it beamed through his countenance, I must not attempt to describe. With the utmost simplicity, he hastened to an adjoining room, in which the missionary party were engaged in sealing some circular letters, and said to them, "I have just been favoured with a most delightful letter from the Lord ----. Come, let us unite to praise God, and to pray for blessings on the head of his Lordship." We then fell upon our knees; for we deeply participated in his joy and gratitude; while the Doctor, as the head of his missionary family, offered fervent praises to God, and ardently prayed for the choicest favours to fall on the liberal-minded subject of his prayers, and on all the kind and exalted individuals who had, in a similar manner, assisted to open our way. Who could have refrained from admiring and remembering such a scene? It was thus that Doctor Coke acknowledged the Lord in all his ways, in reference to the Mission; and we have all most blessedly proved, that the Lord did signally direct his paths."

Harvard, William Martin. *A Narrative of the Establishment and Progress of the Mission to Ceylon and India: Founded by the Late Rev. Thomas Coke, L.L.D., under the Direction of the Wesleyan-Methodist Conference, Including Notices of Bombay and the Superstitions of Various Religious Sects at That Presidency, and on the Continent of India, with an Introductory Sketch of the Natural, Civil, and Religious History of the Island of Ceylon*. London: printed for the author, 1823, 38-40

In Harvard's *A Narrative of the Establishment and Progress on the Missions to Ceylon* is Thomas Coke's final circular letter to mission supporters. The letter was sent as his final communication prior to Coke's incomplete mission journey to Ceylon.

London, Sept. 14, 1813

Dear Sir,

Permit me to recommend most earnestly to your consideration, our plan for the instituting of missions in Asia. I have, for about fourteen years, had a very ardent desire to visit Asia: Providence and grace have now opened the way. Our late Conference, after most mature deliberation, have chosen six missionaries to accompany me to that part of the globe; besides one whom they have appointed for the Cape of Good Hope; which last missionary I am to leave at the Cape in the course of our voyage. Two of the missionaries are to travel with me as my personal companions and attendants; one is to be stationed in Java; and three are to labour in the island of Ceylon. We have every reason to believe that considerable help will be obtained in those countries for the support of the missionaries, when they respectively entered on their fields of action. But the outfit will be very expensive. Let me, therefore, intreat you to grant us pecuniary aid on this important and extraordinary occasion. I need to urge upon you the innumerable arguments which have been published to the world in behalf of Asia, and particularly in favour of sixty millions of British subjects covered with heathenish darkness. Those arguments must have been too well known by you, and must have too much warmed your hearts to need a repetition.

Ceylon is most advantageously situated as our first grand out-post for the Asiatic work. It contains, within the British territories, according to Dr. Buchanan, five hundred thousand Christians, almost all of whom are as sheep without a shepherd. About a million of Pagans are mixed with these: the whole are an uncommonly docile people. The female sex are not immured within walls, as upon the Continent, and polygamy is prohibited by law. The Portuguese language, which four of the missionaries as well as myself are now learning, and of which the remaining three will soon enter upon the study, is spoken by a very large proportion of the inhabitants, as well as along the coast of the Indian continent. The Malabar language is also spoken in the island by a great number of the inhabitants, and will open to us, under grace, the whole western coast of India. Ceylon is within a few days sail of the kingdom of Travancore, where the Syrian Christians dwell. Those who have read that most excellent work of Dr. Buchanan, his "Christian Researches in Asia," must have been much instructed and entertained with his account of the Syriac Christians, who have derived the ordination of their Bishops and other ministers from the church of Antioch, one of the primitive churches. But this numerous body of professors are in want of pastors. Ceylon also is within thirty-nine miles of Tanjore, where the great Mr. Swartz and his associates laboured and left behind them about fifty thousand Christians; who are also, by the accounts which they themselves have transmitted to Europe, destitute, in a very considerable degree, of ministers of the gospel. I myself, with my two associates, and with the three other preachers who are to be settled in Ceylon on the itinerant plan, shall devote most of my time to the work in Ceylon: and if I live, though I have now devoted my life, under God, to the service of Asia, I shall be happy to make a visit to my favoured native island, to report to you the success which God shall be pleased to give us. In the mean time, I promise you, that we will lose no opportunities of sending you written accounts, from time to time, of every important circumstance relating to the progress of our missions.

And now, let me again intreat you to help us with the pecuniary aid. You may certainly consider the undertaking as of an extraordinary nature, and will, I hope, as far as prudence will justify, help us in an extraordinary manner. To urge to you the love of Jesus will be unnecessary: your own hearts will suggest to you every motive on that head, with a strength and with an affection which I am incapable of expressing.

I subscribe myself, with a great respect and love,

Dear Sir, your affectionate brother,

And humble servant,

T. Coke

## APPENDIX 5

### THOMAS COKE JOURNAL ENTRIES: RESOLUTE MOTIVATION

Coke, Thomas. *The Journals of Dr. Thomas Coke*. Edited by John A. Vickers, Nashville: Kingswood, 2005.

Entry Number. Page - Entry Date

27. Page 253 (From Coke's writing as he prepares to depart for Ceylon)

“Dead to Europe, and alive for India: 'methinks I had rather be set naked on the coast of Ceylon, without clothes, and without a friend, than not go there.”

28. Page 256 - (From Coke's writing as he prepares to depart for Ceylon)

I hasten to Asia with alacrity and joy. And yet I must confess, that if the clouds had been ever so obscure - if all human aid had apparently been withdrawn from those Missions, the interests of which are so deeply interwoven with the very strings of my heart - my divine call to Asia has been so indubitably clear, that I should have been obliged to have thrown everything into the hands of my God, and to have said to Him, 'Here I am, send me' to Asia.

29. Page 270-1 - Dec 10, 1813 (Brother Clough's account of Dr. Coke)

When he had collected his little party at Portsmouth, and they were all assembled round him, he lifted up his heart and hands to God, and broke forth in the following language: 'Here we are, all before God, now embarked in the most IMPORTANT and most GLORIOUS work in the world. Glory be ascribed to his Blessed Name, that he has given you to be my companions and assistants in carrying the Gospel to the poor Asiatics; and that he has not suffered PARENTS, BROTHERS, SISTERS, or the DEAREST FRIENDS to stop any of you from accompanying me to India.'

30A. Page 270-1 - Dec 10, 1813 (Brother Clough's account of Dr. Coke)

“He would frequently address himself to me, in language like the following: 'Brother Clough, what we are now doing, I am certain, is for God; and therefore what our hands find to do in this cause, let us do it with all our might.’”

30B. Page 270-1 - Dec 10, 1813 (Brother Clough's account of Dr. Coke)

“I beg your pardon, but excuse me, I am dead to all things but Asia.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Jonathan Crowther, *The Life of Thomas Coke: A Clergyman of the Church of England, but Who Laboured among the Wesleyan Methodists for the Last Thirty-Eight Years of His Life, and Who Died*

31. Page 272 - Dec 30, 1813 (Brother Clough's account of Dr. Coke)

When we had arrived safe on board, I was ready to conclude that every anxious thought had taken its flight from the Doctor; I procured the carpenter to fix up his bed; after he had taken proper refreshment he retired to rest, and slept as comfortably as they he had been on land.

32. Page 273 - Jan 8, 1814 (Brother Clough's account of Dr. Coke)

In the whole of his voyage, he seemed to live with his mind fixed on that passage, Eph. v.16, *Redeeming the time*. He had no idle moment, though in a ship: the work in which he was engaged occupied his attention next to communion with God; every action of the day tended to forward the work of God in Asia.

33. Page 274 - Jan 8, 1814 (Brother Clough's account of Dr. Coke)

The only way in which I can account for his unremitting labours is this: -- that as Asia had so long occupied his serious attention, and to send the Gospel to so great a number of immortal souls, who were in heathenish darkness and superstition, was now the chief concern of his life; as more than once, since we came on board, he had told me that if he had not succeeded in establishing the present Mission, he believed it would have broken his heart; but having so clear a discovery of the will of God on the subject, he cast himself upon his direction, fully persuaded that his way would be opened; and having so far succeeded, he took it as a proof of the divine approbation of the undertaking, and now determined to spend and be spent in so glorious a cause.

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*Suddenly on Shipboard, after Being Four Months at Sea, on His Passage to the East Indies, Whither He Was Conducting a Company of Christian Missionaries, of Whom He Was the Superintendent* (Leeds: Alex Cumming, 1815), 520.

## APPENDIX 6

### WILLIAM CAREY JOURNAL ENTRIES: EVANGELISM

Carey, William, and Terry G. Carter. *The Journal and Selected Letters of William Carey*.  
Macon, Ga.: Smyth & Helwys, 2000.

Entry Number. Page - Entry Date

34. Page 4 - June 16, 1793

“...had a dispute with a French Deist”

35. Page 5 - July 1, 1793

“...had a long Conversation with the Deist today - but never found a man so hardened and determined to turn Scripture into Ridicule as him - oh how dreadfully depraved is human Nature.” SIC

36. Page 5 - Aug 23, 1793

“Feel my heart set upon the great work upon which I am going - sometimes I am quite dejected when I see the Impenetrability of the Hearts of those with us - they hear us preach on the Lord's Day - but we are forced to witness their disregard to God all the Week - O may God give us greater success among the Heathen.”

37. Page 7 - Nov 9, 1793

To Day was the first time of an interview with the Hindus. Two Boats came to sell us Fish, and Mr. T (Thomas) asked the men in one of them whether they had any Shastras - their answer was, 'We are poor men - those who have many Cowries - (or are rich) read the Shastras but we do not know them' - I like their appearance very much. They appear to be intelligent persons tho of the lower caste - rather beneath the middle stature and appeared to be very attentive to whatever we said to them - we have not yet been ashore - but on Monday we intend, God willing to go - O may my Heart be prepared for our Work - and the Kingdom of Christ set up among the poor Hindus.

38. Page 14 - Nov 30, 1793

“The Blessings of the Gospel are far greater than we can think unless we discourse with those who never had them.”

39. Page 21 - March 29, 1793

“I feel a burning desire that all the World may know this God and serve him.”

## APPENDIX 7

### WILLIAM CAREY *MEMOIR*: VARIOUS TOPICS

Carey, Eusatce. *Memoir of William Carey, D.D.: Late Missionary to Bengal; Professor of Oriental Language in the College of Fort William, Calcutta*. London: Jackson and Walford, 1836.

Entry Number. Page - Entry Date

M1. Page 577 April 13, 1836 (Letter from Jonathan Carey to his cousin - preaching)

In the work of preaching, my father was actively employed, both at Serampore and in Calcutta. At the former place he preached in the chapel on the mission premises, in English and in the Bengali language; and in English at the Danish church, and at Calcutta; he preached, also, at the Loll bazaar chapel in both languages; and devoted one evening exclusively to hearing, and giving counsel to inquirers.

M2. Page 581-2 April 13, 1836 (Letter from Jonathan Carey to his cousin - ministry)

To all classes of people he was mild and tender in his deportment; and with those who were of the 'household of faith,' he particularly sympathized in all their sorrows and joys; and relieved the wants of the distressed, as far as he was able, out of the small sum he reserved to himself; and if this failed, he never let them go without his advice and condolence.

M3. Page 623 April 13, 1836 (Eustace Carey's reflections on Carey – evangelism)

In his preaching he was more remarkable than any man I ever knew, for his choice of plain and elementary subjects. He found them the life of his own spirit, and never seemed to imagine they could be exhausted or become trite in the estimation of others. The gratuitous justification of a sinner before God, for Jesus Christ's sake, with the motives and the duties it originates, formed the grand basis of his ministry, and suggest almost every topic upon which he dwelt. His manner of treating his subjects was always easy and natural. His introduction would be clearly explanatory of the sense of the sacred writer, and of the precise portion of scripture then under discussion; and by a very few simple sentences, and the easiest possible division, he would approach his subject, and lay open its principal moral so clearly, that none, by any chance, could mistake it. There was no excursiveness, it is acknowledged, no great variety and range in his illustrations of his subjects; nor was there, as indeed may be well supposed, from the character of his mind, the least approach to the imaginative and the poetic. There was no style about him in anything. He never seemed to think of it. The things he said and did must intrinsically recommend themselves. His diction was contracted, his voice inharmonious, and his manner somewhat rustic and without ease, yet never offensive. He commended 'the truth to every man's conscience in the sight of God;' but it was by its naked exhibition. The

superficial, therefore, and the unthinking, would be little likely to receive much impression; and all who heard him must have been sensible of the almost entire absence of those melting and sweet attractions with which Christ himself so commonly invested the doctrines he promulged and the duties he enjoined, and which caused his hearers to wonder at the gracious words proceeding out of his mouth. It was this, which called forth the following quaint remark from Mr. Hall, of Arnsby, when criticizing upon his pulpit exercises: 'Brother Carey, you have no *likes* in your sermons. Christ taught that the kingdom of heaven was *like* to leaven hid in meal, like to a grain of mustard, &c. (sic.) You tell us what things are; but never, what they are like.'

M3. Page 262 Jan 13, 1796 (Carey offers to support Coke's work - evangelism)  
In Carey's letter to the Baptist Missionary Society on January 13, 1796 he actually mentions Coke. Carey is reporting and casting vision for global evangelism. He mentions Butan and other areas of South Asia. Coke suggests that if Coke is planning to send missionaries, the Baptists (probably from his own funds) should support Coke and his missionaries in South Asia. This letter is evidence of at least a desire to collaborate with Coke and the Methodists.

I wish, with all my soul, that three or four young men and their families were settled among the Bootan people, and four on Rajemal Hills. Dr. Coke talked of sending missionaries there; and if he did, we should be bound to help them all in our power. At present, indeed, we have but maintenance for ourselves, for the indigo was almost all drowned by the flood of last year: otherwise, we had agreed together to lay out about L300 of our profits in printing the gospel, in such parts as are ready; and other large sums we had both appropriated to similar purposes. Indeed it is possible that one good season would enable me to pay all my debts and furnish me with overplus. When I am out of debt, however, I intend to have less to do with indigo than I have now, for the sake of the work of the mission. I was obliged to borrow L100 last month to send to a lawyer, who perhaps had put me in jail before now, if I had not been in my present connexion and circumstances.

M4. Page 266-7 Mudnabatty, June 17, 1796 (To Andrew Fuller – addressing accusations)  
A growing tension occurred between the BMS and the missionaries. The Moravians and other missionaries such as Carey had adopted a policy of sustaining themselves financially on the field. Carey was forced into it by Thomas' imprudence and mismanagement of their resources. Most of what Carey, Marshman and Ward earned, they pushed into ministry and Bible production. Nevertheless Andrew Fuller found himself serving as a buffer to placate the false accusations that Carey and Thomas were only concerned with earning a good living in India. Carey was often in the unenviable position of having to defend Thomas (Mr. T.) over his indebtedness.

I feel very much, lest the friends of religion should faint at our want of success; and, by the doubts, &c., which I find have been plentiful, on account of our engaging in business, I fear some such discouragement has already taken place. I hardly think it worth while to notice the slander, that we are become slave-drivers; but observe, that there are no slaves allowed in this country. The inhabitants are as free as in England, for what I see, and are paid their full earnings: indeed, were it refused, the English laws would oblige to it. But Mr. G \_\_\_\_\_'s opposition to the work I think abominable: if any one wounds Mr. Thomas, he wounds me; and when this man answers every inquiry with "I could say—but" – or "I say nothing about Mr. T., because I shall be thought prejudiced;" this is wounding his character deeper by a half-silence than he could possibly do by the most direct accusation. The fact is this, as can be proved by a long correspondence between him and Mr. T., now in



preservation, that Mr. T. left a much more lucrative employment, and the society of his family, at Mr. G.'s desire, to preach the gospel among the natives; who afterwards, because he would not conform to his peremptory dictates, in matters which he could not conscientiously do, cut off all his supplies, and left him to shift for himself in a foreign land, and is now, by inuendos, ruining his character. I feel nothing at what he says of my credulity and sanguineness. . . .

Mr. T. and I are men, and fallible; but we can only desert the work of preaching the world of life to the Hindus with our lives, and are determined, through grace, to hold on, though our discouragements were a thousand times greater than they are. We have the same ground of hope with our brethren in England, viz., the promise, power, and faithfulness of God; for unless his mercy break the heart of stone, either in England, India, or Africa, nothing will be done effectually; and he can as easily convert a superstitious Brahmun as an Englishman. . . .

I think it is very important to send more missionaries hither. We may die soon, and if we have no successors in the work, it will be a lamentable circumstance, and very much retard the spread of the gospel. It is very important to have a succession to hold forth the word of life where the work is begun.

I am obliged to finish, as the post is going; but must say, that the pleasure afforded by the two missionaries being sent to Africa is very great; and much heightened by the account of the other denominations of Christians uniting in a society to send the word of life to the South Seas. Surely God is on his way. If success does not immediately attend every effort, do not be discouraged. God will surely appear, and build up Zion!

M5. Page 270-1 Mudnabatty, Nov 16, 1796 (To Andrew Fuller – evangelism)  
Carey shared with Andrew Fuller an exciting recurring trend of locals showing more interest in the gospel as a result of Carey's consistent witness.

The natives who appear under concern here, are all Mussulmans. I went out one Monday morning, when a poor labouring man, named Sookman, very earnestly desired to know "what he must do to be saved." Two more made the same inquiry, adding, "We heard you yesterday, when you, having showed the danger we were in of going to hell, inquired 'Wither will you flee from his spirit? Wither will you flee from his presence?' We knew we were unacquainted with the way of life, and our peers (cannonized saints, long since dead) cannot help us; for if the master be angry, what can the servant do? How shall we be saved?" I talked much with them almost every day; but two, whose names were Tuphanee, and Jungloo, soon ceased their inquiries. Sookman still gives me hope, though it is three months since the inquiry began. I wrote this immediately to brother Thomas who informed me that some were also inquiring at Moypal. (Thomas and Carey were each managing Indigo factories in two different locations.) When brother Fountain (new missionary who died shortly after his arrival) arrived, I went over with him; and I am sure he saw much more encouragement the first sabbath than we had seen in three years. Three people there are under very hopeful concern indeed; they are all labourers, Mussulmans; their names are Yardee, Doorgottea, and another whose name I have forgotten. There was another named Assamtulla, and a blind woman; but these do not appear so hopeful to me as the others. Yardee is a man of good natural abilities, and has a great aptness in conveying his ideas, and is a blessing to the rest; the other two have nothing of those fine natural abilities that Yardee appears to have, but the work seems to be solid. I was in hopes of sending you an account of their baptism, but that has not yet taken place. I however expect it soon. There is a stir at Moypal

all around the country, and many come to hear the word; I suppose near a hundred. Here it is not so, and poor Sookman stands alone.

M6. Page 272 Mudnabatty, Nov 16, 1796 (To Andrew Fuller – mission strategy)  
Carey proposed to Andrew Fuller that Baptists adopt a strategy similar to the Moravians. Several families should live together sharing locally earned support, having all things in common and ministering as a team.

I will now propose to you, what I would recommend to the Society; you will find it similar to what the Moravians do. Seven or eight families can be maintained for nearly the same expense as one, if this method be pursued. I then earnestly entreat the society to set their faces this way, and send out more missionaries. . . . and it is absolutely necessary for the wives of missionaries to be as hearty in the work as their husbands. (Obviously Carey's wife was not.) Our families should be considered nurseries for the mission; and among us should be a person capable of teaching school, so as to educate our children. I recommend all living together, in a number of little straw houses, forming a line or square, and of having nothing of our own, but all the general stock. One or two should be selected stewards to preside over all the management, which should, with respect to eating, drinking, working, worship, learning, preaching, excursions, &c., be reduced to fixed rules. Should the above-mentioned natives join us, all should be considered equal, and all come under the same regulations.

In the work of missions, especially in the education department, as much depends upon the endowments and devotedness of females, as upon those of their husbands. The work of female education in India is conducted entirely by the wives of missionaries, or by such pious females as are sent out under the auspices of different institutions for that purpose.

M7. Page 278-9 Mudnabatty, Nov 16, 1796 (To Andrew Fuller – mission platform)  
Carey explained to Fuller that business platform was a real issue in India. Carey was not there in the official capacity as a missionary. In fact when he arrived, he had to disembark far from land, re-embark on fishing boats, which took his family up the Hoogly River, so as not to be detected and arrested by the British. Even though officials (Sir John Shore) knew that Carey was a missionary, Carey was registered as an Indigo professional.

Query, also, whether it will be better at once to avow our errand, or to do as we have hitherto done, that is, appear as a people of a secular profession; for it is necessary to specify our abode and employment. Though Sir John Shore well knows our real business, yet we have always been denominated indigo-makers hitherto. By-the-bye, I have heard some very favourable accounts of Sir John Shore's possessing genuine religion in his heart; he is certainly very friendly to Mr. Brown, and Mr. Brown speaks very highly of him.

M8. Page 281 Mudnabatty, Nov 16, 1796 (To Andrew Fuller – sacrifice and risk)  
Carey explained to Fuller that his family is well, even though he has lost a son.

My family are well. I have lost one son, and had one son born since here, so that my number is now four. . . . I am very low respecting the progress of the work of God. Yet we have never had so much reason for encouragement as we have now; and I trust we have some general revival in our own souls. I love the work and trust it will triumph.

M9. Page 282-3 Mudnabatty, Nov 22, 1796 (To Sutcliff – fall of a convert)  
Carey explained to Sutcliff that one of his trusted converts and laborers in the work, Ram Ram Boshu had committed adultery and was relieved of his duty with Carey.

We have had great discouragements, especially through the fall of poor Ram Ram Boshu, who was guilty of adultery, and is gone far from us. Mohun Chund was with me; but I had supported him some months, and found that my income would not be sufficient to continue to do so. My schoolmaster also went with Moonshi, so that at once Moonshi and Mohun Chund went away, and the school was broken up.

M10. Page 286 Mudnabatty, Nov 8, 1796 (From Fountain to Fuller – Carey’s ministry)  
Shortly on the mission field with Carey, the new missionary, Fountain describes what he has observed in Carey’s life and ministry.

Arrived at Mudnabatty on the 10<sup>th</sup> of October. Brother Carey most kindly received me. When I entered, his Pundit stood by him, teaching him Sanscrit. He labours in the translation of the scriptures, and has nearly finished the New Testament, being somewhere about the middle of Revelations. He keeps the grand end in view, which first induced him to leave his country, and those Christian friends he still dearly loves. He reads a chapter and expounds, every morning, to twelve or sixteen person. On a Sabbath morning, he also expounds, and preaches twice in the day besides to forty or fifty persons; after which, he often goes into some village in the evening. In the intervals of preaching to the natives, we have worship in English. He indeed appears to be the character he describes in his publication, where he says, “A Christian minister is a person who, in a peculiar sense, is not his own; he is the servant of God, and therefore ought to be wholly devoted to him.”

M11. Page 287 Mudnabatty, Nov 11, 1796 (Fountain to BMS – against accusations)  
Carey had been accused by people in England of being distracted by wealth, due to his work at the indigo factory and his other means of earning an income for himself and the mission work. Fountain refutes those accusations.

As to brother Carey, his very soul is absorbed in the work of the mission. His dear friends in England had no ground for their fears, that riches might alienate his heart from that work. He does not possess them. I am persuaded there is not a man who has not learned to deny himself but would prefer his situation when at Leicester to that in this country. But he, like a Christian minister, as described in his own publication, considers himself as having “solemnly undertaken to be always engaged as much as possible in the Lord’s work, and not to choose his own pleasure or employment, or pursue the ministry as a thing which is to serve his own ends or interests, or as a kind of by-work. He has told me, that whatever his future circumstances may be, he durst not lay by a shilling for his children, for his all is devoted to God. The utmost harmony and love subsist between him and brother Thomas. They are fellow-labourers in the gospel of the grace of God.

M12. Page 293 Mudnabatty, Dec 20, 1796 (From Carey – risks for indigenous believers)  
Carey grieved over the lack of fruit in his ministry and he commiserated over the high cost that locals must pay to receive Christ and join the church. They must commune with other believers, which in their culture meant to lose their caste. Even eating with foreigners would mean losing caste. Later in the same passage he again defends his earning of income to pay for the ministry.

My work as a missionary is not so successful as I wish; and yet I trust we are neither of us (I or Mr. Thomas) without seals to our ministry: though so great is the

difficulty of losing caste for the Lord Jesus, that none have yet avowed his name by an open profession, and joining us as a church of Christ. . . .

We must not expect, I suppose, ever to see each other in this world any more. I account this my own country now, and have not the least inclination to leave it, though repeated experience proves to me that I have nothing to expect in it but a bare living. Yet even this is as much as I ever did expect, or indeed wish for, except for the sake of being more extensively useful. But I am well satisfied, and only mention this to rectify a mistaken opinion of our having grown rich in India, perhaps originating from my mentioning what might probably be our income. We are neither rich, nor in situations equal to what mine was at Leicester, considering the great losses we have met with from large floods, and the amazing expense of servants necessary here.

M13. Page 298 Mudnabatty, March 23, 1797 (To Andrew Fuller – business platform)  
John Fountain was denied by the British permission to remain in India. Thomas and Carey were both granted permits, even though they entered illegally. Carey and Thomas both have legitimate secular work. Carey explains Fountain's position.

Mr. Fountain applied for these covenants, but, not being able to ascertain that he was in any employment, was refused; the covenants are granted to Mr. Thomas, myself, and Mr. Powel. I hope Mr. F. may obtain them after a time; but you see by this that some worldly employment is necessary to our being permitted to remain in this country.

M14. Page 299-307 Mudnabatty, March 23, 1797 (To Fuller – mission to Bhutan)  
Mr. Thomas and Carey together returned from a glorious pioneer mission trip to Bhutan. They met with many challenges, including spending much time in the home of officers who needed to walk them through many processes of approval. Included are some humorous accounts of Carey's attempts to swallow unpalatable foods such as ghee and tea cakes and a foot-long strip of bacon, so pungent as to be able to smell it at a great distance. He describes an extravagant procession of horses and musicians, attendants and celebrants. Two or three thousand Hindus joined the procession. They met with the Grand Lama and Soobah, a man of high stature. When eating, the Soobah attempted to imitate every mannerism of the Europeans before him. He had obviously never eaten in their style but he copied Carey's and Thomas's every move. There was a heated exchange between the Soobah and a lesser dignitary regarding Carey's presence there. Carey makes some anthropological and linguistic observations regarding the interactions between the Hindus and the Bhutanese. He and Thomas carry on a debate about whether or not Tibet and Bhutan are the same country.

Mr. Thomas and myself are just arrived at home from an excursion to Bootan, in which we preached Christ in many places, where his name was never heard before, and were attended to with great ardour. The name of our Redeemer has been declared in that unknown country, and we have the greatest encouragement to hope a mission may be begun to great advantage in those parts. I will relate a little of our expedition. (See *Memoir* for a very interesting pioneer mission trip report.)

M15. Page 437 Serampore, Dec. 22, 1800 (To Sutcliff – evangelism)  
Mr. Thomas and Carey had been witnessing with Krishnu and Gokul. The following excerpts describe the joy of their decision to follow Christ. The important symbol of eating together is practiced as a sign of disavowing the bondage of caste and joining in the fellowship of the family of God. This practice, on which the missionaries insisted, drew a sharp contrast between believers and those who were merely seeking. It also

created conflict between new believers and the Hindu community. Following this brief account is a long description of the testimonies of new believers. The December 23rd entry then describes a great disruption that is occurring in the community over the testimonies of the new believers. There are threats of violence upon Krishnu in particular. Rumors spread that Krishnu and two others were imprisoned. Carey appeals to the governor to provide a guard for Krishnu the following night.

Gokul and Krishnu have this day thrown away their caste. They came on purpose to eat with us, and, after a few minutes spent in prayer by me, Krishnu, Gokul, and brother Thomas, they sat down to table, and ate with us in the presence of all. They, with the two women, will come to-night, to give in their experience, and next Lord's day I expect to baptize four natives, Mr. Fernandez (a Portuguese), and my son Felix.

M16. Page 440-1 Serampore, Dec. 23, 1800 (To Sutcliff – risk and evangelism)  
After the persecution and threat of violence to new believers Marshman and Carey and William Carey, Jr. went to visit two marketplace congregations (Carey referred to the places he regularly preached to the lost as if they were already churches) three miles from the mission base. Carey's entry recounts his apologetic encounter with a group of Hindus.

I told them some accounts of the vile characters of their gods, as recorded in their Shastras (sacred writings), and said, these cannot be gods. I quoted Seeb's ignorance of the churning of the ocean, and the abuse that his wife Doorga poured upon him on that account. They were ashamed; but I said, I cannot help it; they are the words of your books; I did not make those books. They wished, as they often do, to see a sign or miracle, in confirmation of our mission. I asked them if they had not a guardian god to their town. They said, "Yes, Panchanon." I asked, is he a wooden one or made of stone? They said, "Who can tell what God is made of?" I said, what is the thing you worship made of? "Stone." Well, if it is God, I cannot injure it. Now, if the people of the town will agree to it, I will try whether he is God or not. I will bring a large hammer, and, if I cannot break him to pieces, you are right. If I can, your god is gone, and you are undeceived. I had on the road made a similar proposal, with respect to Juggunath; but, as he was a wooden one, I proposed to burn him.

M17. Page 441 Serampore, Dec. 29, 1800 (To Sutcliff – risk and evangelism)  
Carey records the joyous experience of baptizing his son Felix along with Krishnu Pal, the first Hindu-background believer in Jesus Christ. Due to persecution of Gokul, his baptism was delayed. The two women who had also confessed Christ decided to delay their baptism in the face of the persecution.

Yesterday was a day of great joy. I had the happiness to desecrate Gunga (the sacred Ganges River), by baptizing the first Hindu, viz., Krishnu, and my son Felix: some circumstances turned up to delay the baptism of Gokul, and the two women. Gokul's wife came on Saturday to make a trial what could be done towards getting him back; and the women, who stood persecution very stoutly, were brought to a state of hesitation, by the tears and entreaties of their relations. We went to them again and again, but though they all declared themselves stedfast on the side of Christ, they wished to defer their baptism a week or two. Krishnu's coming forward, alone, however, gave us very great pleasure, and his joy at both ordinances was very great.

Sunday, December 28th had been a full day. The entry for the 29th mentioned that even after a full week of testimonies of new believers, ensuing imprisonment and persecution,

and then baptism of Felix and Krishnu, the missionaries preached Sunday evening in several other locations. Beyond that, at least Krishnu had gone back to Gokul that day to encourage the new other believers toward pursue baptism. We learn in subsequent entries that Gokul's baptism was delayed until June 7th of the following year. Krishnu's thirteen year-old daughter began to seriously consider Christ. Unfortunately, relatives of a man from Calcutta to whom her family had long committed her in marriage murdered the girls because of her interest in Christ. As a seeker of Jesus she was no longer willing to marry an unbeliever.

I afterwards went with brother Marshman; we preached in the street, each to a congregation of Bengalis, while brother Ward and Felix went to Krishnu's house. I preached in the evening to a good congregation of Hindus, Mussulmans, Portuguese, Greeks, and Armenians. . . . After worship, Krishnu came to inform us that both Gokul and the women were again fully set to engage in the ordinance the first opportunity, which we expect in a Sabbath or two, when Mr. Fernandez has arrived. Krishnu's daughter, a young person of thirteen, appears to be under impressions (considering Christ) of a serious nature.

Thus you see, God is making way for us, and giving success to the word of his grace! We have toiled long, and have met with many discouragements; but, at last, the Lord has appeared for us. May we have the true spirit of nurses, to train them up in the words of faith and sound doctrine! I have no fear of any one, however, in this respect, but myself. I feel much concerned that they may act worthy of their vocation, and also, that they may be able to teach others. I think it becomes us to make the most of every one whom the Lord gives us.

M18. Page 451 Serampore, June 15, 1801 (To Ryland – indigenous evangelism)  
In a letter to Ryland, Carey illustrates the manner in which discipleship and spiritual multiplication is occurring.

The manner in which our Hindu friends recommend the gospel to others is very pleasing. They speak of the love of Christ in suffering and dying, and this appears to be all in all with them. Their conversation with others is somewhat like the following. A man says, "Well, Krishnu, you have left off all the customs of your ancestors; what is the reason?" Krishnu says, "Only have patience, and I will inform you. I am a great sinner. I tried the Hindu worship, but got no good: after a while, I heard of Christ, that he was incarnate, laboured much, and at last laid down his life for sinners. I thought, What love is this! And here I made my resting-place. Now say, if anything like this love was ever shown by any of your gods? Did Doorga, or Kalee, or Krishnu die for sinners? You know that they only sought their own ease, and had no love for anyone." This is the simple way in which they confront others; and none can answer except by railing, which they bear patiently, and glory in.

M19. Page 456-62 Serampore, November 1801 (To Carey's sisters – evangelism)  
In this letter Carey reports the deaths of four of his colleagues, translations of scripture and the advance of the work. He describes the shared, open style of community shared by the missionaries along with their indigenous believers. Carey reports, "We now form a public family; and we have been blessed with outward things far beyond what any one of us ever expected. Yet we have no private property; and it is happy that we have not, as I believe the existence of the mission depends, in a very great degree, on our never engaging in private trade, or any thing which shall divide us from the common families of missionaries." Regarding the deaths of missionaries Carey laments, "Moreover, I have outlived four of my brethren, Mr. Grant, Mr. Fountain, Mr. Brundson, and last of all, Mr.

Thomas, who died October 13th last. I know not why so fruitless a tree is preserved; but the Lord is too wise to err.”

M20. Page 463-5 Calcutta, Sept. 21, 1803 (To Sutcliff – translation and evangelism)  
Carey discusses a controversy over the indigenous word chosen for baptism. Society members debated, in their ignorance of the language, a rumor that the word “drowned” had been chosen. Carey refutes the rumor. The example serves as an example of the misunderstandings that develop between senders and sent. Eustace Carey explains that Roman Catholics accentuated the rumor because Carey chose not to transliterate “baptism” in local dialects. Instead, Carey used the actual word “immerse,” a source of division between Carey and paedobaptists. Carey’s own Society appears to have misunderstood the controversy. Carey reports the following developments:

The Lord has blessed us with twenty-five native church-members, who are all baptized on a profession of their faith. They do not all afford us equal pleasure, and we have been under the necessity of suspending some from communion for a time. Yet with all their imperfections, they are our glory and joy. We have hope of one or two more; and, though things have not been so lively for these three months past as for some time before, yet we are not quite left. I hope the school, which is set up for the benefit of the natives, will not be in vain. It has had much to struggle with, but has existed and rather increased hitherto, and a degree of gospel knowledge has been communicated thereby. Our boarding-school (providing regular income), for the support of the mission, I esteem as one of the most essential parts of the mission itself. It now consists of thirty-five scholars, most of whom, if not all, may be expected to spend their days in India, to all of whom the Bengali or Hindusthani language is vernacular, and some of whom we may expect to be converted, according to the common course of Providence.

M21. Page 469 Calcutta, Feb. 27, 1804 (To Fuller – pain and unrest)  
Carey reveals his mixture of hope and discouragement. His response to the frustration was a call to “a season of prayer and humiliation of soul, and of serious individual examination.” In the same correspondence Carey reports translations underway in Hindusthani, Persian, Mahratta, and Oolkul languages as well as the plan to initiate even more translations. He also initiates with Fuller the plan to create mission outposts or sub-stations.

M22. Page 475-6 Dec. 10, 1805 (To Fuller – progress and opposition)  
Carey was very positive about his year, reporting the baptism of thirteen indigenous believers during November and 35-36 others baptized in 1805. In the same correspondence Carey reported official opposition by a judge in Dacca who prohibited the distribution of scripture, in spite of throngs of people asking for the Bibles. Carey also reported that the British and foreign Bible Society formally requested the collaboration of Brown, Buchanan, Marshman and Ward. “This has been the most prosperous year that the mission has yet seen.” He continued, “I think about thirty-five or thirty-six have been baptized within the year; nor do I know of any season in which so many other propitious circumstances have combined in favour of the work.”<sup>1</sup> In the same entry he mentioned opposition, “I mentioned a recent circumstance, in which the judge of the city of Dacca

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<sup>1</sup>Eustace Carey, *Memoir of William Carey, D.D.: Late Missionary to Bengal; Professor of Oriental Language in the College of Fort William, Calcutta* (London: Jackson and Walford, 1836), 475.

forbad brother Moore and my son William from distributing books, though the people were so eager to get them, that they were obliged to moor their boat out from the shore to prevent its being sunk by the crowd.”<sup>2</sup>

M23. Page 479 Dec. 31, 1805 (To Carey’s Sisters – cost of missions)

Carey personally expresses the reality that he will die in India without ever returning to India. He expresses no regrets.

I shall never more see either of you in this world; indeed, considering the work which lies before me here, and the loud calls to exert all my powers, if I had a thousand bodies as strong as this, I dare not entertain a thought or wish of seeing any my friends any more while I am here below. I enjoy very good health and spirits in general.

M24. Page 483 Serampore, Sept. 2, 1806 (Missionaries to the Society–opposition)

The government in Calcutta takes a blatant stand of opposition against expatriate and indigenous preaching of the gospel. The Mission relays Carey’s confrontation with two justices of the peace in Calcutta.

As he (Carey) was leaving the office, Mr. Blaquiere (Justice of the Peace) called him back, and said that he had been directed by the governor-general to express to him his desire that he would not interfere with prejudices of the natives by preaching to them, instructing them, or distributing books or pamphlets among them; that he would desire his colleagues to observe the same line of conduct; and that he would not permit the converted natives to go into the country to spread Christianity among the people. Brother Carey inquired if this communication had been made in writing, and was answered in the negative. He then assured the magistrate that we would endeavour to conform to the wishes of government in all that we conscientiously could.

This prohibition is to us extremely distressing; and is rendered more so by the encouraging circumstances among the natives which we have already mentioned.

As we have scrupulously refrained from intermeddling with politics, we are at a loss to assign any adequate cause of this sudden change. . . .

However great our inclination might be, there is one part of the wish of the governor-general with which we are unable to comply: we mean that which requires us to prevent converted natives from dissemination Christianity. Native Christians are settled in different places through the greatest part of Bengal; and we are by law prohibited to go where they reside. Being, therefore, unable to speak to them on the subject, compliance is out of our power.

The long report on this official obstruction to the mission concludes with a visit by Mr. Brown to the magistrate. The magistrate denies any official complaint against the mission and frees them of any restrictions. They are cleared to operate as they were from Serampore, to circulate scriptures and to preach and teach from house to house or in the Lal Bazar (Calcutta). The indigenous workers were cleared to teach and preach wherever they desired as long as they were not sent out at the orders of Serampore. They too could preach in the marketplaces as long as they obtained permission. During 1806 and 1807

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 476.



the organized and official opposition to the preaching of the gospel mounted, including an official order to remove the printer from Serampore to Calcutta.

M25. Page 495 Calcutta, October 14, 1807 (To Fuller – official opposition)

Carey reports progress in the battle with the government over a writ to force the closure of printing operations at Serampore.

I however rejoice to inform you, that the storm is gone over. On Tuesday last, the governor of Serampore received a letter from government, revoking their order for the removal of the press to Calcutta, and only requiring to be apprised of what we print, as the productions of our press are designed for distribution within the British territories. We shall send copies of what we intend to print to the governor of Serampore, who will transmit them to the British government. . . . There are, however, many here who would rejoice to see Christianity wholly expelled the country, and, particularly, to see any embarrassment thrown in our way. We, therefore have no security but in God.

M26. Page 498-500 Calcutta, Jan. 18, 1808 (To Sutcliff – resolve and global vision)

Dorothy died in December 1807, due to a fever. Having endured several years of opposition and now the inevitable loss of Dorothy, Carey recounts the blessings of God: “We are all overwhelmed with distress; but I am persuaded that we all felt a reliance on God, such as we have scarcely witnessed before.”

Carey compares the state of India and the gospel when he arrived, with the current status of the work:

I have lately made a comparison between the state of India when I first landed here, and its present state, as it respects the progress of the gospel; which I shall send you. When I arrived, I knew of no person in Bengal who cared about the gospel, except Mr. Brown, Mr. Udney, Mr. Creighton, Mr. Grant, and Mr. Brown, an indigo planter, besides brother Thomas and myself. There might be more, and probably were, though unknown to me. There are now in India thirty-two ministers of the gospel.

The Bible is now translated into, and printed in, the following languages: Sunscrit, Bengali, Mahratta, Orissa, Hindusthani, Guzeratti, Chinese, Seek, Telinga, Kurnata, Burman, and Persian.

The language on the continent, into which a translation is not yet begun, are, Nepaul, Bhootan, including Tibet, Assam, Arrakan, Pegur, Siam, Cambodia, and, perhaps, two or three more, of which I am not informed. In the idlands, they are numerous; viz., three languages in Sumatra, one at least, in Java, that of Borneo, Timor, perhaps ten more in Moluccas, that of the Philippines, and a few others; in all about thirty. . . . All this must be done, and men must be provided to carry these translations to the different countries, before the millennium, which cannot be far off.

M27. Page 521-2 March 12, 1812 (To Eustace Carey – resolute motivation)

Carey writes to his nephew Eustace (the author of Memoir) encouraging him to come serve the Lord in India. Evidently, Carey went to sleep after the opening paragraph. He awoke the next morning to learn of the devastating news of the complete destruction by fire of the printing house.

I am fully of opinion that every person to whom God has given abilities for the work, is bound to devote himself to the work of the ministry. It is not at the option of such a person whether he will engage in it or not, nor is it at the option of a

church whether it will send one to the work of ministry upon whom God has bestowed spiritual gifts. If the church neglect to send such a member into ministry, the guilt lies on them. The number of persons now required to spread the gospel through the earth, is unspeakably great. If fifty thousand ministers, besides those actually employed, were now to go forth, they would be so thinly spread about, as scarcely to be perceived. The harvest is indeed great, but the labourers are very few.

I began this letter last night; this morning I close it hastily, having received intelligence of a dreadful loss which befell the mission last night. Our printing office was totally consumed by fire; and all the property, amounting to at least sixty or seventy thousand rupees, was destroyed; nothing was saved but the presses. This is a heavy blow, as it will put a stop to our labours in printing the scriptures, for a long time to come. Twelve months' hard labour will not put it in the state it was in, not to mention the loss of property, manuscripts, and other things, which we shall scarcely ever surmount. I wish to be still, and know that the Lord is God, and to bow to his divine will in every thing. He will, no doubt, bring good out of this evil, and make it the occasion of promoting his interest; but to us, at present, the providence is exceedingly dark. Through divine mercy, no lives were lost. We cannot tell what was the cause of the fire.

M28. Page 522-5 March 25, 1812 (To Fuller – resolute motivation after the fire)

The destruction of the printing operation by fire set the work back, yet the mission goes to work assessing and rebuilding to begin again. In this letter Carey takes inventory of the damage and reconstruction process. He also mentions that during the same period of time several members of the extended mission family have suffered devastating personal loss. Chamberlain lost all of his children within nine months. Mardon lost his wife then his youngest child. Ward lost his daughter and Marshman lost his youngest son. In all, during the fire the presses were saved, though they lost some of the oriental and English types and punches. Production can begin quickly in one language and in a second language within a month. The missionaries will use the melted metal to recast some of the lettering and have borrowed others from Calcutta. None of the sources of income was lost and no one died in the fire. The manufacturing of indigenous paper was not impacted. Carey is grateful for the strong expressions of kindness by the native community. The enormous losses, which Carey estimated would require twelve months of his own effort, were the manuscripts in Telinga, Kurnata, Sikh, Sunscrit and Assam.

We have all of us been supported under the affliction, and preserved from discouragement. To me, the consideration of the divine sovereignty and wisdom has been very supporting; and, indeed, I have usually been supported under afflictions by feeling that I and mine are in the hands of an infinitely wise God.

M29. Page 528-9 April 9, 1812 (To Robert Hall – resolute motivation and church plants)  
Continuing to report about the destruction of the fire, Carey writes to the current pastor of his own former congregation at Leicester – the church so troubled that Carey had to disband it, restart it and eventually see the benefit of reorganizing under a Particular Baptist covenant membership. The following church planting report is to Hall, pastor of his former church:

There are now belonging to the mission twelve churches, viz.: three in Hindusthan, at Agra, Digga, and Patna; five in Bengal, viz.: Dinagepore, Gomalti, Cutwa, Jessore, and Serampore, including Calcutta; one in Orissa; one at Rangoon; one in Java; at Samarang; and one in the Isle of Mauritius and Bourbon. Some of these are

in a prosperous state, and only two which are very low. There is prospect of several other churches being formed.

M30. Page 531-2 March 25, 1813 (To Fuller – resolute motivation and Bible translations) Carey reports additional languages he is pursuing: a Punjabi grammar (in the press), Kurnata grammar (nearly ready), Kashmir (North Indian), Pushto (Afghan language), Billochi and Orissa. He is also correcting his son Felix’s Burmese grammar.

M31. Page 533 August 3, 1814 (To Carey’s Sisters–resolute motivation) “The cause of missions and of the Bible is the cause of God, and will prevail to the lasting ignominy of all who oppose it.” Carey continues, calling upon the phrase he used in that famous sermon before the launch of the Society, “The Lord has done great things for India, both here and in England. Here religion, which formerly had scarcely an existence, lives and prevails.” Carey sizes up the work in South Asia as follows, “I look round on the nations on all sides; see translations of the Bible either begun or finished in twenty-five languages at our house, and hope to be able to secure the other languages spoken around us, when I hope all will hear in their own tongues the wonderful works of God.”

M32. Page 535-36 May 17, 1815 (To Fuller – humble, resolute motivation) Carey writes with a self-degradation that is sincere.

What I have always lamented as the great crime of which I am constantly guilty, is want of love of Christ. That fervency of spirit which many feel, that constant activity in the ways of God, and that hunger and thirst after righteousness which constitutes the life and soul of religion, I scarcely feel at all, or if I do perceive a small degree of it, its constinuanance is so short, and its operations so feeble, that I can scarcely consider it as forming a part of my character. I live a kind of mechanical life, going through the labours of each day as I should go through any other work, but in a great measure destitute of that energy which makes every duty a pleasure.

At the present time my labour is greater than at any former period. We have now translations of the Bible going forward in twenty-seven languages, all of which are in the press except two or three. The labour of correcting and revising all of them lies on me. I have lately been fully convinced of the necessity of having some brother associated with me in this department of the work, who shall be in some manner initiated into my ideas; and if I should be laid aside by sickness, or removed by death, should take charge of this department of the work.

## APPENDIX 8

### THOMAS COKE JOURNALS AND LETTERS: MISCELLANY

Coke, Thomas. *The Journals of Dr. Thomas Coke*. Edited by John A. Vickers, Nashville: Kingswood, 2005.

Entry Number. Page - Entry Date

43. Page 255 - End of 1813 (From an undated section at the beginning of his journal.)  
“In the dining room our number is twenty-six, inclusive of the Captain and his two first officers. They are very polite; but oh! We want to save souls.”

44. Page 255 - End of 1813 (From an undated section at the beginning of his journal.)  
“Mahometans. The gospel-door, as it respects that people, seems entirely shut. Their religion was established by the sword, and I fear that the sword must go through their nations before they will bow to the sceptre of Jesus.”

45. Page 269-70 (Coke's colleagues recounted events leading to Coke's death.)

He received a stronger and clearer evidence of the will of God on this subject in May 1813, and was then more especially convinced of the absolute necessity of adopting immediate measures to hasten that important period, when the heathen shall be given to our Lord Christ.

46. Page 272 - Dec 30, 1813 (Brother Clough's account of Dr. Coke)

The next morning he rose, and commenced his usual practice, as one amidst busy multitudes alone. . . . The ship's company began soon to notice him as being a singular character. . . . The Doctor seemed alike unmoved, and pursued his labors of prayer, study, reading and writing, with as much settled composure of mind, as though he had been on land. Now it was the Doctor, who had been to the present a suspected person, began to gain the good opinion, attention, and even respect of all the passengers. His polite and easy address, his attainments in literature, were conspicuous traits in his character; and these, together with the sacred office which he sustained, attracted the veneration of all.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas Coke, *The Journals of Dr. Thomas Coke*, ed. John A. Vickers (Nashville: Kingswood, 2005), 272.

47. Page 274 - Jan 8, 1814

When he had the soldiers together who desired to flee from the wrath to come, how lovingly and earnestly he would address them! And how fervently would he address the Lord Jesus on their behalf! These little meetings he considered as the dawns of the Gospel in the East.<sup>2</sup>

48. Page 26 - February 24, 1784 (Coke's Journal)

This morning I was hungry, and breakfasted on water gruel. I now begin to recover my strength, and employ myself in reading the Life of Francis Xavier. O for a soul like his! But, glory to God, there is nothing impossible with him. I seem to want the wings of an eagle, and the voice of a trumpet, that I may proclaim the gospel through the East and West, and the North and the South.

Coke, Thomas. *Extracts of the Journals of the Rev. Dr. Coke's Five Visits to America*. London: Paramore, 1793.

49. America Voyage, page 8 - Sep. 25, 1784 (Traveling Sep. 18 to Nov. 3)

“A sailor dangerously ill affords us an opportunity of visiting the crew in the steerage, and preaching to them through him the Lord Jesus Christ.”

50. America Voyage, page 8 - Oct. 3, 1784 (Sailing from King-Road for New York.)

Brother Veasey this morning, described to the sailors the tremendous transactions of the day of judgment; and in the afternoon I endeavoured to make them sensible of the necessity of being born again. They gave apparent attention, and that is all I can say. We also distributed among them, the *Word to a Sailor*.

51. America Voyage, page 10 - Oct. 4, 1784 (Sailing from King-Road for New York.)

“I have finished the life of David Brainerd. The most surprising circumstance in the whole, I think, is this, that the great work which (by the blessing of God) he wrought among the Indians, was all done through the medium of an interpreter.”

52. America Voyage, page 10 - Oct. 22, 1784 (Sailing from King-Road for New York.)

“The Lord has I trust now given us one soul among the sailors; that of Richard Haze. His mother lived in Stepney, near London, and was a member of our Society. I believe he is in a measure awakened, blessed be God, by our ministry.”

53. America Voyage, page 10 - Nov. 14, 1784 (Sailing from King-Road for New York.)

Coke tells of his first encounter with Francis Asbury, who would eventually be named by John Wesley as co-bishop (along with Coke) of American Methodists. Coke was preaching at Barret's-Chapel on Sunday morning. After his sermon he met Asbury for the first time.

After the sermon, a plain, robust man came up to me in the pulpit, and kissed: I thought it could be no other than Mr. Asbury, and I was not deceived. . . . Mr.

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 274.

Asbury has also drawn up for me a route of about eight hundred or a thousand miles in the mean time. He has given me his black (Harry by name) and borrowed an excellent horse for me.

Harry was a freedman who being illiterate, memorized large portions of scripture and became a famous preacher in his own right.

Coke, Thomas. *The Journals of Dr. Thomas Coke*. Edited by John A. Vickers, Nashville: Kingswood, 2005.

54. Letter to Charles Grant, page 69-71 – Jan. 25, 1786 (Missions in Bengal.)

Coke wrote to Charles Grant, a retired director of the East India Company, after a meeting with retired Danish missionary Christian Friedrich Schwartz. Coke sought information about the work in Bengal and about the potential of launching a future Methodist mission. He also explains the distinct Methodist approach of evangelism, which he portrays as less involved with Civil Powers.

We have gone on what appears, at first sight at least, to be a more evangelical plan. Our missionaries have not at all concerned themselves with applications to the Civil Power. They have been exact in their submission to all its laws, and laid themselves out in the most extensive manner for God.

We have thought the plan on which the Danish and Moravian missionaries have proceeded, (whose piety, intentions and abilities we greatly admire) has no resemblance to that of the Apostles and their successors. In all the places, which we have hitherto visited, we have gone to the high ways and hedges to compel sinners to come in. In the public fields and streets we have proclaimed the gospel in the midst of great persecutions, and sinners have frequently fallen down in a most wonderful manner under the word: and I believe the majority of those in our Society do experience the assurance of faith. At the same time, every prudential method that is Consistent with a plan of extensive usefulness should be observed.<sup>3</sup>

55. Letter to Ezekiel Cooper, page 113-115 – Oct. 30, 1789 – from Bristol.

In this letter, found in Duke University's David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Thomas Coke wrote to Ezekiel Cooper about the work in England, Virginian, and Maryland, as well as in Ireland, and in the West Indies. Coke discussed his motivation for missions. He pointed to the work in America and calls Methodist to robust zeal in preaching the gospel among the lost. In this letter he mentioned his own motivation to see the glory of God spread throughout the earth. He also mentioned his motivation to participate in the return of Christ and his Millennial reign.

And now my dear brother and friends let me entreat you to continue your zeal for God and his cause: Be much in prayer: much in the exercise of the presence of God. The enemies of the Church of Christ are alas! too active. SIC Let us be as active and if possible more so in the best of causes and for the best of masters; and our Lord will make us the honoured instruments of wresting the prey out of the hands of the might. Never fear: God is and will be for us; and I believe will make the Methodist Connection the grand instrument of bringing in the much to be wished for, the most

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<sup>3</sup>Thomas Coke, *The Letters of Dr. Thomas Coke*, ed. John A. Vickers (Nashville: Kingswood, 2013), 69-71.

ardently to be prayed for Millennium. O that we may be found faithful that we may esteem it an honour to be instruments in any measure in the hands of God for the hastening of his benign plan of general happiness!

Bear me frequently in your mind before the throne: lift up your feeble but faithful friend on the sacrifice of your faith. He (Coke) longs to see the whole continent flame with the glory of God: and he never forgets the work in which you are engaged. Through the blessing of God he (Coke) will see you face to face again if the Lord permit: and through the grace of God we shall meet where the parting shall be no more.<sup>4</sup>

56. Letter to Joseph Sutcliffe, page 117 – Jan. 16, 1790 – Honduras mission. Upon return from America, Coke writes with enthusiasm about a proposed mission to the Bay of Honduras in South America. “The Bay of Honduras is about three days Sail from Jamaica. If the Mission takes place, I intend to visit the Bay in about ten months after the arrival of the Missionary.”<sup>5</sup> Coke appeals to Sutcliffe to join him on the mission to Honduras.

57. Letter to Thomas Morrell, page 121-122 – June 23, 1790 – hastening the day. Coke writes to Thomas Morrell revealing his own eschatological motivation for missions. He also emphasizes the importance of prayer in missions.

Take care to keep up the spirit and exercise of prayer, which I have with great delight observed among the preachers each time I have visited America; and exhort your fellow-laborers to preserve the same spirit, and to exert themselves in the same divine exercise. Prayer is the key which opens the kingdom of heaven to believers; yea, it brings down the gift of faith into the soul; yea, it sets up a little heaven in the heart.

Surely you cannot be mistaken in the signs of the times. The Lord is hastening apace the great Millennium, when Christ shall reign with his ancients gloriously a thousand years. O that you and I may be the subjects of that reign! Or, at least, enjoy the sight of it out of paradise. Endeavour to quicken the people to live up to the privilege of this dispensation, by preserving and retaining the perfect love of God. One of the most sure signs of the approach of the Millennium will be the having a multitude of real possessors of that might blessing in our Society.<sup>6</sup>

58. Letter to Bishop William White, page 133 – April 24, 1791 – American Separation. After receiving much British criticism, Coke regretted his earlier participation in the separation of American Methodism. His letter to Bishop William White reveals his duplicity on the matter.

In consequence of this, I am not sure but I went further in the separation of our Church in America, than Mr. Wesley, from whom I had received my commission,

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 113-14.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 117.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 121-23.

did intend. He did indeed solemnly invest me, as far as he had a right so to do, with Episcopal Authority, but did not intend, I think, that an entire separation should take place. He being pressed by our friends on this side of the water for ministers to administer the sacraments to them, (there being very few clergy of the Church of England than in the States) he went farther, I am sure, than he would have gone, if he had foreseen some events which followed. And this I am certain of – that he is now sorry for the separation.<sup>7</sup>

59. Letter to Samuel Bradburn, page 164 – May 30, 1792 – begging for missions. Coke wrote, apparently with contempt, about his endless role of fund-raising for missions. He mentioned “begging for missions” in numerous references as follows, “I intended writing a long letter to you in answer to your first, but continual travelling, preaching & begging for Missions, prevented it.”<sup>8</sup>

60. Letter to Mary Fletch, page 657-8 – Dec. 28, 1811 – begging for missions. Mrs. Ann Coke wrote to her friend about her husband’s complete dedication to fund-raising for missions, “My dear husband’s time is so occupied with the great & very important work of the Missions in which his whole soul is engaged that he is obliged to sacrifice many employments & enjoyments that would be very grateful to him.”<sup>9</sup>

61. Letter to George Highfield, page 659-61 – Jan. 28, 1812 – begging for missions. Thomas Coke wrote to George Highfield about his solicitation of funds for missions. Part of his begging involved writing letters day and night, appealing for funds.

But nothing shall interrupt my labors in begging. When I received Mr. Blanchard’s letter informing me that the Fund was above £4,000 in debt, it robbed me of rest for 2 nights. And I could not pacify myself, till I had resolved to sacrifice all my literary labours and to be nothing but a preacher and a beggar, and to beg morning & afternoon.<sup>10</sup>

62. Letter to Ezekiel Cooper, page 157-8 – Nov. 22, 1791 – The Work in Africa. In this letter Coke relates his plans for work in Sierra Leone. Ultimately the plan failed and would be re-launched after Coke’s death. Ezekiel Cooper, by the way, was a Methodist itinerant in 1784. Cooper was stationed at Annapolis Circuit.

We are going to send missionaries to Sierra Leone in Africa, where the English are establishing a very capital settlement. The Company has chosen two chaplains. One

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 133.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 164.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 657-58.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 659-60.



of them is a zealous Methodist preacher of my recommendation. Four of our young exhorters are also going over.<sup>11</sup>

63. Letter to Samuel Bradburn, page 164 – May 30, 1792 – begging for money. In this letter to an itinerant since 1774 and superintendent of the Birmingham Circuit from 1791-92, Coke relates his frenzied travel for the purpose of “begging for the Missions.”<sup>12</sup> This letter was written after John Wesley’s death and after Coke was passed over for the office of president during the 1791 Conference of Methodists.

I intended writing a long letter to you in answer to your first, but continual travelling, preaching and begging for the Missions, prevented it. The last, tho’ dated May 2, did not come to hand till Sunday last, on my return from Bristol. In the intermediate time it (I) had travelled from Manchester to London, to Bristol, to Plymouth-Dock, to Falmouth, then back to Bristol, and then to London. The Plan which I have fixed already is as follows: May 31 Bedford. June 1 Northampton. 2. Leicester. 4. Sheffield and Rotherham. 11. Wakefield. 12. Halifax. 13 Leeds. (he obviously overlooked 14) 15. York. 16. Hull.<sup>13</sup>

64. Letter to American preachers, page 185-6 – July 23, 1794 – learned French to preach. In this letter to Coke indicated that he learned French in order to preach in the heart language of the French, particularly the prisoners of war.

I am now devoting much of my time in order to make myself a perfect of the French language, that we may exert our utmost efforts for the saving of souls in France, when in the Providence of God peace is established. Added to all this, the raising the necessary fund for our Missions in the West Indies, entirely lies upon me.<sup>14</sup>

65. Letter to Thomas Williams, page 218-20 – April 5, 1797 – dissolution of funds. In this letter to his attorney, Coke recounted the considerable personal wealth that he invested in missions. Coke mentioned that practically all that remained of his wealth was his library and his mortgage. In essence, Coke instructed his attorney to dissolve his property in order to spend it all on missions.

Now I am going to take my leave of Europe, I will inform you of my temporal circumstances: by the considerable sums which I have myself given from time to time in my zeal for the preaching of the gospel in the different parts of the world, I shall not have now more of my fortune remaining, after settling all my affairs, than the Coity Mortgage, if you except my library, which may be worth two or three hundred pounds. You see therefore the necessity I am under of taking that small sum over with me, notwithstanding I am conscious of it that I shall have my travelling expenses borne in America. I might according to the judgement of the world have done better in more respects than one, but I have long consecrated all I

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 157-58.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 164.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 185-86.

am and have to God, and the many thousands of poor heathens I have been the instrument of bringing to Christ, infinitely more than compensate for all my losses and sufferings, nor has the Lord left my ministry without success among professors of Christianity in different parts of the world.<sup>15</sup>

66. Letter to John Pawson, page 222-7 – Nov. 10, 1797 – Coke taken hostage. The letter conveys Coke's captivity by a French privateer. Privateers were authorized by letters of marque to attack and capture enemy vessels.

I have sent you an account of my being captured by a French privateer, extracted from my Journals. . . . I hope I shall be able to sail for Falmouth from New York, in the December Packet. . . .

On Sunday, the 29<sup>th</sup> of October, about half past three in the afternoon, two sail appeared in view, both of them brigs; one of which, as we afterwards found, was from the States of America, bound for Guadaloupe, and soon sailed from the other, which immediately made towards us. . . . It was now near sunset, and the suspense we were in, during the absence of our boat, was truly solemn. . . .

In about half an hour, the boat returned, filled with Frenchmen; all our sailors were sent to the privateer. . . . Our captain's feelings for his passengers, and his desire to save what he could for our use, was rather ill-judged, as our lives as well as our property lay entirely at their mercy. . . .

The captain saw himself, as the world would term it, a ruined man; his ship lost, and his affairs in America in great confusion, and requiring his immediate presence, but he bore the whole with surprising patience. . . . The great end, therefore, of this adventure appeared to be, on the whole, that through the grace of God, we might be perfected by sufferings. Though I felt no fear, yet the events were so sudden and momentous, that it may be easily imagined, the following night was not favourable to sleep. These and such like thoughts and reasonings possessed my mind: "Should I not have the fullest confidence in my God, that he will never prove, or afflict, or try me, beyond my strength; that he always proportions my afflictions: and gives his chastisements as he does his favours, in weight and measure; that in afflicting me, he wills not to destroy me, but to purify and save me, and qualify me for abundantly greater usefulness in his church; that he who assists me himself bears the crosses, which he himself imposes upon me; that he chastises me as a father, and not as a judge; that the same rod which gives the wound, brings the oil and honey to soften it? He knows all the characters of my heart, and, as in afflicting me, his will in Christ Jesus is my sanctification; he knows how far to lay the burden upon me. Alas! What other design can my gracious Lord have in afflicting me? Is he cruel God, who takes pleasure in the suffering of his servants, or of any of his creatures? Is he barbarous tyrant, who finds his grandeur and safety only in the tears and blood of the subjects who adore him? . . . It is then for my benefit alone that he punishes and chastises me; his tenderness suffers, if I may so speak, from my woes, and yet his love is so just and wise, that he still leaves me to suffer, because he foresees that by terminating my afflictions, he would, in the end, increase my misery, and prevent my usefulness and glory. He is like a skilful surgeon, who has pity indeed on the crise and sufferings of his patient, and yet cuts to the quick all that he finds corrupted in the wound: he is never more kind and beneficent, than when he appears

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 218-20.

to be most severe; and it is indubitably evident that my afflictions are necessary and useful to me, since a God so good and so kind can resolve to lay them upon me. . . .

Our kind friend, the captain, then came down to us, and informed us of the whole, observing that he could not now even order dinner for us, but that we must be contented with anything, and everything, they were pleased to send us. . . . We, therefore, went into their state-room to prayer; and the Lord, we can truly say, was present with us; he heard our cry, and about noon a signal was made by the privateer, to speak with our ship, and orders were given, that the passengers should be sent on board this brig. The boat was ordered out, and now began the scene of plunder, in spite of all commands of the captain of the privateer, if such commands were given; two of them searched me (one of them especially) in a manner which it would be shocking to modesty to describe. They did not leave me so much as a single sixpence. . . . But the Lord had mercy upon us, for I have no doubt but the insolence of the privateer's men would have daily increased. I would just remark, as another kind of interference of the good providence of God, that as soon as our boat hosted out to carry us to the brig, a violent storm of wind and hail commenced; I candidly confess, I prayed as earnestly to the Lord on that occasion, as I ever did in my life. The storm soon abated, and during the short interval between the two gales (the last of which continued) we were delivered from our captivity.<sup>16</sup>

67. Letter to The Earl of Liverpool, page 308-10 – May. 29, 1801 – Bermuda restrictions. Coke wrote a series of letters to various government officials regarding the oppressive laws on the Island of Bermuda. The laws restricted the activities of any Ministers not ordained by the Church of England.

Permit me most humbly to lie at your Lordship's feet, and to trouble you once more without offence in respect to the persecuting law lately passed in the Island of Bermuda.

For the Government of that Island to exclude all Ministers and Preachers who have not been ordained by the Church of England or the Church of Scotland, from preaching, exhorting, etc. under severe penalties, is, I conceive, (I write with the greatest deference) directly contrary to the Letter of the Toleration-Act, which I believe binds the whole Empire except his Majesty's possessions in the East Indies and the Norman Isles; and contrary to the spirit of the British Constitutions and the universal practice of the Illustrious House of Hanover.

The other parts of the law, which inflict severe punishments on those who receive into their houses persons of the above description for the purpose of instructing others; and which prohibit under severe fines and imprisonment any persons to teach youth, or even to write or print any thing upon the Gospels, except those who are ordained as above; proceed more extensively in persecutions of the Protestants.<sup>17</sup>

68. Letter from Asbury to Coke, page 431-33 – May 7, 1806 – New York. Francis Asbury, who did not write nearly as often as Coke, wrote an affectionate letter to Coke, reflecting on the challenging circumstances under which the two men had preached the gospel in America.

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 222-27.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 308-10.

I feel the happiness of seeing each other again, can we ever forget the days and nights we have sweetly spent together; spirits sweetly joined, and not a jar, unless Diotrephes's here, or there, formed for discord, whisper'd evilly. Ah my brother the deep rivers, creeks, swamps, and deserts we have travelled together, and glad to find a light to hear the voice of human, or domestick (SIC) creature; the mountain rains, and chilling colds or burning heats, to say nothing of the perils of the deep. How oft you have stemmed the flood, the vast Atlantic with Colubmbian courage. Only be thou faithful unto death and Jesus will give thee the crown of life, Life eternal Life!<sup>18</sup>

69. To Chancellor, Baron Erskine, page 450-55 – Sep. 24, 1806 – Bristol.  
Coke wrote a letter appealing to the Chancellor on behalf of some of his Methodist ministers who were being persecuted. John Knowles, for example, was an itinerant on the Island of Jersey, who was banished. The persecution occurred related to forced military exercises by all men on Sundays.

But now the persecution is begun again and our English Societies are destitute of divine services in their usual way, by the banishment of their Minister. . . .

I do assure you that the Societies, late in connexion (SIC) with the Rev. John Wesley, are from principle a most loyal people. Permit me to respass upon your patience by giving your Lordship a few proofs, our of many, of my assertion. . . .

I assure you, my Lord, I am persuaded that our exiled minister is a very virtuous and loyal man, and that his only fault, if it was a fault, was his delivering his sentiments against performing the military exercises and evolutions on the Lord's Day. . . .

The Commisioner-in-chief informed Mr. Knowles, the exiled minister, that if he would bring a recommendation from a higher power, he would permit him to preach as usual.<sup>19</sup>

70. To General George Don, page 469-71 – Oct. 19, 1806 – Isle of Jersey.  
Coke wrote a letter appealing to the lieutenant general of Jersey, George Don. The letter addresses the same issue of persecution and banishment from the abovementioned letter. Coke takes a forthright stand, confronting respectfully and clearly his legal and moral case against the persecution and banishment of the Methodist preachers.

Now, Sir, we consider it as contrary to the Scriptures to perform the military exercises and evolutions on the Lord's Day. We will suppose this to be a false scruple of conscience: yet it is with us a matter of conscience: and we should in general, (I believe I may venture to say,) suffer anything, even death, rather than comply. We believe that there is a great difference of criminality between different vices. But that is not the point with us: the question is, whether we shall please or displease God, or whether we shall obey God or Man? When this is the alternative, we would I believe, in general suffer any thing rather than wound our conscience.

Your Excellency very probably may have heard of the very dreadful persecution which was carried on some years ago against our people in Jersey, on account of the

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 431-32.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 450-55.

above point of conscience – many of them thrust into the cells which were in general appropriated for malefactors under sentence of death, while the hot sun shone upon them with such force (for it was in the hot weather) that their constitutions were materially injured.<sup>20</sup>

71. To The Missionary Committee, page 477-81 – Dec. 18, 1806 – Helston.

In his letter to the Missionary Committee, Coke outlined his plans for launching a mission to India. Having learned from Colonel William Sandy's that Great Britain would not permit missionary work in British controlled India, Coke determined to begin Methodist work in areas outside of British control.

The first missionaries might probably go to the Danish settlements, in the first place (that is, land there) in a Danish ship from the Thames, as the Danish East India men, I find, generally or very frequently touch on England and remain a little time in the Thames. Tranquebar which belongs to Denmark, is within 200 miles of the settlements of the Greek Hindoo Christians.

The men I have in my eye, are Mr. (William) Fish, now in Bristol, Mr. Andrew Hamilton, Jr., now (the) book steward in Dublin, and Mr. Murdock, or two of them. Mr. Fish expressed to me his willingness to go, if the way was clear.

72. To Bishop Asbury, page 540-42 – Feb. 3, 1808 – Near Leeds.

In his letter to the Francis Asbury, Coke mentioned his sense of homelessness. Coke and his wife spend so much time on the road visiting churches and begging money for missions that they barely rest in their own bed.

My precious wife and I are continually on the wing. We have no home but God, and he is indeed our home, our constant home, our comfortable home, our dwellingplace, our tabernacle, our heaven here below, our all in all. Glory, for ever glory be to his name! She unites with me in love to you and our brethren, the preachers. God bless you! Pray for us.<sup>21</sup>

73. To Robert Carr Brackenbury, page 543-45 – Feb. 7, 1808 – Harrogate.

In light of persecution of the Methodist mission work in Jamaica, Coke provides an articulate explanation of the spiritual battle for the glory of God.

Awful times, very awful time, you may depend upon it, my dear Sir, are at hand: and we, as a nation, have cause to tremble. If the seeds of persecution do not exist in the nation, we shall not, I believe, fall into the hands of man. But if they do, woe be to us! The Lord Jesus is at this time peculiarly jealous for his own glory. He has drawn the glittering sword, and I am afraid it never will be sheathed till it has done its complete work. But why should we be afraid. The war, the death, the pestilence, all proclaim his coming. And is it not the cry of every pious sould, Come, Lord Jesus, O come quickly? If we be safe in the cleft of the Rock, we need [not] be afraid of anything that can happen.

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 469-70.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 540-42.

By this day's Post I received intelligence that the Government of Jamaica is determined to crush our work entirely. Brother Gilgrass, whom you saw at Raithby-Hall, was committed to prison for a month. Bother Knowlan, another of the Missionaries, would have been imprisoned at the same time if he had not lain very ill.<sup>22</sup>

74. To Missionary Committee, page 577-79 – July 28, 1809 – Lakefield.

Coke wrote this letter as he found himself delayed in Ireland due to the Embargo Act of 1807, prohibiting US Ships from sailing to foreign ports. His letter speaks of the need for more laborers in Jamaica.

I beg of you, dear Brethren, to mention this to the Conference, that a door may be kept open for the employment of them (missionaries for Jamaica), if any of them assent to go.

We certainly should take Jamaica into serious consideration. Two preachers more, if possible, should be appointed for that island.<sup>23</sup>

75. To Missionary Committee, page 598-600 – Nov. 29, 1809 – Sheffield.

Coke wrote another letter about the challenging work in Jamaica. Two new Methodist workers foolishly signed a legal document essentially admitting the guilt of their predecessors in doing wrong by preaching the gospel. In their legal document, they promised not to do the same. Coke was very upset with their foolish decision.

The Jamaica business exceedingly affects my mind. It robbed me of about two or three hours sleep last night. . . . But it was dreadful for him to sign a petition noticing belief and reports in disfavour of his predecessors, and promising to behave better, sealing in effect their imaginary guilt. The missionaries have committed themselves. . . . It may perhaps be best for Brother Johnston to preach in the chapel, and to suffer imprisonment for a month, and then to remain quiet, till after preachers arrive. Do as you please in this matter, and join me with yourselves in the directions sent over. But let us not sacrifice the eternal interests of half a million of our fellow creatures to delicacies of feeling for individuals who have acted most foolishly.<sup>24</sup>

76. From Francis Asbury, page 649 – Nov. 27, 1811 – Georgia.

Francis Asbury wrote of his desire to preach the gospel throughout North America.

Should my life be spared a few years, I shall push to preach the gospel in all the world of America, though I should find it three thousand miles in length and as many in breadth. I long to preach the gospel to all the British, Spanish, and the United States of America. I hope the Lord will open an effectual door for thousands in your happy isle, by village missionaries, or other ways and means.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 543-45.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 577-79.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 598-600.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 649.

77. To The Missionary Committee, page 652-655 – Dec. 26, 1811 – Birmingham. In this long letter Coke commented on the state of various missionary efforts including: West Indies, Africa, and French prisoners. A considerable portion of this report dealt with financial issues. Coke has clearly expended considerable personal resources to cover the mission work. Regarding the failed Africa mission, he liquidated his own assets, including annuities, in order to cover what he considered his own ill-planned mission to Africa. Coke seemed to be no lover of meetings and unnecessary reporting. In his letter, Coke applies a monetary amount to every hour spent writing reports, attending meetings or even selecting hymns for the meeting. He even calculated that the time spent writing this letter cost the General Missions Fund three hours of begging time. The Friday meetings that he was obliged to attend costs the mission fund £20 that could otherwise have been earned in Coke's solicitation of missions funds. He was stridently fixated on the cost to missions for every superfluous activity in which he engaged.

In respect to the African missions. I never engaged (it is a perfect mistake to suppose it, my dear Brethren) that I would pay all the expenses of those missions out of my own pocket. . . . I engaged to raise all the money necessary for the support of that work without any application whatever to the General Fund; and I engaged no more. . . . I have gone much too far already this year – 1811. I have expended twelve hundred pounds more than my annual income. To meet this, I was obliged to dispose of two of my redeemable annuities, producing £120 per annum, which were to have made a part of the £1000 per annum, which I intended to secure to the Preachers' Fund. . . . In respect to the French Missions. I did engage in the Conference, exactly as I engaged for the African Missions, that I would raise all the money necessary for them, without any application to the General Fund. . . . Mr. George Walker, I know, looks to me for the payment of his bond, and if [I] do not take care to raise that money, I shall be obliged to pay the thousand pounds out of my own pocket. I would not intrude upon you, my respected friends, by saying if you take up that Bond I will send you what I have raised, and make it up £1000 on a loan to the fund, for what end would that answer. . . . I hardly know what to do for you to satisfy you. I must not melt away all my fortune. You, yourselves, my good dear brethren, have been the sole cause of my doing so little as I have done. I told you that every Friday morning you kept me among you, we lost £20. . . . Even this letter, will rob me of three hours of begging time.<sup>26</sup>

78. To John Hughes, page 658-59 –1811. Thomas Coke wrote to John Hughes, a Welsh preacher, whom Coke had engaged to translate one of his Commentaries into Welsh. In this letter Coke appeals to Hughes to come to Ceylon.

Will you go to Ceylon after the Conference? I should wish that six missionaries should go together; two to Ceylon, where there are about half a million professing Christians; two for Tanjore, which is just close to Ceylon on the continent, where Mr. Schwartz left about fifty thousand professing Christians; and two for Travancore, where there are about one hundred thousand professing Christians. A person may pass from Ceylon to Tnjore in a boat in fine weather. In the province of Jaffna in Ceylon, there were, some years ago, Dutch ministers; now there is not one. Favor me with an answer. My very heart is in the work. If we establish an Indian Mission, there must be an independent subscription opened for it; and I have no doubt but we shall have money enough to support it. Half the world, in regard to

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 652-55.

population, are in that part of Asia. You go, of course, (if you go), to learn the Ceylonese language; I by no means wish you to remain there more than six years; but I should suspect your zeal for the work if you were to go there without an intention of staying for life, if God should succeed your labours, and you could live there in tolerable health. Consent to go in the spirit of martyrdom.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 658-59.



## APPENDIX 9

### JIRI SCHMIDT LETTERS OF LEAVE-TAKING

Kalfus, Radim and Leontina Mašínová. *The Moravians: Sketches from the History of the Moravian Church*. Praha: Jednota Bratská, 1967.

Entry Title.	Page	Location and Date
Letters of Leave-Taking	Page 166	Mittelburg, Zeeland, December 4, 1736

(Letter Home)

Dear Brethren and sisters,

I am announcing my departure for the ship. Until now the Lord has been helping me – His name be praised! I rely on Him, even though I do not see Him. He is loyal to me, although I am unworthy and realize my unworthiness. On the other hand, I feel His free grace that acts powerfully on my spirit. I depend only on Him, the friend of sinners, Who raised poor me from the dust. He did this to demonstrate by me His merciful love and that I might recognize that without Him I can do nothing. He humbled, but did not reject, me. He became my strong fortress in which I can safely dwell. He became my sure refuge, where I can repose quietly when I am weary from battle. I love Him and He is my friend. Whatever He calls me to do, I do gladly. I want to go to His dwelling, for He has preceded me there.

Dear brethren and sisters, remember me and may your sword blaze forth in the sacred battle, that I may continue in the plan I have set myself; remain a wall around me, against all storms and winds, for I am alone. Help me to bear my burden, in order that I may dauntlessly hold out in the battle under the banner of our Lord, until I achieve final victory and the Lord opens me the gate among the people whom He knows. Now I sincerely and cordially greet my brethren who are at liberty.

I remain your humblest

Jiri Schmidt

Mittelburg, Zeeland, December 4, 1736

Entry Title	Page	Entry Location and Date
Letters of Leave-Taking	Page 166-7	Amsterdam, October 30, 1736

(Letter of Recommendation)

Jiri Schmidt, Moravian by birth, member of the Moravian Church which has gathered in Saxony, formed by those who were persecuted by the papists, wishes to contribute to the spreading and knowledge of the Gospel of Jesus Christ among the heathen. The same was done by other brethren of this church, driven by the longing to serve the Gospel to heathen peoples, and, in this longing, addressed themselves to the West Indies, where their work is not without result. When Schmidt requested that he be transported to the Cape of Good Hope he received permission from the directors of the East India Company, so that he was able to leave Zeeland in 1736. Now, in order that this brother may have confirmation of this, we the undersigned give him gladly the testimony that Jiri is not only a member of the congregation, but also a man whom we may consider a loyal confessor of Jesus Christ. This good man, who has undergone - - as one of the persecuted Moravians - - a test of his faith in six years of uninterrupted imprisonment and in this remained true to the Saviour and to the truth of the Gospel, is well liked. This is shown by the letter of recommendation from his congregation, also by our acquaintance with him in Amsterdam, confirming that he is an experienced and learned Christian, with a special gift of humility, gentleness and pleasant manner, with which he has won the love and affection of all with whom he has come in contact. We wholeheartedly, ask everyone to receive in a friendly way this brother who has learned to content himself with little, and wants nothing but to live from the labor of his hands. Please do not deny him the fulfilment of his sacred endeavors. He does not seek temporal advantage, but eternal values. Doubtless his presence will be a blessing and his person will be esteemed and loved. His person is anchored in the name of Christ and he aims at the healing of hearts. May the Lord lead him and give the heathen to know that he rules through him. May the earth truly rejoice in this.

Written in Amsterdam, October 30, 1736

Franco de Bruin, servant of God's Word

APPENDIX 10

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS ROHRER:  
INTERNATIONAL MISSION BOARD

J. Q. A. Rohrer, “International Mission Board Correspondence: 1859 Letters between J.B. Taylor and J.Q.A. Taylor “, ed. Rev. J. B. Taylor (Photopies Of Correspondence Provided By Request From Staff Journalist Mary Jane Welch).

Entry Title	Page	Entry Date
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Excerpt -- Letter from J. G. A. Rohrer to Rev. J. B. Taylor p. 211 December 18, 1859

My parents who are quite aged, seem quite troubled and pained at the thought of my leaving never again to meet them on earth.

My dear brother, I confess that this staggers me a good deal. But this always comes before me – “He that loveth father and mother more than me is not worthy of me.” God forbid that I should love them any the less because I love my Savior more. But then I know that I shall never see them again here; Know however, as that the great apostle says, “If in this life only we have hope we would be of all men most miserable.”

They acknowledge that they can give me to no higher nor nobler work. If it were convenient, it might be well if you would write them a letter of encouragement and consolation. If you think it worthy – address David Rohrer at this place.

As ever.

Yours in the Gospel

J. Q. A. Rohrer<sup>1</sup>

Edmund Franklin Merriam records the tragic account of this young missionary couple, which were ultimately lost at sea. On August 3, 1860, Reverend John Quincy Adams Rohrer and his wife sailed for China as missionaries with the Southern Convention. As Mrs. Rohrer bid farewell to her mother on the deck of the vessel *Edwin Forest* her mother knelt on the deck in agony asking God’s forgiveness for consenting to her daughter’s mission service. Mrs. Rohrer sought to console her mother, “Mother, with

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<sup>1</sup>J. Q. A. Rohrer, “International Mission Board Correspondence: 1859 Letters between J. B. Taylor and J. Q. A. Rohrer,” ed. J. B. Taylor (photocopies of correspondence provided by request from Mary Jane Welch, staff journalist, International Mission Board).

the exception of parting from you, this is the happiest day of my life. If we are lost at sea death will find us in the path of duty.”<sup>2</sup> Merriam grimly reports that the ship was never heard from after sailing.<sup>3</sup> The maritime magazine *The Sailor’s Friend: The Sailor’s Magazine* confirms in the following record the loss of the ship *Edwin Forest*, bound from New York for Hong Kong. “Ships. Edwin Forest, from New York for Hong Kong, (missing); loss \$216,000.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Coke, *Journal Extracts*, 16.

<sup>3</sup>Eustace Carey, *Memoir of William Carey, D.D.: Late Missionary to Bengal; Professor of Oriental Language in the College of Fort William, Calcutta* (London: Jackson and Walford, 1836), 535-36.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 499-500.

## APPENDIX 11

### LETTERS OF DAVID SCOTT SCUDDER: MISSIONARY IN SOUTHERN INDIA

[To Rev. J. M. Sturtevant, Jr.]

Falmouth, Mass., Feb 23, 1860.

I have just written up to the conclusion of a missionary sermon, my first one. It is a missionary sermon, but not exclusively a foreign missionary one. Indeed I fancy that I have hit upon a way of presenting Christian duty, which is somewhat new to me and seems plausible and fair; my sermon would, I am sure, suit you, at least as regards its catholic spirit; it is not much more foreign than home. My text is, -- "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you," one which I long since chose. The one thing which marks it is the position that all such divisions of the field as Home and Foreign are really nothing more than convenient geographical distinctions; that the Scriptures and Christ recognize but one grand division, -- "the world" and "not the world"; that all Christian work either is self-culture or aggressive enterprise, and the latter aims at the whole field, called in Scripture "the world," all which is not Christ's by actual possession; so that all work which is aggressive is by its very idea foreign and essentially one, whether labor for unconverted neighbors, western missions, or labor in heathen lands. The argument of the sermon is, that there is no reason, either in Scripture or common sense, why a man should cease his labor at any given point in this one field, but on the other hand everything points him to the duty of laboring in all his work for the evangelization of the whole. I try to show it by appealing to Christian instinct as corroborated by the idea of a Christian life, -- self-sacrifice, -- and to History which shows that the church has prospered according as it has admitted this or not. What do you think? I wish I could read it to you in number seventeen, Phillips Hall.

During his last days in North America, David Scott Scudder wrote letters chronicling his preparation, his speaking, his philosophy of missions and his motivation. The following exert is from one such letter which explains his motivation and philosophy of missions.

## APPENDIX 12

### LETTER OF MISSIONARY RESOLVE: REV. J. FURNISS OGLE

A British minister of the gospel, Rev. J. Furniss Ogle was increasingly moved by a desire to preach the gospel to the heathen. Upon the death of the leader of the mission to Patagonia, Ogle became particularly moved to involvement. Ogle wrote his sister explaining his missionary resolve.<sup>1</sup>

April 10, 1856.

My offer to the South American Missionary Society to accompany their missionary as a volunteer is accepted. . . . I do regard the command 'to go into all the world,' &c., as specially belonging to me, and I feel no fear that I shall have a greater measure of success as a minister in obeying it than would have followed me in any other sphere of labour.

I feel, however, how greatly faith is needed in following such a path: every hour we must walk by faith not by sight, but this is the great advantage of the position; at least I fancy that the necessity may be more realized in an enterprise like ours. So to live is always our duty, but often a difficult one from our intercourse with men who 'walk by sight.' . . . I trust that my faith, so feeble now, may be strengthened and upheld by the power and grace of God. . . . The stupendous fact that the whole continent of South America is without a missionary proves how little Christian enterprise has yet accomplished.

In her book, Jane Furniss, Ogle's sister commented about her brother's missionary character:

He was in many respects fitted for the life of a pioneer missionary. He possessed a body capable of enduring much occasional hardship, and a spirit not easily daunted or turned aside by danger. His gentleness of disposition, and his power of attracting and bestowing love, won for him the kind of reception which ever awaited him, whether among the wandering Arabs of the African desert, or among the still less civilized Patagonian Indians. They all acknowledged in him a friend, and it was thus his happiness to be quickly loved by all with whom he came in contact. Many a half

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<sup>1</sup>John Furniss Ogle and Jane Ogle, *Life and Missionary Travels of the Rev. J. Furniss Ogle, M.A.: From His Letters, Selected by His Sister*, ed. Rev. J. A. Wylie L.L.D. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1873).

hour's conversation has been closed with tears, and a most affectionate parting on both sides, although it was perchance their first and last intercourse on earth.

## APPENDIX 13

### MISSIONARIES WHO DIED IN ACTIVE SERVICE: INTERNATIONAL MISSION BOARD

The following missionaries died accidentally or in violent deaths while serving as missionaries.<sup>1</sup>

<u>Name</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Circumstances</u>
James, Annie (Mrs. J. Sexton)	China	4/15/1848	drowned in Hong Kong harbor
James, J. Sexton	China	4/15/1848	drowned in Hong Kong harbor
Bond, A. L.	China	1860	ship lost at sea
Bond, Mrs. A.L.	China	1860	ship lost at sea
Rohrer, John Q. Adams	Japan	1860	ship lost at sea
Rohrer, Sara (Mrs. J. Q. A.)	Japan	1860	ship lost at sea
Holmes, J. Landrum	China	10/1/1861	murdered attempting to dissuade invaders from attacking village of Chu Kia on Shantung Peninsula-Taiping Rebellion
Gaillard, Charles W.	China	4/27/1862	crushed under fallen house timbers--typhoon
Schilling, Kate Lowther (Mrs. J. G.)	China	1/24/1864	
Drayton, B.J.	Liberia	1866	drowned
Westrup, John	Mexico	12/1880	murdered by band of 20 Indians and Mexicans traveling from Santa Rosa to Monterey
Maberry, Annie	Mexico	10/9/1892	
Tipton, Nelle Roberts (Mrs. W. H.)	China	9/20/1907	
King, William Duncan	China	7/15/1909	
Hartwell, J. B.	China	1/3/1912	

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<sup>1</sup>The list was provided by Mary Jane Welch, staff writer from the International Mission Board.



Graves, R. H.	China	6/3/1912	
Daniel, J. Carey	China	6/28/1914	drowned in Laiyang
Tatum, Alice Flagg (Mrs. Ezra F.)	China	8/9/1914	
Thompson, Emma B.	China	9/8/1917	
Anderson, John T.	China	11/12/1918	drowned in Yang-tze River
Hill, Leita	Japan	3/17/1922	
Pierce, L. W.	China	7/23/1922	drowned when launch capsized in Soochow
Sears, William H.	China	8/1922	
MacDonald, Janet McLeod (Mrs. W. D. T.)	Chile	1/14/1923	
Hipps, Lydia Belle Brown (Mrs. J. B.)	China	12/1924	
Jackson, Ernest A.	Brazil	11/12/1928	ship lost at sea
Jackson, Janette (Mrs. Ernest A.)	Brazil	11/12/1928	ship lost at sea
Entzminger, W. E.	Brazil	1/18/1930	
Hurley, Dan T.	Roumania	4/30/1931	
Lacy, Minnie Meek (Mrs. George H.)	Mexico	10/26/1933	
Fowler, Frank J.	Argentina	11/15/1933	
Greene, Valeria Page (Mrs. G. W. )	China	8/20/1934	
Putney, Nellie Lee	China	3/31/1937	
Gray, Rufas F.	China	1/1942	died in Japanese camp for war prisoners in Baguio, Philippines
Wallace, William L.	China	2/10/1951	died in Communist prison
Hickerson, Julius R. Jr.	Colombia	3/21/1951	plane crash (transport)
Davis, Martha Mae	Mexico	6/15/1954	car accident
Carney, Mary Ruth	S. Brazil	4/9/1955	plane crash
Foreman, Blonnye H.	Brazil	4/ /1955	plane crash (private)
Dotson, Hattie Thigpen S. (Mrs. Clyde J.)	Rhodesia	3/28/1955	car accident
Oliver, John S.	Brazil	11/30/1957	plane crash (private)
Harper, Winfred O. (Wimpy)	Tanganyika	9/4/1958	drowned
Smith, L. C.	Nigeria	5/16/1968	car accident
Clark, Eric H.	Kenya	4/19/1968	killed by wounded buffalo while on hunting trip
Kite, Thelma (Mrs. Billy O.)	Zambia	10/13/1970	car accident
Potter, Paul E.	Dom. Republic	7/7/1971	murdered

Potter, Nancy (Mrs. Paul E.)	Dom. Republic	7/7/1971	murdered
Compton, Charles E., Jr.	Brazil	10/9/1972	car accident
Pate, Mavis	Gaza	1/16/1972	shot by Arab guerrillas in ambush as drove near refugee camp
Hopewell, Gladys	Taiwan	3/11/1973	murdered
Dunaway, Archie G. Jr.	Rhodesia	6/15/1978	killed by guerrillas
Bender, William B.	Nigeria	4/21/1980	car accident
Williams, James A. Jr.	Yugoslavia	9/22/1980	car accident
Crawford, Linda Lee	Brazil	6/25/1982	car accident
Jennings, Lois	Brazil	6/25/1982	car accident
Balyeat, Kent	Argentina	11/21/1983	hit by train
Thompson, Roger L.	Ecuador	7/11/1983	plane crash (commercial)
Philpot, James	Mexico	10/11/1985	shot following car accident
*Senter, Libby (Mrs. George)	Liberia	11/26/1986	murdered
*Rachel Senter, MK,		11/26/86	also murdered
Waldron, Troy M. Jr.	Ethiopia	8/4/1987	helicopter crash
Seay, D. Alan Sr.	Belize	4/30/1988	car accident
Seay, Lee (Mrs. D. Alan Sr.)	Belize	4/30/1988	car accident
Gilbert, Mary Anna	China	10/2/1990	killed in crash of hijacked Chinese jetliner in Guangzhou, China (teacher with CSI)
Bethea, Lynda (Mrs. Ralph Jr.) husband	Kenya	3/27/1991	killed by highway robbers near Kijabe, Kenya; injured
Hood, Chiquita "Chickie" (volunteer)	Turkey	5/11/1992	killed when taxi she was riding in collided in Turkey
Johnsonius, James	Argentina	8/1/1993	car accident
Yi, Chu Hon	Khabarovsk, Russia	3/23/1995	murdered in their locked apartment
Yi, Kei	Khabarovsk, Russia	3/23/1995	murdered in their locked apartment
Davidson, Lynn	Peru	2/29/1996	plane crash
Hood, Charles W. Jr.	Colombia	4/21/1998	murdered by robbers
Weems, John	Mexico	6/18/1999	drowned in ocean summer missionary
*Sloan, Gary	Mexico	6/18/1999	drowned in ocean
*Carla Sloan, MK		6/18/1999	also drowned
Murphy, Joy	Mexico	6/18/1999	drowned in ocean

Berno, Roger A.	Mexico	11/27/2000	summer missionary car accident in Texas; wife, two children injured
Gariety, Kathleen A.	Yemen	12/30/2002	murdered by gunman in attack on Jibla Baptist Hospital
Koehn, William E.	Yemen	12/30/2002	murdered by gunman in attack on Jibla Baptist Hospital
Myers, Martha C.	Yemen	12/30/2002	murdered by gunman in attack on Jibla Baptist Hospital
Shackles, Janette	Ghana	6/9/2003	car accident
Hyde, William P.	Philippines	3/4/2003	killed in bomb attack at airport in Davao, Philippines
Jean Dover Elliott	Iraq	3/15/2004	murdered in drive-by attack in Mosul, Iraq
Larry T. Elliott	Iraq	3/15/2004	murdered in drive-by attack in Mosul, Iraq
David E. McDonnall	Iraq	3/15/2004	murdered in drive-by attack in Mosul, Iraq
Karen Denise Watson	Iraq	3/15/2004	murdered in drive-by attack in Mosul, Iraq

## APPENDIX 14

### MARTYRED MISSIONARIES DURING THE SAD CRISIS OF 1900

The following missionaries and children are listed as martyrs who died in China during the period known as the Boxer Rebellion. The list contains 78 names, including missionaries and children from the China Inland Mission. In addition, 102 names including missionaries and their families are listed from other Protestant missionary societies.

#### **Martyred Missionaries of The China Inland Mission**

Benjamin Bagnall	Francis Edith Nathan
Emily Bagnall	May Rose Nathan
David Barratt	P.A. Quren
Elizabeth Burton	William Graham Peat
Mildred Clarke	Helen Peat
William Cooper	Hattie Rice
Margaret Cooper (Mrs. E. J.)	Edith E. Searell
Josephine Desmond	Edith Sherwood
Edith Dobson	Jane Stevens
Annie Eldred	Emma Ann Thirgood
Flora Constance Glover	David Baird Thompson
Eliza Mary Heaysman	Agnes Thompson
Emma Georgiana Hurn	William Millar Wilson, MB, CM
Mary E. Huston	Christine Wilson
Duncan Kay	Emily E. B. Whitchurch
Caroline Kay	Alfred Woodroffe
Anton P. Lundgren	Jorn Young
Elsa Lundgren	Alice Young
Etta Mancrester	G. Frederick Ward
George McConnell	Eta Ward
Isabella McConnell	

#### *Associates*

N. Carleson	O.A. L. Larsson
Miss J. Engvall	Miss J. Lundell
Miss M. Hedlund	S. A. Persson
Miss A. Joransson	Mrs. Persson
G.E. Karlberg	E. Pettersson

*Children*

Gladys Bagnall  
Brainerd Cooper  
Faith Glover  
Vera Green  
Jennie Kay  
Mary Lutley  
Edith Lutley  
Kenneth McConnell

Margretta Peat  
Mary Peat  
Jessie Saunders  
Isabel Saunders  
Edwin Thompson  
Sidney Thompson  
Herbert Ward  
Alexander Wilson

*Unconfirmed*

Maria Aspden  
Mr. and Mrs. C. S. F'Anson  
and three children

Margaret E. Smith  
Mr. and Mrs. Stewart McKee  
and one child

**Martyred Missionaries of Other  
Protestant Missionary Societies**

*Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*

Rev. S. M. Brooks  
Rev. H. V. Norman

Rev. C. Robinson

*English Baptist Missionary Society*

Rev. S. W. Ennals  
Rev. and Mrs. Herbert Dixon  
Rev. and Mrs. F. S. Whitehouse  
Rev. and Mrs. G. B. Farthing  
with three children

Miss B. C. Rennant  
Rev. and Mrs. W. A. McCurrach  
Rev. and Mrs. T. J. Underwood  
Miss Stewart

*The Seo Yang Mission*

Mr. and Mrs. T. W. Pigott  
and Son, Wellesley  
Mr. and Mrs. Stokes  
Mr. John Robinson  
Miss Coombs

Dr. and Mrs. A. E. Lovitt  
and one child  
Mr. and Mrs. Simpson  
Miss Duval

*The British and Foreign Bible Society*

Rev. and Mrs. W. T. Beynon, with three children

*Unconnected*

Mr. A. Hoddle

*The Christian Missionary Alliance*

Mr. and Mrs. E. Alson  
Mr. and Mrs. C. Blomberg  
Mr. and Mrs. A. Bingmark  
Mr. and Mrs. E. Anderson  
Mr. Aarberg  
Miss E. Erikson  
Mr. Fredstrom

Mr. and Mrs. O. Forsberg  
Mr. and Mrs. O. Noren  
Mr. and Mrs. F. Nystrom  
Mr. and Mrs. M. Nystrom  
Miss Hanna Lund  
Miss M. Lund  
Mr. Sternberg

Mr. A. E. Palm also twelve children

*The Scandinavian Missionary Alliance*

Mr. and C. J. Lubber (others missing)

*The Swedish Mongolian Mission*

Mr. and Mrs. Hellsberg Mr. Wahlstedt (others missing)

*The American Board*

Rev. and Mrs. E. R. Atwater  
and four children

Rev. and Mrs. C. W. Price  
and one child

Miss Bird

Miss Partridge

Rev. and Mrs. D. H. Clapp

Rev. F. W. Davis

Rev. H. T. Pitkin

Rev. G. L. Williams

Miss A. A. Gould

Miss M. S. Morrill

*The American Presbyterian North*

Rev. and Mrs. F. E. S. Simcox  
and three children

Dr. and Mrs. C. V. R. Hodge

Dr. G. Y. Taylor

APPENDIX 15

COKE'S 1786 PROPOSED MISSION FUND

Coke, Thomas. "An Address to the Pious and Benevolent, Proposing an Annual Subscription for the Support of Missionaries in the Highlands and Adjacent Islands of Scotland, the Isles of Jersey, Guernsy, and Newfoundland, the West Indies, and the Provinces of Nova Scotia and Quebec." London, 1786.

Coke's proposal to begin a mission fund to support Methodist missions work was affirmed by John Wesley in the following letter that preceded Coke's pamphlet.

Bristol, March 12, 1786

Dear Sir,

I greatly approve of your Proposal for raising a Subscription in order to send missionaries to the Highlands of Scotland, the Islands of Guersey and Jersey, the Leeward Islands, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. It is not easy to conceive the extreme want there is, in all those places, of men that will not count their lives dear unto themselves, so they may testify the Gospel of the Grace of God.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate Brother,

John Wesley

To Dr. Coke

Thomas Coke's proposal was published in the form of a pamphlet or circular, which was used to promote the concept. Some of the text follows.

An Address to the Pious and Benevolent.

Dearly beloved in the Lord.

Some time past I took the liberty of addressing you, in behalf of a mission intended to be established in the British dominions in Asia; and many of you very generously entered into that important plan. We have not indeed lost sight of it at present; on the contrary, we have lately received a letter of encouragement from a principal

gentleman in the province of Bengal. But the providence of God has lately opened to us so many doors nearer home, that Mr. Wesley thinks it imprudent to hazard at present the lives of any of our preachers, by sending them to so great a distance, and amidst so many uncertainties and difficulties; when so large a field of action is afforded us in countries to which we have so much earlier admittance, and where the success, through the blessing of God is more or less certain.

We cannot but be sensible of the fallen state of Christendom, and the extensive room for labour which faithful ministers may find in every country therein. But some of the nations which are called Christian, are deeper sunk in ignorance and impiety than others; and even of the most enlightened, various parts are still buried in the grossest darkness.

No kingdom under heaven, I believe, has been more blessed with the light of the gospel than North Britain. Numerous have been the men of most eminent piety and abilities, whom God in his providence and grace has been pleased to raise among that people. And yet, in the Highlands and adjacent Islands, many scores, perhaps I may say hundreds of thousands, are little better than the rudest barbarians. (A late writer employed by the government to estimate the improvements which may be made in the fisheries in that part of Scotland, and who has been indefatigable in his researches, scruples not to assert it has confirmed sentiment, that the people in that country who answer this description, are not fewer than half a million.) The state of this unhappy people has been fully laid before the Public by a very laudable society in Edinburgh, which was formed for the very purpose of spreading religion in those benighted parts. But the members of this benevolent institutions have candidly acknowledged their great insufficiency for this important undertaking, for want both of money and men. And indeed the grand design of that society, which is almost entirely directed to the establishment of schools, will by no means interfere with the present plan. We may, by the grace of God, supply their defects and while they are leading the rising generations to the light and truth, we may, under the divine blessing, be arresting those of maturer age in their present career of sin and folly. The Lord seems to be pointing out our way in the present instance, for he has lately raised up a zealous young man, well versed in the Erse (the language spoke by the people of whom we are now treating), to whom Mr. Wesley has given an unlimited commission to visit the Highlands and adjacent Islands of Scotland. We have also one or two more in our view, who are masters of the Erse language, who, we have a reason to believe, would accept of a similar commission. But the charges would be considerable, and our present regular expences in Scotland, beyond what the poverty of Scotch societies can afford, are full as great as our contingent fund will bear. This is therefore the first object of the present institution – To establish and support an Erse Mission in the Highlands and adjacent Islands of Scotland.

The Isles of Jersey and Guernsey make the second object of our institution. The Lord has been pleased, by our much respected brother Mr. Brackenbury, to begin a very promising work in those islands. Several societies have been formed: and the Lord has also raised up a very sensible and Zealous young man, whose native language is the French, and who is likely to be highly useful to the cause of God. He is now stationed in Guernsey, where some assistance has been already given him to supply his necessary wants, and probably more will be yet required. In Jersey Mr. Brackenbury bears the whole burden of the expense at present, but we cannot expect this to be always the case. No doubt but the larger societies will soon be enabled to support their own expences: but still, as the work increases, the infant societies will stand in need of assistance. This is therefore our second view in the present institution to – To Nurse and carry on the work which is now breaking forth among the French Protestants in our islands of Jersey and Guernsey.



The third object we have in view, is our West India islands, where a field is opened to us among the negroes beyond any thing that could have been expected. Eleven hundred blacks have been already united in society in the island of Antigua through the successful labours of Mr. Baxter; and the greatest part of them, we have reason to believe, are converted in God. But we have only that single minister in those islands, Mr. Lamburt, whom we sent from the States, being obliged to return on account of his ill state of health. Nor can our brethren in the States afford us any assistance in the West India islands, the call for preachers being so great on the continent. In the Island of St. Christopher's we have received considerable encouragement. And the planters in general are constrained to acknowledge, that the negroes who are united to us and to the Moravians, are the most laborious and faithful servants they have: which favorable sentiment, through the blessing of God, has laid open the whole country to our labours among the blacks; and we seem to want nothing but preachers, under the divine influence, to gather in many thousands of them. And the islands seem to have a peculiar claim on the inhabitants of Britain. Our country is enriched by the labours of the poor slaves who cultivate the soil, and surely the least compensation we can make them, is to endeavour to enrich them in return with the riches of grace. But the grand consideration to the children of God, is the value of the souls of these negroes, a set of people utterly despised by all the world, except the Methodists and Moravians. And yet I have no doubt but a most glorious gospel-harvest would soon be displayed to our view among that miserable people, if they were sufficiently supplied with gospel-ministers. This is therefore the third object of our institution – To establish and support missions in our West India islands.

The provinces of Nova Scotia and Quebec and the island of Newfoundland, make the fourth and last object of the present plan. We have lately sent a Missionary to Harbour Grace in Newfoundland, and his labours have been blessed; but his single endeavours are not likely to carry the work of God to the extent which every pious soul must wish for. In Nova Scotia we have about three hundred whites and two hundred blacks in society according to the last accounts, but have only three travelling preachers for the whole province; so that most of our congregations have preaching but once in a month. In the province of Quebec a few pious soldiers have formed societies at Quebec and Montreal on the Methodist plan, among whom we have reason to believe that our preachers would be gladly received.

Such an open door has not been known perhaps for many ages, as is now presented to us on the continent of America. And it has long been an adjudged café in our conferences, that “when God is at any time pleased to pour out his spirit more abundantly, we ought at that time to send more labourers than usual into that part of the harvest. (See the large Minutes of our Conference, Qu. 9<sup>th</sup>.)” If it be a principal mark of true wisdom in temporal things to watch every opportunity – how much more in spiritual, which are of infinitely greater importance? How attentive should we be to the times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord, to improve to the utmost all those blessed occasions. Nor should any lover of Zion object to the distance of those countries from us. Oceans are nothing to God and they should be no obstruction to his people in respect to the love they should bear one towards another. This therefore is the fourth and last object of the present institution – To send missionaries to our provinces in America and the island of Newfoundland.

A particular account of millions, with any letters or extracts of letters from the missionaries or others, that are worthy of publication, shall be printed as soon as possible after every one of our annual conferences, and a copy presented to every subscriber: in which also the receipts and disbursements of the preceding year, with an alphabetical list of the names of the subscribers (except where it is otherwise

desired), shall be laid before the Public. The assistants of our circuits respectively will be so kind as to bring the money subscribed to the ensuing conference, and so from year to year.

The preaching of the gospel is an object of the greatest importance; and the present state of mankind must cause very frequent and painful sensations to the truly pious – that the kingdom of Jesus Christ should be circumscribed by such narrow bounds, and Satan rule so great a part of the world: but “how shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach, except they be sent? As it is written, How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things!” And as the Lord is pleased in general to carry on his blessed work by second causes, let the sacred ardour of divine love kindle in your souls, my beloved brethren, a holy zeal of being honoured instruments in promoting of it, according to your several stations. Numerous and wonderful are the promises in sacred writ which assure us that “the fullness of the Gentiles shall come in.” that “all shall know the Lord from the least to the greatest.” That “righteousness shall cover the earth as the waters the sea.” That “the Heathen then shall be the inheritance of the Messiah, the uttermost parts of the earth his possession, and all the kingdoms of the world the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ.” We know not, it is true, the particular time. However, let us all, as far as lies in our power, contribute to this great event, and prepare the way for it.

The Roman Catholics have manifested astonishing zeal in the missions they have established in China and other parts of the East. Their contributions for the purpose have been almost boundless: And shall Protestants be less zealous for the glory of God, when their religion is so much more pure. Alas! This is really the case. Nor let us object that the Romanists are richer than we – that even crowned heads have used their uttermost influence in the former case. But let us rather remember that God works by the smallest means, yea he delights so to do. He rejoices to “perfect strengths in weakness, and to ordain praise out of the mouths of babes and sucklings.” Hitherto the Lord has blessed us in this very way, raising very large and lively societies from very small beginnings. And if we engage in the present undertaking in the spirit of faith, our endeavours shall be successful: they shall spread like Elijah’s cloud, and a gracious rain shall descend on the inhabitants of the earth. Let us do all with prayer and thanksgiving, and that God who never fails his people, will assuredly use us for his own glory.

Blessed be God! Our spiritual resources are amazing. Numerous, I am fully persuaded, are the preachers among us, who, in the true spirit of apostles, count all things but dung, that they may win Christ, and win souls to him; who carry their lives in their hands, and long to spend and be spent in their Master’s glorious cause. Let us therefore endeavour to draw forth these resources, and spread them out to the uttermost. Then shall the little leaven imperceptibly win its widening way, that it has leavened the whole lump of mankind. And while we are unitedly watering the whole world around us, our own souls shall be watered again: the Methodist Connection shall become a seminary to fill the vineyard of Christ with devoted labourers, and be made the most valuable, the most extensive blessing, not only to the present age, but to the generations that are yet to come.

I am,

Dearly beloved in the Lord,

With great respect,  
Your humble and most affectionate  
Brother and Servant,  
London, March 13, 1786. Thomas Coke.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>William Carey. *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens: In Which the Religious State of the Different Nations of the World, the Success of Former Undertakings, and the Practicability of Further Undertakings Are Considered* (Leicester: Ann Ireland, 1792).

## APPENDIX 16

### MISSION TO CEYLON REGISTRY FOR 1814

The Missionary Register for the Year 1814: Containing an Abstract of the Proceedings of the Principal Missionary and Bible Societies Throughout the World. vol. 2, ed. Missionary and Bible Societies. London: L.B. Seeley, 1814.

The following entry is listed under the heading “Wesleyan Methodist Missions” with the subheading further down the page “1814 Foreign. – Malta and The Levant.” The entry lists Coke and his party, naming the specific ships which each boarded. Note that their band was divided between two different ships.

On the 31<sup>st</sup> of December, Dr. Coke, with six Missionaries, sailed from Spithead for Bombay, on their way to the islands of Ceylon and Java: Dr. Coke with Mr. W. M. Harvard and his wife, and Mr. George Erskine, in the *Cabalva*, Captain Birch: and Mr. William Ault and his wife, Mr. Benjamin Clough, Mr. Thomas Squance, and Mr. James Lynch, in the *Lady Melville*, Captain Lockner.<sup>1</sup>

Later in the same anal Thomas Coke’s death is recorded under the heading “Death of Dr. Coke.”

We are sorry to inform our readers, that the Rev. Dr. Coke has not lived to reach Ceylon. He died at sea on the 3d of May. (SIC) The surviving Missionaries landed at Bombay on the 15<sup>th</sup>, and were received with great kindness by his Excellency Sir Even Nepean. They expected to proceed in a few days to their destination.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>American Seamen’s Friend Society, “Marine Losses for June, 1861,” *The Sailor’s Friend: The Sailors’ Magazine* 33 (1863): 372.

<sup>2</sup>Horace E. Scudder, *Life and Letters of David Coit Scudder, Missionary in Southern India* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1804), 137-38.

## APPENDIX 17

### SERAMPORE LETTERS

Carey, William, John Williams and Leighton Williams. *Serampore Letters: Being the Unpublished Correspondence of William Carey and Others with John Williams, 1800-1816*. London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1892.

Entry Number. Page - Entry Date

43. Page 12-15 – Olney, March, 1793

An entry was found in the diary of Samuel Teedon, schoolmaster of Olney. The entry describes the commissioning service of Mr. Carey when he preached a powerful message. At that time the plan was for Carey and his son to travel to India, later to return to retrieve the rest of the family. The sermon Carey preached was from Romans 12.

The sermon which Carey preached, and which poor Samuel Teedon listened to, was from Rom. 12.1 "I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice," etc.; and after the sermon he gave out the hymn commencing –

"And must I part with all I have, Jesus, my Lord, for Thee? This is my joy, since Thou hast done Much more than this for me" –

pronouncing with great emphasis the first four words of the second verse –

"Yes, let it go: - - one look from thee Will more than make amends For all the losses I sustain, Of credit, riches, friends."

44. Page 87 – Calcutta, Nov 15, 1803

The letter is correspondence with John Ryland. Carey presses two important issues in this letter. While seeking news of mission work around the work, he presents a succinct reminder of his own strategy of indigenous Bible translations and schools. The second matter that he raises is his own concern that laws are permitting the education of Jamaican slaves.

I shall therefore be very short upon that head and enquire about the American Missions. Do the Societies go on with courage? Are they countenanced by the public? Do persons fit for, and devoted to the work offer themselves as Missionaries? How does Dear Brother Holms and his colleagues? What success have they had among the Indians? Is any thing done towards translating the Bible into the different Indian Languages? Do the Indians begin to attend to the duties of civilized life? Are schools set up and well attended among them? &c., &c., &c. I hope that the glorious work in the Western and Southern States is still continuing, and will continue. Are the impressions in general permanent or not? . . . Has the glorious work spread into any more of the States? Has it contributed at all to the destruction of that disgrace of America, and every civilized nation, the Slave Trade?

We have heard some time ago that the House of Assembly in Jamaica has prohibited the instruction of the Negroes, and their religious meetings. This is a very lamentable circumstance, for there are many of our Brethren there. It is undoubtedly the duty of us all to wrestle hard with God in Prayer for their deliverance. There can be no doubt but the hand of God will fall heavily on those Islands whose trade and even existence is supported by robbery, oppression, cruelty, persecution and murder. The Lord will judge his People, and when he maketh inquisition for Blood will not forget the sighing of the poor and needy. I hope and trust in God that the persecution of our dear brethren there will not last long. May their persecutors be converted and not destroyed.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>John Furniss Ogle and Jane Ogle, *Life and Missionary Travels of the Rev. J. Furniss Ogle, M.A.: From His Letters, Selected by His Sister*, ed. Rev. J. A. Wylie L.L.D. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1873), 92-93.

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## ABSTRACT

### MOTIVATION FOR COSTLY MISSIONS: A COMPARISON OF THE JOURNALS OF THOMAS COKE AND WILLIAM CAREY

Barry Mark Morris, Ph.D.  
The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2014  
Chair: Dr. George H. Martin

Contemporary missions senders can employ expediently lessons regarding risk and self-sacrifice learned through the journals of Thomas Coke and William Carey. This dissertation explores these lessons, applies them to the contemporary context, and considers the consequences of applying said lessons. Fundamental to this discussion is the question - Are the motivations, attitudes, and practices of Carey and Coke representative of historical and contemporary pioneer missions?

Chapter 2 builds the case by turning to the biblical precedent of men and women who sacrificed much on God's mission. Old and New Testament and historical examples are tendered, demonstrating risky obedience in fulfillment of God's mission.

Chapters 3 and 4 form the heart of the dissertation, contributing journal entries from Thomas Coke and William Carey. Chapter 3 highlights and describes Thomas Coke's journal, while chapter 4 addresses William Carey and his journal. Journal entries are gathered and analyzed according to three themes: risk and sacrifice, evangelism and the gospel, and resolute motivation for risky missions.

Chapter 5 compares and contrasts observations from the two journals. Coke's and Carey's motivation for missions is examined in light of the resultant risks and sacrifices experienced in the advance of Christ's kingdom. In this chapter recent examples of risky missions found in the correspondence and journals of contemporary

missionaries and indigenous workers are highlighted.

The final chapter presents lessons learned as related to implications for global gospel advance. Insights and reflections from the journals lead to acumens for contemporary missionaries and senders. Recommendations for churches, senders, and missionaries are offered. Specific proposals are proffered to strengthen the decision-making processes for risk-management in mission settings. The investigation calls for the examination of other missionary journals and correspondence from various traditions and regions.

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