

The Asbury Journal

PUBLISHED BY THE FACULTY OF ASBURY THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

FALL 2021 • VOL. 76, NO. 2





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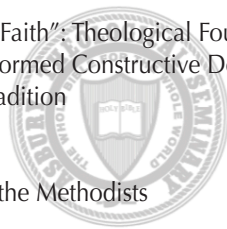
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The Asbury Journal

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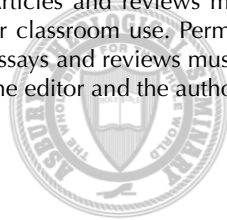
The Asbury Journal is a continuation of the Asbury Seminarian (1945-1985, vol. 1-40) and The Asbury Theological Journal (1986-2005, vol. 41-60). Articles in The Asbury Journal are indexed in The Christian Periodical Index and Religion Index One: Periodicals (RIO); book reviews are indexed in Index to Book Reviews in Religion (IBRR). Both RIO and IBRR are published by the American Theological Library Association, 5600 South Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637, and are available online through BRS Information Technologies and DIALOG Information Services. Articles starting with volume 43 are abstracted in Religious and Theological Abstracts and New Testament Abstracts. Volumes in microform of the Asbury Seminarian (vols. 1-40) and the Asbury Theological Journal (vols. 41-60) are available from University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

The Asbury Journal publishes scholarly essays and book reviews written from a Wesleyan perspective. The Journal's authors and audience reflect the global reality of the Christian church, the holistic nature of Wesleyan thought, and the importance of both theory and practice in addressing the current issues of the day. Authors include Wesleyan scholars, scholars of Wesleyanism/Methodism, and scholars writing on issues of theological and theological education importance.

ISSN 1090-5642

Published in April and October

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From the Editor

If nothing else, the COVID-19 Pandemic seems to have been a productive time for many academics! Perhaps it was the chance to stay at home and work on their ideas, or perhaps it was just a realization that life is fleeting and so these thoughts and ideas need to be captured. Whatever the reason, this issue of *The Asbury Journal* is overflowing with creative ideas from many different directions. The first two papers, by Bonilla-Giovanetti and Bennett and Varghese, are products of the 2020 Advanced Research Program Colloquium held at Asbury Theological Seminary. Bonilla-Giovanetti examines the importance of understanding the supernatural worldview of the people of the biblical text in order to better understand scripture. This is especially valuable when interacting with people from similar cultural frames of reference in Global Christian communities. Bennett and Varghese explore the idea of autoethnography, or learning to understand our own cultural frameworks so we might better mitigate our own biases in our interactions with other cultural groups. This is a useful lesson for anyone involved in missions or cross-cultural ministry.

The next set of papers come from the work of seminary presidents. Matt Ayers, president of Wesley Biblical Seminary, goes deeper into understanding the idea of being “drunk in the Spirit” in scripture, especially in relation to the Eucharist and the unity of the Body of Christ. Külli Tõniste, president of Baltic Methodist Theological Seminary in Estonia, delves into the subject of how John Wesley understood and interpreted the Book of Revelation. Timothy Tennent, president of Asbury Theological Seminary, joins this group by adding a key critique on how evangelicals should rethink the classic paradigm of exclusivism/inclusivism/pluralism when thinking about God’s interactions with people of other religions. This is republished from Dr. Tennent’s book *Invitation to World Missions*, but stands on its own as an important corrective for modern evangelicals in our modern globalized world.

The subject of religion and science emerge in the next two papers. Michael Bennett explores the use of cognitive anthropology as it can be applied to understanding trauma within the field of mental health.

Understanding how different cultures reflect on and understand worldview concepts differently can play a crucial role in understanding the best ways to treat people who might think very differently in terms of their cultural constructs. Logan Patriquin looks to the ideas of sociobiology and evolutionary psychology to provide a different take of a Wesleyan view of the theology of original sin. In both cases, secular science may provide avenues for Christians to better understand and refine their theology and ministry practice.

The final papers are essentially historical in nature. Samuel Rogal focuses on the ways that Abraham Lincoln interacted with Methodists, even while not officially claiming any religious affiliation during his life. Philip Hardt looks at how Methodists interacted with the difficult issue of infant mortality in the 19th century, especially through the lens of Dr. David Reese and his ideas to help solve this growing social problem in New York. Thomas Hampton explores Anglican missions to the deaf, through their work in schools in India and Ceylon. Finally, in both English and Spanish versions of their article, Robert Danielson and Kelly Godoy de Danielson examine the interaction between traditional mission history and the oral history of the missionized through a case study of the Baptist College mission work of the American Baptists in Santa Ana, El Salvador. The *From the Archives* essay concludes with a look back to the diary of Phebe Ward and her first-hand account of travelling to and interacting with the Mukti Revival of 1905 in India as a Free Methodist missionary.

These are historic times in our world as well with the Global Pandemic, and it is not just the scholars of the Church who are reflecting on and responding to the times. I have been a bit surprised by how quickly evangelical Christians have decided to support individual freedom over the love of neighbor as presented in scripture. As a reminder, Jesus said in John 15:13 "Greater love has no one than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." Does this sound like an appeal to individual freedom? Paul's discussion on the Church as the Body of Christ in 1 Corinthians 12:12-31 points out how we all work together with different gifts for the good of the whole, and this is a prelude to his marvelous chapter on love. Earlier in the same book, in chapter eight, Paul laid out an argument that food offered to idols had no power, because of the authority of God through Christ. Does Paul use this as an opportunity to tell us to live in individual freedom? No. In fact he notes, "Be careful, however, that the exercise of your freedom does not become a stumbling block to the weak" (1 Corinthians 8:9). Paul gives

an additional warning of how we use personal freedom when he writes, “‘Everything is permissible’- but not everything is beneficial. ‘Everything is permissible’- but not everything is constructive. Nobody should seek his own good, but the good of others” (1 Corinthians 10:23-24). So, why is the evangelical church so willing to sacrifice itself on the cross of individual freedom in the cause of vaccines and mask wearing? I wish I understood their theological point, but all I hear is their political opinions, even among those who should have a better grasp of Christian theology. Jesus Christ modelled God’s view of love when he sacrificed himself for the sins of others, while he himself was sinless. Is it such a stretch to see that taking a vaccine or wearing a mask is a small price of individual freedom to pay for the love of our neighbors? The best of our Christian theology means nothing if we are not able to live it out in the world around us.



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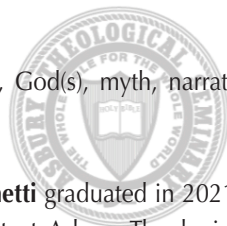
Alberto I. Bonilla-Giovanetti
Toward a Supernatural Biblical Hermeneutic

Abstract:

Many people who live and learn in the west, including Christian laity and scholars, inadvertently accept a materialistic cosmology in which the material world is all that exists, with the exception of God. This perspective is contrary to how the majority of ancient and modern people view the world. This essay seeks to analyze how this materialistic worldview is seen in biblical studies, and then proposes that biblical scholars should presuppose a supernatural worldview as a key aspect of their hermeneutics. A supernatural hermeneutic would not only benefit western interpreters of the ancient world of the Bible, but also help westerners understand how many in the majority world read the Bible today.

Key Words: supernatural, God(s), myth, narrative, worldview, Relevance Theory

Alberto I. Bonilla-Giovanetti graduated in 2021 as a Biblical Studies MA-ThM dual degree student at Asbury Theological Seminary. His research interests include the cultural and religious backgrounds of the Bible, the supernatural world as portrayed in biblical and non-biblical texts (especially Israel's divine council), Gentile inclusion into the people of God, and biblical theology.



Introduction

"[I]n antiquity, all gods exist" (Fredriksen 2006: 241). With this provocative quote, Paula Fredriksen highlights what is often neglected in scholarly discussions of biblical views of the supernatural realm.¹ Most western biblical scholars are inevitably children of the Enlightenment, and as such, attribute the presence, implicit or explicit, of supernatural beings in the Bible as either ancient misinterpretations of their experiences or as their quaint and primitive beliefs. A classic example of such interpretations is Rudolf Bultmann's "demythologizing" endeavor. He interpreted ancient supernatural worldviews through a twentieth century existential lens despite understanding the supernatural cosmology that the biblical writers and audiences accepted (i.e., the existence and intervention of supernatural entities) (Bultmann 1984: 1–43).² This essay will disagree with such modern interpretations and suggest that in order to have a more robust biblical hermeneutic it is imperative to be sympathetic of the supernatural worldview of the ancient biblical writers and audiences.

I will first briefly highlight modern approaches to mythology and the supernatural in recent biblical scholarship. Second, I will briefly sketch Greco-Roman views on divine beings. Third, I will highlight issues in biblical scholarship concerning the relationship between the Bible, story, subversion, and the supernatural worldview of the Bible *vis-à-vis* pagan cultures. This section will focus on how there are implicit elements of this worldview that would have been assumed by the biblical writers and audiences that modern interpreters should make explicit in contemporary interpretations.³ Finally, I will suggest questions and presuppositions for interpreters to have for a supernatural hermeneutic.

Modern Discussions on Myth and Gods

Bultmann's important "New Testament and Mythology: The Problem of Demythologizing the New Testament Proclamation" manifests both a strength and a weakness of classical post-Enlightenment readings of the supernatural in the Bible (1984:1).⁴ On the one hand, Bultmann is fully cognizant of the supernatural worldview that the New Testament assumes. He is especially aware of the interaction between the natural and supernatural realms: "But even the earth is not simply the scene of natural day-to-day occurrences.... rather, it, too, is a theater for the working of supernatural powers, God and his angels, Satan and his demons. These supernatural powers intervene in natural occurrences and in the thinking,

willing, and acting of human beings" (1984:1). On the other hand, Bultmann argues that since modern people no longer share the same worldview as the biblical authors and audiences, it is necessary to reject these supernatural elements. He argues that it is better to read the biblical stories, especially the story of Jesus's passion, death, and resurrection, in existential terms for it to remain relevant and powerful to modern audiences (1984:9).

Bultmann did not have the only modern approach to supernatural aspects of the Bible, however. Robert D. Miller helpfully summarizes a variety of modern approaches to the study of mythology (Miller 2014:551–553). These include the relationship between science and mythology, where both are seen as etiologies, the former focusing on origins of the natural world, and the latter having more transcendental meaning. Another school of thought argued that the ancient world had a "mythopoeic" mindset, which would suggest that their manner of viewing the world is essentially different than how moderns view the world. Other scholars advocated for the "myth and ritual" perspective, which argued that myths and rituals were oral and physical counterparts to each other, in that the ritual would enact the story proposed in the myth, and the myth would give the explanation for the ritual. Another perspective would be a sociological one, where the myth serves as a social unifier and also helps explain the power structures present in a society. A different approach would be a Jungian perspective. This perspective advocates for a psychological understanding of myth, which in turn universalizes much in mythology. Since there are many experiences that are common to humanity, this would explain why there are similarities between myths of unrelated people groups. Another view on mythology is structuralism, where myth is viewed in relation to other myths, and without this structure, meaning would be lost. Lastly, Miller explains how Eliade's approach to mythology relates to people's religious experiences and serves pedagogic roles among a group of people.

What these different interpretations of mythology have in common is that they focus on modern interpretations of the function and purpose of mythology. They seek to understand how ancient, or even modern non-Western cultures, view mythology, but do so through the eyes of the Enlightenment and the philosophical precepts that arose after this time. Rather than seeking the supernatural perspective that ancient audiences would have presumed, they view the question through their own cultural lens. While this is an understandable thing to do, it is helpful to interact with ancient mythology and stories with the language and perspectives of

the ancients themselves. If a majority of ancient Mediterranean peoples accepted an active supernatural worldview in which gods and spirits interacted with each other and with humans, much is lost in modern hermeneutics when post-Enlightenment biblical scholars neglect this key component of ancient ways of thinking.⁵

Ancient Pagan Discussions on Myth and Gods

David Litwa helpfully summarized how some Greco-Roman authors viewed these topics of mythology and the supernatural. Asclepiades of Myrea (1st c. BC), for example, argued that there are historical (*historia*), fictional (*plasma*), and mythical (*mythos*) stories. In his view, myths were often so fantastical that they were believed to have not occurred historically (Litwa 2019:2). Litwa also cites Plutarch's view on myth, saying:

'Mythos,' he [Plutarch] opined, *'means a false story [logos] resembling the truth [eikōs alēthinōi]. Accordingly, it is far removed from actual events [ergōn].'* Plutarch posited an ontological hierarchy based in part on his Platonic philosophy. The actual events (*erga*) are considered most real, while the historical narrative (*logos*) relating those events is a second-order representation. Even less real is *mythos*, a third-order simulation of the second-order account (*logos*). (2019:3)⁶

Thus, these authors view history as a better communicator of truth than myth. However, this ancient distinction between modes of communicating truth did not inherently predispose ancient authors or audiences negatively or positively toward belief in supernatural entities and their intervention in human affairs. These ancient criticisms of myth are more related to the form or genre of communication of truth than the idea of supernatural occurrences.

It is also important to consider Palaephatus and what Litwa calls "the principle of uniformity." He argues that Palaephatus posited that ancient stories of fauns, centaurs, and minotaurs were not to be interpreted literally because they knew that those creatures did not exist in their own time. Succinctly, "anything that exists now existed in the past and will continue to exist in the future" (2019:15). However, it is important to distinguish between ancient interpretations of myths as historical or fabulous (especially regarding genre), and their understandings about the divine realm. For, it would not be accurate to say that ancients did not

believe in divine intervention on human affairs (Ferguson 2003:149).⁷ The epic stories of Homer, Hesiod, and other ancient myths were foundational for ancient Greek beliefs of how the gods dealt with people, beliefs that, though at times changed and adapted, persisted well into the common era (2003:153, 164, 172–173, 176, 178).

One ancient author who struggled to define and describe the difference between myth, history, and divine intervention was Diodorus Siculus (1st c. BC). In his *Library of History*, Diodorus surveyed world mythology and linked it with moments of divine intervention. Diodorus can claim, on the one hand, that myths of Hades are fictitious, even though he says they contribute to the piety of the people (Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 1.2), and on the other hand, he claims:

These five deities [Zeus, Hephaestus, Gê Meter, Oceanus, and Athena], they say [the Egyptians], visit all the inhabited world, revealing themselves to men in the form of sacred animals, and at times even appearing in the guise of men or in other shapes; nor is this a fabulous thing (καὶ τοῦτο μὴ μυθῶδες ὑπάρχειν), but possible (ἀλλὰ δυνατόν), if these are in very truth the gods who give life to all things. (Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 1.12 [C. H. Oldfather, LCL])

It is possible to ascertain here the principles explored above. On the one hand, there were some ancient thinkers, such as Diodorus, who understood the difference between history and myth, claiming that stories of Hades should be considered “fictitious” (μυθολογία). However, he also utilizes Egyptian stories that claim that the gods came to earth and acted, thus defending divine intervention. For authors such as Diodorus, these two ideas are not mutually exclusive.

There was still some skepticism about the gods among some Greek and Roman philosophers. In his survey of Greek and Roman perceptions of the divine, Kabiro wa Gatumu argues that “[t]he Epicureans thrived in the first century CE and they may represent a tradition that denied the popular belief that supernatural powers influenced human life” (Gatumu 2008:121). In Gatumu’s view, Epicureans and some other philosophically inclined groups would criticize popular beliefs concerning the gods because of their simplistic and philosophically inept understandings of the divine world and the gods’ interactions with humans. However, despite there certainly being critiques of popular views of the gods, “[t]he Epicureans’ view was perhaps

a minority as the popular spirit of the age recognized supernatural powers that were not remote" (2008:121). Gatumu concludes: "The sober elite rejected the popular beliefs and sought to correct the flawed conclusion that the masses derived from popular belief. But the insatiable curiosity of the masses seems to have rendered the attempts of the elite ineffective. As it seems, the masses valued magic, divination and astrology since they enabled them to deal with the spiteful supernatural powers" (2008:124). This suggests that in order to understand ancient conceptions of the divine, it is necessary to take into account both what the intellectual elites proposed, but also what the common people believed, which would affect how ancient texts that deal with the gods are read.

More broadly than the intellectual elite, different peoples in the Greco-Roman world thought that the gods and various spiritual entities were present in many different spheres. Many were present in the natural world, as Artemidorus (*The Interpretation of Dreams* 2.34) argues: "Of the gods, we say that some belong to Olympus (or similarly to the aether), some to the heavens, some to the earth, some to the sea and the rivers, and some to the underworld" (Rives 2007:16).⁸ These deities influenced those spheres, as was taught in classical texts such as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. One characteristic that can be identified with the spiritual realm in the Roman empire was a greater emphasis on demons, and their relation to the gods and humans. Often, Greeks and Romans saw demons as lower spirits than the gods (e.g., Zeus or Poseidon), but as beings that greatly influenced humans, for good or ill (2003:236–237).⁹ Spiritual entities had great influence in the ancient Roman mind, where authors such as Pliny the Elder (*Nat.* 3.39–40) argued that there was divine favor and intervention on behalf of the Roman empire in order to propagate the values of the gods to the nations through Roman rule. The emperor's claim to divine sonship and divine favor gave their rule validity not only from a human perspective, but also from a divine perspective for many within that ancient Greco-Roman mindset (Long 2013:138–142).¹⁰ Thus, for many ancient Greeks and Romans during the time of the composition of the New Testament, the divine world interacted with nature, human societies, and the Roman empire at large. While not everything in their myths were taken as actual historical occurrences, the pagan worldview of divine intervention on the human plane finds important parallels, with significant differences, in biblical texts.

Toward a Supernatural Hermeneutic

After having briefly surveyed modern and Greco-Roman approaches to mythology and the supernatural, it is important to analyze how the Bible, and for the purposes of this essay, particularly the New Testament, understands the supernatural world. This section will emphasize that the ways stories portray reality play an important role in defining the identity of early Jews and Christians, and that by making explicit assumed and implicit elements of ancient thought, the cosmic conflict found in the New Testament can be viewed as conflicting stories between biblical and pagan worldviews that strive for supremacy.

One methodology that may help bring out aspects of ancient supernatural worldviews would be Relevance Theory (Wilson 1994:37–58).¹¹ Gene L. Green states that “Relevance theory explores the nature of *intentional* (not accidental), *overt* (not covert) communication” (Green 2010:77).¹² Furthermore, “What a speaker or writer communicates is always something much larger than what is encoded in the sign system. What we communicate is a combination of explicit and implicit information” (2010:78). Green helpfully summarizes how relevance theory may help with biblical hermeneutics:

For the recovery of the biblical communicator’s intended message, the original ancient readers and hearers of the text had to attend to textual and contextual information. The “context” of an utterance consists of all the assumptions that are accessed in the interpretation of an utterance and not simply all the information accessible to the ancient author and his audience. This information was drawn from their common cognitive environment, including the discourse in which an utterance is embedded and their encyclopedic memory. (2010:84)

This summary’s highlight of “common cognitive environment” is key. By emphasizing that people often share assumptions and common knowledge, modern interpreters could assume that the existence and intervention of divine powers would be understood by the vast majority, if not the totality, of biblical writers and audiences. While their perspectives on the gods may not have been monolithic—for, indeed, what group of people is entirely monolithic in thought?—their shared cognitive environment would have allowed for explicit and implicit references to the gods of the ancient world. This is especially true if, following N. T. Wright and Paula Fredriksen (see

below), modern interpreters consider the importance of story within a social setting and the rivalry that competing stories may have in forming a groups' understanding of reality.

Fredriksen draws from both the Jewish story as well as the Greco-Roman social and religious context to understand the relationship between the gods and people to explain the worldview of the early Church, especially with respect to Paul. She highlights how many first century Jews, especially early Jesus followers, interpreted the story of Israel—beginning in the patriarchal narratives, through the exodus, monarchy, exile, and exilic and post-exilic prophetic voices—through apocalyptic and eschatological lenses where God would not only redeem Israel, but also the nations (2017:8–31). Fredriksen's work on "divine ethnicity" provides a divine-human link that can be seen in the Jewish narrative, up to and including the New Testament story (2018:193–212). These ideas would have been influential in Diaspora settings and would have been especially relevant for Jews who lived in cities. Fredriksen further explains:

The gods were everywhere, not only in the public and private buildings of ancient municipalities, but also on insignia of office, on military standards, in solemn oaths and contracts, in vernacular benedictions and exclamations, and all throughout the curriculum of the educated. It was impossible to live in a Greco-Roman city without living with its gods. (2017:34)

This highlights how ubiquitous pagan religion and their gods were for early Jews and Christians. While there were evidently some Jews and Christians that felt more comfortable with these religious and cultural aspects of pagan cities, there were others who did not feel comfortable with the presence of the pagan gods because of how they viewed the scriptures and what it taught about idols and the gods of the nations.¹³

In addition to Fredriksen, Wright's emphasis on the importance of story and worldview in early Judaism and the early Church is highly useful for interpreting the supernatural world in the New Testament.¹⁴ Wright states that "Stories are a basic constituent of human life; they are, in fact, one key element within the total construction of a worldview" (Wright 1992:38). This is especially important because, as Wright argues:

[W]orldviews, the grid through which humans perceive reality, emerge into explicit consciousness in terms of human beliefs and aims, which function as in principle

debatable expressions of the worldviews. The stories which characterize the worldview itself are thus located, on the map of human knowing, at a more fundamental level than explicitly formulated beliefs, including theological beliefs. (1992:38)

Herein Wright highlights explicitly what many understand implicitly: that human beings often assume certain aspects of their worldview either without giving it much thought or without the need to make it explicit when communicating with other people that are part of the same worldview.

Furthermore, people often influence each other and their worldview through the stories that are told and how certain foundational events are interpreted. Present day Christians naturally interpret their reality through a biblical lens, along with many others (e.g., Christian tradition, cultural context, family history, etc.).¹⁵ Wright correctly posits that ancient Jews and early Christians were no different:

For most Jews, certainly in the first century, the story-form was the natural and indeed inevitable way in which their worldview would find expression, whether in telling the stories of YHWH's mighty deeds in the past on behalf of his people, of creating new stories which would function to stir the faithful up in the present to continue in patience and obedience, or in looking forward to the mighty deed that was still to come which would crown all the others and bring Israel true and lasting liberation once and for all. (1992:39)

Wright's discussion on the importance of worldview and its many implicit components, as well as the Jewish and Christian emphasis on story as a key element to their worldview, highlight the importance to also add that the supernatural was part of their story and their worldview. Early Jews and Christians lived in a world of antagonistic world powers that had powerful gods behind them, which made their reception of the deeds and words of God subversive for the world in which they lived.¹⁶

Stories and the supernatural play important roles in how the biblical narrative articulates God's interaction with the world, and how it is different from how Israel's ancient neighbors viewed the world. John Oswalt states, "the ruling idea in the worldview that gives myth its distinctive character is continuity. This is the idea that all things that exist are part of each other. Thus, there are no fundamental distinctions between the three realms: humanity, nature, and the divine" (Oswalt 2009: ch. 3).

This perspective is helpful in ascertaining the difference between biblical and non-biblical views of supernatural beings. This makes one ask, if Fredriksen's view quoted above (that "in antiquity all gods exist") is correct, how does that relate to how the Bible speaks about the God of Israel and other supernatural beings as opposed to pagan conceptions of the divine? Two points can be made: First, there are clear differences between pagan views on supernatural beings and how the Bible presents them. Second, Fredriksen's claim that "in antiquity all gods exist" is accurate for both biblical and pagan views on the divine.

In line with the second point, modern terminology that describes ancient worldviews can and should be used if helpful, but should also be set aside when it creates more confusion than clarity. "Monotheism" is one such term (2006:241–243).¹⁷ Michael S. Heiser points out that scholars tend to qualify and further define the term "monotheism" to the point that its purpose to succinctly clarify the biblical data is defeated (Heiser 2008:28–29). Both Heiser and Fredriksen agree on the idea that in antiquity, and in both the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament, the belief in the existence of multiple spiritual beings, often called gods (whether אֱלֹהִים or θεοί) is present throughout the biblical text. Larry Hurtado, despite maintaining the term "monotheism" as part of his vocabulary, sustains that an inductive approach to the primary sources of first century Judaism and Christianity would demonstrate that these religious groups believed in the existence of heavenly beings, both faithful and unfaithful to the God of Israel, while maintaining exclusive worship of one God (Hurtado 1998:3–26). If they are correct in their interpretation of the Bible's agreement with wider ancient pagan religions—that the gods exist—this should have important bearing on modern biblical hermeneutics, exegesis, and theology.

However, while there are similarities between biblical and pagan views on the existence of multiple gods, there are also clear differences. Oswalt is especially insightful regarding the first point above. Whereas in pagan mythology ancients believed in the continuity between the divine, natural, and human realms, the biblical authors made it clear that each realm is separate from each other. Succinctly, Oswalt states: "[f]rom start to finish, the Bible resists the principle of continuity" (2009: ch. 4). Thus, while it is clear that the Bible presents its views on Baal (e.g., 1 Kgs 18:20–36) differently than the *Baal Cycle*, or that its views on Zeus and Hermes (Acts 14:11–18) are different from those of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, this does not mean that the Bible does not believe that there are supernatural entities—

whether called “gods” or another term—that exist and form part of the cosmic struggle presented in the Bible.¹⁸ This grand narrative is arguably a key, yet often neglected, element of the worldview and story of both ancient Israelites and early Christians.

Wright provides a helpful principle regarding the relationship between story, worldview, and subversion that can be applied to the supernatural worldview of the biblical writers and audience and how this relates to the stories of their pagan neighbors. He states that first century Jews “told stories which embodied, exemplified and so reinforced their worldview, and in so doing threw down a particularly subversive challenge to alternative worldviews” (1992:41). There are several biblical stories and passages that exemplify this principle. Whether it is YHWH defeating Baal (1 Kgs 18), the use of El-Baal motifs for the God of Israel in Dan 7, the subversive nature of the whole book of Revelation, or even the Christian proclamation of Jesus as Lord, the Bible communicates the message that the powers of this world, whether human or spiritual, are subservient to that of YHWH and the Lamb (to use the language of Revelation).¹⁹ It is important to link Wright’s view on telling the “right” story with Hurtado’s perspective of exclusive worship of the God of Israel to better understand how the New Testament texts exalt YHWH in Jesus against the supernatural entities that the pagan powers of the ancient world followed.

Benefits of a Supernatural Hermeneutic

The above discussion on modern interpretations on myth and the supernatural (such as “demythologizing”), pagan views on the divine, and biblical views on the supernatural realm all raise questions regarding present day biblical hermeneutics and exegesis. I would suggest three areas in which the above discussion would help scholars—indeed, Christians of any background—better understand how the supernatural may intersect with biblical hermeneutics. First, this emphasis would be helpful for western Christian scholars to understand and communicate better with majority world scholars and Christians. Second, this emphasis would aid scholars to be more sympathetic toward ancient supernatural readings of the Bible by understanding their worldview better. Third, relevance theory may help in discovering elements in the biblical-theological narrative in which there are implicit supernatural queues that ancient audiences would have easily understood, but that modern western audiences often miss.

An important aim in this short essay is to critique the legacy of materialistic readings of the Bible that authors such as Bultmann left on modern biblical studies scholarship. As Craig Keener has claimed, the rejection of a supernatural reading of the Bible—in which scholars deny the existence of other divine beings other than the biblical God, as well as their interaction with each other and with humans—is a modern philosophic presupposition that is imposed on ancient worldviews and on the biblical text (2011:7).²⁰ Furthermore, a majority of present day people do not accept this materialistic worldview and many Christians from the majority world claim to experience supernatural phenomena similar to what is described in the Bible (2016:88–98). To insist on a nonsupernaturalist reading of the Bible would fundamentally skew one’s interpretation of many biblical passages. Christian exegetes would do well to consider supernatural readings in order to communicate better with Christian scholars in non-western parts of the world. In fact, there are examples of majority world scholars who advocate for a supernaturalist reading of scripture. A brief example would be how many pastors and scholars interpreted the Bible in Latin America during the twentieth century. With the advent of many politically revolutionary movements, “Liberation Theology” became a common way of viewing the Bible that sought to free the poor and oppressed from oppressive structures of human power (Míguez 2001). Even though this perspective emphasized human and material liberation more than spiritual and supernatural freedom, in more recent times charismatic movements have returned a supernatural reading of scripture in many Latin American circles, especially among common people, but also among some scholars and theologians (2001:96). In the African continent, Kabiro wa Gatumu argues that, while there are definite differences, “[t]he African worldview stands in close proximity to the biblical worldview” concerning the existence of supernatural powers and their interactions with humans (2008:58). In this sense, there is stark contrast between how many in Africa view the world, which is in many ways similar to how the ancient biblical writers and audiences viewed it, and how Western scholars view the world. These two brief examples from Latin America and Africa strongly suggest that it is necessary to understand the supernatural worldview of the Bible first so that one can then better dialogue with present day perspectives, whether advocates of Liberation Theology or those who more readily accept a supernatural worldview in modern contexts.

Presupposing materialistic readings of supernatural elements of the Bible has the potential of intellectually ousting majority world biblical studies scholars as unscholarly or backwards thinking. It is important to recognize that when a scholar either focuses or neglects supernatural readings of the Bible as valid, it is often more closely related to their philosophical presuppositions—their models—than their methodology and exegesis (Schökel 1985). It is important for biblical scholars to understand and accept that, regardless of their own philosophical presuppositions about the supernatural, many people in the ancient and modern world believe in an active supernatural realm that interacts with the known material and human realm. Thus, accepting this supernatural model would benefit scholars that work with most any critical methodology, since the methodology seeks to highlight a particular angle in an ancient text, and much of what is underpinning is potentially related to the supernatural. Western biblical scholars should understand and accept that the validity of supernatural readings is too often based on a *priori* thinking, and that going beyond this presupposition is key for western biblical scholars to better communicate with people who view the world differently than them.

In addition to being more sympathetic and understanding of modern people who hold to a supernatural worldview, focusing on this perspective in biblical hermeneutics is important to also be more sympathetic and understanding of ancient authors and audiences. If this was, broadly speaking, how the biblical authors and audiences viewed the world, then biblical hermeneutics and the historical-critical method ought to include a supernatural worldview when interpreting scripture. If this worldview is as prevalent in antiquity as this essay has suggested, then scholars such as Fredriksen do well to suggest the “retirement” of vocabulary that have strong philosophic baggage and confuse ancient perspectives on “monotheism” or the populations of the divine realm (2006:243). Furthermore, Michael Heiser would be correct when he argued that “a theology of the unseen world [i.e., a supernatural worldview] that derives exclusively from the text understood through the lens of the ancient, premodern worldview of the authors informs every Bible doctrine in significant ways” (2015:13).²¹ While this may sound to some as too big of a claim, spending any amount of time in ancient literature and realia, biblical and non-biblical, would inform one soon enough that it is key to account for ancient stories of God, the gods, angels, demons, and how all of those beings interact with humans.²²

Adding the explicit component of an active supernatural worldview to Wright's thoughts on narrative and worldview would provide a more robust understanding of ancient Jewish and Christian understandings of reality and how that is reflected in the Bible. Relevance theory may aid exegetes in highlighting implicit references to divine-human interactions within the grand biblical narrative. When reading the New Testament, it would be beneficial to ask questions regarding whether there may be elements that make reference to the divine. While this may not be the case on every occasion, it is possible that there are instances when a supernatural reading of a text is warranted.²³ A sampling of such questions may include: Is there an explicit or implicit mention of a supernatural being in this passage? Is the mentioning of a physical element (a tree, mountain, political association, etc.) only referring to the natural plane, or is it also referring to the supernatural plane?²⁴ Is there an intertextual reference or echo to Old Testament passages that include supernatural themes?²⁵ Is there a rhetorical purpose in including any such supernatural themes that may serve polemical or pastoral purposes for the biblical writers and audiences? Is there a subversive element in a biblical passage that contradicts pagan views of the divine? Questions such as these may aid biblical interpreters to think beyond traditional exegetical questions and seek to ask explicitly what ancient people may have understood implicitly. The explicit mention of supernatural elements in biblical texts may help provide a "thick description" to the "texture" of a biblical passage that is more in line with how the ancient audience would have received it (Robbins 1996:130).

Conclusion

This essay has suggested that abandoning a modern post-Enlightenment materialistic worldview is beneficial for a biblical hermeneutic that is sensitive to ancient worldviews of the supernatural. Adopting such a biblical hermeneutic would be beneficial by expanding one's intellectual and cultural horizons, reflecting on one's own presuppositions, and seeking to understand the world in which God inspired the scriptures. By explicitly highlighting the ancient supernatural worldview, biblical interpreters may add this to their arsenal of hermeneutical and exegetical questions in order to produce more robust interpretations that do more justice to the ancient biblical authors and audiences, as well as prove beneficial for the Church today. Just as the Reformers sought to go back to the sources of scripture in their desire to best understand and express their faith, perhaps it would also

be beneficial for modern interpreters to understand the ancient worldview better and go back to the supernatural stories of God and the gods.

End Notes

¹ In agreement with Craig Keener, I am only using the term “supernatural” for lack of a better term that would describe the realm of the gods and spirits in antiquity. This is not to say that ancient people had hard and fast distinctions between what we as moderns would call the natural and the super-natural or that our terminology encompasses exactly what they believed. It is here used for convenience. See Craig S. Keener, *Miracles: The Credibility of the New Testament Accounts*, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2011), 6–9. I will also use some terms almost interchangeably, such as “mythological,” “supernatural,” “spiritual,” “cosmic” and the like. My purpose in this paper is not a taxonomy of supernatural beings, but rather a greater appreciation for ancient views on their existence and how that may impact our biblical hermeneutics.

² For an interpretation and analysis of Bultmann’s hermeneutic, see also Gert Malan, “Combining Ricoeur and Bultmann on Myth and Demythologising,” *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 72.3 (2016): 1–6.

³ This essay will lean more toward the supernatural in the New Testament and the Greco-Roman religious environment, but it will also draw upon Old Testament and ancient Near Eastern ideas. While it is important to be as synchronic as possible in approaches to the ancient world, there are also benefits to being diachronic and acknowledging that there are no hard dividing lines between certain religious or ethnic groups in antiquity between the ancient Near East or Greece and Rome as background for the Bible. For more on the interactions between ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman religious traditions, see Carolina López-Ruiz, *When the Gods Were Born: Greek Cosmogonies and the Near East* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).

⁴ By “post-Enlightenment” I refer to the materialistic worldview that became more common in intellectual circles during the European Enlightenment of the 1700s and influenced western thought into this day. This term is used, for example, by Craig Keener (*Miracles*, 106, 203) and Paula Fredriksen (*Paul: The Pagan’s Apostle*, [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017], 58).

⁵ Rives helpfully summarizes ancient Greco-Roman approaches to the supernatural world. While a majority, perhaps all, accepted the existence of divine or supernatural entities in antiquity, there were certain groups that allegorized ancient myths or proposed variant interpretations based on their philosophical presuppositions. See James B. Rives, *Religion in the Roman Empire*, Blackwell Ancient Religions (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 15–42.

⁶ For other examples of how ancient Greek authors, such as Pindar, Euripides, and Plato, viewed myth, see Miller, "Myth as Revelation," 554.

⁷ See also Litwa, *How the Gospels Became History*, 15–16.

⁸ Cf. *Il.* 15.184–92.

⁹ See also Appendix A in Keener, *Miracles*, 769–87.

¹⁰ See also Michael Peppard, "Son of God in Gentile Contexts (That Is, Almost Everywhere)," in *Son of God: Divine Sonship in Jewish and Christian Antiquity*, ed. Garrick V. Allen et al. (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2019), 138–48.

¹¹ For how relevance theory may apply to biblical studies, hermeneutics, and theology, see Gene L. Green, "Relevance Theory and Theological Interpretation: Thoughts on Metarepresentation," *Journal of Theological Interpretation* 4.1 (2010): 75–90. I want to thank Dr. Fredrick J. Long for bringing this methodology to my attention.

¹² Italics original.

¹³ Fredriksen helpfully comments on the difference between an idol and a spiritual entity: "An idol is a dumb image. A demon, however, is not an image of a supernatural power, but the power itself, a lower divinity. Any human can destroy an idol; no human can destroy a god. This Jewish translation [LXX] of Psalm 95 (96), then, at once elevated and demoted the Greek gods, granting that they were more than mere idols while placing them, *qua* daemones, in positions subordinate to the Jewish god on Hellenism's own cosmic map." See Fredriksen, *Paul*, 40.

¹⁴ Part of this idea was sparked by a comment in passing in the Naked Bible Podcast. See Michael S. Heiser, "Episode 55: Interview with Dr. Ronn Johnson," *The Naked Bible Podcast*, Podcast audio, June 27, 2015, <https://nakedbiblepodcast.com/podcast/naked-bible-55-dr-ronn-johnson/>

¹⁵ While this essay does not address these other relevant contexts, it is clear that it would be beneficial for us to reflect on how this supernatural worldview that I propose was so widespread in antiquity would affect our Christian traditions and our readings of Christian interpreters from many different periods and theological traditions.

¹⁶ On the relationship of the gods and the nations, see Daniel Isaac Block, *The Gods of the Nations: A Study in Near Eastern National Theology*, 2nd ed. (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2013); On the subversive nature of telling competing stories, see Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 40–41.

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¹⁷ See also A. Peter Hayman, "Monotheism—A Misused Word in Jewish Studies?," *JJS* 42.1 (1991): 1–15.

¹⁸ For a clear presentation of this cosmic narrative that is seen throughout Scripture, see Michael S. Heiser, *The Unseen Realm: Recovering*

the Supernatural Worldview of the Bible (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2015).

¹⁹ Lissa M. Wray Beal, *1 & 2 Kings*, Apollos Old Testament Commentary 9 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2014), 244–48; C. L. Seow, *Daniel*, Westminster Bible Companion (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 106–13; For a more general take on the subversive nature of the proclamation “Jesus is Lord” and other anti-imperial material, see Scot McKnight and Joseph B. Modica, eds., *Jesus Is Lord, Caesar Is Not: Evaluating Empire in New Testament Studies* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2013). For specifics on how it applies to Revelation, see ch. 10.

²⁰ See also William J. Abraham, *Divine Revelation and the Limits of Historical Criticism* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1982), 2–4, 187–88.

²¹ Italics original.

²² This is not to say that every human occurrence or event should be viewed through a supernatural lens, as if any event we see on earth was caused by spiritual powers, good or evil. But it is to recognize that, according to how the majority of ancient and modern people view the world, spiritual and material interactions intersect in more ways than modern Western people would normally concede.

²³ Two such instances in the New Testament that have proven fruitful in my research are Rom 8:14–21 and Rev 5:9–10.

²⁴ For an OT example, see William R. Osborne, *Trees and Kings: A Comparative Analysis of Tree Imagery in Israel’s Prophetic Tradition and the Ancient Near East*, BBRSup 18 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2017).

²⁵ In addition to relevance theory for a better appreciation of the shared cognitive environment of the biblical authors and audiences, Richard Hays’s criteria for hearing a biblical “echo” of a supernatural theme may prove to be helpful. See Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 29–32.



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Michael Bennett and Allan Varghese
*To Seek and Know our Biases: Autoethnography in
Missiological Inquiry*

Abstract:

Today, Christian mission scholarship widely accepts the historical influence of colonialism on global mission and its impact on “colonizing” missiology as a scholarly discipline. Therefore, many scholars have been calling for the “decolonization” of Christian mission. This paper seeks to join the call of decolonization by offering a considerate discussion on integrating autoethnography as a research methodology in missiological inquiry. While the paper first highlights autoethnography as a research methodology in qualitative research, it later demonstrates how autoethnography can be an integral methodology for missiological inquiries, namely in the process of de-colonizing and de-westernizing contemporary mission research.

Key Words: autoethnography, qualitative research, missiology, missions, theology, post-colonial Studies

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Introduction

In a globalized world when the “differences” of others are increasingly being scrutinized or vilified under the western hegemony, the field of missiology is not spared from this reality despite its values of celebrating and promoting harmony and unity among the cultures of the kingdom. Without the practice of intentional self-reflection leading to self-transformation, Christian mission and missiological research will continue to be impaired by the biases perpetuating the western hegemony. In this paper, autoethnography is presented as an advantageous methodology by which researchers contributing to Christian mission and missiological inquiry might address the present impairment within the field. To accomplish this, the methodology of autoethnography will be introduced according to its use and development as a method of research followed with a description of how analytic autoethnography (established by Heewong Chang (2008) and Leon Anderson (2006)) can be effectively conducted within missiological inquiry. This paper ends with four points of missiological relevance promoting the use of autoethnography as an encouraged research method in missiology as it exemplifies the Postmodern turn of missiology; decolonization and de-Westernization of missiology; movement from experience-near to embodied missiological theologizing; and reduction of bias in mission practice.

What is Autoethnography?

Within the field of anthropology, as well as other social science fields, methods of self-narration have been utilized in scientific research writings. While not always a primary focus, anthropologists wrote 1) life histories in which informants provide a self-narrative; 2) native ethnographies in which the ethnographer studies their own people; 3) autobiographical writings in which anthropologists share their process notes, personal experiences, and feelings encountered in the field; and 4) memoir writing in which the anthropologist primarily writes about their own lives which reveal cultural insights (Chang 2008: 44-45).¹ These earlier methods of self-narrative writing offer the field of research examples in which researchers engaged the presence of their selves, though their engagement with self was not to intentionally analyze and provide a larger theoretical understanding of the social phenomena they experienced. However, the emergence of autoethnography presented researchers with a new methodology to engage self through a new lens of analysis and interpretation.

Autoethnography can be defined as “an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyze (*graphy*) personal experience (*auto*) in order to understand cultural experience (*ethno*)” (Matthes, Davis, and Potter 2017:1). Although autoethnography is a form of self-narrative, it considers not just self but also others who are connected to the self. Heewon Chang writes, “As a relational being, the self is invariably connected to others in the family, local and national community, and the world, ‘a series of overlapping, concentric circles with others.’” (Chang 2008:33). In other words, the individual self cannot be separated from their social relationships for the self is in fact embedded within circles of relationships. As such, in the autoethnographic approach when one engages in studying others in a community, the process of studying the self occurs as the researcher engages and observes others. Autoethnography as a methodology advocates to see self as valid and objectively valuable to the scientific community as a source for understanding culture.

Historical Development

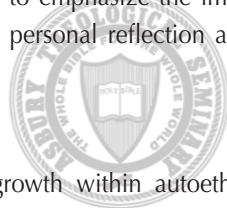
Historically, it was in the 1970s that the term autoethnography was used for the first time. Karl G. Heider, in the 1975 article “What Do People Do? Dani Auto-Ethnography,” utilized the term “autoethnography” to communicate the community members’ description on how the members of Grand Valley Dani of Indonesia understood themselves about their culture (Heider 1975). However, it was Walter Goldschmidt in 1977 who used the term to imply the personal involvement in the process of ethnographic research. Goldschmidt sees that “all ethnography is self-ethnography” (Goldschmidt 1977: 294), wherein the personal self of the researcher is deeply involved and impacted by the research subjects. Goldschmidt sees this process as “the great source of our intellectual strength, but it also makes us peculiarly vulnerable” (Goldschmidt 1977: 295). In 1979, David M. Hayano used the term to further understand autoethnography as a methodology in which the anthropologists “conduct and write ethnographies of ‘their own people’” (Hayano 1979: 99). Although there was an interest in the 1980s among social scientists to advocate for the use of personal narratives and reflexivity in research, the term autoethnography was not employed. However, in the 1990s, we see an emergence of emphasis on personal narratives and “the continuation of the autoethnographic movement that crossed many social scientific disciplines” (Ellis and Adams 2014: 255). Carolyn Ellis, who is the professor emerita of

communication and sociology at the University of South Florida, became one of the main proponents of autoethnography who emphasized the use of personal emotional introspection as part of sociological inquiries.² Later in the 1990s, numerous scholars from varied social science streams began to use personal stories and narrations which “helped carve out a special place for emotional and personal scholarship, and the term ‘auto-ethnography’ soon became the descriptor of choice”(Ellis and Adams 2014: 256).

However, scholars like Paul Atkinson and Sara Delamont began to question the “extreme enthusiasms” (Atkinson and Delamont 2006: 165) among their colleagues for privileging such a personal narrative approach of autoethnography and called for more analysis in such narrations. Atkinson and Delamont write, “One cannot but applaud the desire to foreground the personal craft work of fashioning field research and ethnographic texts But, as with all narratives, such accounts must be treated with analytic symmetry” (Atkinson and Delamont 2006: 170). The categories of personal experiences should not escape being subjected to analytic inspection. By the early 2000s, such a call for analytic scrutiny intensified as the term “autoethnography” became exclusively attached to the evocative nature of autoethnographic writings. Evocative autoethnographers wrote a “compelling description of subjective emotional experiences [to] create an emotional resonance with the reader” (Anderson 2006: 377). This resulted in producing more therapeutic autobiographical literature than analytical and research-based. Sara Delamont sees such an autoethnographic writing as being “intellectually lazy” and “lacking in analytic outcome” (Delamont 2007). More importantly, for Delamont, such a nature of knowledge production is antithetical to the progress of social science as it fails to study the social world. Therefore, as a response in 2006, Leon Anderson proposed *analytic* autoethnography to emphasize the importance of analysis while retaining the researcher’s personal reflection as an important element in social science research.³

Typologies

The historical growth within autoethnography during the 20th century has contributed to the rise of various kinds of autoethnographic writings. Such various typologies can be organized into four typology categories: descriptive-realistic, confessional-emotive, analytical-interpretive, and imaginative-creative.



The *descriptive-realistic* typology focuses on the task of writing a story and thereby seeks to objectively “depict places, people, experiences, and events as ‘accurately’ as possible with minimal character judgment and evaluation” (Chang 2008: 143). In this form, the self is present though interpretation is not typically inserted through the opinions and evaluations of the autoethnographer. The *confessional-emotive* typology provides the autoethnographer with the literary space to share their internal agonies that would otherwise be inaccessible for public consideration and seeks to connect their own confusion, problems, and dilemmas in life with their broader sociocultural community (Chang 2008: 145). The *imaginative-creative*, also known as *performative*, typology is a recent development demonstrating a bold departure of traditional academic writing while appearing in a variety of genres (e.g., poetry, spoken word, fiction, and drama) so that the text’s audience “can be actively engaged in interpreting [the author’s] creative expressions” (Chang 2008: 148).

While the other typologies briefly described above are acknowledged, this paper’s authors identify with the *analytical-interpretive* typology (also simply “analytic”) for promoting autoethnography in missiological research without delegitimizing the usefulness or value the typologies may offer to the field of missiology. An exemplar for understanding and guiding others in the use of analytic autoethnography, Leon Anderson (2006) offers five key features that every researcher should demonstrate within their writing to constitute effective analytic autoethnography: (1) complete member researcher (CMR) status; (2) analytic reflexivity; (3) narrative visibility of the researcher’s self; (4) dialogue with informants beyond the self; and (5) commitment to theoretical analysis (Anderson 2006: 378). These five key features will be clarified and interwoven below in the following sections, especially in the methodology section.

Here after in this paper, when the term “autoethnography” is used, it is the “analytic” autoethnographic typology that is assumed. Heewon Chang also referred to it as “analytical-interpretive” (Chang 2008: 113) for its emphasis on utilizing not only data collected directly from the researcher as a primary data source but also data collected directly from others and external data resources. The collection, analysis, and interpretation of self-sourced and other-sourced data increases the objectivity and reliability of the autoethnographic writing.

Utilization of Autoethnography

Doing autoethnography is multifaceted as it “combines characteristics of autobiography and ethnography” (see Ellis, Adams and Bochner 2010). As with any autobiography, this will involve the researcher retroactively writing about past personal experiences that was brought forth as “epiphanies” in the course of research by being part of the culture as any ethnographer. However, autoethnography is not merely an account of a researcher’s personal experiences, but as with any social science research, analysis is also part of the process. As Heather Walton notes,

Instead of the researcher being a disciplined observer of social processes taking place “out there,” the project is brought much closer to home. The focus in autoethnography is upon the analysis and communication of those experiences that have shaped the observer themselves. Personal experience becomes a data source for a “critically reflective methodology... [that provides a framework to critically reflect upon the ways in which our personal lives intersect, collide and commune with others in the body politic.” (Walton 2020: 6)

Therefore, on one side, the researcher conducts in all the data collection methods of ethnography. The researcher engages in “unobtrusive observation,” “participant observation,” conducts ethnographic interviews and consults archived materials- both primary and secondary data (Angrosino 2005: 37-39). At the same time on the other side, the personal experiences of the researcher are also given the status of data. Instead of separating the researcher from the “data,” the researcher becomes part of the data where their thoughts, feelings, and experiences will be considered along with other sources.

In the process of writing themselves into the research, people have used various methods. As Kitrina Douglas and David Carless note, “autoethnographers have drawn on systematic sociological introspection and emotional recall, ‘memory work,’ introspection, self-introspection, and interactive introspection, self-ethnography, diaries, free writing, and song writing... Autoethnographers have then used a variety of genres to share their experiences, including short stories, fiction, novels, layered accounts, poetry, memoirs, diaries, songs, dance, photos, and performances” (Douglas and Carless 2013: 98).

Nevertheless, it is important to note that the researcher's personal experiences are not presented uncritically. Instead, they are analyzed, compared and contrasted within the body of research. In summation, an autoethnographer will, according to Mitch Allen,

Look at experience analytically. Otherwise [you're] telling [your] story--and that's nice--but people do that on Oprah every day. Why is your story more valid than anyone else's? What makes your story more valid is that you are a researcher. You have a set of theoretical and methodological tools and a research literature to use. That's your advantage. If you can't frame it around these tools and literature and just frame it as "my story," then what or how should I privilege your story over anyone else's I see 25 times a day on TV? (Ellis et al. 2010)

Therefore, to engage in autoethnography effectively, reflexivity- more specifically an *embodied* and *analytic* reflexivity- is vital.

Embodied Analytic Reflexivity in Autoethnography

Broadly, in qualitative research, reflexivity "entails self-awareness" throughout the period of research (Palaganas et al. 2017: 427). In this sense, as Thomas A. Schwandt notes,

...reflexivity can be a means for critically inspecting the entire research process including reflecting on the ways in which a fieldworker establishes a social network of informants and participants in a study; and for examining one's personal and theoretical commitments to see how they serve as resources for generating particular data, for behaving in particular ways vis-à-vis respondents and participants, and for developing particular interpretations. (Schwandt 2007: 260)

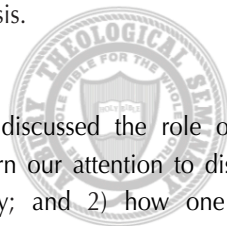
More specifically, it can be understood as a continuous process of self-reflection, "self-dialogue" (Ellis 1991: 29), by the researcher on their values and of recognizing, examining, and understanding their "biases, theoretical predispositions, [and] preferences" (Schwandt 2007: 260). However, proponents of autoethnography research intend to move "from ethnographers' use of self-observation as part of the situation studied to self-introspection or self-ethnography as a legitimate focus of study in and of itself" (Ellis 1991: 30). In other words, in addition to gathering observable data, autoethnographers also practice self-introspection of how they feel,

think and experience as they come in contact with the people and places they study. Such self-introspection becomes the research data. In order for the researcher to effectively engage in such an introspection of their own experience, embodied reflexivity is essential.

Embodiment usually “refers to how the body and its interactive processes, such as perception or cultural acquisition through the senses, aid, enhance or interfere with the development of the human condition” (Farr, Price, and Jewitt 2012: 6). In research, this means to consider the human bodies of both researchers and participants and their interactions (verbal, nonverbal, emotional, etc.) in pursuit of gathering knowledge. Here it is assumed that our human body is “the vehicle for human understanding of the world as well as other people” (Halling and Goldfarb 1991: 318). Subsequently, embodied reflexivity in research can be understood as the ability of the researcher to be self-aware of their bodies with its racial, gender, social and cultural facets, its various interactive aspects and how those elements relate and react as the researcher engages with the research participants. As a result, they are attuned to understanding what is happening to them and the participants in the process of research, which allows such a reflection to produce data for knowledge production. In addition, such a reflexivity is further scrutinized analytically by distinguishing between what the researcher is feeling, what the research subject is communicating and how the researcher is interpreting the subject. As a result, as Finlay puts it, “the reflexive ethnographer does not simply report ‘facts’ or ‘truths’ but actively constructs interpretations of his or her experiences in the field and then questions how those interpretations came about” (Finlay 2002: 532). Furthermore, during the later stages of research these findings are put in conversation with other published research within the field to ensure a rigorous process of analysis.

Methodology

Having briefly discussed the role of embodied reflexivity in autoethnography, let’s turn our attention to discuss 1) how one may do analytic autoethnography; and 2) how one may practice embodied reflexivity while conducting autoethnographic research, especially in understanding the context for mission research and practice. We shall incorporate these two aspects simultaneously in the following discussion as we present the methodology in three phases: preparation, data collection, and writing. As identified earlier, Leon Anderson’s five key features of



analytic autoethnography will additionally be referenced in this section for guides in the successful conducting of an analytic-focused methodology.

Preparation Phase

One may mistakenly assume that the first phase in conducting an autoethnography contains the steps of collecting, organizing, analyzing, and interpreting data. However, even before the autoethnographer begins collecting data, they must consider the relational location of their *self*, then their destination, and the steps involved in their autoethnographic journey by determining a research plan. This research plan includes their chosen research topic and the approach they believe most effective in studying and self-reflecting upon their topic. The chosen research topic is dependent upon the researcher's self, which Anderson elucidates by explaining that the autoethnographer is studying a topic that is an embedded reality of their own social world as a Complete Member Researcher (CMR) enabling them to dually inhabit the roles of participant and observer.⁴ The member-identity of the autoethnographer is particularly crucial to the success of their research because their own practice of embodied reflexivity considers both first order and second order constructs engaged in dialogue and activity by members of the community, including the autoethnographer.⁵ Thus, as the autoethnographer prepares for their research and is considering their research plan, they must be aware of their CMR role and its related activities. Anderson explains these activities by describing

...the autoethnographer [as] someone who helps to form and reform the constructs that she or he studies. The autoethnographer is a more analytic and self-conscious participant in the conversation than is the typical group member, who may seldom take a particularly abstract or introspective orientation to the conversation and activities. But the autoethnographer's understandings, both as a member and as a researcher, emerge not from detached discovery but from engaged dialogue. (Anderson 2006: 382)

Continuing in describing the research plan component within the preparation phase, Heewon Chang clarifies that an effective research plan "delineates why and how you want to explore your own life and what you want to explore in it" (Chang 2008: 61). This plan should indicate whether the autoethnographer intends to direct their research from specific-to-general or general-to-specific, which guides the collection, analysis and

interpretation of data between personal experiences and general research topics. As the CMR considers their motivations for research and how to direct their research, their embodied reflexivity experienced even in the preparation phase provides robust emotional understandings to the research soon to be conducted, which is a unique benefit to the analytic autoethnographic process that only a CMR can provide due to their close emotional proximity to the community in and of which they are researching (Anderson 2006: 380).

Along with identifying the approach to research, the autoethnographer must consider how their writing will communicate the relationship and location of the autoethnographer to other people included in their writing. For instance, the autoethnographer may be presented as the primary actor in the autoethnographer's life narrative with others appearing in supporting roles, or self and others can be presented within the writing as co-participants (Chang 2008: 65). The role of "others" is also important to identify within the preparation phase, because "others as similar," "others as different," and "others as opposition/enemy" are distinct roles carrying weighty and contradicting connotations which may be unintentionally communicated if the author does not discern in the beginning how the self relates to the other. For instance, if the author writes the self and others as co-participants or co-informants, and the language used to situate self with these co-actors signifies opposition, then the story loses effectiveness and there is a possibility of the nature of self or others being misconstrued.

The presence of the "other" within autoethnographic writing also requires ethical considerations surrounding the privacy and confidentiality of these individuals who are interwoven into the autoethnography. Chang advises that "Even while you are the primary source of data... it is advisable to check with the [Institutional Review Board] of your learning institution about its approval requirements for autoethnographic research" (Chang 2008: 68). Chang additionally suggests the utilization of pseudonyms, composite figures, or other voices to effectively tell your story while also protecting the privacy of others in your story.

Data Phase

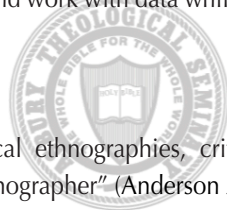
Having prepared to conduct the autoethnography, the autoethnographer enters the phase pertaining to data collection through participation, interaction, observation, recollection and reflection and also data management, analysis, and interpretation. By this point, the

CMR recognizes the vitality of embodied analytic reflexivity within the autoethnographic research and has committed themselves to practicing a heightened self-awareness that enables them to observe and distinguish the reciprocal influences of self and the studied community during the data phase. Pertaining to the practice of Anderson's second key feature, analytic reflexivity, autoethnographers practice a "self-conscious introspection guided by a desire to better understand both self and others through examining one's actions and perceptions in reference to and dialogue with those of others" (Anderson 2006: 382). In this way, autoethnographers understand that the data that they collect, manage, and analyze for later interpretation must include "reflexive views of the self" which insert themselves into the ethnographic data because not only are they part of the represented community being observed but they are also being influenced by the community (Anderson 2006: 382-383). These dynamics of the relationship between the CMR and the studied community are not only valid foci for research, but they also provide rich insight for understanding the community and the researcher's relationship and experiences tied to the research topic.

Chang wisely elucidates that the work the autoethnographer accomplishes with their data establishes the foundation of the autoethnographic writing itself and will either promote or prevent the author's successful delivery of their narrative in a way that is culturally meaningful (Chang 2008: 137). Cultural meaningfulness considers not only whether the studied community as a general group resonates with the delivered narrative, but also considers whether the delivered narrative resonates with the CMR and additionally with individuals of the community who may have divergent perspectives. Thus, to be effective, one must consider how to collect and work with data while practicing the key feature of analytic reflexivity.

Collecting Data

In many classical ethnographies, critics have pointed out the "invisible omniscient ethnographer" (Anderson 2006: 384) who appears as a behind-the-scenes agent influencing the research, data, and interpretation. Autoethnographies emphasize that the researcher is not just conducting the research but is also a necessary subject of the research. Leon Anderson explains that a third key feature of autoethnographies is that the researcher *must* appear visibly and actively where the researcher's "own feelings and



experiences are incorporated into the story and considered as vital data for understanding the social world being observed” (Anderson 2006: 384). Therefore, while collecting data pertinent to the research topic, in order to ensure that the researcher’s self is considered as a primary source, three types of data collection can be effective: memory data, self-observational/self-reflective data, and external data (Chang 2008: 88-112).

Memory data

During the process of collecting memory data, the autoethnographer may utilize chronicling, inventorying, and visualizing as techniques to ascertain, prioritize, and organize their personal memories (Chang 2008: 88). *Chronicling* is used to provide structure to the memories of events and experiences that the autoethnographer recollects and identifies as important data to collect for their focus. Such a chronological arrangement of events and experiences may appear in the form of a timeline description which outlines the order by which these events and experiences occurred in the life of the autoethnographer. *Inventorying* is utilized by the autoethnographer when they desire to list autobiographical information in order of importance based on their research focus, which may not necessarily reflect a chronological order but by a different variable (e.g., listing of important spiritual/religious life experiences, listing of most significant life celebrations). The autoethnographer would use *visualizing* to visually organize memory data through the use of images which depict the data more effectively for the autoethnographer and/or readers, so charts or figures presenting the data may be created through this technique.

Self-observational/self-reflective data

Other types of data the autoethnographer may collect that are also sourced from the autoethnographer’s self is self-observational data and self-reflective data. Self-observational data include observations of the self’s embodied experiences during the time of research and data collection. These experiences consist of the autoethnographer’s cognitive and affective experiences (thoughts and feelings) as well as their exhibited bodily behaviors which occur at that present moment. The data collection type of self-reflection collects introspective data which signify the autoethnographer’s perspectives at the time of research, so this particular data records “outcomes of... self-reflection, self-evaluation, and self-analysis” (Chang 2008: 102).

External data

Though autoethnography emphasizes the role and validity of the self and self-reflexivity, it also emphasizes the utilization of external data to balance the writing's subjectivity. This is particularly important within the analytical-interpretive autoethnography typology. External data "provide additional perspectives and contextual information to help... investigate and examine... subjectivity"(Chang 2008: 103) that may otherwise skew the objective presentation of the story's cultural meaningfulness. The collection of external data is a necessary component of the data collection stage, because it undergirds the integrity of the autoethnographic writing and it promotes the reputability of the data's final contextualized and interpreted form for readers. "External data provide contextual information, validate or correct your personal data from the past as well as self-observational and self-reflective data from the present, help triangulation with other data sources, fill in gaps left by self-based data, and connect your private story with the outer world" (Chang 2008: 112). Sources from which external data can be collected include, though are not limited to, "photographs, trinkets in your memory box, memorabilia, family heirlooms, souvenirs, video tapes, CD collections, ... and literature" (Chang 2008: 103-112).

In the analytic-interpretive framework of autoethnographic data collection, Anderson warns researchers to not fall prey to "self-absorbed digression," and he expresses the necessity of the researcher also practicing "dialogue with informants beyond the self" (Anderson 2006: 385). Whether one is conducting ethnographic or autoethnographic research, the researcher must always understand the central tenet of self in relationship even though they have recollected memories, observed self, reflected upon self, and collected data from self-focused external sources. Even while the researcher's subjective reality is a valid source of information within research, the researcher is never detached from others, and so even autoethnographic research is based on relationships. Social knowledge within the studied community is only able to be studied, informed, and changed as a result of the dialogical interactions between self and other, whether the other is a co-informant, different from the researcher, or oppositional to the researcher (Anderson 2006: 386). Anderson's fourth feature of analytic autoethnography requires the subjective self-experience to be grounded in the experiences of others which can be accomplished through the inclusion of dialogical encounters within the autoethnography,

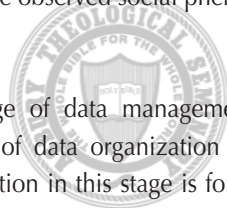
such as interviews or recording the activities and conversations of others (which may include the researcher).

Working with Data

When working with the collected data, the autoethnographer will first manage the data and later analyze and interpret the data. Data management is necessary to autoethnographic research and benefits the process by providing the research plan with a procedure for assessing the data for deficiency, redundancy, and irrelevancy while creating greater accessibility and comprehension of the data for later analysis and interpretation. Within this phase of working with the data, the autoethnographic researcher must commit to working with the data according to an analytical agenda. Anderson explains that analytic autoethnographies additionally contain the fifth feature of having an analytical agenda guide the researcher in a “[data-transcending goal] to gain insight into some broader set of social phenomena than those provided by the data themselves” (Anderson 2006: 387). Thus, as the researcher works with their data, they should consider whether the data they are managing and analyzing simply only represent attributes of the researched community and themselves or if they are providing insight beyond the data that speaks to the social phenomena which occur in that community. To this point, analytic autoethnography can contain the subjective embodied reflexivity of the researcher, but it must also involve “a broad set of data-transcending practices that are directed toward theoretical development, refinement, and extension” (Anderson 2006: 388). The conclusion of the autoethnography is not one to go unchallenged but is instead, understood as being a contribution to a broader conversation pertaining to and increasing knowledge concerning the observed social phenomena.

Managing Data

Within the stage of data management, the autoethnographer completes the activities of data organization and data refinement. The purpose of data organization in this stage is for the provision of structure to the collected data through the practice of labeling and classifying. These activities of labeling and classifying increase the logical structure of the data which assists the author in logically and effectively presenting the data in the final autoethnographic writing.



Labeling data pertains to identifying data sets (e.g., an interview, a journal entry, a photograph) and utilizing simple identifiers by which to label these sets for locating easily (Chang 2008: 116). Classifying data focuses upon sorting and grouping the data according to categories which may be structurally or topically based, and these categories then become foundational to analyzing the data (Chang 2008: 119). As the autoethnographer works with the collected data, they may notice during its organization that the data have gaps requiring more data collection, or that there might be overly sufficient amounts of similar/same or unnecessary data present indicating a need for trimming. Such weaknesses in data suggest the need for data refinement, the “process of narrowing the focus of data collection and furthering data analysis by trimming redundant and less important data and expanding more relevant and significant data”(Chang 2008: 119). For this reason, the autoethnographer is strongly encouraged to begin data management and refinement even in the earlier stages of data collection so as to create an efficient routine of organizing and evaluating the data which will decrease errors along the way and better promote the autoethnographer towards their research and writing goal.

Analyzing & Interpreting Data

Once the autoethnographer has conducted their research and collected all data pertinent to their research topic, they then begin the stage of analyzing and interpreting their data. Within this stage, in analytically engaging with the data, the autoethnographer constantly shifts their attention between self and others as they consider how to best analyze and present their perspective of the data gathered from personal memories or autobiographical information, as well as from others and the social context in which self and others find themselves. Chang describes the analysis of autoethnographic data in comparison to ethnographic data, which consequently points out the importance of this type of analytical and self-reflexive writing to understanding culture and context:

The historical contexts that shape meanings of specific texts (data) for insiders (informants or habitants of a culture) are different from those of outsiders (researchers) who try to make sense of data. In a conventional ethnography, insiders and outsiders are different people; therefore, it takes outsiders a considerable number of border-crossing experiences to decipher the cultural meaning of data collected from insiders. In

autoethnography the insider and the outsider converge. Namely, you are a generator, collector, and interpreter of data. For this reason, you are familiar with two different contexts: the original context of data and the context of autoethnographic interpretation and writing. During data interpretation, you excavate meanings from two different contexts and wrestle with contradictions and similarities between them. (Chang 2008: 127-128)

Chang's identification of the autoethnographer in this way provides insight to understanding the unique and valid insight that the individual is able to offer towards a specific research topic from their own personal experiences and perspectives. As the autoethnographer grapples with the contradictions and similarities between the two different contexts, they are able to form interpretations of the data following their identification of connections and gaps that are impacting the broader sociocultural context. From this interpretative process, the autoethnographer is able to share in writing the important interpretations of the contexts that contain cultural meaning beneficial to more than just the autoethnographer. Because this process of analysis leads to interpretation is tedious and challenging, Chang offers guidance in the form of "10 Strategies for Data Analysis & Interpretation" (Chang 2008: 131):

1. Search for recurring topics, themes, and patterns;
2. Look for cultural themes;
3. Identify exceptional occurrences;
4. Analyze inclusion and omission;
5. Connect the present with the past;
6. Analyze relationships between self and others;
7. Compare yourself with other people's cases;
8. Contextualize broadly;
9. Compare with social science constructs and ideas; and,
10. Frame with theories.

Writing Phase

The writing phase contains the final stages in conducting and writing an autoethnography, and it is especially during this last phase that the self undergoes transformation as a result of the process of *constructive interpretation*. This process of constructive interpretation engages the autoethnographer from the beginning phase of the autoethnographic

journey until the end, though this work is heavily engaged following the data analysis and interpretation because the author is better able to see the research topic in relation to self and others more comprehensively. The constructive interpretation process is interpretative because of autoethnography's nature for the researcher to contribute their own perspectives throughout the research process.

However, it is through the self-analytical work accomplished within the research that enables the self to experience transformation. In this manner there is a necessity for the researcher to be highly visible in the text in order to optimize the usefulness of the insight available to readers through the researcher's dual roles as a researcher of their own community and being a full member of their community. Anderson explains that the researcher can be effective in sharing this insight through the following:

1) illustrate analytic insights through recounting [personal] experiences and thoughts as well as those of others; 2) openly discuss changes in [personal] beliefs and relationships over the course of fieldwork; 3) be involved in the construction of meaning and values in the social worlds they investigate; 4) should not necessarily shy away from participating in potentially divisive issues; and, 5) textually acknowledge and reflexively assess the ways in which their participation reproduces and/or transforms social understandings and relations. (Anderson 2006: 384-385)

When the researcher reveals themselves clearly as a visible and active agent within the research, the researcher avails themselves to their later readers as an example in which change, or *transformation*, occurred through the process of the researcher's embodied reflexivity that allowed them to utilize their own subjective experiences as a component of their research. This additionally further indicates that the community being researched, nor the researcher themselves, are static participants of research but are instead experiencing a dynamic research endeavor that prompts change within.

At the same time, the act of writing the autoethnography, and its final written form, represent not just a transformation of self but also the act of self-interpretation. Chang defines *self-interpretation* through autoethnographic writing as "a process of refiguring the past and in turn reconfiguring the self in a way that moves beyond what had existed previously. The backward movement of narrative therefore turns out to

be dialectically intertwined with the forward movement of development” (Chang 2008: 140-141).

In this section on the methodology of an embodied and analytical autoethnography, we considered how a researcher navigates the preparation, data, and writing phases. From Chang and Anderson’s guidance provided in the preparation phase, we realize the necessity of the researcher practicing reflexivity at the onset of their research project’s conceptualization in understanding their own connection to the research topic. As a Community Member Researcher (CMR), the autoethnographer continues the practice of reflexivity through an intentionally embodied and analytical process, particularly when entering the data phase. Whether the CMR is collecting, managing, or analyzing the data for later interpretation, the autoethnographer is not only aware of their own presence within the data but also clearly delineates self-sourced data through a process of reflexive dialogue with others-sourced data obtained through observations, participating in activities, interviews, and other external data. In the writing phase, insights from both Chang and Anderson indicate that the interpretations constructed from the data and presented in the writing should contribute new knowledge on the observed social phenomenon, which can only be accomplished effectively through theoretical analysis of the data. With this direction provided in conducting embodied and analytical research, the following section considers four areas in which this methodology is relevant in contributing to the field of missiology.

Missiological Relevance

As autoethnography stands as a critique of research methodologies that distance itself from experiences, it encourages researchers to broaden the missiological enquiries by considering their own personal experiences, feelings and thoughts. We have located four existing trends in the field of missiology where autoethnography would be apt to integrate. They are 1) the postmodern turn of missiology; 2) decolonizing and de-westernizing of missiology; 3) moving from experience-near missiological theologizing to embodied theologizing; and 4) avoiding biases in mission practice.

The Postmodern Turn of Missiology

One of the features of postmodernity is in what David Bosch called the “expansion of rationality” (Bosch 2011: 360). Postmodernity challenged

the elevation of reason and deconstructed “the narrow Enlightenment perception of rationality” (Bosch 2011: 361). However, it would be naïve to think that by the emergence of postmodernity, rationality has been altogether abandoned. Instead, “metaphor, symbol, ritual, sign, and myth” are revived as various “expressions of rationality” along with experience (Bosch 2011:361). Bosch continues,

They “not only touch the mind and its conceptions, and evoke action with a purpose, but compel the heart” (Stackhouse 1988:104). So, we see an upsurge of interest, especially in Third-World churches, in “narrative theology,” “theology as story,” and other nonconceptual forms of theologizing. (Bosch 2011:361)

In missiological inquiry, such a postmodern narrative turn opened doors for identifying biographies for missiological inputs. Ruth Tucker called for considering “Biography as Missiology” where the lives of missionaries can be a resource for cross-cultural missionary effectiveness (Tucker 1999). More importantly, the emphasis on missionary biographies for knowledge production emerged as lives and their entailed lived experiences became recognized as valid sources for knowledge creation along with the thoughts and writings of the missionaries. Such a narrative influence in missiological inquiry helps us to see autoethnography as a next step forward in advancing theological and missiological inquiries.

Autoethnography as a qualitative research methodology uses personal experiences at its center of knowledge production. Hence, by its nature, it challenges the western epistemology that tended to “emphasize reason at the expense of emotion, [and regards] reason as the indispensable faculty for acquiring knowledge” (Schwandt 2007: 82). Therefore, proponents of autoethnography consider holistic aspects of human life experience with the social, emotional, and spiritual in addition to reason as a way of knowing. Such an approach to writing, as Walton puts it, “is one of the reason[s] why it has proved so attractive... that it has sought to communicate these ‘pains and privileges’ in strong, evocative ways that provoke empathetic responses” (Walton 2014: 4). For missiological writing, autoethnography becomes a vital tool precisely because it provides an ample scope for the researcher to write their own story as they interact with others within their own context. Such an approach provides the

freedom to write the personal experiences and felt reactions one may have encountered while engaging in mission or in contextualizing a particular scripture.

Decolonizing and De-Westernizing of Missiology

Autoethnography as methodology can be understood as a tool to practice both decolonization and de-westernization. Historically, the impact of western colonial enterprise is not only seen in the acquisition of the geographical landscape by the colonizer, but it was also established by the “positional superiority of Western knowledge” (Smith 2012: 62). Although colonized or indigenous peoples were ranked in terms of “nearly human, almost human or subhuman,” they were always seen below westerners who were fully human and “civilized” (Smith 2012: 63). Within such a framework the colonized were always “expected to be studied [and were] not expected to theorize on their own behalf” (Smith 2010: 572). However, in opposition to that, the turn of postmodernity and various political independence movements around the world, has led to decolonization. We see autoethnography as one of the decolonizing missiological research methods within such a broad spectrum. Autoethnography helps to decolonize research as it enables the “process of conducting research with indigenous communities that places indigenous voices and epistemologies in the center of the research process” (Datta 2018: 11). The communicator, researcher and the subjects are indigenous people who can communicate in a way that is meaningful to the community. Moreover, it seeks, as Andrea Smith notes, “to avoid the colonial ‘ethnographic imperative’ that would strive to make Native communities more knowable to non-natives. Rather, [it] seek[s] to identify resistance strategies with Native communities that will be helpful in promoting Native sovereignty struggles in particular and social justice in general” (Smith 2010: 572).

It is also important to speak of de-westernization as we speak of decolonization. While speaking on Christianity’s shift from the global north to south, missiologist Tite Tienou used the term “de-westernized” to describe the nature of Christianity. He writes, “if Christianity is ‘de-westernized’, Christians in Africa, Asia and Latin America, indeed indigenous Christians everywhere, are able to defend themselves when accused of being agents of westernization and puppets in the hands of foreigners whose intention is the destruction of local cultures and religions” (Tienou 2005: 14). Today as Christianity has been finding its indigenous voices all over the

world, Christians in the Majority world are shaking away the shackles of westernized Christianity that was once introduced to them along with western colonialism. Autoethnography as a methodology aids in such a de-westernization process as non-western researchers may write their own experiences in their own literary style not having to adapt into the western way of communicating.

Towards an Embodied Theologizing Process

Along with the call of postmodernity, decolonization and de-westernization, autoethnography also enriches the call for an “experience-near theologizing” for effective contextual missiology (Priest 2006). Anthropologist Clifford Geertz defines the *experience-near* concept as “one which an individual- a patient, a subject, in our case an informant- might himself naturally and effortlessly use to define what he or his fellows see, think, imagine, and so on” (Geertz 1974: 28). For Geertz, the natural and effortless forms of a person’s communication indicate their proximity to the lived cultural experience. The manner in which they communicate stipulates how distant or near they are to their cultural experience. Christian missiologist-anthropologist, Robert Priest (2006) adopts this Geertzian concept of experience-near to emphasize the need for a contextual form of theologizing that capitalizes on the lived experiences and exegetes local human realities in order to bring the gospel. Priest promotes this concept in contrast to a “experience-distant” theologizing process which is rooted in methodologies that are exclusively created through engagement with ideas and dogmas.

While Priest does not totally reject the importance of systematic theologians’ contribution to missiology, he insists that missional theologizing requires understanding human experiences and realities. Autoethnography exemplifies such an idea of “experience-near theologizing,” but also invites the theologian or the missiologist to use their own personal experience for the theologizing process. In that manner, autoethnography calls to move from experience-near theologizing to an embodied theologizing process. In other words, autoethnographic work helps to unearth the implicit theology that is embedded within the experience of the theologian or the missiologist. So far, in the popular theologizing process as Courtney Goto observes, minority scholars tend to only use their own experience, as “an identity descriptor, or a symbol” (Goto 2016: 26). But, for Goto, such use of experience in knowledge production is not enough, especially writing

about themes that have been part of the scholar's life. Therefore, Goto identifies the need of "the embodied theologies of... communities that require theorists to stay close to lived experiences and theologically rich practices rather than hastening to theory and abstraction" (Goto 2010: 28). The methodology of autoethnography takes upon such a task which enables the researcher (who is the theorist) to stay close to their own experiences and also with others in the process of theologizing or drafting a contextual missiology.

Autoethnography as an Embodied Mission Practice Helps Avoid Biases

Finally, if one takes analytic autoethnography as a mission practice (as opposed to a research methodology), it exemplifies the importance of understanding our identity and our past experiences before engaging with others, for instance with the religious other in mission practice. Missiologists Terry Muck and Frances Adeney emphasize such a self-understanding as a necessary first stage in the "spiral of knowledge acquisition"⁶ for engaging in missions with other religious adherents. According to Muck and Adeney, the danger of engaging in mission without knowing oneself is to come across as ethnocentric as one may mistakenly communicate their "own cultural views as the true and only way to understand the world or present the story of Jesus" (Muck and Adeney 2009: 231). Therefore, in using autoethnography as an embodied reflective practice, one may be able to better understand and avoid unexamined biases in order to communicate the Gospel in a more faithful and accommodating manner.

Conclusion

In the above discussion on autoethnography, we have argued that the practice of embodied reflexivity and analytic autoethnography can be considered as a social science methodology containing great relevance for missiological enquiry, specifically pertaining to postmodernity, decolonization/de-westernization, the embodied theologizing process and missiological practice. Despite critique garnered by other forms of autoethnographic methodologies, analytic autoethnography provides objective interpretations to the self, which is the primary source of data that leads to new cultural understanding. It also offers researchers the priceless opportunity to practice embodied reflexivity which would lead to self-transformation as they identify, challenge, and rectify personal biases which may otherwise promote the western hegemony within missiological practice

and research. This paper reveals the significance of this methodology and seeks to promote its use within missiology so that through the use of autoethnography one may not only produce new knowledge but may see and accept their own subjectivity, biases and preferences in the process of research. Additionally, for western Christian theologians, missiologists and scholars, autoethnography may also be a formational methodology for exploring themselves and others. It also presents an opportunity to join in David's prayer in Psalm 139: 23, "Search me, God, and know my heart;" so that God may examine our hearts and thoughts, to reveal to us our biases that which are repulsive and unholy in our missiological and theologizing processes.

End Notes

¹ For an early thoughtful discussion on the use of self in ethnography, see Barbara Tedlock, "From Participant Observation to the Observation of Participation: The Emergence of Narrative Ethnography," *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 47:1 (1991), 69-94.

² For more on this topic from Carolyn Ellis, see Carolyn Ellis, "Sociological Introspection and Emotional Experience," *Symbolic Interaction* 14, no. 1 (February 1991): 23-50.

³ There has also been further reform in the autoethnographic research world to establish a more objective way of doing analysis while maintaining the importance of self-narrative. One of the latest developments is in the introduction of collaborative autoethnography. Collaborative autoethnography can be defined, "as a qualitative research method in which researchers work in the community to collect their autobiographical materials and to analyze and interpret their data collectively to gain a meaningful understanding of sociocultural phenomena reflected in their autobiographical data" (Heewon Chang, Kathy-Ann C. Hernandez, and Faith Wambura Ngunjiri, *Collaborative Autoethnography*, California: Routledge, 2012, 23-24).

⁴ CMRs may be an "opportunistic" member of a community of which they are innately a member and are focusing on a research topic innately related to their own experiences that are shared by the community, or the CMR may be considered a "convert" member who initially entered the community for the purpose of researching the topic but discovered themselves becoming fully immersed and accepted by the community as a welcomed member of their community. For more details, see Anderson 2006: 379.

⁵ When discussing the "first order" and "second order" thinking that a CMR engages and observes in the field, this pertains to their

intentional identification of thinking processes supporting and surrounding the content of dialogue. First order thinking primarily focuses on what one may identify as obvious information or conclusions, e.g., what is “common sense.” This may relate specifically to the decision-making process in which one makes a decision based on what appears to be obvious, or it could be viewed as relating only to what one may think is common knowledge within a system. In the decision-making process, second order thinking considers multiple levels of information that seem pertinent for making an informed decision, especially information revealing the impact of decisions. Relating to issues surrounding sociocultural matters within a community, second order thinking contends with the process of tracking the levels of sociocultural assumptions that are present in the process that automatically guides a community member to that conclusion which appears obvious to the community. Second order thinking can additionally involve deeper reflection into the future consequences of an action when it aligns or diverges with the held sociocultural values.

⁶ Terry C. Muck and Frances S. Adeney proposed the “spiral of knowledge acquisition” (2009: 224) as a necessary factor for missions when engaging cross-culturally or with other religious adherents. The spiral has five stages, 1) Recognizing and understanding our past experience, 2) Bracketing our convictions, 3) Encountering the other with openness, 4) Evaluating through reengaging one’s convictions, 5) Integrating our horizon of meaning. For a comprehensive discussion see, Muck and Adeney (2009: 221-299).

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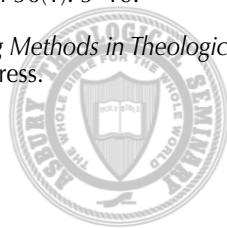
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Matt Ayars

Drunk in the Spirit: Eschatology, Soteriology, and Ecclesiology

Abstract:

There are a number of New Testament passages that associate the concepts of the new age of the Spirit, believer unity, covenant membership, and indwelling of the Holy Spirit with the symbols of the temple, Christ's body, the Eucharist, table fellowship, and drinking wine. This article explores these associations and their theological implications with particular attention lent to the metaphor of drinking the Holy Spirit and its implications for soteriology, ecclesiology, and eschatology.



Keywords: Holy Spirit, Eucharist, wine, temple, Body of Christ

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There are a number of New Testament passages that associate the concepts of the new age of the Spirit, believer unity, covenant membership, and indwelling of the Holy Spirit with the symbols of the temple, Christ's body, the Eucharist, table fellowship, and drinking wine. This article explores these associations and their theological implications with particular attention lent to the metaphor of drinking the Holy Spirit and its implications for soteriology, ecclesiology, and eschatology.

Drink of the Spirit: 1 Corinthians

In 1 Corinthians 12:13, the Apostle Paul says that all believers are “made to drink of one Spirit” (Gr. πάντες ἐν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν). This verse is at the center of Paul's exhortation to the Christians at Corinth to be unified. As a part of this exhortation, Paul warns against allowing particular spiritual gifts to lead to divisions among believers. Even though individuals are endowed with unique spiritual gifts (e.g., utterance of wisdom, utterance of knowledge, faith, healing, miracles, prophecy, discernment, tongues, etc. (1 Cor. 12:8–10)), Paul emphasizes that each of these gifts are from *one* Holy Spirit (1 Cor. 12:4–6).

To illustrate the functionality of unity with diversity, Paul employs the metaphor of the body having many parts, with each part having its own function and purpose (1 Cor. 12:12–27). First Corinthians 12:13 is located at the very beginning of this “one body, many parts” illustration. The drinking the Spirit metaphor is then used to firm up the encouragement for believer unity. While the context makes it clear that the broader point is the vision of unity that comes through a shared meal.

But what is the source and target of this metaphor? The main metaphor is the vision of unity that comes through a shared meal—an idea associated with the symbol of the Eucharist. Unsurprisingly, some interpreters have suggested that the Eucharist is the source of the metaphor in 1 Corinthians 12:13.¹ In support of this, it is pointed out that Paul uses the Eucharist as a symbol for believer unity in the preceding chapter (1 Cor. 11:17–33). The proximity of 1 Corinthians 11:17–33 to 12:13 makes it reasonable to believe that the image of the elements of bread and the wine is relatively fresh in the minds of Paul's audience.² Furthermore, the verb “drink” (Gr. ποτίω) occurs fourteen times in 1 Corinthians³ and seven of those times refer to drinking the wine of the Eucharist (not including 12:13).⁴

Paul also says in 1 Corinthians 10:21, “You cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons; you cannot partake of the table of the Lord and the table of demons.” The central idea here is that one cannot have both fellowship with Christians as well as fellowship with pagans (i.e., the sacred nature of Christian fellowship and unity). The shared meal is the symbol of communion with evil spirits through pagan sacrifice. Likewise, one has communion with God through Christ’s sacrifice, and the symbol for that communion and its degree of intimacy is in drinking the wine.

The obvious challenge to the interpretation of the Eucharist as the source of the metaphor in 1 Corinthians 12:13 is that there is no explicit reference to the Lord’s Supper in the immediate context of the passage. Commenting on 1 Corinthians 12:13, William Baker argues that, “any association of the Holy Spirit with the Lord’s Supper or of the Lord’s Supper as ‘drinking the Spirit,’ which is what this passage literally says, does not exist in the New Testament (Thiselton 2000:1001).”⁵ Baker goes on to posit that “drinking of the Holy Spirit” is a part of the baptism symbol referenced in the first part of the verse. The problem with this interpretation is that nowhere else in scripture is there reference to those being baptized *drinking the water*.

Paul also juxtaposes the imagery of water baptism and drinking in 1 Corinthians 10:1–4. In this instance, the drinking is clearly *not* drinking of the waters of baptism. Paul writes,

For I do not want you to be unaware, brothers, that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and all were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea, and all ate the same spiritual food, and all drank the same spiritual drink. For they drank from the spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ (1 Cor 10:1–4).

These verses establish precedence from the immediate literary context for the tandem reference to *baptism* and *drinking spiritual drink* without the drink being the waters of baptism. It is most likely, then, that 1 Corinthians 12:13, like here in 10:1–4, Paul has two separate metaphors in mind. While it is unclear to most interpreters if the Eucharist is the source and target of the metaphor, what is clear is that “drinking of the Spirit” in 12:14 and, “all drank the same spiritual drink” in 10:4 Paul employs to encourage believer unity.

In the event that the Eucharist is not the source of the metaphor in 12:13, there are other New Testament passages that make the connection across categories similar to that of the Eucharist specifically regarding inner transformation, covenant membership, new covenant, Spirit-indwelling, and the consumption of wine. It is to these instances that we now turn.

Eschatology: Pentecost, Cana, and the Age of the Spirit

Pentecost

Immediately following the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost, Peter launches into his sermon that results in over 3,000 converts that day. Peter's sermon text is Joel 2:28–32. In that text, Joel too employs a “pouring out” metaphor to describe the coming of the Holy Spirit. He says, “I will in those days *pour forth* of my Spirit and they shall prophesy” (Joel 2:28). Joel goes on to say, “And in that day the mountains will drip with sweet wine, and the hills will flow with milk, and all the brooks of Judah will flow with water; and a spring will go out from the house of the Lord to water the valley of Shittim” (3:18). While only the first part of this verse makes reference to wine, the remainder of the verse paints a fuller picture.

This oracle from Joel prophesies a future fulfillment of God's righteous reign on the earth—the age of the Spirit—in which there will be an abundant supply of water.⁶ Water in the garden city points us back to Eden, which is described as being watered from three rivers (Gen 2:10–14). By way of contrast, the desert is a place of wrath in the scriptures.⁷ The desert is the place where Adam's curse of struggling against the creation to produce food becomes a painful reality. To the contrary, places with a steady supply of fresh water represent God's blessing and are a realization of God's original vision for the creation and human life in particular. Well-watered places are sacred, redeemed sacred places that are marked by God's holy presence within the creation.⁸ This is attested to most explicitly in the New Testament in Jesus's conversation with the Samaritan woman at the well, in which Jesus says, “Everyone who drinks of this water will be thirsty again, but whoever drinks of the water that I will give him will never be thirsty again. The water that I will give him will become in him a spring of water welling up to eternal life” (John 4:13–14).

Joel 3:18, then, is a vision of what things will look like when God's reign returns to the creation. Joel has a unique take on it, however. Yes, Joel foretells of water in the form of books and springs, but he adds to this

sweet wine and milk. The inclusion of sweet wine and milk hyperbolize the blessedness of the redeemed land. This Eden restored is *beyond* good.

Joel's reference to sweet wine in 3:18 rings true with the voice of the skeptics on the day of Pentecost that claim that the disciples, who are filled with the Holy Spirit, are filled with sweet wine. Cyril observes, "They [the skeptics] spoke truly, though in mockery, for they were filled with the new wine from the spiritual Vine. Before Pentecost, attentive souls only occasionally partook of the Spirit, but now they were baptized completely in the Spirit, in a sober drunkenness, deadly to sin and life-giving to the heart."⁹ Cyril is pointing out that the skeptics are—in a way—right, in light of Joel 3:18.¹⁰ The disciples are, in fact, filled with the *figurative* sweet wine of the Holy Spirit that God promised to pour out on believers in the last days. The day of Pentecost, is a fulfillment of what Jesus foretells in Matthew 9:14–16, where he says,

Can the wedding guests mourn as long as the bridegroom is with them? The days will come when the bridegroom is taken away from them, and then they will fast. No one puts a piece of unshrunk cloth on an old garment, for the patch tears away from the garment, and a worse tear is made. Neither is new wine put into old wineskins. If it is, the skins burst and the wine is spilled and the skins are destroyed. But new wine is put into fresh wineskins, and so both are preserved.

Here, Jesus ties together the images of wedding and wine. This takes us to the story of the wedding of Cana in John 2, which serves as another example of bridging metaphors for drinking of the Holy Spirit and a new age of a new covenant and new birth.

The Wedding of Cana

In the story of the wedding of Cana, John draws from this same Joel tradition to make the statement that, in Jesus, the kingdom of God (the new era) has come. In this story, Jesus turns 120–180 gallons of water into wine at the wedding. This is no small amount of wine. This large amount of wine telescopes into the wedding of Cana the same imagery from Joel 3:18 that tells its hearers that when the kingdom of God comes, the mountains will be dripping with wine.

In the synoptic Gospels, the authors make the same claim that a new age of the Spirit has come with the proclamation that the kingdom of God is near.¹¹ By launching his Gospel with the story of Cana, John

is making the same claim, but in his own—very Johannine—way. The synoptic Gospels say it explicitly, yet John is more subtle by drawing on Joel's oracle and the metaphor of abundant wine as a sign of the coming of the kingdom. John fills out this metaphor, however, by specifically placing it in the context of a wedding. John is saying that when the new era of the fulfillment of the Davidic promise comes, yes, there will be a lot of wine per Joel's prophecy, but this wine is *like the wine at a wedding ceremony*. John uses this same metaphor for the second coming of Christ in Revelation 19:7–10 with the wedding supper of the lamb.

By bringing the wedding meal metaphor into the picture, John likewise creates the bridge between drinking the Holy Spirit and the new covenant. As Leon Morris puts it:

This particular miracle signifies that there is a transforming power associated with Jesus. He changes the water of Judaism into the wine of Christianity, the water of Christlessness into the wine of the richness and the fullness of eternal life in Christ, the water of the law into the wine of the gospel. While this "sign" is recorded only in this Gospel, it should not be overlooked that there are partial parallels in the Synoptics. Thus the image of a wedding feast is used with reference to the kingdom of God (Matt. 22:1–14; 25:1–13; Luke 12:36), and the disciples in the presence of Christ are likened to wedding guests rejoicing with the bridegroom (Mark 2:19). Again the contrast of Jesus' message with Judaism is illustrated by the wine and the wineskins (Luke 5:37ff.).¹²

The concepts of covenant, the new temple, and the new birth are all interconnected in the New Testament. The temple and the Mosaic Law were integral parts of the first covenant. The Mosaic Law established the covenant stipulations for God's presence to manifest in the temple. The temple is the place where heaven and earth meet. The temple is a microcosm of Eden restored, and obedience to the covenant stipulations in the law made the temple possible. As Jesus comes along in the New Testament, he established a new covenant and redefined the temple. Thus, the covenant and temple are interlinked.

Ecclesiology and Soteriology: Covenant, Temple, and Inner Transformation

Immediately following the wedding of Cana Jesus cleanses the temple. Commentators have long observed that this event is placed at the *end* of Jesus's ministry in every Gospel except John's. In John, it is at the

beginning. The dramatic episode of the temple cleansing comes to a close with an exchange between Jesus and the Jews. John 2:18–21 says,

The Jews then said to him, "What sign do you show us as your authority for doing these things?" Jesus answered them, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." The Jews then said, "It took forty-six years to build this temple, and will you raise it up in three days?" But he was speaking of the temple of his body.

Here we have an explicit combination of the metaphors of *temple* and *body*. We have already pointed out that Paul employs the body metaphor and makes the connection between the church as the body of Christ, the Eucharist, and unity. Paul also employs the metaphor of temple to describe the church. Before going there, however, it is important to highlight the purpose of placing this temple-cleansing event immediately after the wedding of Cana.

As already mentioned, in the wedding of Cana Jesus turned *lots* of water into wine. What we did not point out was that this water/wine was in stone purification jars used by the Jews. This means that the content in the jars is for cleansing. Normally the water in the jars would have been used for external cleansing. Now, as the water has been turned to wine, the content of the jars is *consumed for internal cleansing*.

John is presenting an object lesson to his audience that makes both soteriological and eschatological claims. John is saying that in the old era of the temple and the Mosaic Law, only external cleansing was possible. Now, with the new Messianic era, internal cleansing is available. The Mosaic Law only offered a solution to the problem of sinning; it did not offer a solution to the problem of the sin nature. Jesus the Messiah ushers in the age of the Spirit in which God's reign is restored to the creation and the image of God is restored in humanity through Spirit indwelling. In cleansing the temple, Jesus is doing away with the old to bring in the new. This is likewise what is happening when Jesus curses of the fig tree in Mark 11:12–25. Note that in that passage *Jesus cleanses the temple immediately after he curses the fig tree*. After cleansing the temple, the fig tree comes up again in conversation with Peter. Peter points out that the fig tree that Jesus cursed has withered. Jesus's response to Peter is telling. He says,

Have faith in God. Truly I say to you, whoever says to this mountain, "Be taken up and cast into the sea," and does not doubt in his heart, but believes that what he says is

going to happen, it will be granted him. Therefore I say to you, all things for which you pray and ask, believe that you have received them, and they will be *granted* you. Whenever you stand praying, forgive, if you have anything against anyone, so that your Father who is in heaven will also forgive you your transgressions. [“But if you do not forgive, neither will your Father who is in heaven forgive your transgressions.”] (Mark 11:11–26).

Jesus is constituting a new era of God’s redemptive mission in the world. In the previous era, authority to deal with the problem of sin was given to the temple priests. Now, that authority is being shifted to Jesus’s disciples. Jesus is telling his disciples that in order to come into the sacred presence of God, in order to come into the “temple” individuals have to go through him, and through his disciples as the embodiment of Christ as the church (more on this below).

Jesus says this same thing in Matthew 16:18–19:

I also say to you that you are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of Hades will not overpower it. I will give you the keys to the kingdom of heaven; and whatever you bind on earth shall have been bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall have been loosed in heaven.

Once again, Jesus is launching a new messianic era. Previously, the Jewish temple priests granted or denied access to God’s kingdom *via* the stipulations of the Mosaic covenant. Now, Jesus is saying that there is a new covenant, a new temple, and a new priesthood. Jesus is the new temple, and his followers comprise the priesthood of believers. With this, the Gospels are telling us that Jesus is the new temple, and that the church is the body of Christ. Making this connection, we turn back to Paul’s combining of these metaphors in calling the church the temple of God.

Paul likewise points out that individual believers are temples that are indwelt by the Holy Spirit. First Corinthians 6:19 says, “Or do you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit who is in you, whom you have from God, and that you are not your own?”

This idea is not unique to Paul. Beginning in Genesis, humanity—as the divine image bearers—was considered a sort of temple; the place where heaven and earth were always intended to meet. God puts his signature on the creation account by making humanity in his image. The creation as a whole certainly points to the existence and glory of God (Ps

19; Rom 1:18–32), but humanity was intended to be the special revelatory presence of *God*. This is lost at the Fall and restored in Jesus. Hebrews 1:1–4 says,

God, after He spoke long ago to the fathers in the prophets in many portions and in many ways, in these last days has spoken to us in His Son, whom He appointed heir of all things, through whom also He made the world. And He is the radiance of His glory and the exact representation of His nature, and upholds all things by the word of His power. When He had made purification of sins, He sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high, having become as much better than the angels, as He has inherited a more excellent name than they.¹³

With this, the author of Hebrews explains that Jesus is the preeminent form of special revelation. Jesus reveals who God is and is therefore the meeting place of heaven and earth. Jesus embodies God as the temple embodies God. The church, then, as the body of Christ, is likewise the temple of God as the embodiment of Christ. Paul says it this way in Ephesians 2:19–22:

So then you are no longer strangers and aliens, but you are fellow citizens with the saints, and are of God's household, having been built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus Himself being the cornerstone, in whom the whole building, being fitted together, is growing into a holy temple in the Lord, in whom you also are being built together into a dwelling of God in the Spirit.

Peter likewise captures this concept in 1 Peter 2:4–10:

And coming to Him as to a living stone which has been rejected by men, but is choice and precious in the sight of God, you also, as living stones, are being built up as a spiritual house for a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. For *this* is contained in scripture: Behold, I lay in Zion a choice stone, a precious corner stone. And he who believes in Him will not be disappointed. This precious value, then, is for you who believe; but for those who disbelieve, "The stone which the builders rejected, This became the very corner stone;" and, "A stone of stumbling and a rock of offense"; for they stumble because they are disobedient to the word, and to this *doom* they were also appointed. But you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for *God's* own possession, so that you

may proclaim the excellencies of Him who has called you out of darkness into His marvelous light; for you once were not a people, but now you are the people of God; you had not received mercy, but now you have received mercy.

With these two passages, then, the New Testament writers pull together the images of the temple of God, the royal priesthood, and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit as the embodiment of God's presence on earth. The Holy Spirit fills believers like the Holy Spirit filled the temple in the Old Testament.

At Pentecost in Acts 2 there is also a connection between being filled with the Holy Spirit and drunkenness. When the Holy Spirit was *poured out* on believers on the day of Pentecost, the skeptics believed that odd behavior of the disciples which manifest in speaking in foreign languages was because they were intoxicated. Acts 2:13–14 reads:

and they all continued in amazement and great perplexity, saying to one another, "What does this mean?" But others were mocking and saying, "They are full of sweet wine." But Peter, taking his stand with the eleven, raised his voice and declared to them: "Men of Judea and all you who live in Jerusalem, let this be known to you and give heed to my words. "For these men are not drunk, as you suppose, for it is only the third hour of the day."

The Eucharist furthermore employs the metaphor of drinking as a sign of covenant membership.¹⁴ Jesus clearly explains that—in this case—the wine is a symbol of his blood and the bread his body.¹⁵ This is odd in light of the Torah's prohibition of the consumption of blood.¹⁶ As Victor Hamilton points out,

This law has no parallel in the ancient Near East, though this prohibition and that concerning murder are the only specific OT prohibitions addressed to humanity rather than to Israel alone. Eating blood and taking life are Noachian commandments, not Sinaitic ones. Here, and elsewhere in the OT, blood is equated with life, and that is why its consumption or shedding is forbidden.¹⁷

Broadly across ancient Near Eastern cultic practice, consuming blood was a symbol of consuming the life force of the source of the blood.¹⁸ Consuming the blood of a bull, for example, meant *assimilating the bull's life force* and assimilating life force means taking on its characteristics or attributes. Douglas Mangum adds:

The Old Testament writers recognized that blood (דָּם, *dam*) was a life-sustaining substance (Gen 9:5). The connection between life (נֶפֶשׁ, *nephesh*) and blood is also evident in the parallel usage of expressions about taking someone's life (*nephesh*) and shedding blood (*dam*; e.g., Gen 37:21–22). The New Testament uses “blood” (αἷμα, *haima*) in this sense to refer to living beings (John 1:13), sometimes using the hendiadys “flesh and blood” (Matt 16:17; Gal 1:16 LEB; 1 Cor 15:50). Shedding blood is also used to indicate murder or death because loss of blood resulted in loss of life (Rom 3:15; Heb 12:4).

The biblical prohibition against eating blood was tied to its association with life and the recognition that it represented the essence (*nephesh*) of a living being (Gen 9:4; Lev 3:17; 7:26; 17:10–11; Deut 12:23). One consequence of Saul's foolish oath prohibiting his army from eating while they pursued the Philistines was that some of the Israelites became so desperate for food that once they defeated the Philistines, they began devouring the spoil—blood and all (1 Sam 14:28–32). Others reported the offense to Saul, who had to set up a designated spot for the animals to be butchered and the blood drained (1 Sam 14:33–34). In the New Testament, the instruction to abstain from consuming blood is one of the few requirements that the council of Jerusalem sees fit to expect from Gentile Christians (Acts 15:29).¹⁹

In short, this means that consuming the body and blood of Jesus is a symbol for (among many things) taking on the life force of Jesus. This harmonizes what Paul says in Romans 8:11, “If the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, he who raised Christ Jesus from the dead will also give life to your mortal bodies through his Spirit who dwells in you.” The target of the metaphor for consuming the life of Christ is certainly believer unity (one body, one blood) and covenant membership, but also inner transformation. This is why intoxication is an effective object lesson for Spirit-indwelling. As Paul points out in Ephesians 5:18, which says, “And do not get drunk with wine, for that is dissipation, but be filled with the Spirit...”

Once again, Cyprian picks up on the object lesson as he writes,

In my despair of better things I indulged my sins as if now proper and belonging to me. But afterwards, when the stain of my past life has been washed away by the aid of the water of regeneration, a light from above poured itself upon my chastened and pure heart; afterwards when I had drunk of the Spirit from heaven, a second

birth restored me into a new man; immediately in a marvelous manner doubtful matters clarified themselves, the closed opened, the shadowy shone with light, what seemed impossible was able to be accomplished.²⁰

Obviously, intoxication alters personality. The idea here is that one's personality is so changed by intoxication that it is as if they are being controlled by an invisible force with its own personality and desires—a *spirit*. New Testament writers draw on this reality by comparing the transformational nature of the new birth with being drunk. Being drunk with the Holy Spirit, however, rather than releasing the powerful desires of the fallen nature such as debauchery, fornication, licentiousness, rage, and violence, produces the fruit of the Spirit: love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, and self-control (Gal 5:22–23).

It is important to point out that this transformation of character from destructive selfishness to life-giving selflessness is not accomplished by the believer mustering up the power to change in their own strength. It's something that is empowered by an external Person. This transformation is the results of an invisible, personal force at work in our members. The Holy Spirit is the one who works to completely transform us from the inside out. Using another metaphor, the Holy Spirit cleanses believers of the sin nature.

Thomas Oden sums it up well with this,

The transformation enabled by the Spirit is organismically whole and all-embracing. As dead leaves fall from a tree in the winter, so the old fallen leaves (works of the flesh) gradually settle to the ground: adultery, fornication, hatred, strife, idolatry, envy, murder, drunkenness (Gal. 5:19–21). As new growth rises in the spring, there awakens the bud, then the fruits of Christian freedom, enabling faith to become active in works of love.²¹

Conclusion

The metaphor of drinking the Spirit is pregnant with the themes of covenant membership, Christian unity, inner transformation, and the coming of a new age. The most dominant of these is arguably the combination of covenant membership and Christian unity. The merging of covenant members and Christian unity is an outward sign that the new age of the Spirit has come that is marked by the church's testimony of holiness embodied in self-giving love.

End Notes

¹ Raymond Collins, *First Corinthians*. Sacra Pagina (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1999), 463; John Calvin, *The First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians*. Calvin's New Testament Commentaries, vol. 9. D. W. Torrance and T. F. Torrance, eds. J. W. Fraser, trans. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1960), 265.

² Reading at a reasonable pace, it takes approximately three minutes between 1 Corinthians 11:33 and 12:13.

³ 3:2, 9:4, 10:4, 10:7, 10:21, 10:31, 11:22, 11:25, 11:26, 11:27, 11:28, 11:29, 12:13, and 15:32.

⁴ 10:21, 11:25, 11:26, 11:27, 11:28, and 11:29 (2x).

⁵ William Baker, "1 Corinthians," in *Cornerstone Biblical Commentary: 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians*, vol. 15 (Carol Stream, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 2009), 183.

⁶ Also see Ezekiel 47:1–12.

⁷ See Proverbs 21:19; Jeremiah 2:6; Hosea 13:5; Matthew 4:1–11; 1 Corinthians 10:5.

⁸ See Isaiah 55; Psalm 1, Psalm 41,

⁹ Cyril of Jerusalem (Catech. Lect. XVII.18, 19, NPNF 2 VII), 128.

¹⁰ This dynamic of the Bible characters being literally wrong yet figuratively right is also at play when Mary supposes Jesus for the gardener in John 20:15. Jesus is not the *cemetery* gardener, but he is the *true* Gardener of the new creation. He is the true Adam within John's the new creation motif that is very present throughout his Gospel.

¹¹ Matthew 4:17 and Mark 1:14.

¹² Leon Morris, *The Gospel according to John*, The New International Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1995), 155.

¹³ Also see Matthew 11:27; John 1:1, 14, 18; 14:7; Colossians 1:5.

¹⁴ Luke 22:20.

¹⁵ Luke 22:19.

¹⁶ Leviticus 3:17; 7:26–27; 17:10–14; Deuteronomy 12:15–16, 20–24. Acts 15:29 also prohibits believers from consuming blood of pagan sacrifices.

¹⁷ Victor P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis, Chapters 1–17*, The New International Commentary on the Old Testament (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1990), 314.

¹⁸ J. Milgrom, “Blood,” *EncJud*, 4:1115.

¹⁹ Douglas Mangum, “Blood,” ed. John D. Barry et al.: *The Lexham Bible Dictionary* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2016).

²⁰ Cyprian, *To Donatus*, chap. 4, *FC* 36, pp. 9, 10; cf. Theodotus, *Excerpts, ANF VIII*), 44.

²¹ Thomas C. Oden, *Life in the Spirit: Systematic Theology, Vol. III* (San Francisco, CA: HarperSanFrancisco, 1992), 192.



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Küllli Tõniste

John Wesley on the Book of Revelation

Abstract:

This article focuses on how John Wesley interpreted the Book of Revelation, especially within his *Explanatory Notes Upon the New Testament*, published in late 1755. In particular, the central concern here is the interpretation of the middle of the book, especially chapter 12 of Revelation. Wesley does not approach the task of interpreting the Apocalypse lightly. He states that while the beginning and end of the book of Revelation are rather evident, he had for years been “utterly despairing” of understanding its intermediate parts. As a result, he relied heavily on the works of the German Lutheran Pietist theologian and biblical scholar Johann Albrecht Bengel (John Albert Bengel) (1687-1752). Bengel’s complex mathematics and chronology provided an historical interpretation of Revelation which was focused on European history, and this led to some unusual interpretations in Wesley’s understanding of the book. Yet, the function of prophecy does not appear to be a mere curiosity for Wesley. His concern is more pastoral, for he believed that awareness of the signs and the nature of the time provided believers with necessary strength to go on when times are difficult. It is this practical application and reading of Revelation which ultimately emerges from Wesley’s work.



Keywords: John Wesley, Revelation, Johann Bengel, prophecy, interpretation

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Introduction

The focus of this article is primarily on how John Wesley interpreted the Book of Revelation and depends heavily on his *Explanatory Notes Upon the New Testament*, which Wesley published in late 1755. In particular, for this article, the concentration will be on the central part of the book, especially chapter 12 of Revelation. In addition, Wesley preaches several sermons on the matters of the end times, which provide more background in conjunction with his *Notes*.¹ His sermons mostly post-date the *Notes*, and include: *The Great Assize* (1758), *The General Deliverance* (1781), *The Mystery of Iniquity* (1783), *The General Spread of the Gospel* (1783), *The New Creation* (1785), *The Signs of Times* (1787), *Of Hell* (1788), and *On Faith* (1791). The latter also being the last sermon Wesley wrote. According to Olson, “Wesley’s journal records him preaching from Revelation several times during the 1780s, mostly chapters 14 and 20.”

Wesley’s Sources on Revelation

John Wesley does not approach the task of interpreting the Apocalypse lightly. He states that while the beginning and end of the book of Revelation are rather evident, he had for years been “utterly despairing” of understanding its intermediate parts.² It is only “the works of the great Bengelius” that gave him hope of understanding some of the prophecies of this book. Clearly, the German Lutheran Pietist theologian and biblical scholar Johann Albrecht Bengel (John Albert Bengel) (1687-1752) provided the foundation for Wesley’s *Notes* on Revelation. Wesley used both his *Gnomon Novi Testamenti* (1742) and especially *Ekklarte Offenbarung* (*Exposition of the Apocalypse*) extensively. Bengel’s *Order of Times* provided some of the chronological calculations used in the *Notes*.

Bengel studied at Tübingen and became a professor at Denkendorf, Germany, and his method of exegesis included a thorough study of the original languages and manuscripts. He oversaw the corrections made to the new German Bible and also published his own Greek New Testament. Bengel has been rightly esteemed to be “the father of textual criticism.”³ Among other things he established the principle that the more difficult reading of a text is to be preferred, which became the standard in textual criticism. Bengel’s exegetical intent was “to bring nothing to the scripture, but to extract from it everything that it contained.”⁴ But many think that in some occasions he extracted out more than it actually contained. He constructed a biblical chronology from Genesis to Revelation and expected

the millennium to begin on June 18, 1836. For this “date setting” and his extravagant readings of Revelation he ended up having disagreements with other pietists, especially Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf.⁵ Yet, Bengel was a dedicated pietist living and teaching others to, “Apply the text wholly to yourself; apply yourself wholly to the text,” something that John Wesley also admired.⁶

Wesley states that he does not necessarily defend all of Bengel’s positions, which were popular in England at the time, but recommends that the reader at least consider them. Wesley did not claim extensive knowledge of the book of Revelation, stating from the beginning, “I by no means pretend to understand or explain all that is contained in this mysterious book.”⁷ Steven O’Malley points out that Bengel “brought to a culmination the tradition of symbolic-prophetic Biblical exegesis that is traced to the federal school of Dutch and German Reformed Pietism. Its principal representatives were Johannes Cocceius (1603-1669) and his student Campegius Vitringa (1659-1722).”⁸ Yet, virtually everyone admits that Bengel has provided in the *Gnomon* substantial and scholarly exegetical insight and valuable text critical remarks. His chosen historicist method, however, did not survive very long. Lewis comments that since the middle of the 18th century the tendency in Germany has been to use a more preterist interpretation.⁹

Outside of Bengel, for his understanding of the first century history, Wesley valued highly Flavius Josephus’ *History of the Jewish War*. While for early Church history, Wesley relied on the 4th century writer Eusebius. Wesley read Revelation through the lens of the Reformation conviction that the Roman Papacy was the Beast. Therefore, he includes extensive historical detail concerning the affairs of various popes. For such material Wesley consulted the work of a Catholic historian and Vatican librarian Bartolomeo Platina (or Plantina) (1421-1481) whose *Lives of the Popes* (1479) may have been the first systematic handbook of papal history. It appears that Wesley sought to rely on respected authors, but also provided a more popular and publicly accessible commentary. Writing to English readers using heavy weight Latin and German commentaries, he edited out unnecessary technicalities, but revealed sources for his more skeptical audience.

In the preface of his *Notes* Wesley also credits John Heylyn (d. 1759), John Guyse (1680-1761) and Philip Doddridge (1702-1751) who were postmillennialists. Olson notes that “Wesley never mentioned in

his *Notes* Joseph Mede, the great expositor of English eschatology, or his supporters Isaac Newton and William Whiston, all premillennialists."¹⁰ According to O'Malley, the Halle Pietists (esp. Philipp Jacob Spener) and Rhineland and Württemberg Pietists, as well as English Puritans, also had a formative influence on Wesley's eschatology.¹¹

Wesley's Understanding of Revelation as a Book

From the start of his *Notes*, Wesley calls Revelation a book of prophecy "showing things to come."¹² Revelation is placed into the same genre with Old Testament prophets, but with this exception, it is prophecy unveiled. Wesley finds in Revelation "a rich treasure of all the doctrines pertaining to faith and holiness," but those are also found in other parts of the scriptures. This strange book is meant to shine light onto things to come. Concerning the audience of this book, Wesley notes that while Revelation is "dedicated particularly to the servants of Christ in the seven churches in Asia," it does not belong to them exclusively. It belongs to God's servants "in all nations and ages" and must be read as prophecy about the future.¹³ Thus Wesley chose a historicist approach in his interpretation.

Wesley took prophecy very seriously. What God spoke through prophets must come to pass. For example, when Wesley preached on Isaiah 11:9 "The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea," he proclaimed, that one day "we should see a Christian World."¹⁴ World mission was going to be gradual, it may experience setbacks, but it will be inevitably successful, because God has promised this conclusion.¹⁵ It is perhaps because of that confidence in fulfillment that he subscribed to the idea of two millenniums. He was concerned that there would otherwise not be enough time to fit in all the promises of God. Wesley also took prophecy personally. In order to understand and relate the prophecies of Revelation to his own time and place and the experience of his community, Wesley labored in the manner of the scriptural prophets of old who "made careful search and inquiry, inquiring about the person or time that the Spirit of Christ within them indicated when it testified in advance to the sufferings destined for Christ and the subsequent glory" (1Peter 1:10b-11).

His understanding of the fulfillment of the prophecy paradigm is evident from how Wesley structured the book. In Revelation chapter 4, Wesley reveals from the outset where he believed the passage to be situated within the timeframe of Revelation:

The first, second, and third chapters contain the introduction;
 The fourth and fifth, the proposition;
 The sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth describe things which are already fulfilled;
The tenth to the fourteenth, things which are now fulfilling;
 The fifteenth to the nineteenth things which will be fulfilled shortly;
 The twentieth, twenty-first, and twenty-second, things at a greater distance.¹⁶

Yet, the function of prophecy does not appear to be a mere curiosity for Wesley. His concern is more pastoral, for he believed that awareness of the signs and the nature of the time provided believers with necessary strength to go on when times are difficult. Wesley writes: “God has not given this prophecy, in so solemn a manner, only to show his providence over his church, but also that his servants may know at all times in what particular period they are. And the more dangerous any period of time is, the greater is the help which it affords.”¹⁷ The nature of prophecy for Wesley was first to give hope to sustain faith and to transform lives, and only secondarily to inform people about future outcomes. Despite this, Wesley was also very critical of end-time predictions and the frenzies created by such apocalyptic enthusiasm. For example, when George Bell in early 1762 taught that the millennium was already arriving and the world was going to end on February 28, 1763, Wesley was unmoved figuring that Bell would receive his correction shortly.¹⁸

Method of Interpretation

Wesley was not the first, nor is he likely to be the last, person who struggled with the interpretation of Revelation. Wesley wrestled with Revelation’s symbolic language and imagery. At times he recognized and accepted *symbols and metaphors* as what they are: symbols and metaphors. At other times he interpreted them literally ending up in strange places. Interpreting scripture with scripture, Wesley looked for and recognized some intertextual references and followed them through. For example, when dealing with the scriptures about Satan being cast out of heaven, Wesley was really wrestling with that theme canonically. But then again, there are literally 24 Jewish elders before the throne of God (these are even named in Bengel, but Wesley omitted that part), there are 144,000 literal

faithful Jews from every tribe, and there must be two literal Jewish prophets witnessing in Jerusalem in Revelation 11.

As soon as Wesley applied his historicist lens he ended up in strange territories. Sometimes Wesley laid out a pretty good symbolic reading of the text and then suddenly crashed to earth ending with a lesson on western political and church history. With the help of Bengel's magical mathematical key, Wesley calculated when these events would take place. Chronologies extend the fast-paced biblical narrative into artificially long periods of human history. For example, the woman's story in the wilderness became artificially divided into two separate (but partially overlapping) periods in church history: one as 677 years (847-1524) and the second 777 years (1058-1836). There was an underlying presumption that in order for something to be "real" it must be fulfilled literally within history. So, the beast represents the Roman papacy, the woman fed in wilderness must include the spread of the Reformation in Europe, etc.

Fulfillment of prophecy required not just a time, but also a place. Following Bengel, Wesley offered an innovative geographic proposal. The four corners of the earth in Revelation 7:1 are literally the four directions on the compass from John's point of view on Patmos: east is Asia and Palestine, west is the sea and Europe (particularly the Roman Empire), south is Africa (Egypt in particular), and the north consists of various nations such as the Goths and the Huns on the outskirts of the Roman Empire.¹⁹ Because west of Patmos is the sea and the sea stood for Europe, Wesley deduced that the beast rising from the sea is a pope rising in Europe. One can also see where Wesley (and Bengel) are located. Focus is on Europe, and particularly northern and remote parts of Europe. "On this side of the Danube" - from Wesley's perspective, are the northern parts of Europe.

Chronology of Revelation: Troubles Multiplied

A large part of Bengel's work is occupied with the deciphering of the prophecies. He proposes no less than 20 definite dates in his commentary. Lewis laments concerning Bengel, "how sad it is that a spirit so noble, so richly endowed in many things, so far in advance of his age, should in this respect be so enslaved by it as to waste such vast scholarship, labor and genius, on what, after all, was only a blunder!"²⁰ Bengel himself believed that he had discovered a key to unlock the timeline of Revelation. He distinguished between the seven different names for time in Revelation: hour, day, month, year, time, (*kairos*), period (*kronos*) age or era (*aion*).²¹

He also noted that Revelation speaks both of common time and prophetic time. In Revelation 13:18 Bengel sees a command to compute an actual number. He takes the number of the beast to be literally 666 years. He then takes 666 and divides it by 42 and arrives at fifteen and six-seventh years, for the value of a prophetic month. So, a prophetic day is about half a year. Comparing this 666 with the 1000 years of Revelation 20, the proportions are nearly 2:3. Bengel assumed that it must be exactly this, and so made the 666 stand for 666 and 2/3. Dividing this by 666 (or 1000 by 999) the result is 1 and one-nine hundred and ninety-ninth. From this he deduced the apocalyptic century (111 of the units) to be 111 and 1/9. On this basis, he reckoned the short time mentioned in Revelation 12:12, as 888 and 8/9 years; the no more-a time (time no longer, Revelation 10:6) as between 999 and 9/9 and 1111 and 1/9 years; and even the era (*aeon*, eternity) as 2222 and 2/9 years. Thus, Bengel's time units look like this:

A half-time is in ordinary years 111 1/9th
 A time (*kairos*) is 222 2/9th
 The number of the beast 666 6/9th
 Time, times, and half times 777 7/9th
 A short time 888 8/9th
 A millennium 999 9/9th
 A *chronos* (period) 1111 1/9th
 An age 2222 2/9th²²

With the help of this "key" Bengel, calculates the following exact dates that correlate to the events in the Book of Revelation:

1832 antichrist's three-and-a-half-year reign
 1836 fight with beast from the abyss
 1836 on June 18th Christ's appearing, Satan is bound
 2836 Satan is bound until this date, now loosed
 2947 Satan is loose until this date (a season)
 2836-3836 millennial reign of saints in heaven
 3836 end of the world and final judgment

O'Malley emphasizes that: "Wesley issued disclaimers with reference to Bengel's chronological speculations on the millennium. For example, when Bengel claimed that Christ's millennial kingdom would begin in 1836, Wesley declared that he "had no opinion" about this, for "these calculations are far above, out of my sight. I have only one thing to do — to save my soul, and those that hear me."²³ Wesley affirmed events that had found their fulfillment in the past, but as for the future, he admitted

his lack of insight into that deep book.²⁴ One may safely conclude, that there were no signs of a millennium's arrival in 1836. Wesley, of course, did not live to see Bengel's dates come to climactic non-fulfillment as he died in 1791.

Wesley's Reading of Revelation 12: "Little Time in Wilderness"

Laying aside the numbers and chronology, it needs to be pointed out how Wesley experienced the narrative location of his own community. Wesley unpacks the vision of the woman in Revelation 12:

The emblem of the church of Christ, as she is originally of Israel, though built and enlarged on all sides by the addition of heathen converts; and she will hereafter appear, when all her "natural branches are again 'crafted in'." *She is at present on earth. and yet, with regard to her union with Christ, may be said to be in heaven,* Ephesians 2:6. Accordingly, she is both assaulted and defended in heaven, verses 4, 7.

Wesley envisioned that the true church was already seated with Christ in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus (Ephesians 2:6). He just needed to add that this "being seated in heaven" happened while they were still on earth physically. That heavenly position of the church is clear and undisputed.

Concerning the woman's features, Wesley's historicist lens kicked in. Following Bengel, Wesley believed that Revelation 12 referred entirely to "the state of the church from the ninth century to this time."²⁵ Taking the ninth century point of view, Wesley interprets the sun that the woman is wrapped in as a representation of the Christian world, the moon under her feet as the Moslem world, and the 12 stars around her head as the 12 tribes of Israel.²⁶ Here and elsewhere we see Wesley's optimism that missionary work will be successful. The three monotheistic groups will one day all come to Christ, and will all be a part of the woman. (This interpretation does not stop Wesley from viewing Muslims as persecutors of the church later in the same vision.) From his *Notes*, as well as his sermons, it is clear that Wesley was bothered by accounts of Muslim cruelties. He called the Islamic (Mahometans) faith a "miserable delusion" and "a disgrace to human nature, and a plague to all that are under their iron yoke."²⁷ However, he placed them "[a] little, but a little, above the heathens" and anticipated that they would convert when Christians become real Christians. Wesley saw the current unholy lives of Christians as "the grand stumbling-block" that

prevented Muslims conversion.²⁸ Thus Wesley distributed the blame and responsibility for their iniquities.

Based on Romans 11 and the various Old Testament promises (Jeremiah 32, Ezekiel 36, etc.), Wesley anticipated that all Israel too shall be saved.²⁹ Israel has only hardened its heart temporarily. On Romans 11:18 “Boast not against the branches,” Wesley wrote - “Do not they do this who despise the Jews? or deny their future conversion?” However, he observed that being broken off for unbelief and standing by faith are both conditional, not absolute statements. Wesley turned Romans 11:19-20a into a question: “Wilt thou say then, the branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in? Well; they were broken off for unbelief and thou staidest by faith. Be not highminded, but fear.” By turning the statement into a question, Wesley further highlighted the need for humility in the question of salvation. He cautioned against any confidence, but one must fear God. With Paul, Wesley considered the salvation of the Jews a great mystery. Gentiles’ responding to God’s grace in great numbers would spark the Jews to believe also. “Being convinced by the coming of the gentiles.” This revival will be compounded: “But there will be a still larger harvest among the gentiles, when all Israel is come in.”³⁰ It does not appear to be that apart from Christ the promises and gifts to the Jews shall be fulfilled. The great mystery is fulfilled by 1836, the great revival happens just before the millennium.

Concerning the woman in birth pains, Wesley wrote: “The woman groaned and travailed in spirit, that Christ might appear, as the Shepherd and King of all nations.” It is not *parousia* in view here. Wesley believed that sometime in the ninth century Christ began ruling in heaven over all the kingdoms on earth. This event was announced in heaven, but was not an observable event on earth. The male child that is born of woman is Christ, not in person, but in his kingdom. Wesley points out that in the ninth century many nations with their rulers turned to Christianity.

The red dragon in Revelation 12:3 is generally understood as Satan. According to Wesley, the dragon’s seven heads represent his vast wisdom. Ten horns (perhaps on the seventh head) are the emblems of power and strength. Seven diadems show that he is “the prince of this world.” The tail represents the falsehood and subtily by which the dragon draws down the third part of the stars of heaven. The stars of heaven are “Christians and their teachers, who before sat in heavenly places with Christ Jesus.” The dragon himself is still in heaven, not on the earth. The dragon is chronologically

placed “between the beginning of the seventh trumpet and the beginning of the third woe; or between the year 847 and the 947; at which time pestilent doctrines, particularly that of the Manichees in the east, drew abundance of people from the truth.”³¹

The dragon wishes to swallow the child to hinder the spread of the kingdom of Christ abroad. “*And her child* - Which was already in heaven, as were the woman and the dragon. *Was caught up to God* - taken utterly out of his reach.”³² Apparently, for Wesley, “being seated with Christ in heavenly places” is not the same as being “caught up with God.” It needs to be noted, that Wesley does not explain further at this point, nor does he develop any teaching on rapture. It is possible, that he has in mind a higher spirituality that elevates the church’s faith and thus preserves it in the middle of the troubles with Satan on earth. Suddenly Wesley’s interpretation descends (or should I say crashes) back to earth and the celestial vision with all its symbolic interpretation gets rapidly processed into the religious history of ninth to sixteenth century Europe. The woman fled into the wilderness. Wesley writes, “This wilderness is undoubtedly on earth, where the woman also herself is now supposed to be.” Wesley did not explain further. The church was, of course, always on earth. The church did not ascend and descend from heaven. It was always both on earth and in heaven simultaneously.

Geographically, the wilderness must be in Europe (because Asia and Africa were in the hands of the Turks and Saracens), and lie “on this side the Danube” (speaking from his vantage point in England). With the help of Bengel’s magic formula, Revelation’s 1260 prophetic days are converted into 777 years (from 847-1524). Wesley’s conclusion, “So long the woman enjoyed a safe and convenient place in Europe, which was chiefly Bohemia: where she was fed, till God provided for her more plentifully at the Reformation.”³³ Wesley had in view various small groups of “true believers” and early reformers in Europe when he thought of the church in the wilderness, with Christians that were experiencing persecution and poverty. Wesley points out how the woman is fed during the first wilderness period: first by others, then she had her own food and seems to hint that during the last part of the second wilderness period the so called “half time” that lasts from 1725 to 1836 (overlapping with Wesley’s own time) she is fed by God.³⁴ It seems, that Wesley interprets the unprecedented spiritual awakening and the movement of the Spirit in England during his own lifetime as God nourishing the church directly and as a time foretold

in the visions of the Apocalypse. Kingdoms and rulers are used by God to shelter the church at times. But persecution of Christians always results in greater numbers of believers.

In Revelation 12:7-9 there breaks out a war in heaven. Upon Revelation 12:8 Wesley seemed to struggle with the location of the dragon. He supplied some important New Testament background passages related to the subject of Satan being cast out: Luke 10:18; Ephesians 2:2; 4:8; 6:12, that show how deeply he has grappled with this passage, and he commented: "How deep a mystery is this!"³⁵ He observed from the text, that "It is not yet said, *unto the earth*" and left the dragon sort of hanging out there somewhere while he explained the different Greek and Hebrew words for the grand adversary of all the saints. Then he continued more decisively: "*He was cast out unto the earth* - He was cast out of heaven; and being cast out thence, himself came to the earth." But still Wesley added a clarification "Nor had he been unemployed on the earth before, although his ordinary abode was in heaven."³⁶ It seems, Wesley anticipated a more direct involvement of Satan within the scheme of human history during this period on earth as he is so prominently (and once again) cast out of heaven to the earth.

A Most Important Time

Wesley noted on Revelation 12:11 that the Swedish king Olam was killed for his faith in the year 900, and this is mentioned as an example of a testimony, as well as the Bohemian Christian martyrs in the 916 persecution under queen Drahomire. On Rev 12:12 Wesley announced that "We are now come to a most important period of time." No doubt Wesley's contemporaries as well as current readers were leaning in to listen carefully at this point. Wesley writes:

We live in the little time wherein Satan hath great wrath; and this little time is now upon the decline. We are in the "time, times, and half a time," wherein the woman is "fed in the wilderness;" yea, the last part of it, "the half time," is begun. We are, as will be shown, towards the close of the "forty-two months" of the beast; and when his number is fulfilled, grievous things will be.³⁷

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Wesley applied some of Bengel's math (too elaborate to replicate here) and suggested that this period is four-fifths of a *chronos*, or somewhat above 888 years. "This, which is the time of the third woe, may reach from 947-

1836.”³⁸ The third woe of the narrative corresponds to the 10th century in human history. He also applied his four-square geography and suggested that the third woe impacts both Asia and Europe (earth and sea). This information was going to impact the lives of his contemporaries. Wesley anticipated that some may “take these warnings for senseless outcries, and blind alarms.” He prayed that God would give them “the heavenly light within” to heed the warnings lest they may fall and worship the beast and end up in the lake of fire.³⁹ According to Wesley, the “time, times and half a time” corresponded to the following in church history:

10th-11th century the church was persecuted by heathens (Prussia, Hungary, Vandals)/ as the dragon persecuted the woman.

10th century was also the time of the great spread of Christianity (to Denmark, Poland, Silesia, Russia, Hungary, Sweden, and Norway), and in the early 11th century to Transylvania and Dacia.

11th -12th century the Turkish “flood” destroying much of the church.

13th -18th century the Turks are more under the control of various rulers in Europe and will be probably swallowed up by Russia, which has during this period risen to power in the east.

18th c. the dragon continues to persecute, especially Christians living under Turkish reign.

This applied chronology stretches out the vision, and consequently Wesley needed to note that the wilderness mentioned in Revelation 12:14 was no longer the same wilderness as the one mentioned in 12:6, although it overlaps with it significantly. It is clear, however, that Wesley was looking into the text with an expectation of territorial advancement of the church as a fulfillment of prophecy. Wesley was certainly thinking of his own people as being nourished by God in the wilderness while having to resist the beastly powers! Although Wesley’s path to this reading is a bit sketchy (especially his application of Bengel’s historicist approach), it is not a bad reading in terms of the intended function of the prophecies of Revelation, which is to encourage Christians to resist, endure, worship and witness to Christ.

Wesley's Key Interests and Message

Wesley's primary concern was revival versus nominal religion. That often boiled down to Methodism as God's eschatological movement versus the Anglican or Catholic church. Wesley believed that the spread of true Christianity would continue regardless of the resistance. It is not just Christians versus non-Christians that Wesley sees in opposition, it is true believers versus Arians, Catholics and even formalistic Protestant Christians.⁴⁰ In his exegesis, Wesley views earthly rulers who help the church as instruments of God to nourish the church. And those who at any times persecute the true believers are likewise participants in the prophetic story but on the side of the dragon.⁴¹ Christian against Christian violence really bothered Wesley. Such violence was all too frequent in Europe since the turmoil of the Reformation but also a part of a more recent history of the rebellion of 1671 which sparked 11 years of bloody religious conflict in the British Isles.⁴² Satan does his worst harm to the church in and through such violence. Wesley traced the theme of saints and martyrs and expected that his people would have times of suffering ahead. Success in mission does not come without sacrifice and persecution.

The question of the Jews and the Muslims mattered, especially towards the former. Wesley entertained hopes of revival for the Jews, but also for Muslims as well. Unlike some reformers, Wesley does not hold antisemitic views. The persecution of Jews is described with compassion. The crimes of the Muslims or Turks are described in detail, regardless of their target (Jews or Christians). Wesley interpreted the flood by which the dragon was trying to hurt the woman in wilderness as a Turkish invasion of the Christian parts of Asia and Europe.⁴³ But most of Wesley's critique is given to the violence of popes and the Roman empire and its successors. Wesley condemns violence in a sweeping statement: "It is Christ who shed his own blood; it is antichrist who sheds the blood of others."⁴⁴ He brings historical evidence for the violence of Roman Papacy:

And what immense quantities of blood have been shed by her agents! Charles IX, of France, in his letter to Gregory XIII, boasts, that in and not long after the massacre of Paris, he had destroyed seventy thousand Hugonots. Some have computed, that, from the year 1518, to 1548, fifteen millions of Protestants have perished by the Inquisition. This may be overcharged; but certainly the number of them in those thirty years, as well as since, is almost incredible. To these we may add innumerable

martyrs, in ancient, middle, and late ages, in Bohemia, Germany, Holland, France, England, Ireland, and many other parts of Europe, Africa, and Asia.⁴⁵

The mingling of political authority with spiritual power in the Papacy is viewed as the spirit of the antichrist. From this position, the papacy of Pope Gregory VII is viewed as the kingdom of the beast.⁴⁶

While Wesley sometimes violated the nature of the book of Revelation, to his credit, he applied it personally. In fact, he picked a very critical part of the narrative to be involved with; between the call to be a prophetic witness to the world, yet before the end would come. He found himself and his community in that story as being fed in the wilderness and resisting the beast. This seems to be precisely where the seer of Revelation wishes the readers to locate themselves.

Did Wesley Consider Other Options?

Systematic discussions on Revelation are typically fitted into three categories: pre-, post- and amillennialist. In some circles, such categories have acquired some political or denominational point of view which make dialogue difficult. We should not assume that the three views are always clearly distinguishable and exclusive of one another. Categorizing the commentaries on Revelation solely based to their approach to Revelation 20 is limiting and says nothing about the quality of their hermeneutics. Wesley's reading of Revelation falls in the systematic category of post-millennialist readings. But did he consider other options?

Wesley would have been aware of amillennialist readings, but he firmly rejected them, at least in as much as it included the Roman Catholic Church as the visible kingdom of God. In *The Mystery of Iniquity* Wesley writes:

Persecution never did, never could give any lasting wound to genuine Christianity. But the greatest it ever received, the grand blow which was struck at the very root of that humble, gentle, patient love, which is the fulfilling of the Christian law, the whole essence of true religion, was struck in the fourth century by Constantine the Great, when he called himself a Christian, and poured in a flood of riches, honors, and power upon the Christians, more especially upon the clergy.⁴⁷

And this is the event which most Christian expositors mention with such triumph! Yea, which some of them suppose to be typified in the Revelation by the “New Jerusalem coming down from heaven!” Rather say it was the coming of Satan and all his legions from the bottomless pit.⁴⁸

Wesley’s observation is that excessive wealth equals less true Christianity. He is highly cautious of models that portray the church as rich and powerful on earth. Wesley sees the church combining religious and political power not with the millennial rule of Christ, but with the deceptions of antichrist.⁴⁹

Wesley was exposed to the premillennialist option as well. Premillennialism was popular and Joseph Meade’s *Clavis Apocalyptia* and *Apostasy of the Latter Times* were influential and also read by Wesley. Wesley’s father Samuel was a committed premillennialist, as was his brother Charles. So also, Asbury and Coke.⁵⁰ Randy Maddox has suggested, that Wesley tended to be premillennial in the early part of his life (before Bengel, perhaps). Together with many of their contemporaries Wesley saw life as a burden. Death was viewed as a passage to a better place.⁵¹ Wesley was also challenged after he published his *Notes*. “Soon after publishing his *Notes* Wesley received a letter from John Fletcher encouraging him to consider the premillennial option and cautioned against date setting.”⁵² Fletcher wrote:

I rejoice that you find everywhere an increase of praying souls. I doubt not but the prayer of the righteous hath great power with God; yet I cannot believe that it should hinder the fulfilling of Christ’s gracious promises to his church. He must, and certainly will, come at the time appointed; for he is not slack, as some men count slackness; and although he would have all to come to repentance, yet he has not forgot to be true and just. Only he will come with more mercy, and will increase the light that shall be at eventide, according to his promise in Zechariah xiv.7. I should rather think that the visions are not yet plainly disclosed, and that the day and year in which the Lord will begin to make bare his arm openly are still concealed from us.⁵³

Later in his life John Wesley also read and even praised Thomas Hartley’s book, *Paradise Restored: Or a Testimony to the Doctrine of the Blessed Millennium, with Some Considerations on its Approaching Advent* but kept his own post-millennialist views.⁵⁴

Final Observations

John Wesley was not a systematic theologian. His eschatology as a whole is both complex and interesting primarily because he did not intend to impose a system of eschatology; he was a believer looking for answers. He was lost in his interpretation of the Book of Revelation, in particular, and unfortunately, the guidance he received from Bengel was not all that helpful. Practical and pastoral concerns led him to seek a viable framework which would address the then contemporary church's needs. Bengel's understanding of Revelation offered answers which Wesley found sufficient. I believe Wesley deserves commendation for actively seeking and engaging with Revelation as scripture, which many reformers considered beyond their intellectual grasp and Enlightenment scholars found too primitive for the modern mind. However, Wesley should have trusted more in his own biblical intuitions and imagination which we see in his sermons and hymns rather than in the *Notes*. His own thoughts became buried under the weight of Bengel's chronology.

On his own, Wesley saw God being active in this world. Beyond the religious wars, persecution, disease and poverty God through his true followers, whose number was increasing day by day, was bringing about the kingdom. He saw reasons to be hopeful for God's people amidst of persecution. He sensed his time to be special and urgent and that what God has done in heaven was going to be revealed on earth very soon. Through his reading of Revelation, Wesley prepared his people for both crises and hope ahead, as a pastor should always do.

End Notes

¹ Mark K. Olson, *A John Wesley Reader on Eschatology*, 32.

² John Wesley, *Notes, Introduction* (p 220 in reader).

³ J. Weborg, "J. A. Bengel." Pages 184-188 in *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters*. Edited by Donald K. McKim (Intervarsity Press Academic, 2007), 185.

⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann_Albrecht_Bengel . Accessed on June 3, 2021.

⁵ Roger E. Olsen, *Reclaiming Pietism: Retrieving an Evangelical Tradition*. Cambridge USA: Eerdmans Publishing (2015), 76, 78.

⁶ J. Weborg, "J. A. Bengel," 188.

⁷ Olson, *Reader*, 220.

⁸ O'Malley, "Pietist Influences," 128.

⁹ Charlton T. Lewis, *Bengel's New Testament Commentary*, 833.

¹⁰ Olson, *Reader*, 32.

¹¹ "It has been shown that Spener (and the Hallensian Pietism that followed him) derived his eschatological orientation from the influence of the federalist school of Reformed theology and the Reformed separatist, Jean Labadie, whose work he encountered at Strassburg. Likewise, it is the connection with Rhineland (Reformed) and Württemberg Pietism that was a primary contributor to Wesley's eschatological ideas, together with influence from the English Puritanism that was indigenous to his immediate environment." See Steven O'Malley, "Pietist Influences", 128.

¹² John Wesley, *Notes*, Rev 1.1

¹³ John Wesley, *Notes*, Rev 1.1.

¹⁴ John Wesley, *The General Spread of the Gospel*, 99.

¹⁵ John Wesley wrote: "They shall all know me,' saith the Lord, not from the greatest to the least (this is that wisdom of the world which is foolishness with God) but 'from the least to the greatest,' that the praise may not be of men, but of God. Before the end even the rich shall enter into the kingdom of God. Together with the will enter in the great, the noble, the honourable; yea, the rulers, the princes, the kings of the earth. Last of all the wise and learned, the men of genius, the philosophers, will be convinced that they are fools; will 'be converted and become as little children, and enter into the kingdom of God'." See, *The General Spread of the Gospel*, page 103.

¹⁶ John Wesley, *Notes*, Rev 4 Introduction. Emphasis mine.

¹⁷ John Wesley, *Notes* 12.12, 291.

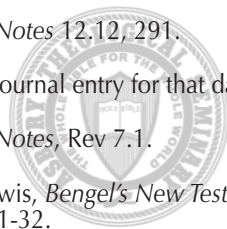
¹⁸ See Wesley's journal entry for that date.

¹⁹ John Wesley, *Notes*, Rev 7.1.

²⁰ Charlton T. Lewis, *Bengel's New Testament Commentary*, Vol 2. Grand Rapids: Kregel, 831-32.

²¹ Charlton T. Lewis, *Bengel's New Testament Commentary*, 832.

²² Bengel, *Bengel's New Testament Commentary*, 898.



²³ O'Malley, "Pietist Influences", 129. See also John Wesley, Letter to Charles Wesley—1788, No. CCCVI, in *The Works of John Wesley*, 3rd ed., Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, London, 187 2 (repr. 1979, Baker), XII, 319.

²⁴ Olson, *A John Wesley Reader*, 35, in footnote 39 it references John Wesley's Journal 12/6/62, Works 21:400.

²⁵ John Wesley, *Notes*, 12.2.

²⁶ John Wesley, *Notes*, 12.2.

²⁷ John Wesley, *The General Spread of the Gospel*, 3.

²⁸ John Wesley, *The General Spread of the Gospel*, 21.

²⁹ John Wesley, *The General Spread of the Gospel*, 25.

³⁰ John Wesley, *The Epistles of Paul Rom* 11.26-27.

³¹ John Wesley, *Notes Rev* 12.3-4.

³² John Wesley, *Notes*, Rev 12.5.

³³ John Wesley, *Notes*, Rev 12.6.

³⁴ John Wesley, *Notes*, Rev 12.14 and 16.

³⁵ John Wesley, *Notes Rev* 12.8.

³⁶ John Wesley, *Notes*, Rev 12.9.

³⁷ John Wesley, *Notes*, Rev 12.12.

³⁸ John Wesley, *Notes*, Rev 12.12.

³⁹ John Wesley, *Notes*, Rev 12.12.

⁴⁰ John Wesley, *Notes Rev*. 8.10; 12.11; 18.24.

⁴¹ E.g John Wesley, *Notes*, Rev 12.6 and 12.13.

⁴² John Wesley's library reveals Wesleys desire to understand the topic of religious conflicts between Christians. For example he read Warner, Ferdinando (1703–68). *The History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland*, (2 vols) detailing the religious massacres and murders by both Irish Catholics and Protestants and Robertson, William (1721–93). *The History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary and of King James VI till his Accession to the Crown of England* (2 vols. London: A. Millar, 1759), which give an historical account of the fierce political hatred embittered by religious zeal since the October 23 1641 rebellion, which triggered a

period of 11 years of bloody conflict in the region. See Randy L. Maddox, "John Wesley's Reading: Evidence in the Book Collection at Wesley's House, London" pages 118-33 in *Methodist History* 41.3 (2003): 126-27.

⁴³ John Wesley, *Notes*, Rev. 12.15-17.

⁴⁴ John Wesley, *Notes*, Rev 13.15.

⁴⁵ John Wesley, *Notes*, Rev 18.24.

⁴⁶ John Wesley elaborates on this subject extensively in *Notes*, Rev 13.1.

⁴⁷ John Wesley, *The Mystery of Iniquity*, 27.

⁴⁸ John Wesley, *The Mystery of Iniquity*, 28.

⁴⁹ John Wesley, *Notes*, Rev 13.1.

⁵⁰ Bruce Rodger Marino, *Through A Glass Darkly, the Eschatological Vision of John Wesley* (dissertation, Drew University, Ann Arbor: UMI1995), 91. See also letter from Fletcher Nov 29, 1755. *WJW* 26:613-16 and *The Christian Workers Magazine*, 17 (1916):96-101, esp. 98-99.

⁵¹ Randy Maddox, "Nurturing the New Creation" in collection of essays *Wesleyan Perspectives on the New Creation* Edited by M. Douglas Meeks.

⁵² Olson, *A John Wesley Reader*, 35.

⁵³ John Fletcher, London, May 26, 1757 in *Letters of the Rev. John Fletcher, Vicar of Madeley*, Edited by Melvill Horne, Carltonn & Phillips, New York, 134-5.

⁵⁴ Eschatology Sources <https://wesleyscholar.com/eschatology-sources/>



Timothy C. Tennent
An Evangelical Theology of Religions

Abstract:

This is a reprint of chapter seven of Dr. Tennent's book *Invitation to World Missions* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications 2010) published with permission from Kregel Publications and Dr. Tennent. It provides an evangelical response to the issue of a theology of world religions, especially as a critique and corrective of the classical paradigm of exclusivism, inclusivism, and pluralism as initially developed by Alan Race and later refined by Paul Knitter. Tennent argues that the paradigm itself is problematic and needs to be nuanced to include a broader theological framework beyond issues of soteriology as well as a recognition of how the majority world church also interacts with other faiths.

Keywords: World Religions, exclusivism, inclusivism, pluralism, evangelicalism

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I recall with some fondness my introductory typing class in high school back in 1974. Little did I realize when I took the class how much of my life would be spent typing on a keyboard. The typewriters in those days were manual machines that required considerable effort and timing to master. Learning to type normally begins with the “home row” keys, which represent the most frequently used letters in typing. The least used keys are positioned in more remote locations. One of the least used characters, stuck way up at the top of the keyboard above your left hand, was the @ sign. It was used only in the rarest of circumstances, and many of us wondered how it managed to find its way onto the keyboard at all. However, with the advent of e-mail, it quickly went from being the most neglected, somewhat exotic, symbol on the keyboard to its current status as one of the most often used symbols on the board.

This is analogous to the development of the relationship between Christianity and non-Christian religions. Within the long history of Christendom, other religions were remote and out of reach. Religious diversity in the world is ancient, of course. However, the awareness of western Christians to other religions generally entered their consciousness only as exotic stories from distant lands. Suddenly, with the emergence of globalization, massive shifts in global immigration patterns, the rise of multiculturalism, the dramatic rise of Christianity in the heartlands of non-Christian faiths, and the events surrounding 9/11, the relationship between Christianity and other religions has become one of the most important issues dominating Christian discourse. Islamic mosques, Hindu temples, and Zen meditation centers are now found in nearly every major city in the western world. With the collapse of Christendom and the rise of relativistic pluralism, postmodernity, and cultural diversity, we are awash in a sea of competing and conflicting truth claims.

Tragically, many seminary and divinity school programs have been slow to respond to this new situation. It is quite astonishing that theological students in the west will spend countless hours learning about the writings of a few well-known, now deceased, German theologians whose global devotees are actually quite small and yet completely ignore over one billion living, breathing Muslims who represent one of the most formidable challenges to the Christian gospel today. Many seminaries and divinity schools still do not require the study of any other religion besides Christianity as a part of their core curriculum. The study of other religions or the development of a theology of religions generally appears only

as an elective course and, therefore, is still not considered essential for ministerial training in the twenty-first century.¹ Traditionally, such course work is directed either to those preparing for the mission field or for those interested in the academic study of religion. However, even a seminarian preparing to serve a pastorate in Kansas can no longer afford to ignore these issues. Indeed, it is increasingly evident that all who are interested in Christian leadership today must have a well-articulated, robust theology of religions as a normative part of their theological training.

The field of missiology has long understood the necessity of a theology of religions. However, I highlight this disconnect because it is important that theology become more missiological and missiology become more theological.² Today, missiology is serving as a major source of the global theological renewal, and missiology as a discipline is finally becoming more grounded in theology.³ These are positive and welcome developments. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to explore the broad outlines of an evangelical theology of religions that is relevant to ministry throughout the global context.

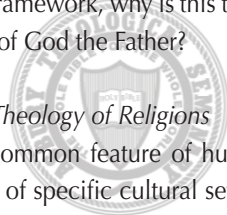
After discussing a few introductory matters, the chapter will fall into three major sections. First, the chapter will begin with an exploration of the four most widely held theologies of religion. Second, each of the four positions will be critiqued. Finally, the broad contours of an evangelical theology of religions will be proposed.

Preliminary Considerations

There are two preliminary issues that must be explored at the outset of this study. First, what is the relationship between a theology of culture and a theology of religions? Second, within the context of a Trinitarian missiological framework, why is this theology of religions placed under the larger heading of God the Father?

Theology of Culture and Theology of Religions

Religion, as a common feature of human experience, does not *by necessity* exist outside of specific cultural settings. Among other things, religion involves ideas, symbols, feelings, values, and patterns of behavior. Therefore, religion, like all other expressions of human behavior, falls clearly within the parameters of how culture is defined and understood. So, from this vantage point, a theology of religions could be seen as a subset or particular consideration within a theology of culture. However, there



are two reasons I have dedicated a separate chapter to the formation of a theology of religions. First, Christianity claims that the basis of the Christian proclamation is a transcultural source. God the Father is the source of all revelation, whether found in creation, the sending of Jesus Christ into the world, or the biblical texts. A similar claim is made, for example, by Muslims, who claim that the Qur'an has its source in Allah, who transcends all the particularities of Arabic or any other culture. This raises important issues concerning how we understand transcultural revelation coming into particular cultural contexts and creates the need for a separate treatment. Second, a whole body of literature has arisen in the last thirty years from within the theological community proposing various theologies of religion. This is quite distinct from the largely anthropological literature, which, for the most part, has dominated our understanding of and analysis of human cultures. To properly respond to this, a separate treatment is required, even though the two themes are related to one another.

Placement Within a Trinitarian Missiology

Biblical revelation makes two central claims about God the Father that are particularly important in placing a theology of religions at this point. First, God the Father is the ultimate source of creation and therefore the sovereign Lord over all that exists. Yahweh is not regarded merely as Israel's sovereign but as the ultimate ruler over all creation and everything in it. For example, Jeremiah proclaims, "Ah, Sovereign Lord, you have made the heavens and the earth by your great power and outstretched arm. Nothing is too hard for you" (Jer. 32:17). Similarly, the psalmist pro-claims, "The earth is the LORD'S, and everything in it, the world, and all who live in it" (Ps. 24:1). From a biblical perspective, there are no human cultures or societies that lay outside His sovereign rule. At its root Christianity is a declaration of the rule and reign of God. Everything within culture, including religions and their competing assertions affirming or denying God's existence, character, and work, must finally be accredited as true or exposed as false before the final tribunal of God the Father. Christianity as a religion is not above this verdict since all religions can either reflect the reign of God or join with larger cultural forces that stand in opposition to God's rule.

Second, God the Father is the source of all revelation. Revelation literally means an "unveiling" or "disclosure" of something previously hidden. In the Christian understanding, revelation comes as God's gift and is a freewill act of His self-disclosure. The Bible speaks of revelation not so

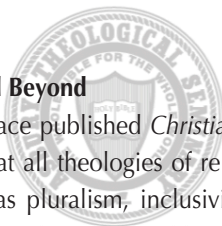
much in a theoretical sense- as a doctrine of epistemology explaining how we *know* things- but in a more practical sense. God reveals truths about Himself and about humanity so that we might know Him and His saving purposes- in short, so that we might capture a glimpse of the *missio dei*.

Revelation occurs in a wide array of forms in creation, in historical acts, in the Incarnation, and in the Bible. In order to better understand revelation, many theologians have made the distinction between general or natural revelation and special revelation. General revelation represents those features of God's self-disclosure that are *universally accessible*. The two most prominent examples of general revelation are the created order (Ps. 19:1) and human conscience (Rom. 2:14-15), since both are shared by all humanity. Special revelation represents God's self-disclosure to particular people at particular times regarding His saving purposes. Special revelation is not universally accessible. Examples of special revelation would include such divine disclosures as the Jewish law, the incarnation of Jesus Christ, and the Bible.

The relationship between general and special revelation is crucial to developing a theology of religions. There are many different views among theologians about the relationship between general revelation and special revelation. On one end of the spectrum are those who believe that special revelation is nothing more than specific and particularized symbolism of the general revelation that is universally known. At the other end of the spectrum are those who emphasize that true knowledge is found only in Christ and the scriptures and all other claims to knowledge are utterly false.⁴ Later, we will explore my own view on this, but the point is that the centrality of revelation in the formulation of a theology of religions places the discussion within our larger understanding of God the Father as the source of all revelation.

The Classic Paradigm-And Beyond

In 1982, Alan Race published *Christians and Religious Pluralism* in which he suggested that all theologies of religion operate within three basic paradigms known as pluralism, inclusivism, and exclusivism. This framework was later used and popularized by such well-known writers as the Roman Catholic Paul Knitter and the Protestant John Hick. Although the paradigm initially was used by pluralists, it quickly became used by writers across the theological spectrum, even if not all were happy with the precise language. Evangelicals emerged considerably later in the "theology of



religions" discussion and have, in recent years, raised a number of concerns about the intent of the paradigm and, even more frequently, the adequacy of the language.⁵

In a more recent publication, Paul Knitter has changed the nomenclature for each of the positions, and he adds a fourth position along the spectrum.⁶ He renames the exclusivist position the "replacement model," and the inclusivist position he calls the "fulfillment model." The most important difference for evangelicals is that Knitter has nuanced the "replacement" model by distinguishing between "total replacement," which he attributes primarily to fundamentalists, evangelicals, and Pentecostals, and "partial replacement," which he identifies with the new evangelicals, who, in his view, are more open to the idea of God's presence in other religions and hold a more robust view of general revelation. He cites, for example, Harold Netland, as an evangelical scholar who exemplifies the "partial replacement" model.⁷ Knitter renames pluralism the "mutuality model" and identifies John Hick with this model. However, Knitter is surprisingly critical of Hick, citing the inherent relativism, the superficiality of analysis, and the reductionistic caricatures that result when one tries to discover common ground among the world's religions. Knitter suggests a fourth model, the "acceptance model," which draws primarily from postmodernism, George Lindbeck's post liberalism, and the idea of multiple salvations in the writings of Mark Heim.

Although I have tried to work within and modify the threefold paradigm, I think it is now necessary to acknowledge the growing influence of postmodern thought on these discussions. Therefore, we will move beyond the classic threefold paradigm and analyze four main views, as well as the long-needed distinctions within the evangelical view. For the sake of clarity, I will use in the headings both the traditional nomenclature and Knitter's more recent language. However, it should be acknowledged at the outset that these four paradigms do not represent precise positions but rather a wide variety of more nuanced views that fall along a broad spectrum.

Exclusivism or the Replacement/Partial Replacement Model

The more conservative theologies of religions are generally grouped together in a category known as exclusivism or particularism.⁸ An exclusivistic position affirms three nonnegotiables. First, exclusivists affirm the unique authority of Jesus Christ as the apex of revelation and the norm by which all other beliefs must be critiqued. Exclusivists draw on texts such

as Acts 4:12 John 14:6 and 1 John 5:11-12 to show that Jesus is not just one of many lights in the religious cosmos; He is *the* light. Those who are without Christ are, to use the words of the apostle Paul, “without hope and without God in the world” (Eph. 2:12). Second, exclusivists affirm that the Christian faith is centered on the proclamation of the historical death and resurrection of Jesus Christ as the decisive event in human history (Acts 2:31-32). The scriptures declare that “God was reconciling the world to himself in Christ” (2 Cor. 5:19) and “making peace through his blood, shed on the cross” (Col. 1:20). Third, it is believed that salvation comes through repentance and faith in Christ’s work on the cross; thus, no one can be saved without an explicit act of repentance and faith based on the knowledge of Christ (John 3:16-18, 36; Mark 16:15-16).

The most well-known and uncompromising defense of the exclusivistic position was articulated by Hendrick Kraemer in his landmark book, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*.⁹ The book was written to stimulate discussion for the World Missionary Conference in Madras, India, in 1938. Kraemer’s work has become a classic exposition of the exclusivist position. He advocated what he called a “radical discontinuity” between the Christian faith and the beliefs of all other religions. Kraemer refused to divide revelation into the categories of general and special, which he thought might allow for the possibility of revelation outside the proclamation of the Christian gospel.¹⁰ For Kraemer, the incarnation of Jesus Christ represents the “decisive moment in world history.”¹¹ Jesus Christ is the decisive revelation of God that confronts the entire human race and stands over and against all other attempts by other religions or philosophies to “apprehend the totality of existence.”¹² Kraemer’s attack on what he calls “omnipresent relativism” includes dismantling anything that would chip away at the vast gulf that exists between God and the human race. This involves the complete separation of nature and grace, or reason and revelation.

A more contemporary exposition of the exclusivist position may be found in Ron Nash’s *Is Jesus the Only Savior?*¹³ Unlike Kraemer, Nash accepts the distinction between general and special revelation but argues that general revelation “performs the function of rendering man judicially accountable before God.”¹⁴ Nash exposes overly optimistic views of the salvific power of general revelation but does not clearly demonstrate how general revelation might assist or prepare one to receive special revelation.

As Paul Knitter has recognized, there are clearly those within the exclusivistic perspective who are not convinced that maintaining the three nonnegotiables necessitates a position of such radical discontinuity or a completely negative assessment of other religions. These views tend to be more optimistic about the role and function of general revelation. While acknowledging that there is no salvation in Hinduism, Buddhism, or Islam, and that general revelation is incapable of saving anyone, some exclusivists nevertheless believe that God provides truths about Himself and humanity through general revelation that are accessible to all and that some of these truths have been incorporated into the beliefs of other religions, providing points of continuity whenever there is a consistency with the biblical revelation. This view has been advocated by Gerald McDermott in *Can Evangelicals Learn from World Religions?* and by Harold Netland in *Encountering Religious Pluralism*.¹⁵ This perspective does not see Christian truth as completely detached from truths that may be found through general revelation but nevertheless holds that other religions ultimately fall short and cannot provide salvation because they do not accept the centrality of Christ's revelation and His work on the cross. Furthermore, exclusivists insist that the biblical message calls for an explicit act of repentance and faith in Christ that is obviously not part of the message or experience of non-Christian religions.¹⁶

Some who hold to the three nonnegotiables also have advocated a position known traditionally as fulfillment theology, which arose in the late nineteenth century, although the concept goes back as far as the second century with figures like Justin Martyr and his creative use of the *logos* concept. This use of the term *fulfillment* should not be confused with Knitter's more recent use of the term to describe inclusivism, which will be explored later. Unlike Kraemer, the governing purpose behind fulfillment theology is to demonstrate the continuity between human philosophies or religions and the supernatural religion of Christianity. While affirming the final revelation of Christ, fulfillment theologians saw God working through philosophy and non-Christian religions to prepare people to hear and respond to the gospel.

Fulfillment theology arose out of the nineteenth-century fascination with applying Darwinian ideas of evolution to science, sociology, religion, and ethics.¹⁷ In the writings of Max Muller (1823-1900), the concept of fulfillment robbed Christianity of all claims to revelation, and the origins of religion were viewed as an expression of universal human experience.¹⁸

All religions were arranged in stages from the lower religions to the higher, monotheistic religions, culminating in Christianity.

However, there were scholars as well as missionaries who adopted the fulfillment concept within an evangelical framework. The best-known scholar to do this was Monier Monier-Williams (1819-1899) at Oxford. Monier-Williams argued for the supremacy of historical Christianity as divinely revealed. He was convinced that in time all the other religions of the world would crumble as they came into contact with the truth of the Christian gospel. However, he developed a far more positive attitude toward the world religions, arguing that Christianity would not be victorious because it *refuted* all religions but because it *fulfilled* them. He argued that all religions reveal universal, God-given instincts, desires, and aspirations that are met in the Christian gospel. The missionary community, particularly in India, where they were meeting stiff resistance from Hinduism, latched onto fulfillment ideas and began to explore them in earnest in the early years of the twentieth century.

The most notable and articulate expression of fulfillment thought came from missionaries working in India such as T. E. Slater (1840-1912), in his work *Higher Hinduism in Relation to Christianity*, and J. N. Farquhar (1861-1929), whose landmark book, *The Crown of Hinduism*, was published in 1913. Farquhar and Slater were two of the earliest scholars to produce major works that ambitiously set out to compare the doctrines of Hinduism with the doctrines in Christianity and demonstrate a fulfillment theme.¹⁹ Farquhar sought to establish a nonconfrontational bridge for the Hindu to cross over to Christianity, arguing that all the notable features and aspirations within Hinduism find their highest expression and ultimate fulfillment in Christianity. He based the fulfillment theme on Christ's claim in Matthew 5:17 that He had not come to abolish or destroy but to fulfill.

The fulfillment motif among evangelicals was largely snuffed out with the publication of Kraemer's *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* in 1938, which reasserted a more rigid, uncompromising stance toward world religions. On the liberal side, the ongoing rise of rationalistic presuppositions further encouraged evangelicals to close ranks. However, the idea of a radical positive assessment of world religions without relinquishing the supremacy of Christianity found new expression in the second major attitude toward world religions, known as inclusivism.

Inclusivism or the New Fulfillment Model

Inclusivism affirms the first two of the three “nonnegotiable” positions held by the exclusivists. Thus, inclusivists affirm without qualification that Jesus Christ is the definitive and authoritative revelation of God. Furthermore, they affirm the centrality of Christ’s work on the cross, without which no one can be saved. What makes the inclusivist position distinct from the exclusivists are their particular views regarding universal access to the gospel and the necessity of a personal knowledge of and response to Jesus Christ. The inclusivists argue from texts like John 3:16 and 2 Peter 3:9 that God’s universal love for the world and His desire to save everyone implies that everyone must have access to salvation. Stuart Hackett, an advocate of inclusivism, makes the case for this in *The Reconstruction of the Christian Revelation Claim*, where he states that if every human being has been objectively provided redemption in Jesus Christ through the Cross, then “it must be possible for every human individual to become personally eligible to receive that provision.”²⁰ In other words, universal provision demands universal access. Therefore, since the majority of people in the world do not have a viable access to the Christian message, the inclusivists believe that this access has been made available through general revelation, God’s providential workings in history, and even other religions. They affirm that Christ’s work on the cross is *ontologically* necessary for salvation but that it is not *epistemologically* necessary. In other words, you do not need to personally know about Christ to be the recipient of His work of grace on your behalf. Probably the best-known articulation of this view occurs in the Catholic Second Vatican Council document entitled *Constitution on the Church*, which declares,

Those also can attain to everlasting salvation who, through no fault of their own, do not know the Gospel of Christ or his Church, yet sincerely seek God and moved by grace, strive by their deeds to do His will as it is known to them through the dictates of conscience.²¹

Inclusivists generally point to examples of God working outside the covenant with Israel to show that faith, and even salvation, can be found among Gentiles. Biblical examples that are often cited include Melchizedek (Gen. 14), Rahab (Joshua 2), the Ninevites (Jonah 3), the Queen of Sheba (1 Kings 10), and Cornelius (Acts 10), among others.²² Inclusivists also draw heavily from Paul’s statements that God “has not

left himself without testimony" (Acts 14:17) and that the Gentiles have "the requirements of the law written on their hearts" (Rom. 2:15). They interpret this witness as more than a *preparatio evangelica*- a preparation to receive and respond to the special revelation that follows. They see it as an independent salvific witness because Christ draws people to Himself not only explicitly through the Christian church, but also anonymously in countless hidden ways through creation, history, and the testimony of world religions. In short, salvific grace is mediated through general revelation, not just through special revelation.

The belief in universal access to the gospel and the expanded efficacy of general revelation has led inclusivists to make a distinction between a Christian and a believer. Both are saved through the completed work of Christ on the cross. However, the Christian has explicit knowledge of this, whereas the believer has only experienced Christ implicitly and does not even realize that he or she has been saved by Christ. The best-known proponent of inclusivism was the Roman Catholic theologian Karl Rahner, who called these implicit believers "anonymous Christians." Rahner taught that even though the non-Christian religions contain errors, God uses them as channels to mediate His grace and mercy and ultimately to apply the work of Christ.²³ The basis for the explicit-implicit or ontological-epistemological distinction is linked to the Jews themselves. Rahner argues that the believing Jews of the Old Testament were reconciled to God through Christ, even though they could not possibly have known about Christ explicitly. Paul, for example, argues that Christ accompanied the Israelites during their wilderness wanderings (1 Cor. 10:4), even though they could not have been explicitly aware of it. By extension this is applied to peoples around the world, who, although they are living chronologically after Christ, are epistemologically living as if Christ had not yet come. It is these people, in particular, for whom the inclusivists want to hold out hope. Several leading Protestants have followed the new openness exhibited by Vatican II and with some qualifications have fully endorsed inclusivism. Two of the more prominent Protestants who advocate inclusivism are John Sanders, in *No Other Name*, and Clark Pinnock, in *A Wideness in God's Mercy*.

Pluralism or Mutuality Model

Pluralism rejects all three of the nonnegotiables held by exclusivists. Pluralists such as Paul Knitter, William Cantwell Smith, W. E. Hocking, and John Hick believe that the world's religions provide

independent access to salvation. Conflicting truth claims are reconciled through relocating them from the level of objective, normative truth to subjective experience. John Hick, in *An Interpretation of Religion*, writes that world religions merely “embody different perceptions and conceptions of, and correspondingly different responses to, the Real from within the major variant ways of being human.” He goes on to say that world religions all provide what he calls “soteriological spaces,” or “ways along which men and women find salvation/liberation/ultimate fulfillment.”²⁴ Christianity, then, is just one among many religions and has no unique claim as the final or authoritative truth. According to the pluralists, Christianity is not necessarily the most advanced religion, and it is not the fulfillment of other religions. In short, all claims to exclusivity have been surrendered through a process of radical relativization.

Pluralist Gordon Kaufman states candidly that exclusivistic views lead to idolatry and render it nearly impossible to take other faiths seriously.²⁵ Instead, he says, “We must find ways of relativizing and opening up our basic symbol system.”²⁶ John Hick agrees, calling the claim of Christian exclusivity a “myth” that must be radically reconstructed into a statement of personal meaning, not historical fact. They argue that Christocentric views of Christians should be abandoned for a more globally oriented theocentric view that allows all religions to participate as equal players.²⁷

Unlike exclusivists and inclusivists, pluralists do not accept the necessity of demonstrating biblical support for their view because that would cede to Christianity some kind of adjudicating role over other religions. The New Testament may be authoritative for Christians, but the Qur’an holds its own independent authority for Muslims, the Vedas for Hindus, and so forth. For the pluralists, the only universal standard of criteria rests in human experience, not in any particular sacred texts. This is in marked contrast to Kraemer and many of his followers, who tended to downplay general revelation altogether. Pluralists go to the opposite extreme and either deny special revelation outright or seriously degrade it to a kind of general revelation through universal religious consciousness.

Postmodern or Acceptance Model

As noted above, this fourth view traditionally has not appeared in the classic threefold paradigm of exclusivism, inclusivism, and pluralism. The acceptance model affirms the postmodern assertion that there are no universal truths and that it is arrogant to assert that such truths may

exist. This view also, quite refreshingly, acknowledges that world religions really *are* fundamentally different from one another and we should quit trying to talk as if they were, on some deeper level, really all the same. According to George Lindbeck, each religion offers a total, comprehensive framework for understanding its view of reality, and any attempt to compare or find common ground is reductionistic.²⁸ In short, this model affirms the incommensurability of all religions.

Paul Knitter borrows Robert Frost's famous line, "good fences make good neighbors," as a metaphor for understanding the acceptance approach. Knitter says, "religions are to be good neighbors to each other. Each religion has its own backyard. There is no 'commons' that all of them share. To be good neighbors, then, let each religion tend to its own backyard, keeping it clean and neat." When we talk with our "neighbors," we should do so over the back fence, "without trying to step into the other's yard in order to find what they might have in common."²⁹ The dialogue that plays such a central role in the pluralist/acceptance model is reduced to only "swapping stories" without searching for any commonly shared or universal truths. For Lindbeck, to say that "all religions recommend something which can be called 'love' ... is a banality as uninteresting as the fact that all languages are spoken."³⁰

Mark Heim, in *Salvations: Truth and Difference in Religions*,³¹ takes the acceptance model to its logical conclusion. Heim argues that the postmodern perspective of the acceptance model means that we may really have multiple goals, multiple salvations, and multiple deities to which the various religions are related. Heim seeks to argue this point within the classic doctrine of the Trinity. Since Christians already affirm plurality in God, argues Heim, perhaps the plurality of religions can fit into the variety of relations that are in God, allowing for what he calls "permanently co-existing truths" and "parallel perfections."³² Through the acceptance model, each practitioner can affirm the particularity and exclusivity of his or her own faith, for God does not reveal Himself generically but in the diversity of religious particularity. The classic pluralist metaphor of many paths up one mountain has been replaced in the acceptance model with many paths up many different mountains. Jesus, Buddha, Shiva, and Allah are all universal saviors, since none of them represents an exhaustive or exclusive revelation, but all reflect the infinite diversity of the Divine.

Evaluation of the Four Positions

Our evaluation will begin with a critique of the four positions as currently outlined and then explore some of the problems with the larger paradigm through which these positions are articulated.

Postmodern or Acceptance Model Evaluated

The acceptance model, on the surface, seems to come full circle back to the exclusivist position since it provides a way for Christians to reclaim the language of exclusivism and particularity. However, a closer examination reveals that although the language of particularity has been reclaimed, this masks several major deficiencies that are inherent in the acceptance model. First, *the model rejects objective revelation as the basis for truth by redefining truth as socially constructed narratives*. For example, this model simultaneously affirms the exclusive claims of Christianity and Islam and discourages us from contemplating that one set of claims may be right and the other wrong. Thus, they must *both* be right. However, a closer examination reveals that this claim is possible only through a radical redefinition of truth. For example, a central claim of Christianity is that God became incarnate in Jesus Christ (John 1:14). In Islam, such a claim is considered blasphemous, and to affirm it is to commit *shirk* (Surah 17:111; 19:35), the unforgivable sin (*kabirah*). Now, from the perspective of objective truth, either God did become incarnate in Jesus Christ, or He did not. The postmodern answer is to recast truth as a socially constructed metaphor. The word *truth* refers only to a rhetorical, imagined construct and cannot be applied to revelation as in the Christian use of the word. This is why this model cannot even explore the possibility of certain shared truths among religions. There is no shared truth to be known; all we have are individually constructed narratives, shared stories that float autonomously in the sea of religious discourse.

Second, *this model has a very weak view of history*. Some philosophies and religions do not necessitate a robust view of history. For example, a famous Zen Buddhist saying is, "If you should meet the Buddha on the road, you should kill him." The point of this rather shocking statement is that the historicity of the Buddha is not important. What matters is the teaching, or *dharmā*, which he gave to the world. In contrast, Christianity (like Islam and Judaism) is constructed on specific historical events that are nonrepeatable and, therefore, unique. For example, Christians assert that the resurrection of Jesus Christ is an event that took place in real history.

If Christ were not historically raised, then all the fervent devotion, earnest faith, and worship attributed to Jesus are instantly rendered vain and futile. This is why Paul declares, “If Christ has not been raised, your faith is futile; you are still in your sins” (1 Cor. 15:17). However, the acceptance model is based on a postmodern skepticism regarding history. The actual historicity of the Incarnation or the Resurrection is regarded suspiciously as either unknown or unknowable.

One of the classic problems with postmodernism is that it creates worlds where everything is possible but nothing is certain. History, for the postmodern, is constantly mutable because it never rises above the watermark of an endless series of conjectures and biases. Therefore, the unique claims of religions are all allowed to coexist because none of them can either be denied or verified by history. George Lindbeck acknowledges the difficulty that this postmodern proposal poses for a Christian view of history. He says that it may be some time before Christians can accept his model because Christianity is “in the awkwardly intermediate stage of having once been culturally established but not yet clearly disestablished.”³³ He means that Christianity has not yet been separated from history.

However, Christianity cannot be separated from history without ceasing to be Christianity. The apostolic faith is not only rooted in history, but it also proclaims a historical *telos*, an eschatological goal, to which all of history is moving. The eschaton is not *beyond* history but rather is the full manifestation of a new history that already has broken into the present.

Finally, *the antifoundationalist stance inherent in this model leads to an unbridled relativism*. With the twin collapse of truth and history, it becomes impossible to discover any basis for evaluating or adjudicating the various claims of the world’s religions. How is someone to decide whether to be a Muslim, a Christian, a Satanist, or nothing at all? Even Lindbeck concedes that the choice is “purely irrational, a matter of arbitrary whim or blind faith.”³⁴ He acknowledges the need to discover what he calls “universal norms of reasonableness,” but he candidly admits that it is unlikely that any such norms can find mutual agreement among the plurality of faiths. The very fact that the advocates of the acceptance model are looking for such norms reveals that the ghost of the Enlightenment or, perhaps, latent Christendom, keeps them from believing their own message. The moment the “universal norms of reasonableness” are found, it would, by definition, mark the end of the acceptance model. It is a philosophical solvent that dissolves itself. Pluralists may accept multiple

paths, but they at least still envision a *single* mountain and acknowledge that some religious movements exhibit qualities that are moving people *down* the mountain rather than up. For pluralists *many* religions does not necessarily mean *any* religion. However, the postmodernism of the acceptance model envisions, by its own account, an endless range of mountains, each independent of the other. We are left only with a radical form of relativism among multiple islands of religious autonomy.

Pluralism or Mutuality Model Evaluated

The pluralist position has numerous difficulties. First, *pluralism does not take seriously the actual claims and practices of those who practice the religions that are being considered.* Devout Muslims and Christians, for example, despite their differences, are equally disturbed by pluralism's attempt to relativize the particularities of their variant claims. Quite paternalistically, the pluralists claim to *see beyond* the actual beliefs and practices of religions to some deeper perspective that they have. According to the pluralists, those who actually follow these religions are largely unaware that the transcendent claims they have are actually only human projections and perceptions of their own humanity. However, what assurance do we have that the pluralists have found an Archimedean point from which they see all the other religions? Is not pluralism itself a particular stance, drawn from Enlightenment, Kantian philosophy?

Second, *the "God" of the pluralists is so vague that it cannot be known and is, in fact, unknowable.* The pluralist John Hick has forcefully called Christians to abandon a Christocentric view of reality. However, in its place he posits a theocentric center that is so vague that he cannot even use the word *God* to describe ultimate reality lest he offend non-theistic religions like Buddhism and Taoism, which his position insists that he regard with equality. The result is that Hick's "Real" (as he prefers to call the ultimate reality) is broad enough to encompass both the strict theism of Judaism and Islam and the atheism of Buddhism and Taoism. Hick's "Real" encompasses both the personal conception of God in Jesus Christ and the impersonal conception of God in the *nirguna* Brahman of Hinduism. The resultant fog gives us both a "God" and a "no-God" who is unknown and unknowable and about whom we can make no definitive statement because "the Real as it is in itself is never the direct object of religious experience. Rather, it is experienced by finite humankind in one of any number of historically and culturally conditioned manifestations."³⁵

Third, *the pluralist position ultimately is based on the subjectivity of human experience, not on any objective truth claims.* Human experience is the final arbiter of all truth. Therefore, revelation as revelation is struck down. The deity of Christ, for example, is not an objective truth that calls for our response; rather, it is merely a subjective expression of what Jesus meant to His disciples, which may or may not affect or influence us because every human conceives of truth differently. For example, early in his writings Hick sought to define salvation vaguely as the “transformation from self-centeredness to Reality centeredness.”³⁶ However, this definition of salvation came under the withering fire of feminist theologians, who argued that defining the lack of salvation as being self-focused and self-assertive is a characteristically male assessment. Females, they argue, find salvation by being more assertive and self-projecting. Hick conceded that female salvation may indeed be the opposite of male salvation.³⁷ This kind of unbridled subjectivity, which seeks to replace biblical theology based on the assurance of divine revelation with the ever-changing subjectivity of human experience, is, in my view, untenable. For the pluralist, religion is no longer about truth as truth but about filling a market niche. The question of truth is bracketed off by the pluralists. As George Sumner has observed, “The turban, the prayer wheel, and the mantra have all been rendered ‘consumer preferences.’”³⁸

Indeed, Clark Pinnock has gone so far as to say that the very term *pluralist* is an inaccurate label for this position. He points out that “a true pluralist would accept the differences of the various world religions and not try to fit them into a common essence. It would be better to call them relativists.”³⁹

Inclusivism or the New Fulfillment Model Evaluated

The inclusivist position is to be commended for its strong affirmation of the centrality of Jesus Christ and the indispensable nature of His death and resurrection for salvation. Furthermore, inclusivism has keenly discerned how God has worked in the lives of those outside the boundaries of the covenant, such as Rahab and Naaman, along with many others. The more positive view of the relationship between general and special revelation is a welcome relief from the complete separation of nature and grace as seen in Kraemer. On this particular point, the inclusivists do not necessarily fall outside the parameters of Christian history and tradition. Indeed, Thomas Aquinas advocated a more open attitude toward general revelation with the dictum, *Gratia non tollit sed perficit naturam*,

that is, grace does not abrogate but perfects nature. However, inclusivists have embraced additional views that are clearly at variance with historic Christian faith.

First, the inclusivist's attempt to drive a wedge between the ontological necessity of Christ's work and the epistemological response of repentance and faith cannot be sustained. Inclusivists can be very selective in their use of the biblical data. For example, they often quote the passage in 2 Peter 3:9 that says that God is "not wanting anyone to perish" but fail to quote the rest of the verse, which says God wants "everyone to come to repentance." God's universal salvific will is explicitly linked to human response. Inclusivists cite Paul's powerful statement about the universality of revelation in Romans 10:18, which says that the "voice" of revelation has "gone out into all the earth," but they fail to point out that this affirmation is in the context of Paul's declaration that "everyone who calls on the name of the Lord will be saved" (Rom. 10:13). Paul goes on to establish a chain that begins with the sending church and the preaching witness, leading to the one who hears, believes, and calls upon the name of the Lord (Rom. 10:14-15). The inclusivists want to separate the links of this chain and argue that the witnessing church is not necessary for believing, that is, implicit saving faith can be present apart from the explicit knowledge of Jesus Christ. However, if the inclusivist position were true, then it would diminish the importance of Christ's commission since it would mean that the non-Christian religions have brought more people to the feet of Christ (implicitly) than the witnessing church in the world.

Second, *for the inclusivists to argue that the object of all genuine faith is implicitly Christ shifts the emphasis from a personal response to Christ to the experience of faith regardless of the object of faith.* In this view, salvation comes equally to the Hindu who has faith in Krishna, or the Buddhist who has faith in the eighteenth vow of Amitaba Buddha, or the Christian who has faith in Jesus Christ. Moving from the worship of Krishna to the worship of Christ does not involve a turning away from Krishna but merely a clarification that they were, indeed, worshipping Christ all along. As Paul Knitter says about inclusivism, "The purpose of the church is not to rescue people and put them on totally new roads, rather it is to burn away the fog and enable people to see more clearly and move more securely."⁴⁰

However, in Acts 20:21 Paul says, "I have declared to both Jews and Greeks that they must turn to God in repentance and have faith in our Lord Jesus." What would the inclusivists have recommended to Wynfrith

when he confronted the Frisian religion in A.D. 754? Would they have counseled Wynfrith to point out that the human sacrifices offered to Njord, the god of the earth, were actually only symbols or types of the Lamb of God? Was Thor really just another name for Jesus Christ?⁴¹ This is not to deny that there are examples in the Old Testament of people who have faith outside the Jewish covenant, such as Jethro, Naaman, and Rahab; but the object of their faith is explicitly the God of Israel, not the indigenous gods they formerly worshipped. Paul's famous speech in Acts 17 should not be taken as the construction of a salvific natural theology but rather as Paul "picking up the inchoate longings of this exceptionally religious people and directing them to their proper object."⁴²

Third, *the inclusivist position unduly separates soteriology from ecclesiology*. Inclusivism claims to be a "wider hope" answer to the question "Who can be saved?" However, the inclusivistic answer focuses on the earnest seeker quite apart from the church as the redemptive community that lives out, in community, the realities of the New Creation in the present. Only through dramatic theological reductionism can one equate biblical salvation in the New Testament to the individual destiny of a single seeker after God. Karl Rahner responded to this charge by arguing that the church and the sacraments become mysteriously embodied in the communities that gather at the temple or the mosque. Thus, Rahner does not just offer us anonymous *Christians*; he offers us anonymous communities, anonymous scriptures, and anonymous sacraments. Rahner's solution may help to reunite soteriology with ecclesiology but only by robbing ecclesiology of any meaning, since, in the final analysis, Rahner cannot make a distinction between a Hindu or Islamic community and a Christian one.

Finally, *to call Hindus or Muslims or Buddhists "anonymous Christians" has long been regarded as an insult to those within these traditions*. It is a latent form of triumphalism to claim that you as an outsider have a better and deeper understanding of someone else's religious experience that trumps their own understanding of their actions and beliefs. It is patronizing to tell a devout Hindu who worships Krishna that he or she is really worshipping Christ but is temporarily in an epistemological gap. Could not the Buddhist or the Hindu respond that we as Christians are actually "anonymous Buddhists" or "anonymous Hindus"? Indeed, there are Buddhist and Muslim groups who have made that very claim.⁴³

Exclusivism or the Replacement/Partial Replacement Models Evaluated

The strength of the exclusivist position is that it affirms the authority of scripture, the unique centrality of Jesus Christ, and the indispensability of His death and resurrection. Furthermore, exclusivism takes seriously the call to repentance and the need to turn to Jesus Christ as the object of explicit faith. Exclusivism affirms the key tenets of the historic Christian proclamation as delivered to us in the ancient creedal formulations. The problem with exclusivism comes when, in a desire to protect the centrality of these truths, it overextends itself into several potential errors.

First, *in a desire to affirm the centrality of special revelation and the particular claims of Christ, exclusivism can fail to fully appreciate God's activity in the pre-Christian heart.* It is one thing to affirm that Jesus Christ is the apex of God's self-revelation; it is entirely another to say that Jesus Christ is the *only* revelation from God. Since all general revelation ultimately points to Christ, exclusivists need not be threatened by these pointers and signs God has placed in creation and in the human conscience that testify to Him. God is not passive or stingy in His self-revelation, but He has left "footprints" behind, whether in the awe-inspiring expanse of the universe, or in the recesses of a solitary heart groping after God, or in the depths of the reflective human mind as one explores many of the fundamental questions that have gripped philosophers and theologians throughout the ages. In this respect, the modified exclusivistic view that Knitter identifies as partial replacement is far better.

Second, *exclusivists sometimes have taken a defensive posture and been unwilling to honestly engage with the questions and objections of those from other religions.* The early Christians boldly proclaimed the gospel in a context of a dizzying array of cults, mystery religions, emperor worship, and more. The apostles surely would have found the defensiveness that often has characterized exclusivists as incomprehensible in light of our global mandate. Put simply, the match cannot be engaged if the players remain in the safety of the locker room. The creeds of historic Christianity are not bunkers behind which we hide; they are the basis for a global proclamation.

Third, *exclusivists have often unnecessarily bracketed off non-Christian religions and their sacred texts from the rest of culture.* This has inadvertently created a separation not only between general and special revelation but also between the doctrines of creation and soteriology. The result is what Enlightenment thinker Gotthold Lessing (1729-1781) has

called the “ugly ditch” that separates the particularities of special revelation and history from the universal knowledge of God rooted in creation and human conscience. However, as I have demonstrated in an earlier publication, numerous truths from both general and special revelation have become incorporated into the actual texts and worldviews of other religions.⁴⁴

The Classic and Expanded Paradigm Revisited and Evaluated

Structural Problems

There are three major structural problems with the classic paradigm that are not sufficiently alleviated by Knitter’s new nomenclature.

First, the positions within the paradigms have been primarily articulated within a *soteriological* framework. In other words, the various positions tend to be the answers to the questions “Who can be saved?” and “What is the fate of the unevangelized?” Even though these are important questions, if they are asked in isolation, they become theologically reductionistic by separating the doctrine of salvation from the larger creational and eschatological framework from which the doctrine of salvation emerges in the Bible. Second, the positions within the paradigms have been understood as either validating or negating *particular religious traditions*. Exclusivists and inclusivists believe in the final supremacy of the Christian *religion*, whereas the pluralists and the postmodernists see the religions of the world on a more level playing field. This perspective is particularly evident in Paul Knitter’s description of evangelicals within the total or partial replacement model (exclusivism). Knitter says that the replacement model is calling for a “kind of holy competition between the many religions... Such competition is as natural, necessary, and helpful as it is in the business world. You’re not going to sell your product effectively if you present it as ‘just as good’ as the next guy’s... So let the religions compete!”⁴⁵ However, the evangelical view is not to posit that Christianity as a *religion* is superior to all other religions. Rather, evangelicals assert that Jesus Christ is the apex of God’s revelation. At times the Christian church has been faithful in proclaiming the good news of Jesus Christ. However, like any other religion, Christianity at times has been co-opted by cultural forces and become an expression of human rebellion like any other religion. It was Leslie Newbigin who reminded us, based on Romans 3:2-3, that “it was the guardians of God’s revelation who crucified the Son of God.”⁴⁶

Third, the traditional paradigm *emerges out of the Enlightenment project and completely ignores the majority world church, which has a very different understanding and experience with religious pluralism.* The Enlightenment ushered in a skepticism regarding religious truth that continues to the present. The German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) famously defined the Enlightenment as “the emergence of man from his self-incurred immaturity.”⁴⁷ Kant attempted to construct a universal rational morality that would give rise to a natural religion. He rejected any claims of particularity based on special revelation, thereby opening the doors to a radical kind of relativism regarding religion. Religion was seen as nothing more than a myriad of legitimate alternatives for explaining and interpreting the underlying natural religion that was part of the universal human experience. Rather than the mind being seen as the mirror that reflected the objective world, Kant introduced the subjective nature of all knowledge; so-called “reality” was nothing more than a construct of the mind. David Wells observes that it was Kant who initiated the breakdown “of the old distinction between subject and object.”⁴⁸

The Enlightenment perspective can be seen in the French philosopher Rene Descartes (1596-1650). Descartes believed that the only source of knowledge was logical deduction. His famous dictum, *cogito ergo sum* (“I think, therefore, I am”), demonstrates that knowledge for Decartes begins with a person as a thinking, doubting agent, not as the recipient of divine self-disclosure revealed in the Bible. As the Enlightenment progressed, the traditional Christian assertion of objectively received truth revealed propositionally and reliably in the Bible could no longer be countenanced.

This is to be contrasted with the rise of the majority world church, which is taking place in the midst of religious pluralism as a descriptive fact. George Sumner is correct in observing that religious pluralism in the west has become the “presenting symptom for a wider epistemological illness in western Christianity.”⁴⁹ In contrast, religious pluralism in the majority world is closer to the context of the first century. Global Christianity, as a rule, is more theologically conservative, less individualistic, and has far more experience interacting with the actual devoted practitioners of major world religions than most western scholars. Having worked in Asia for twenty years, I have observed that, for the most part, despite living in a context of religious pluralism, majority

world Christians do not view religions as “comparable religious artifacts” but rather as an actual stimulus to the proclamation of Jesus Christ.⁵⁰

Amos Yong’s Pneumatological Approach

An alternative approach to the classic paradigm from a conservative perspective has been proposed by Pentecostal theologian Amos Yong from Regent University. Yong, in his books *Discerning the Spirit(s)*, *Beyond the Impasse*, and *Hospitality and the Other*, has proposed an approach that can be understood broadly as a pneumatological theology of religions. Yong begins by observing that the way pluralists have framed a theology of religions as a subset of a generic doctrine of God is overly optimistic. Likewise, framing a theology of religions as a subset of the doctrine of soteriology is unnecessarily pessimistic. Furthermore, Yong argues that any theology of religions that is framed by Christological categories may position us quite well *defensively* to mute the claims of other religions, but it is less effective in a more *offensive* engagement that acknowledges that the particularity of the “Word made flesh” (John 1:14) must be balanced by the universality of the “Spirit poured-out-on-all flesh” (Acts 2:17). Instead, Yong proposes a theology of religions framed around pneumatology. Yong is convinced that neglect of the doctrine of the Spirit in western theology has led to an overly negative perception of the Spirit’s work in non-Christian faiths. In contrast, Yong invokes Irenaeus’s metaphorical reference to the Son and the Spirit as the “two hands of the Father.”⁵¹ Yong explores how we might discern how the “hand” of the Spirit may have extended God’s presence and activity in non-Christian religions.

Yong proposes a threefold criteria (divine presence, divine absence, and divine activity) that can enable the church to discern God’s presence and work or reject the demonic or destructive. In his more recent writings, Yong emphasizes that the Spirit enables Christians to embody the “hospitality of God” by helping us to interact positively as hosts in a religiously plural world. Recalling the multiplicity of tongues on the day of Pentecost, Yong reminds us that even if the religious “other” speaks in a religiously foreign tongue, the Spirit may enable us to understand and discern His presence and work within the other religions.

The strength of Yong’s proposal is that his pneumatological approach places the discussion within a much larger theological framework. The Spirit’s work in creation allows Yong to embrace a more robust view of general revelation. He cites examples from patristic writers such as

Irenaeus, Clement, and Justin Martyr to demonstrate that the early church fathers framed their theology of religions within a much larger framework than the classic paradigm. Yong's pneumatological approach also allows him to ask bigger questions in seeking to discern God's work in human culture, including the religious narratives of people who are created in the image of God.

Despite these positive developments, Yong's proposal has three main weaknesses. First, it is not sufficiently Christocentric. Yong's original intention was to propose a more thoroughgoing Trinitarian theology of religions that uses pneumatology as a *starting point*. Yong points out that "any Christian theology of religions that begins pneumatologically must ultimately include and confront the Christological moment."⁵² At the start of his proposal, he agrees to "bracket, at least temporarily, the soteriological question."⁵³ However, as his project develops, it seems that he never fully returns to the centrality of Christology and soteriology. In fact, Yong speaks of Christology imposing "categorical constraints" on his theology of religions.⁵⁴ While Yong surely assumes Christology, he is not explicit enough to protect his theology from subjectivism. In the end, Yong's thesis stands or falls on the development of a trustworthy set of criteria that can empower the church to discern the presence of the Holy Spirit from the presence of demonic and destructive spirits, which may be present in the life and thought of the adherents of non-Christian faiths. Unfortunately, his three-fold criteria are too ambiguous to provide the assurance that such an ambitious project demands. Even Yong concedes that "discerning the spirits will always be inherently ambiguous."⁵⁵ Yong also concedes, rightly, that no religious activity can be so neatly categorized as divine, human, or demonic.⁵⁶

Second, his proposal still does not provide a way to move beyond a dialogue between reified religious traditions and structures. As will be demonstrated later, an evangelical theology of religions must demonstrate that the tension is between Christ and all religions. It cannot be a proposal that, despite all its generosity, inevitably exudes the presumptuous sense that evangelicals believe in the superiority of the Christian *religion*.

Third, Yong's proposal, like the classic paradigm, does not sufficiently take into account the very different ways religious pluralism is understood and experienced within the global church. Yong remains determined to find a new theology of religions that will enable evangelicals to have a voice within the larger Enlightenment project. However, in light of

the dramatic shift in the center of Christian gravity, it is no longer sufficient to only address such a narrow western audience.

An Evangelical Theology of Religions

The proposal I am setting forth begins by reviewing five standards or benchmarks that any evangelical theology of religions must meet. After the standards have been explored, I will demonstrate one example of how an evangelical theology of religions might be constructed in a way that is consistent with these five standards.

Five Standards in the Formulation of an Evangelical Theology of Religions

Being Attentive to our Nomenclature

First, labels or nomenclature for various positions must be understood both descriptively and performatively. This means that any descriptive words or phrases used to describe a position should be accurate and acceptable to those who adhere to the position being named. Unfortunately, positions within interreligious dialogue often have been caricatured. An honest engagement with the actual positions is needed. Furthermore, the positions should not just describe what we believe in some static way but should also reflect our actions and our lives in relationship to those who belong to non-Christian religions. In other words, a theology of religions must have an ethical and relational orientation, not merely a descriptive and doctrinal one.

Maintaining a Trinitarian Frame with Christological Focus

Second, a theology of religions must be part of a larger Trinitarian theology. There have been quite a few scholars who have proposed their theology of religions within a Trinitarian framework, but it is important that it also be Christocentric. In the final analysis, Christology provides the only truly objective basis for evaluating truth claims, whether those claims emerge from within Christianity (intrareligious dialogue) or in response to normative claims from other religions (interreligious dialogue).

Proclaiming Biblical Truth

Third, an evangelical theology of religions must proclaim biblical truth. In recent years, increasing numbers of evangelicals have lost confidence in the exclusivity of the gospel message. Indeed, the very word *exclusivism* is avoided because of various negative associations with the

word. Furthermore, we have become increasingly accommodating to the relativistic mood of the culture. Although, as this proposal will reveal, I do not suggest retaining the word *exclusivism*. My choice is not motivated by an attempt to lessen the “scandal of particularity” but to create a nomenclature that is more appropriate without sanding down the rough edges of the gospel message.

We must recognize that we are now proclaiming the gospel within a context where relativity is not merely a theoretical proposal but a moral postulate. One of the most amazing casualties in the contemporary emergence of interreligious dialogue is the absence of the word *truth*, as articulated within a biblical understanding of revelation. Today, the tension is increasingly not between truth and falsehood but between tolerance and intolerance. As explored in chapter 1, evangelicals have not negotiated the transition from the center of cultural life to the margins very well. Therefore, while being fully engaged in global realities, we need to reclaim the language of truth, even if from a position of exile.

Placing the Discussion Within a Larger Theological Setting

Fourth, an evangelical theology of religions must be placed within a larger biblical and theological context. This should not be understood to downplay the importance of the three nonnegotiables (uniqueness of Jesus Christ, centrality of His death and resurrection, and the need for an explicit response of repentance and faith) affirmed in the traditional exclusivistic position. However, these nonnegotiables must be articulated within the larger context of the doctrines of creation, revelation (general and special), anthropology, the Trinity, Christology, pneumatology, ecclesiology, and, importantly, eschatology. This also will keep our theology of religions from being either too individualistic or theologically reductionistic.

Recognizing the Global Dimension of Religious Pluralism and World Christianity

Fifth, an evangelical theology of religions must be articulated within the context of different understandings and perceptions of religious pluralism that are present in the world today. In the west, globalization, immigration, and the collapse of Christendom have given rise to a particular form of modern, religious pluralism that is decidedly relativistic. Religious pluralism is not merely a descriptive fact of our world; it is a “conflict of normative interests.”⁵⁷ Religious pluralism in the west is generally committed

to making all religious discussions a subset of anthropology, which is consistent with the Enlightenment project. While the postmodern paradigm rejects the Enlightenment's reliance upon reason and the notion of inevitable progress, it just as emphatically rejects the notion of revelation. However, in the majority world, religious pluralism is more of a *descriptive* fact. Christians in the majority world are accustomed to living side by side with actual practitioners of non-Christian religions, and they have been able to articulate the normative primacy of Christ in the midst of this pluralistic milieu. Any theology of religions today must be articulated from the perspective of the global church, not the dwindling community of Enlightenment scholarship.

Building a Theology of Religions on the Restated Classic Paradigm

An evangelical theology of religions need not abandon the widely used classic paradigm, although allowing a fourth position to reflect a postmodern perspective, as Knitter has proposed, is a helpful and important addition to the paradigm. It remains important to use the classic or the modified paradigm since this paradigm remains the starting point of how the discussion has been framed. However, "the paradigm" needs to be revised. We will begin by looking at the nomenclature of the paradigm as a whole. In keeping with the first standard, we will suggest more descriptive terminology, as well as seek to explore what we can learn from the performative practices of each of the positions. Then, we will focus just on the traditional evangelical view and demonstrate how the remaining principles will help to strengthen an evangelical theology of religions.

First, an evangelical theology of religions should *embrace more precise and descriptive terms while at the same time recognizing what we can learn from the performative practice of each position in the actual give-and-take of interreligious encounter*. In keeping with the first principle, I propose changes in the way each of the positions within the paradigm are described. In doing so, I earnestly seek to create a phrase that is not only more descriptively accurate, but also one that adherents of that position can recognize and affirm as their own. Thus, exclusivism should be renamed *revelatory particularism*. The word *revelatory* stresses the importance of revelation (both in scripture and in Jesus Christ) in the evangelical view. An evangelical theology of religions can never relinquish the normative nature of biblical revelation or the final primacy of Jesus Christ. The word *particularism* emphasizes the primacy of Jesus Christ and is more precise than the word *exclusivistic*, which is understood by some

to mean that we are intent on excluding people, when the intended focus is on the exclusivity and primacy of Jesus Christ. The word *particularism* also protects the evangelical view from proposals that are Christocentric but become untethered from the historicity of the Incarnation in favor of a cosmic Christ, which in practice often becomes disconnected from the apostolic proclamation concerning Jesus Christ.

Inclusivism should be known as *universal inclusivism*. This emphasizes the universal scope that lies at the heart of inclusivism's claim, trumping even the epistemological need to personally respond to the gospel message. Inclusivism has the performative function of reminding all of us that God's revelation extends beyond the propositions of biblical revelation. The Reformer John Calvin pointed out that God Himself "has endued all men with some idea of his Godhead, the memory of which he constantly renews and occasionally enlarges."⁵⁸ In this context, the Reformer refers to the "sense of the Divine" (*sensus divinitatis*) and the universal "germ of religion" (*semen religionis*). Likewise, Augustine, in his *Confessions*, speaks of the "loving memory" of God that lies latent even in unbelievers.⁵⁹ While we must be careful not to allow general revelation to swallow up special revelation, we must not relinquish the basic truth that there is a continuity between the two and that even in the encounter with other religions, God has not left Himself without a witness.

Pluralism should be renamed *dialogic pluralism*, reflecting the performative interest in engaging the religious other with openness and humility. Evangelicals sometimes have been too wary of interreligious dialogue and have taken an overly defensive posture in engaging the honest questions and objections from those in non-Christian religions. Evangelical writer Gerald McDermott, in *Can Evangelicals Learn from World Religions?* has ably demonstrated that there are many things we can learn from the honest encounter with practitioners of world religions.

Finally, the postmodern "acceptance" model of Knitter should be renamed *narrative postmodernism*. While much of the postmodern worldview is incompatible with biblical revelation, the performative emphasis on narrative is very helpful. Evangelicals often have equated the biblical message with a short list of doctrinal propositions, unnecessarily separating our proclamation about Christ from the myriad of ways in which the gospel intersects our lives. We must take the individual religious narratives of those we encounter very seriously, even as we seek to connect them to the larger metanarrative of the gospel.

In short, an evangelical theology of religions should be able to embrace the positive performative qualities of each position. We should embrace the “hospitality” of openness, which is characterized by pluralists. We should learn from the inclusivists’ eagerness to see that the *missio dei* transcends the particularities of the Church’s work of mission and witness in the world. We should take notice of the importance of biblical and personal narrative in the way we communicate the gospel.

The remaining four principles will be applied to the evangelical position renamed as revelatory particularism.

Second, *revelatory particularism should be articulated within a Trinitarian context*. This application of the second standard reminds us that the Christian gospel is unintelligible apart from the doctrine of the Trinity, since the doctrine of the Trinity is both the foundation and the goal of all Christian theologizing. This is the most practical way to keep all interreligious and intrareligious discussions within a broad theological frame that represents the fullness of the Christian proclamation.

God the Father is the source of all revelation. This connects particularism with the doctrine of creation and helps to maintain a robust view of general revelation. We can affirm that every religion, in various ways, contains “the silent work of God.”⁶⁰ They reflect God’s activity in the human heart and the human quest for God. Religions also reflect our unending attempts to flee from God, even in the guise of religious activity. As Calvin Shenk has observed, human religion reflects both “cries for help and efforts of self-justification,”⁶¹ The Reformers insight fully applied the “law and gospel” theme to other religions by noting that other religions can serve one of the classic purposes of “law”; namely, they can create such despair and unanswered questions in the life of the adherent that he or she comes to the gospel of God’s grace.⁶²

God the Holy Spirit, as the agent of the New Creation, helps to place revelatory particularism within an eschatological context. For Christians, salvation is far more than the doctrine of justification. Salvation involves becoming full participants in the New Creation, which is already breaking into the present order. As we explored in chapter 6, this touches upon every aspect of culture.

Finally, at the heart of Trinitarianism is Jesus Christ, who is the apex of God’s revelation and the ultimate standard by which all is judged. Rather than comparing and contrasting Christianity with other religions, we measure all religions, including Christianity, against the revelation of

Jesus Christ, who is the embodiment of the New Creation. This is why it is important that an evangelical theology of religions be both Trinitarian and Christocentric.

This has important implications for the practice of interreligious dialogue, which often compares doctrines or experiences between two religions. For example, if a Hindu and a Christian are in a dialogue about the doctrine of karma, the only intelligible response from a Christian would be to relate the doctrine of karma to the Christian proclamation of the grace found in Jesus Christ. If a Muslim and a Christian are in a dialogue comparing Qur'anic and biblical views of revelation, it would only be a form of theological reductionism if the Christian did not point out that, for the Christian, the greatest form of revelation is embodied and personal in Jesus Christ. In short, the Trinity, and Jesus Christ in particular, is the hub around which all the doctrinal spokes of the Christian proclamation are held together. The particularity of Christ is crucial because Christianity always has claimed that there has been a very specific historical intervention by God, which is an "irruption of the timeless into time, by taking on of flesh by the Godhead."⁶³ God who is always "subject," never "object," has voluntarily placed Himself into the place of "object" for a while, to be seen, touched, and observed. Therefore, Christ represents the ultimate revelation of the whole Trinity. Jesus' life and ministry was empowered by God the Holy Spirit, and Jesus declared, "Anyone who has seen me has seen the Father" (John 14:9).

Third, *revelatory particularism embraces a canonical principle that asserts that the Bible is central to our understanding of God's self-disclosure*. God addresses fallen humanity not only in the Word made flesh but also in the Word that has been inscripturated into the biblical text. Revelatory particularists affirm without qualification that "all Scripture is God-breathed" and therefore "useful for teaching, rebuking, correcting and training in righteousness" (2 Tim. 3:16). The third principle insists that all insights from general revelation, or the particular claims of other religions, must be tested against the biblical revelation and against the person and work of Jesus Christ. Firm belief in personal and propositional revelation is the only sure way to deliver us from the abyss of relativism, endless human speculations, or, worse, the notion that religions are nothing more than pragmatic, consumer preferences in a global religious marketplace. As noted earlier, it is not enough to simply state that revelatory particularists affirm the three nonnegotiables. An evangelical theology of religions must

be articulated within the larger frame of the entire canonical witness. Furthermore, we should always remember that the gospel is good news to be proclaimed. We are called to be witnesses of Jesus Christ, even in the context of interreligious dialogue.

Fourth, *revelatory particularism positions an evangelical theology of religions within the context of the missio dei*. In keeping with the fourth principle, it is only through the lens of the *missio dei* that a theology of religions can be fully related to the whole frame of biblical theology. Central to the *missio dei* is the understanding that through speech and actions, God is on a mission to redeem and bless all nations. In that sense, Kevin Vanhoozer is correct when he argues that God's self-disclosure is fundamentally theo-dramatic. In other words, revelation does not come down separate from human culture and context, as in Islam. Instead, God enters into and interacts with human narratives and thereby is set within a *dramatic, missional* context.

The gospel is the greatest drama ever conceived. The divine theodrama begins with creation and the human response to God's rule, which we call the Fall. God responds to the Fall by initiating a redemptive covenant with Abraham, which includes a commitment to bless all nations. The theater of God's self-disclosure is the stage of human history, which Calvin referred to as the *theatrum gloriae Dei* (theater of the glory of God).⁶⁴ God Himself is the primary actor, in creation, in redemption, and in the New Creation. God acts and God speaks, and human history, including religious history and narratives, is the response to God's actions and words. God's deliverance of Israel from Egypt represents on a small scale what God intends to do with the entire human race on a deeper level. Vanhoozer points out that as the divine drama unfolded, there were many dramatic tensions that made it difficult to discern how God would keep His promise to Abraham and bless all nations. The death and resurrection of Christ represents the resolution of the tensions.⁶⁵ Sin and death are defeated, the New Creation is inaugurated, and the Spirit is sent to continue unfolding the drama of God's redemptive plan. An evangelical theology of religions should always be set forth within the larger context of the drama of the *missio dei*.

Finally, *revelatory particularism should be both evangelical and catholic*. Evangelical means being committed to the centrality of Christ, historic Christian orthodoxy, and the urgency to proclaim the gospel in word and deed, calling the world to repentance and faith. Evangelical faith

helps us to remember the center of the gospel. However, we are catholic in the sense that we share a unity with all members of the body of Christ throughout the world. A robust commitment to ecumenism strengthens the whole church as long as it is bounded by the centrality of Christ and the principle of canonicity. We believe that “the *one* gospel is best understood in dialogue with the *many* saints.”⁶⁶ The fifth standard reminds us that the entire global church brings different experiences and perspective on how to articulate the Christian faith within the context of religious pluralism without being hampered by the governing philosophical assumptions of the Enlightenment. The emergence of the global church represents a unique opportunity to recover biblical catholicity, which, as the Apostles’ Creed reminds us, is one of the marks of the true church.

Conclusion

Retaining the classic paradigm with these modifications allows us to continue to engage in interreligious discussions within a commonly understood paradigm. However, the more precise nomenclature of the four positions, coupled with the broad outline on how to build upon the position of revelatory particularism, will help to invigorate evangelical involvement in interreligious dialogue, clarify our public witness in the midst of religious pluralism, and enable us to remain in consonance with the witness of the global church throughout history and around the world.

End Notes

¹ For more on this, see my “Ministries for Which We Teach: A World Cafe Model,” in *Revitalizing Practice: Collaborative Models for Theological Faculties*, ed. Malcolm L. Warford (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2008). I examined more than forty different M.Div. required curriculums across the theological spectrum of ATS membership schools.

² I have argued this elsewhere in other publications. See, for example, Tennent, *Christianity at the Religious Roundtable: Evangelicalism in Conversation with Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2002) and *Theology in the Context of World Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2007).

³ I am reminded of Andrew Walls’s insightful statement during my doctoral studies at the University of Edinburgh, when he said that “theological scholarship needs a renaissance of mission studies.”

⁴ Daniel L. Migliore, *Faith Seeking Understanding: An Introduction to Christian Theology*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004), 30.

⁵ Compare, for example, Harold Netland, *Dissonant Voices* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1991) with his later publication, *Encountering Religious Pluralism* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2001), especially, 47-54. See also Amos Yong, *Beyond the Impasse: Toward a Pneumatological Theology of Religions* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003). I share many of these concerns. See Tennent, *Christianity at the Religious Roundtable*.

⁶ Paul F. Knitter, *Introducing Theologies of Religions* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2002).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁸ Sometimes called restrictivism or Christocentric exclusivism.

⁹ Hendrick Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* (London, UK: Edinburgh House, 1938).

¹⁰ Kraemer's disdain for general revelation is clearly influenced by Karl Barth. However, to borrow a metaphor from a letter A. G. Hogg wrote to Lesslie Newbigin in 1937, the Barthian bull pursued the matador of modernism into the china shop and disposed of him there at a destructive cost of many precious things. A proper view of general revelation is certainly one of the more unfortunate losses in Barth's neoorthodoxy.

¹¹ Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, 74.

¹² *Ibid.*, 113.

¹³ Ronald Nash, *Is Jesus the Only Savior?* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1994).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 21. Nash is quoting Bruce Demarest, *General Revelation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1982), 69-70.

¹⁵ Gerald R. McDermott, *Can Evangelicals Learn from World Religions?* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000); Netland, *Encountering Religious Pluralism*.

¹⁶ For a modern treatment of exclusivism, see John P. Newport, *Life's Ultimate Questions* (Dallas, TX: Word, 1989). For a vigorous defense of exclusivism but one that ultimately leaves the fate of the unevangelized as a mystery known only to God, see Lesslie Newbigin, *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995).

¹⁷ Charles Darwin (1809-1882) published his landmark *On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection* in 1859. Later, Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) demonstrated how evolution should be applied to all areas of human existence.

¹⁸ See, for example, Max Muller, *Origin and Growth of Religion* (Varanasi, India: Indological Book House, 1964).

¹⁹ See, J. N. Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1913). This classic work was reprinted in 1971 by Oriental Books Reprint Corporation in New Delhi. See also T. E. Slater, *Higher Hinduism in Relation to Christianity* (London, UK: E. Stock, 1903).

²⁰ Stuart Hackett, *The Reconstruction of the Christian Revelation Claim* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1984), 244.

²¹ *Lumen Gentium*, 16, as quoted in “Dialogue and Mission: Conflict or Convergence?” *International Review of Mission* 76, no. 299 (July 1986): 223. In another Vatican II statement, the *Constitution* declares that “since Christ died for all men, and since the ultimate vocation of man is in fact one, and divine, we ought to believe that the Holy Spirit in a manner known only to God offers to every man the possibility of being associated with his paschal mystery” (*Gaudium et Spes.*, 22). While Vatican II endorsed most of Rahner’s theology of religions, it did not officially endorse the notion of an “anonymous Christian.” So, there remains some differences between the inclusivism of Karl Rahner and the inclusivism of official Roman Catholic dogma.

²² For a full treatment of the inclusivist position, see Clark Pinnock, *A Wideness in God’s Mercy: The Finality of Jesus Christ in a World of Religions* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1992), and John Sanders, *No Other Name: An Investigation into the Destiny of the Unevangelized* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1992).

²³ Karl Rahner, “Christianity and the Non-Christian Religions,” in *Christianity and Other Religions*, ed. John Hick and Brian Hebblethwaite (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1980). Rahner’s most complete treatment can be found in volumes 5 and 6 of his 20-volume *Theological Investigations* (New York, NY: Seabury, 1966-1983). Another, more accessible, defense of inclusivism may be found in E. Hillman’s *The Wider Ecumenism: Anonymous Christianity and the Church* (London, UK: Burns and Oates; New York: Herder and Herder, 1968). A well-known application of inclusivism specifically to the Hindu context may be found in R. Panikkar’s *The Unknown Christ of Hinduism* (London, UK: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1964).

²⁴ John Hick, *An Interpretation of Religion* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 240.

²⁵ Gordon Kaufman, “Religious Diversity, Historical Consciousness, and Christian Theology,” in *The Myth of Christian Uniqueness*, ed. John Hick and Paul F. Knitter (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1987), 5.

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²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ See Hick and Knitter, eds., *The Myth of Christian Uniqueness*.

²⁸ George Lindbeck, *Nature of Doctrine: Religion and Theology in a Postliberal Age* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1984), 42.

²⁹ Knitter, *Introducing Theologies of Religion*, 183.

³⁰ Lindbeck, *Nature of Doctrine*, 42.

³¹ S. Mark Heim, *Salvations: Truth and Difference in Religions* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1995).

³² S. Mark Heim, *The Depth of Riches: A Trinitarian Theology of Religious Ends* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 175.

³³ Lindbeck, *Nature of Doctrine*, 134. Lindbeck makes it clear that the term *postmodern* or *post-revisionist* can be used instead of *postliberal* (p. 135).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 130.

³⁵ Netland, *Encountering Religious Pluralism*, 224.

³⁶ John Hick, *A Christian Theology of Religions: The Rainbow of Faiths* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 18.

³⁷ Hick, *An Interpretation of Religion*, 52.

³⁸ George Sumner, *The First and the Last* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004), 3.

³⁹ Clark Pinnock, "Toward an Evangelical Theology of Religions," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 33, no. 3 (September 1990): 363, n. 12.

⁴⁰ Knitter, *Introducing Theologies of Religions*, 74.

⁴¹ J. A. van Rooy, "Christ and the Religions: The Issues at Stake," *Missionalia* 13, no.1 (April 1985), 9.

⁴² L. T. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Sacra Pagina (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1992), 319.

⁴³ This claim is made by several Islamic groups in Indonesia as well as by the Hindu Ramakrishna, who claimed that all the religions of the world are contained within Hinduism.

⁴⁴ See, for example, my chapters "Hindu Sacred Texts in Pre-Christian Past" and "Is 'Salvation by Grace Through Faith' Unique to Christianity?" in *Theology in the Context of World Christianity*.

⁴⁵ Knitter, *Introducing Theologies of Religions*, 31.

⁴⁶ Lesslie Newbigin, *The Open Secret: An Introduction to the Theology of Mission*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 170.

⁴⁷ N. J. Rengger, "Negative Dialect? The Two Modes of Critical Theory in World Politics," chap. 9 in Richard Wyn Jones, ed., *Critical Theory and World Politics* (London, UK: Lynne Rienner, 2000), 92.

⁴⁸ David Wells, *God in the Wasteland: The Reality of Truth in a World of Fading Dreams* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994), 104.

⁴⁹ Sumner, *The First and the Last*, 5.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵¹ Yong, *Beyond the Impasse*, 43.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 103.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 159-60.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁵⁷ Jerome Paul Soneson, *Pragmatism and Pluralism* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1993), 137.

⁵⁸ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, vol. 1 (1.3.1), trans. Henry Beveridge (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1957), 43.

⁵⁹ Augustine, *Confessions* (7.17.23), trans., Henry Chadwick, Oxford World's Classics (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998), 128.

⁶⁰ J. H. Bavinck, *The Church Between Temple and Mosque: A Study of the Relationship Between the Christian Faith and Other Religions* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1966), 200.

⁶¹ Calvin E. Shenk, *Who Do You Say That I Am? Christians Encounter Other Religions* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald, 1997), 75.

⁶² Terry Tiessen, following the work of Mariasuasai Dhavamony, makes the observation that cosmic religions focus on the revelation of God in creation, ethical religions reflect that the divine absolute makes Himself known in the human conscience, and salvific religions are a response to the awareness of the Fall and the need for salvation. See Terry Tiessen, "God's Work of Grace in the Context of the Religions," *Διδαοκαλία* 18, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 167-168.

⁶³ Richard Holloway, *Signs of Glory* (London, UK: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1982), 5.

⁶⁴ Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1.14.20 and 2.6.1), 156, 293.

⁶⁵ Kevin 1. Vanhoozer, *The Drama of Doctrine: A Canonical-Linguistic Approach to Christian Theology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2005), 42.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 30.



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Michael Bennett

Going Deeper: Cognitive Anthropology's Contributions to Moving Beyond Cultural Competency in Mental Health Practices

Abstract:

Modern mental health counseling aims to highlight a number of values, including multiculturalism and social justice. Such values are very important when dealing with counseling in many areas, but in this article, they are applied to counseling in the area of “trauma.” Cognitive anthropology provides a set of tools for understanding a client’s expectations and constructs of meaning, which are rooted in their lived experiences and cultural worldview. This paper will also introduce two areas of application where a cognitive anthropological approach can be applied to multicultural counseling in the areas of communication and treatment, which can help further improve the values of multiculturalism and social justice within the counseling profession.



Keywords: mental health counseling, multicultural, cognitive anthropology, trauma, worldview

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Introduction

The field of mental health counseling is rooted within the psychoanalytic theories and approaches that neurologist Sigmund Freud began developing in 1897, in which he supported the inception of the first force, or paradigm, of psychology that has guided the practice of psychotherapy. This new way of addressing the ailments of clients relied upon the medical model, which focused on identifying biological etiologies for the disorders or diseases—categorized sets of symptomatic experiences—of clients which psychotherapists attempted to treat. Since its beginnings, psychology and counseling has received criticism for its colonial and patriarchal foundations which have utilized European and Euro-American males as the standard for diagnosis, ignored the systemic, social, cultural, and political contexts, and operated under the assumption that clients must conform to their environments. However, many scholars and professionals in the mental health field since Freud have further developed and shaped the discipline to be more effective and inclusive than its historical roots.

Though the field has advanced in its treatment theories and approaches over the last century, this paper recognizes there are still contributions necessary for the continued development of ethics, theories, and techniques of mental health counseling pertaining to effective and meaningful multicultural counseling, which is centered on the needs and values of culturally diverse clients. To properly present its argument, this paper will begin by presenting brief historical highlights focusing on the development of the fourth and fifth paradigms of counseling, which are multiculturalism and social justice. Following this, and after locating itself within the values promoted by multiculturalism and social justice, this paper will offer two examples of published works calling attention to the continued need for understanding the underlying constructs of meaning that are used by culturally diverse clients to interpret their lived experiences within their sociocultural and political realities. A cognitive anthropological approach will be presented to explore the levels of meaning necessary to understand the culturally diverse client's schematic expectations and perceptions relating to an aspect of counseling, such as the experience and treatment of "trauma." Finally, the paper will indicate two areas of application within multicultural counseling, those of communication and treatment, which a cognitive anthropological approach can help improve following the values of multiculturalism and social justice.

Moving Beyond Cultural Competencies

Before the mental health field's recent concepts of multicultural counseling and competencies were established, the history of the counseling profession revealed the harmful use of western hegemonic theories and practices for historically marginalized clients. In response to the lack of attention and understanding of culturally diverse clients and professionals in the field, beginning with the civil rights era, the field of mental health professional services experienced the start of its fourth force, or paradigm shift, influencing new developments in research and the field: multiculturalism. This paradigm shift followed the earlier shifts of psychodynamism, behaviorism, and humanism, and focused its attention on the culturally specific concepts, needs, and treatments of culturally diverse clients.¹ The fourth force of multiculturalism promoted the attribution of cultural competencies through psychology and counselor education, because it identified that the counseling profession needed to recognize clients as being culturally centered and influenced by contexts and constructs. This shift influenced a number of changes within the field following its inception during the 1950s. For instance, the social and racial injustices found in the political turmoil of the 1960s influenced the development of the Association of Non-White Concerns in Personnel and Guidance in 1969 followed by its journal, *Journal of Non-White Concerns*, three years later in 1972.² A year later, the Vail Conference was sponsored by the National Institute of Mental Health, and is famously known for launching the scholar-practitioner training model within counseling and psychology. Additionally it is known for prompting an official dialogue on the culturally competent provision of professional counseling to clients of another cultural group. It is recounted that, “[f]rom this conference came the resolution that providing professional services to culturally diverse individuals is unethical if the counselor is not competent to provide them and that, therefore, graduate training programs should teach appropriate cultural content.”³

Cultural competencies in counseling are understood as relating to the capacity to understand the client's worldview as a result of attaining “awareness, attitude, knowledge, and skills that allow clinicians to understand, appreciate, and work with culturally diverse individuals” during their treatment, engagement, and completion.⁴ Such cultural competence is intended to be only the starting point for mental health professionals and is

to foster multicultural awareness that is ever-growing within the clinician, leading to greater sensitivities to the identities, lived experiences, and needs of their culturally diverse clients. Some argue that cultural competence includes cultural humility,⁵ though some indicate that cultural competence only indicates a minimum requirement of awareness, knowledge, and skill, whereas cultural humility represents a lifelong willingness to “self-evaluation and self-critique, to redressing the power imbalances in the patient-physician dynamic, and to developing mutually beneficial and nonpaternalistic clinical and advocacy partnerships.”⁶ Other problems with sustaining only minimal competencies in multicultural counseling appear in the voices of mental health professionals of marginalized communities, who argue that moving beyond the minimum requirement of competencies is to embrace cultural humility, responsiveness, and reflexivity. One such example is the attention Carlos P. Hipolito-Delgado gives to the social justice concept and role of allyship stating, “to effectively partner with and support the needs of communities of color, counselors require more advanced skills and dispositions — such as those possessed by allies. Allies to communities of color have a profound understanding and commitment to these communities. They are able to deeply understand and relate to communities of color, while also advocating for social justice for these communities.”⁷

In 2008, Jeffrey Arnett published an article recognizing that even while much positive growth in a multicultural perspective has occurred since its origins during the civil rights era of the 1950s, much of the counseling profession is still founded upon concepts centered on only 5% of the world’s population. This indicates that the mental health field continues to neglect providing culturally appropriate treatment that understands the lived experiences, values, and cultures of clients who are representative of the remaining 95% of the world’s population.⁸ It is due to this lack of connection with the lived experiences of culturally diverse clients that many mental health professionals and former/present clients of mental health services have supported the development of the fifth force of counseling, social justice. Social Justice Counseling emphasizes that mental health professionals must understand culturally diverse clients, that their lived experiences are “connected to larger sociopolitical contexts,” reflect marginalization through oppression, such as colonization, racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, etc., and require holistic and interdisciplinary

responses to the systemic injustices being experienced by clients. This includes the experience of the professional advocating with or on behalf of their client.⁹

Going Deeper

Keeping in mind the historical emphasis and development of cultural competencies to move beyond simple awareness, knowledge, and skills relating to supporting culturally diverse clients, as well as social justice approaches such as advocacy and allyship, this section suggests a different direction. Not only should mental health professionals consider going beyond competencies towards social justice action that positively affirms and supports their clients, professionals should also consider “going deeper” in understanding the complex layers of meaning embedded within the lived experiences of culturally diverse clients. The section will first highlight a recent social media post— a clarion call to all mental health professionals really— to follow the social justice paradigm of counseling and to support, affirm, ally with, and advocate for systemic change. It will then continue the conversation of “going deeper” by presenting an example from cognitive anthropology, which models how mental health professionals can investigate a concept, like health inequality or trauma, down to its schematic roots.

“Dig Deeper” Mandate

Art therapist and counselor Alyse Ruriani, who is both an illustrator/graphic designer and advocate/activist, recognized that embodied experiences heavily inform our understandings of ourselves, others, and the world around us. Consequently, when introducing herself, she also emphasizes rightly as “a person with lived experience.”¹⁰ Building on her recognition of the role of embodied experiences, which are also shaped by culture and systems, Ruriani created an advocacy-oriented illustration posted to social media bearing the mandate that “We need to dig deeper”— a post liked on Instagram more than 21,000 times and shared on Facebook more than 3,300 times!¹¹



Figure 1. We Need to Dig Deeper. Graphic Illustration by Alyse Ruriani, May 8, 2020. Instagram. https://www.instagram.com/p/B_7wCaSjRtS.

In the illustration, Ruriani depicts the context of clients' lived experiences being buried under the systemic layers of the western medical model, which seeks to pathologize the manifested symptoms of clients according to diagnoses' criteria constructed through individualized western concepts of health and paired with pharmacological treatment strategies. Ruriani further argues through the illustration that the necessary tool to uncover the pervasive systemic layers that hinder effective attention to ailing mental health is that of intersectional social justice. The mandate that Ruriani has issued to "dig deeper" is detailed in the social media post caption:

We cannot just rely on what we have been doing, because so many people are being failed. We need to go beyond the medical model and pathologization to see what is really there. So many people have completely reasonable responses to the things that have or are happening to them, to the harm that is being or has been done, to the ways the system has and continues to fail them.

People are not just a set of symptoms or a list of diagnoses. They are full human beings with an array of experiences in which they react to. Are we pathologizing grief? Are we considering the intersecting identities each person holds? Are we recognizing the mental [effects] of experiencing racism, homophobia, colonialism, ageism, ableism—all of the ways that people are othered?

We can't just slap a diagnosis on someone, give them some meds, and throw them into treatment. We need to look at the big picture. We need to advocate for the resources and the laws and the change that would make life worth living for more folks. We need to dig deeper if we want to truly help, truly see and hear the people we work with, and truly make a difference.¹²

Within the world of mental health, social media has been a tool utilized to increase awareness of issues that cultural humility is able to respond to through the arm of social justice counseling and advocacy. One such issue is the decolonization of mental health practices, which were initially formed from western concepts of health, society, and culture. Ruriani identifies colonization within her graphic illustration as one example of an underlying lived experience that is significantly impacting the lives of clients in ways that manifest what the diagnosis-treatment oriented medical model identifies as symptoms of a disorder. However, to “truly help, truly see and hear... and truly make a difference,” clinicians must realize that the impact of colonization cannot be treated as a disorder, and cannot be resolved with treatments that invalidate the lived experiences. Consequently, social justice counseling and advocacy argues that ethical support for clients includes appropriate treatment approaches to address their clients’ lived experiences within their intersections of identities and realities. Social justice counseling and advocacy also calls for approaches that are not just focused on treatment, but also promoting awareness, understanding, and positive societal change.

Digging Deeper with Cognitive Anthropology

Similarly to Ruriani's work in illustrating systemic issues being faced by marginalized communities, cognitive anthropologist Victoria Katherine Burbank presented her ethnographic findings in *An Ethnography of Stress*, which provided evidence that the health inequality that manifested as premature morbidity and mortality experienced by an Aboriginal Australian community at Numbulwar was actually an unintended consequence of earlier Anglican mission socialization endeavors (assimilation) of Australia's indigenous peoples.¹³ Her approach to uncovering the layers of historical, social, and cultural systems to interpret the meaning behind the health inequality was framed by a social determinence of health perspective. The perspective underlying this model of understanding health is founded in the concept that structures and systems within society can determine the varying degrees of health experienced by people within that society, and also that some groups of people within that society are disadvantaged and consequently experience greater disparities of health compared to other people groups benefiting from those same social structures.¹⁴

Burbank also identifies the significance of a person or people's culturally defined and systemically shaped experiences by stating, "Experience is what people have, in the sense of what they think and feel as they interact with their environment... [which] is always a culturally apprehended one, understood largely through knowledge and belief acquired from others."¹⁵ These experiences are representative of their lived realities, and the cognitive constructs inherent to their sociocultural shaping guide their interpretation of how they understand the experiences of their lived realities. So, as Burbank investigated Numbulwar's premature morbidity and mortality, she discovered that the underlying stress instigating the health inequality was understood by the Numbulwar community through their sociocultural constructs. Burbank shares one example in which the sociocultural constructs supported by the Australian Aboriginal belief system informed the local community's considerations of death:

While we are not surprised to hear that the death of kin is stressful for many, unless we have prior knowledge of Australian Aboriginal belief systems, we would neither anticipate nor understand how substantially ideas about black magic contribute to the distress accompanying such deaths. Without knowledge of local acts, events, and consequences and how local Aboriginal people interpret these, we would not understand how ideas

about ganja use and “losing culture” are connected to losses occasioned by death. Nor would we understand how thoughts about family and violence, and associated feelings, such as “angry” and “worry,” reverberate in this experience.¹⁶

Burbank’s ethnographic work demonstrates the role of colonization in creating “stress” through its processes of socialization and introducing, and at times enforcing, foreign constructs and practices into indigenous communities. From the perspective of social justice counseling and advocacy, which would take into consideration the Australian Aboriginal community’s intersections of lived experiences, the medical model which only treats the body and the psychological diagnosis and treatment of the individual is not enough to address the underlying systemic issue of colonization which helped create the health inequality from the beginning. Burbank’s ethnographic work dug deeper by seeking to understand not just the cause of the premature morbidity and mortality from a western framework, but also how the community themselves perceived their experiences and the cause of their experiences. Burbank presents in *An Ethnography of Stress* the significant insight that can be provided for addressing systemic injustices, such as colonization and its long-lasting impact, through investigating the schemata that both inform and are informed by the community’s culture, and which guide the community’s interpretation of their lived experiences.

Cognitive Anthropology & Layers of Meaning

The multiculturalism and social justice paradigms of mental health counseling call for more intentional interaction with the layers of meaning, which are inherent in the concepts held by culturally diverse clients. Cognitive anthropology has historically been defined as “the study of the relation between human society and human thought,”¹⁷ and it often focuses on cognitive processes, affective experiences, cultural taxonomies and schemata, and meaning among many other subjects. In consideration of Ruriani’s graphic illustration promoting attention to lived experiences, intersectionality, and social justice as well as Burbank’s investigation of the indigenous schemata of stress at Numbulwar, this section intends to discuss especially the layers of meaning located within a term, such as “trauma,” that might commonly be used within the mental health field and inform diagnoses and treatment approaches. The layers of meaning surrounding “trauma” and its treatment will be depicted through five layers: 1) the

engagement of the term as used within counseling, e.g., “trauma”; 2) the diagnostic perception guiding the understanding of trauma etiology and symptoms; 3) the medical model and expected treatment approach; 4) the worldview providing the foundations to the treatment; and 5) the schemata behind the worldview.

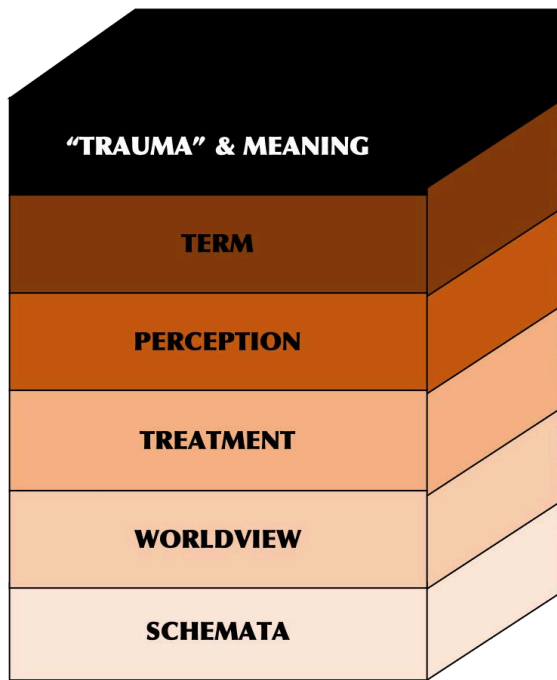


Figure 2. Layers of Meaning in Trauma & Treatment

Layer One: Engaging the Term

This paper posits that in order to begin the exploration of a term’s layered meanings, one must begin with the term itself. In the present example, the term “trauma” is being explored. As one considers language and the role of a single word, the gravity of significance becomes apparent when it is realized that a single word can hold multiple meanings within one context and many more potential meanings as other contexts are considered. Looking at the term “trauma,” this term holds a basic definition of “wound” and “injury,” though further meanings are pulled

out when considering the contexts of treatment. Medical treatment, which focuses on the physical body, would define “trauma” within the scope of physical wounds endured by the body. However, this definition changes when exploring the context of psychology and the existence, origin, and impact of trauma to one’s cognitive and affective experiences. Having in mind the different perspectives and paradigms which shaped the field of mental health, one may guess that there are different ideas about trauma held within this context as well. Following the multicultural and social justice paradigms, one such definition of trauma could be understood psychosocially:

Trauma is socially produced. To speak of psychosocial trauma is to emphasize that trauma is produced socially and, therefore, that understanding and resolving it require not only treating the problems of individuals but also its social roots, in other words, the traumatogenic structures or social conditions.¹⁸

From this exercise, the context in which a term is used greatly impacts the definition utilized to connect meaning to the communicated message. When multiple contexts intersect, the meaning of a term can become even more difficult to elucidate, especially if the term is altogether foreign to some or all of the contexts experienced by an individual. As such, at times, a term may not be found appropriate if the intended meaning cannot be acquired by the recipient of the message, and another term which closely relates should be contemplated. Furthermore, some contexts contain terms and ideas that other contexts do not as a result of some human experiences not being shared beyond a particular sociocultural group. This too then needs to be weighed when communicating interculturally within the context of multicultural counseling. What one may consider as “trauma” within western society, another may not consider as such.

Layer Two: Engaging the Perception

Below the layer of the term itself and any superficial connotations connected to it according to the context it is used in, the second layer in which to dig deeper is the underlying perception one holds about the term. The perception of “trauma” is one which was only recently formed in the 1980s and prompted the inclusion of it as a disorder— post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)— within the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental*

Disorders (DSM).¹⁹ This manual, which contains the listings of symptoms which manifest according to identified disorders and diseases, presents the following definition of PTSD in its most recent iteration as,

Exposure to actual or threatened death, serious injury, or sexual violence in one (or more) of the following ways:

1. Directly experiencing the traumatic event(s).
2. Witnessing, in person, the event(s) as it occurred to others.
3. Learning that the traumatic event(s) occurred to a close family member or close friend.
In cases of actual or threatened death of a family member or friend, the event(s) must have been violent or accidental.
4. Experiencing repeated or extreme exposure to aversive details of the traumatic event(s)
(e.g., first responders collecting human remains; police officers repeatedly exposed to child abuse).²⁰

This definition promotes a perception of “trauma” which involves trauma being treated and medicated through the medical model. However, this perception is one which is criticized as being inherently flawed due to its emphasis upon the individual and their experience without taking into consideration the collective experiences of a community, particularly as a result of overwhelming systemic pressures and dangers upon these communities.

However, what are the alternatives to the perception and definition of “trauma” that offer a more helpful position from which “trauma” can be understood and addressed in culturally appropriate ways that are particularly meaningful to marginalized communities which have been harmed by the medical model-oriented perceptions? One such perception is understanding “trauma” through the lens of general affliction, which locates the issue requiring correction outside of the person and identifies assets within the person or their community that can assist in addressing this external source of affliction. Robert Lemelson and Annie Tucker identify that psychological anthropology offers a number of ways through which mental illness could be viewed beyond the western medical model and indicate that through the use of these alternative perceptions, more effective approaches to address mental health in culturally diverse communities is possible:

There have been many anthropological works, both ethnographic and theoretical, devoted to defining culture's influence on factors crucial to mental health or disturbance such as developmental processes, family emotional environments, explanatory models and idioms of distress, and the treatment and interpretation of illness and distress. The traditional interests of the field such as kinship, subsistence patterns, cosmology, and ritual life also contribute to a broader understanding of the multiple contexts of health and illness.²¹

By exploring these alternative perceptions, one may also experience greater awareness that the standard treatment approach for "trauma" is not the expectation globally, and in fact other treatment approaches are perceived as being more effective and appropriate within sociocultural contexts beyond that of western society.

Layer Three: Engaging the Treatment

As mentioned previously, the mental health field has historically been rooted in the medical model, which seeks through diagnostic methods to understand why a patient is ill, unhealthy, or experiencing disease or disorder and then treat the patient according to the treatment viewed as standard for that diagnosis. This model assumed that much of a patient's disorder stemmed from biophysiological causes and that the standard of human health could be best exemplified in males of European descent.²² This model was conceived on ethnocentric and sexist ideologies which were then perpetuated through colonization and patriarchy as well as unethical lobbying of pharmaceuticals for specific treatments according to the diagnosis based on the American Psychiatric Association's *DSM*.²³ Despite advancements in the field, the reliance upon the medical model has significantly impaired mental health professionals' ability to meet the therapeutic needs of their culturally diverse clients whose worldview supports their expectation of a different treatment model than that which gives a diagnosis and directions for corresponding medication, or a referral for medical treatment by another specialist.

When treating trauma, the most common approach parallels these aspects of the medical model which will treat trauma with medication management and therapy based in cognitive behavioral therapy. Clinical psychologist and professor at the University of Liverpool, Peter Kinderman expresses that the mental health field should depend upon a model of

treatment that seeks to support understanding the client's underlying needs and providing appropriate care that decreases their distress in lieu of the medical model, which pathologizes the distress, creates stigma, and fosters distance between the client and necessary social support.²⁴ This understanding allows for the inclusion of culturally appropriate models of treatment which may include folk healing approaches (e.g., Shamanism, Curanderismo, Espiritismo, Ho'oponopono, Santeria, etc.) that focus upon holistic understandings of the issue afflicting the person and seeks balance, harmony, healing, and resolution that is congruent with the person's sociocultural worldview.²⁵

Layer Four: Engaging the Worldview

Worldview lies below the surface of the former three layers and directly influences their construction and operation within society and interpersonal interactions. A person's worldview influences their perception and expectations involving an experience, such as "trauma" or "affliction" and its corresponding treatment or resolution. Lillian Comas-Diaz clarifies that worldview "refers to the personal attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that may unconsciously or consciously influence interactions with individuals of any cultural background," and additionally warns that misunderstanding, misdiagnosis, and failed or discontinued treatment may occur when a mental health professional is unaware of the role of therapist and client worldviews.²⁶ Koltko-Rivera describes worldview similarly, though he depicts more practically the overarching power that a worldview holds:

[It is a] way of describing the universe and life within it, both in terms of what is and what ought to be. A given worldview is a set of beliefs that includes limiting statements and assumptions regarding what exists and what does not (either in actuality, or in principle), what objects or experiences are good or bad, and what objectives, behaviors, and relationships are desirable or undesirable. A worldview defines what can be known or done in the world, and how it can be known or done. In addition to defining what goals can be sought in life, a worldview defines what goals should be pursued. Worldviews include assumptions that may be unproven, and even unprovable, but these assumptions are superordinate, in that they provide the epistemic and ontological foundations for other beliefs within a belief system.²⁷

To further demonstrate the impact of contrasting worldviews clashing within the counseling context, Comas-Diaz provides the common worldview assumptions that clash between a therapist and their culturally diverse client:

Western Therapist	Culturally Diverse Client
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Everyone is responsible for his or her actions. - Everyone has a choice in every situation. -Everyone is autonomous. -Everyone has his or her own identity. -Many clinicians assume that they are free of cultural bias. -Individualism is presumed to be more appropriate than collectivism. -Community support systems are not normally considered relevant in the clinical formulation of individuals' health. -Ethnocultural ancestry and historical roots of individuals' backgrounds have minimal relevance in clinical treatment. -Geopolitical issues bear no influence in clinical treatment. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Culture is complex and dynamic. - Reality is constructed and embedded in context. -Every encounter is multicultural. - Clinicians' cultural competence is relevant to all clients. - Clinicians' understanding of nonverbal communication and behaviors is crucial to healing. - A western worldview has dominated mainstream psychotherapy. - Clinicians engage in cultural self-assessment. - Healing is holistic and involves multiple perspectives. - Healing entails empowering individuals and groups.

Figure 3. Contrasting Worldviews in Counseling Context as shown in Lillian Comas-Diaz, *Multicultural Care: A Clinician's Guide to Cultural Competence*, 1st ed, Psychologists in Independent Practice (Washington, D.C: American Psychological Association, 2012), 25-26.

Figure 3 is particularly insightful to understanding the culture clash which may arise within the counseling process due to conflicting worldviews. One aspect of worldview is the perception one has of "self in relation to other" and the roles of *self* and *other* in decision-making, individual autonomy, communal responsibilities and expectations, etc. As a mental health professional considers "trauma," they need to not only seek the deeper meaning of the term within the context of counseling and the clients' sociocultural context, the related perceptions, and the expected treatment

approaches, but they must also dig deeper to the underlying meaning that culturally diverse clients attribute to an experience, such as trauma, from their worldview.

Layer Five: Engaging the Schemata

Ronald Casson identifies schemata (plural form of “schema”) as “knowledge structures” which are the basis of cognitions.²⁸ David E. Rumelhart similarly calls schemata “the building blocks of cognition.”²⁹ With such descriptions attributed to this nomenclature, one would recognize that this paper argues that when exploring the levels of meaning to be found within a term such as “trauma,” the base layer of meaning would be the very knowledge structures, the building blocks, which are necessary to build this concept as well as other concepts. When digging deeper, the mental health professional who desires to demonstrate more than simple multicultural competence, must engage the underlying schemata. Casson explains that human behavior itself is informed by higher and lower forms of schemata as they “serve as the basis for all human information processing, e.g., perception and comprehension, categorization and planning, recognition and recall, and problem-solving and decision-making,” and thus can be used to guide the person throughout the lived experiences of their lives.³⁰ These schemata do not act as rules, such as what may be found within a person’s worldview, but instead are “autonomous and automatic—once set in motion they proceed to their conclusion— and they are generally unconscious, nonpurposive, and irreflexive.”³¹

Schemata are often understood as structures or “images” which represent knowledge (acquired data) concerning generic concepts and then are utilized automatically to guide the person in understanding the data being received in their lived experiences. For instance, Freud considered the creation of a “God-image” which is established upon the schemata formed by a person in relation to their father, whereas Ana-Maria Rizzuto explores the meanings that a person may hold pertaining to “God” as a concept and entity which are formed from numerous sources formed by relational schemata.³² In consideration of these constructive “images,” or categories of bound data, which are used to guide a person in understanding themselves and their experiences in the world around them, how might this relate to a mental health professional understanding the “building blocks” concepts that a culturally diverse client may hold? Understanding the importance of schemata and their role in guiding the construction of a person’s concepts

about their own experiences, a mental health professional may seek to understand these schemata through various techniques common to Object Relations, Attachment Theory and experiential Gestalt theory as they seek to uncover the foundational concepts guiding a person. From a cognitive anthropology approach, the explanatory model of a distress approach could be utilized which allows the culturally diverse client to share their perceptions of their experiences through a narrative, while also being able to refer to important sociocultural values, concepts, and wisdom intimately connected to their worldview. Through this method in cooperation with the mental health professional's respectful interviewing, the culturally diverse client's schemata which construct their understandings of their experiences (which may or may not be categorized as "trauma") may be determined. Furthermore, should these schemata be determined, the mental health professional can continue their investigation focused on how those identified schemata guide the client in understanding what is culturally and socially expected in addressing or resolving their distressing experiences.

Application to the Mental Health Field

Thus far, this paper has accentuated the significance of the mental health field moving beyond therapists acquiring multicultural competencies to therapists practicing cultural humility and seeking to utilize culturally appropriate treatment approaches. These approaches can be discerned as culturally appropriate when one considers the schemata upon which the approaches are founded, and if the schemata originate within Western sociocultural constructs or within the indigenous sociocultural constructs of the client. To further promote the practice of cultural humility within multicultural counseling, the therapist should consider the application of the above cognitive anthropological insights to understanding the functioning of communication and treatment approaches in the therapeutic context.

Communication

Within any form of communication, a term, sound, image, or idea may be shared without much contemplation of its communicated meaning, because oftentimes when the communication is held between familiar individuals, the communicator assumes that the recipient understands them. It is only when the communicator or recipient recognizes the presence of a misunderstanding that further meaning is elucidated. When



dialogue is held between people who are unfamiliar with each other, there is a greater probability for a misunderstanding, though there may also be increased awareness for the need to ensure the intended message has been received. Communication in the context of multicultural counseling must be intentionally utilized—crafted even—to increase therapeutic growth and to decrease harm to the client.

As a therapist and client engage each other in a multicultural counseling context, misunderstandings can be a natural accompaniment to their encounter because of meanings not being transmitted or interpreted properly. The interpretation of meaning is complex, and there are a number of reasons that would prevent any person from correctly interpreting the intended meaning. William B. Gudykunst highlights that misunderstandings can result from a number of reasons that are common particularly within intercultural dialogue:

- (a) The messages may be transmitted in a way that they cannot be understood by others (e.g., pronunciation or accents may hinder understanding), (b) the communication rules of the cultures from which the communicators come may differ and influence how messages are interpreted (e.g., one person is being indirect and the other person is interpreting the messages using direct rules for communication), (c) one of the communicators may not be able to adequately speak the other's language (e.g., one person is just learning the other's language and is not fluent), (d) one person may not understand how to accomplish a certain task or interpret a specific utterance within a social context (e.g., a person who does not speak English well may try to complain to an English speaker and actually apologize), (e) one person may make errors in attributions because of his or her group identity or intergroup expectations (e.g., a North American expects a Japanese to be indirect and does not recognize a direct answer to a question when it is given), [or] (f) the communicators may not be familiar with the topic being discussed.³³

Each of the above reasons stem from people being unaware of some important component relating to communication, whether it be relating to cultural norms, language, rules of communication, or pronunciation. These communication barriers, which sometimes cannot be avoided, can prevent dialogue partners from being able to closely match the interpreted meaning from the transmitted meaning and can effectively impede the therapeutic progress experienced by a client. Within the context of therapy, Lillian

Comas-Diaz points out that culturally diverse clients must be able to explain their needs within their own language and ways of communicating, which often connects to a cognitive emotional narrative style of communication that enables them to best construct the meaning they intend to share with the mental health professional.³⁴ Furthermore, through the mental health professional's utilization of an explanatory model of distress, which is a structured and culturally validating anthropological tool of appraisal, they can understand the expectations and perceptions of the culturally diverse client relating to their illness.³⁵

Reflecting on the complex reality of language and lived experiences and that neither of which exist as having analogous meaning between any culture (and even within the same), it would be foolish and culturally ignorant for a therapist to believe that the meaning of "trauma" is held the same outside of their own culture. As much of psychology and therapy was developed according to western constructs, the notion that "trauma" and its related treatment would be understood the same globally is equally foolish. As such, not only should therapists seek to uncover an *emic* understanding of how their client perceives the idea of "trauma" and its connected lived experiences, but so also how these ideas and experiences are communicated between people, and how it should be addressed or resolved in treatment, if there be any treatment identified as necessary.

Culturally Appropriate Treatment

As one considers the challenges to effective intercultural communication within multicultural counseling, one should also consider how the client's worldview and underlying schemata informs their understanding of what comprises appropriate treatment. A western therapist who depends upon practices and treatment approaches that align with western constructs are imposing concepts of disorder and healing which may be counterproductive and harmful to their non-western client. In this way, among other ways, the work of colonization to socialize non-western peoples continues through therapy, which directly opposes the ethic of counseling to "do no harm." Anthony J. Marsella writes, "If the counselor fails to consider her or his role and function as sources of power, she or he can harm a counselee by imposing certain ill-considered methods and content rooted with cultural and historical contexts that sustain the abuses of power."³⁶ Therefore, as a counselor considers the complexities to understanding the layers of meaning that reside within a term such as

“trauma” and comprehends the far-reaching impact of imposing outsider views of “trauma” and its treatment upon the lived experiences of others, the work of the counselor becomes clear as including that of decolonizing therapy by practicing cultural humility and responsiveness that informs the use of culturally appropriate concepts and practices.

In an example of a Balinese woman receiving the diagnosis of Tourette’s Syndrome (TS) presented in *Afflictions*, Robert Lemelson and Annie Tucker indicate the appropriateness of treatment is very well established in the worldview of the client. In this example, the woman received not only the diagnosis but also underwent the standard care for TS though her condition only worsened. As her symptoms increased in severity, so too did the distress she experienced from stigma and misunderstanding from her family. After the treatment suggested from the western medical model did not satisfy the woman or her family, the woman pursued an approach of addressing her affliction in a more culturally meaningful way: traditional healing involving ritual offerings paired with the explanatory model that integrated and utilized her indigenous structures of meaning and belief system.³⁷ This example demonstrates the efficacy of traditional healing approaches over the western medical model, which promotes the understanding of treatment and healing needing to target afflicting experiences through cultural-oriented methods that address culture-bound afflictions, ailments, or disconnection from sociocultural values.³⁸ With such therapeutic success already being achieved by moving beyond the western model of diagnosing and treating mental illness to include traditional healing perspectives, approaches, and techniques, mental health professionals need to consider what they can learn from these non-western traditional approaches to further understanding what it means to be human, and how to address afflictions in more culturally meaningful ways. In so doing, mental health professionals are balancing the power dynamic that is present and not perpetuating structures based in colonization, patriarchy, and other forms of systemic injustice.

Conclusion

As demonstrated by the many contributions of mental health scholars and professionals since the civil rights era of the 1950s, there must be more than *adequate* or *competent* awareness, knowledge, and skill relating to theories and techniques of providing counseling support to culturally diverse clients. The fourth and fifth forces of counseling,

Multiculturalism and Social Justice, have revealed the significance of sociocultural contexts as well as systemic structures to shaping the lived experiences of marginalized clients who represent intersections of life other than cis-gendered, heteronormative, middle-class white Protestant European/Euro-American males. Particularly, these movements indicate the vitality of mental health professionals exhibiting cultural humility, responsiveness, and reflexivity that is paired with skilled advocacy and allyship with their clients who are experiencing the pressures of systemic oppression.

In this paper, we have traced some historically significant steps within the mental health field towards our present paradigms that encourage professionals to move beyond cultural competencies in counseling. Following the brief recognition of these events, the paper highlighted examples from both fields of mental health and cognitive anthropology in which the directive to “dig deeper” was understood as a necessary task in clarifying underlying systemic issues which manifest symptoms and create health inequalities. The paper continues by elucidating the layers of meaning required to explore when considering the area of “trauma” and its treatment within multicultural counseling and then provided some considerations for practice.

End Notes

¹Manivong J. Ratts and Paul Pedersen, *Counseling for Multiculturalism and Social Justice: Integration, Theory, and Application*, Fourth edition (Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association, 2014), 24-25.

²This organization later renamed itself to broaden its attention to the needs of other marginalized racial and ethnic people groups, so from 1985 to the present the organization has been known as the Association for Multicultural Counseling and Development. The Association’s journal also underwent a name change. Manivong J. Ratts and Paul Pedersen, *Counseling for Multiculturalism and Social Justice: Integration, Theory, and Application*, Fourth edition (Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association, 2014), 9.

³Donald B. Pope-Davis et al., eds., *Handbook of Multicultural Competencies in Counseling & Psychology* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2003), 3.

⁴ Lillian Comas-Díaz, *Multicultural Care: A Clinician's Guide to Cultural Competence*, 1st ed, Psychologists in Independent Practice (Washington, D.C: American Psychological Association, 2012), 26.

⁵ Derald Wing Sue et al., *Counseling the Culturally Diverse: Theory and Practice*, Eighth edition (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc, 2019), 74-75. Perhaps in alignment with Sue et al., Ella Greene-Moton and Meredith Minkler argue the importance of bypassing the debate between cultural competency and cultural humility by proposing a "both/and" position: "also have been profitably used to encourage self-reflection and reflective practice with respect to ability/disability, sexual orientation and gender identity, and numerous other dimensions too often characterized by inequitable power, privilege, and injustice that affect health and well-being. Both concepts increasingly have stressed the need to challenge the institutions and systems in which we live and work that may, wittingly or unwittingly, enable these injustices to remain." Ella Greene-Moton and Meredith Minkler, "Cultural Competence or Cultural Humility? Moving Beyond the Debate," *Health Promotion Practice* 21, no. 1 (January 2020): 142-45, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524839919884912>, 145.

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¹¹ Alyse Ruriani, "'We Need to Dig Deeper' Mental Health Awareness Post," Facebook, May 8, 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/alyserurianidesign/photos/a.547408945302503/3001070526602987/>.

¹² Alyse Ruriani, *We Need to Dig Deeper*, May 8, 2020, Graphic Illustration, 600 x 600 pixels, May 8, 2020, https://www.instagram.com/p/B_7wCaSjRtS.

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¹³ Victoria Katherine Burbank, *An Ethnography of Stress: The Social Determinants of Health in Aboriginal Australia*, 1st ed, Culture, Mind, and Society (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

¹⁴ Richard Wilkinson and Michael Marmot, *The Solid Facts: Social Determinants of Health*, 2nd ed (Copenhagen, Denmark: WHO Regional Office for Europe, 2003).

¹⁵ Burbank, *An Ethnography of Stress*, 6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 96.

¹⁷ Roy G. D'Andrade, *The Development of Cognitive Anthropology* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1.

¹⁸ Ignacio Martín-Baró, Adrienne Aron, and Shawn Corne, *Writings for a Liberation Psychology*, 2 Ed. (Cambridge, MA and London, UK: Harvard Univ. Pr, 1994), 125.

¹⁹ Patricia A. Resick, Candice M. Monson, and Kathleen M. Chard, *Cognitive Processing Therapy for PTSD: A Comprehensive Manual* (New York, NY: Guilford Press, 2017).

²⁰ American Psychiatric Association, ed., *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-5*, 5th ed (Washington, D.C: American Psychiatric Association, 2013), 271.

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²² Manivong J. Ratts and Paul Pedersen, *Counseling for Multiculturalism and Social Justice*, 20-21.

²³ Rachael D. Goodman and Paul C. Gorski, eds., *Decolonizing "Multicultural" Counseling through Social Justice*, Online, International and Cultural Psychology (New York, NY: Springer, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4939-1283-4>, 59.

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³⁰ Ronald W. Casson, "Schemata in Cognitive Anthropology," 430.

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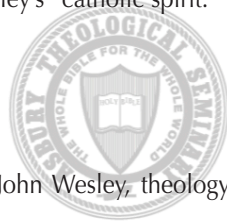
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Logan Patriquin

“The Plain, Old Faith”: Theological Foundations for a Scientifically Informed Constructive Doctrine of Original Sin in the Wesleyan Tradition

Abstract:

How should Wesleyans integrate modern understandings of science with theological commitments to the idea of original sin? After offering some historical context for Wesley’s engagement with the doctrine of original sin, this article aims to put contemporary socio-scientific perspectives in dialogue with John Wesley’s thought and further the discussion. The authority of scripture is engaged in light of Wesley’s “analogy of faith” and James K. A. Smith’s “Narrative-Arc” theological method. Insights of evolutionary psychology and sociobiology are then combined with Wesley’s understanding of universal human sinfulness and regenerating grace. The article explores Wesley’s holistic theological anthropology and contemporary emergence theory in their respective attempts to understand sin’s nefarious substance and power. Finally, the author notes additional theological considerations and concludes with a call to embrace John Wesley’s “catholic spirit.”



Keywords: Original sin, John Wesley, theology, evolutionary psychology, sociobiology

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Introduction

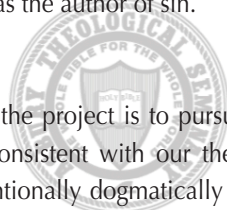
Contemporary perspectives from a wide range of disciplines are applying pressure to what had been mostly unchallenged Christian views of human origins. Hallmarks of the faith like Adam and Eve's historicity, the punctiliar nature of the Fall, even the notion of universal human sinfulness as a whole feel threatened. All of the doctrines above have something in common—original sin has historically been their theological anchor point. One side of the present discussion portrays original sin as a theological relic that needs to be disposed of or reconceived beyond recognition.¹ The other, for a variety of reasons, appears to resist any calls to doctrinal reformulation regardless of what new evidence or theories come to light.² Today in the Wesleyan tradition, theologians, pastors, and laity alike feel torn between two extreme options concerning the doctrine of original sin: throw the whole gambit away and wash our collective hands, or proudly hold fast to the bag of rubbish and pretend it doesn't stink. Is there no *via media*?

Our theological forebearer does not fit neatly into either of these parochial positions. We will find that John Wesley, echoing his heritage in the Magisterial Reformation of England, is more than willing to allow space for disagreement concerning the doctrine of original sin and to theologize therein, in an interdisciplinary fashion, so long as certain theological foundations are in place. In this essay, I endeavor to sketch out these theological foundations. Any constructive formulation of the doctrine of original sin in the Wesleyan tradition is best served by robustly engaging in dialogue with contemporary scientific perspectives while clinging to what Wesley believed were *diaphora* components of “the plain, old faith”: (1) the authority of scripture, (2) the affirmation of universal human sinfulness as the basis for the doctrine of the New Birth, and (3) a theological anthropology that doesn't portray God as the author of sin.

Concerning Method

The purpose of the project is to pursue as “thin” an account of original sin as can be consistent with our theological tradition. To that end, my proposal is intentionally dogmatically minimalist.³ The Wesleyan tradition is broad and ought to allow for a diversity of views concerning sin's etiology and our present-day hamartiological predicament.

After first offering some historical context for Wesley's engagement with the doctrine of original sin, I intend to put contemporary socio-scientific perspectives in dialogue with John Wesley's thought and moderate



the discussion. In particular, the authority of scripture will be engaged in light of Wesley's "analogy of faith" and James K. A. Smith's "Narrative-Arc" theological method. Insights of evolutionary psychology and sociobiology will then interplay with Wesley's understanding of universal human sinfulness and regenerating grace. Next, we will explore Wesley's holistic theological anthropology and contemporary emergence theory in their respective attempts to understand sin's nefarious substance and power. Finally, we will briefly note additional theological considerations and conclude with a call to embrace John Wesley's "catholic spirit."

The nature of the essay is such that I will not be able to engage at length with biblical scholarship on these proposed theological foundations. Additionally, no segment is intended to provide an exhaustive treatment of the subject. Instead, each section ought to provide a basis for further theological exploration and interdisciplinary dialogue.

Moreover, for the purpose of this article I am assuming that a constructive doctrine of original sin in the Wesleyan tradition ought to engage theories that presume an evolutionary, non-historical Adam (and Eve) framework, at least methodologically.⁴ That is not to say that a contemporary formulation or original sin *necessarily* denies the historicity of Adam. It is to say that I imagine such a claim to be *adiaphora* for a substantive doctrine of original sin. Concomitantly, I believe the cumulative weight of our current scientific understanding minimally warrants the theological leg work of devising a doctrine of original sin that doesn't stand or fall on Adam and Eve being our biological ancestors or the birthplace of sin.

Wesley's Social Setting

Much has changed since the days of John Wesley, but much remains the same. The doctrine of original sin was not in vogue in his day either. Enlightenment optimism ruled the philosophical landscape and took root in eighteenth-century theology, especially through the work of John Taylor.⁵ Wesley was so shaken by the deistic threat of Taylor's machinations that he took an eight-week hiatus from his cherished preaching circuit to write what amounts to his most extensive theological treatise, *The Doctrine of Original Sin according to Scripture, Reason and Experience* (1756).⁶ It's a brilliant exegetical and sociological work that engages a multitude of thinkers but unambiguously refutes Taylor's *magnum opus*, at some points page-by-page.

The substance of Wesley's position on original sin is later distilled in the form of a sermon that bears its name, "Original Sin" (1759). Contained in this work of public theology are these timely words positioned as theological guardrails within which we will proceed, "Keep to the *plain, old faith*, 'once delivered to the saints,' and delivered by the Spirit of God to our hearts. Know your disease! Know your cure! You were born in sin: Therefore 'ye must be born again,' born of God.'"⁷

Wesley fancied himself *homo unius libri*. He assigned epistemic primacy (though not exclusivity) to God's revelation in the scriptures. His early years at Oxford are case and point. His "Holy Club" quickly received the derogatory moniker "Bible Moths" because, at Wesley's lead, this initial rise of Methodism held fast to the authority and sufficiency of scripture as the lens with which we examine all else.⁸ For Ben Witherington III, Wesley's claim to be "a man of one book" in the preface to his *Standard Sermons* means:

He, at least in principle, endorsed the hermeneutical approach of allowing the scripture to have its own say, having the first and indeed the last word; and if that word is at odds with one's church tradition, so much the worse for that tradition. The scripture was seen as the ultimate authority and the final arbiter of the truth about any given tradition, experience, or rational claim.⁹

Would Wesley possibly endorse a reformulation of original sin in which newfangled scientific claims seem to pressure traditionalist readings of the early chapters of Genesis, several hallmark verses of Paul, and even references to Adam by Jesus Christ himself?

Scientific Perspectives and the Narrative-Arc of Scripture

R.J. Berry is right when he suggests that there is no point where biology and theology more "butt heads" than the doctrine of the Fall.¹⁰ Full volumes have been written arguing that evolutionary theory, especially coupled with emerging data from genetic science, has effectively relegated a historical fountainhead couple who "fall" into sin to the realm of religious myth.¹¹ New developments in population genetics are compelling and helpful but not likely as infallible as they purport to be. Joshua Swamidass, for example, has recently rebutted such dogmatic claims with his *genealogical hypothesis*, arguing instead that computational models show a likely universal, "genealogical" (as distinct from genetic) ancestor to all

"textual" humans as recent as six thousand years ago.¹² Nevertheless, this is more intriguing than it is significant. His premises only support the high probability of a recent genealogical ancestor for all humans; they do not get us to a sinless and perfect, primeval couple who function as the genesis of our miserable condition.

Joel Green argues that Wesley's commitment to the primacy of scripture is less about presenting the Bible in concordist terms- where all truths within harmonize with modern empirical exploration- and more about preserving the essential "theological grammar of scripture and life," in Wesley's words "the analogy of faith."¹³ The analogy of faith consists of the principal soteriological ingredients of Christian doctrine derived from scripture that then, in turn, interpret all other passages of scripture.¹⁴ Original sin is one such ingredient, and according to Green, "It is not too much to say, for Wesley, both the whole Bible teaches original sin (as integral to the order of salvation[...])...and that this doctrine...provides a normative guide for reading scripture."¹⁵ This much is revealed plainly in Wesley's reflections in his *Journal* for Sunday, August 28, 1748, when he preached in Shackerley in Lancashire:

Abundance of people were gathered before six, many of whom were disciples of Dr. Taylor's, laughing at original sin and, consequently, at the *whole frame of scriptural Christianity*. Oh, what a providence it is which has brought us here also among these silver-tongued Antichrists. Surely a few, at least, will recover out of the snare and know Jesus Christ as their wisdom and righteousness.¹⁶

To be faithful to our theological forebearer, we must conceive of a doctrine of original sin that doesn't sully "the whole frame of scriptural Christianity."

James K. A. Smith provides a theological framework for affirming our "cross-pressured" doctrine that is attuned to the spirit of Wesley's analogy of faith. "Christian theology," says Smith, "isn't like a Jenga game, an assemblage of propositional claims of which we try and see which can be removed without affecting the tower. Rather, Christian doctrine is more like the grammar of a story held together by the drama of a plot."¹⁷ His "narrative arc," which he soon expounds, consists of the goodness of creation, the eruption of sin, gracious redemption in Christ, and the eschatological consummation of all things. The purpose of theology,

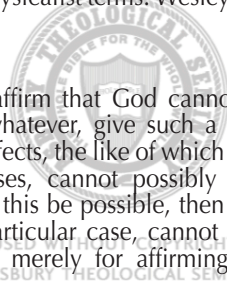
grounded in the authority of scripture, then becomes the pursuit of “faithful extensions” of this arc that don’t undermine the story.¹⁸

All we know from the sciences can couple with all that we know of scripture to affirm the essentials of Smith’s narrative arc and Wesley’s analogy of faith, all while retaining a high view of scripture. Wesley himself didn’t judge scripture and science to conflict with one another. Instead, they were two distinct books that both revealed the nature of God; one (the holy scriptures) simply bears more epistemic weight, soteriologically speaking.¹⁹

One can trace Wesley’s love affair with the natural sciences back to his time at Oxford, and scientific ruminations permeate his life’s writings. In his *A Plain Account of People Called Methodists*, he admits spending his free time for the better part of twenty-seven years studying and experimenting with anatomy and “physick.”²⁰ Wesley’s long-lasting interdisciplinary interest, coupled with his insatiable medical curiosities, led him to write and revise twenty-three editions of his *Primitive Physick or An Easy and Natural Way of Curing Most Diseases* (1747). He was no scientifically illiterate man, nor was he though quite the amateur physician he imagined himself to be.

There is at least one place in his *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament* where Wesley shows his willingness to read the Bible and “the book of nature” in an integrated way. The Book of Matthew depicts Jesus sending out his twelve disciples to this task, “Cure the sick, raise the dead, cleanse lepers, cast out demons” (Mt 10:8 *NRSV*). Wesley breaks form when remarking on this verse. Rather than sticking to his typical, short, expository comments, he launches into dialogue with contemporary psychological beliefs. The temptation of his day was to write off things like demonic possession in physicalist terms. Wesley’s response was essentially: couldn’t it be both?

Will any man affirm that God cannot or will not, on any occasion whatever, give such a power to an evil spirit? Or that effects, the like of which may be produced by natural causes, cannot possibly be produced by preternatural? If this be possible, then he who affirms it as so, in any particular case, cannot be justly charged with falsehood, merely for affirming the reality of a possible thing.²¹



Remarking on the same verse one paragraph earlier, Wesley uses phrases like "violent motions" and "over-tense nerves." The use of such terminology betrays Wesley's familiarity with neurological theories of his day. More important for our purposes, Green notes, "we witness here his interest in taking seriously the importance of science for biblical interpretation."²² It is reasonable to suggest that rather than considering it rubbish to be tossed out or an area of theology unassailable by the natural sciences, Wesley may have relished the opportunity to synthesize his broadly Augustinian understanding of original sin with emerging evolutionary perspectives. He likely sensed a deep resonance between science and theology.

Much more needs to be said on the topic of the authority of scripture as it relates to the doctrine of original sin, both of Wesley's thought and for contemporary constructive theology.²³ Suffice it to say, on this point, I concur with Bill Arnold when he suggests:

[T]he Bible shows little interest in the origin of human sinfulness among our ancestors but rather shows an intense interest in the universality of human sinfulness, its character as a disease infecting all humans, and its social effects...A Wesleyan reading of Genesis 3 acknowledges the Bible's basic intuition about sin, including its corrupt effects, and the notion that all humans share in its universal solidarity.²⁴

So long as we can robustly affirm the notion of universal human sinfulness then we have not disturbed the narrative arc of scripture nor Wesley's analogy of faith and are on solid ground moving forward.

Disease and Cure

John Wesley considered the doctrine of original sin essential to faithful Christian theology and proclamation; this much is clear.²⁵ However, it is significant to note that he did not love the language "original sin." He favored, instead, the terms *inbred* or *inbeing* sin.²⁶ This is the same man who famously stuck with the language of "Christian Perfection" when expounding his doctrine of entire sanctification, even though many of his contemporaries and theological descendants consistently misunderstand his aim. It should give us pause that such a linguistic purist was willing to pivot from traditional nomenclature, both English and Latin, when he talked about our sin dilemma.

Time and time again, John Wesley treats Adam as a real person who fell into sin and passed his corrupted nature on to every other human being as our federal head.²⁷ Reading twenty-first-century scientific conjecture back into the writings of Wesley is anachronistic. He simply had no reason to disbelieve the historicity of the Genesis 3 story. Still, many segments of Wesley's writing show that he was primarily interested in the existential and phenomenological nature of sin, not merely its etiology in Adam.²⁸

Speaking beyond the bounds of the garden, Wesley opines, "Universal misery is at once a consequence and a proof of this universal corruption. Men are unhappy (how very few are the exceptions!) because they are unholy."²⁹ Also, when discussing Genesis 6:5 in his sermon, "Original Sin," Wesley poignantly highlights, "For God saw it, and he cannot be deceived. He 'saw that the wickedness of man was great'. Not of this or that man; not of a few men only; not barely of the greatest part, but of *man in general*, of men universally."³⁰ More significant than *originating sin*-the fall event- is the ubiquity and universality with which we experience our sinful condition. Still, all the more critical for Wesley is original sin's soteriological significance- our inbred sin nature unequivocally separates us from God and the only remedy is grace.

Here is our theological foundation. The universality of our depraved nature via our natural birth necessitates a new birth, "Because we are 'born in sin;' nature is averse to all good, and inclined to all evil: Therefore we must be born again, before we can please God."³¹ Of primary importance in my view, and I would argue in Wesley's, is not the first Adam and his work, "In Adam ye all died," but the second, "in Christ, ye all are made alive."³²

The reason that Taylor's view so agitated Wesley was that his rejection of original sin implied a rejection of God's effort to save us in regenerating grace. For Taylor, a qualitative change was not necessary, merely a quantitative one.³³ Far be it for Wesley to stand for such a category mistake.³⁴ His objection is clear: if you miss the mark in understanding our sinful state, you miss the miraculous work of the Holy Spirit giving us new birth in Christ.³⁵ Observe the rhetorical power of Wesley's own words, "Is man by nature filled with all manner of evil? Is he void of all good? Is he wholly fallen? Is his soul totally corrupted? Allow this and you are so far a Christian. Deny it and you are but a Heathen still."³⁶

No Adam, no Fall; no Fall, no original sin; no original sin, no need for a Savior. Such is the logic a constructive formulation of original sin

must invalidate. Might evolutionary theory help develop a view of universal human sinfulness that necessitates grace in the form of a new birth even within a non-historical Adam framework?

Aids from Evolutionary Psychology & Sociobiology

Wesley would concur with a sentiment expressed by many theologians, "[Adam's] historical dark sin serves to highlight the brightness and clarity of God's gift of grace."³⁷ Yet, what if the atheistic philosopher Michael Ruse is right? Here is his contention: "Original sin is part of the biological package... It comes with being human... With respect to original sin, sociobiological *Homo sapiens* are nigh identical to Christian *Homo sapiens*."³⁸ Let's talk particulars.

Theories of evolutionary psychology can help present a robust picture of human sinfulness if we investigate what I term our "evolutionary baggage." This baggage is not what Augustine envisions with his thesis of inherited guilt; neither is it entirely what Wesley has in mind when he presents original sin as corrupted nature. Instead, it is the cumulative weight of millions of years of natural development now operative in human-constructed environments in which our genetic predispositions find inordinate actualization.

The task of evolutionary psychology is to understand human behavior through functionally specialized brain modules that are the products of natural selection, all of which leave our mental schemata irrevocably tuned to the age of hunter-gatherer societies.³⁹ According to E. O. Wilson, sociobiology is "the systematic study of the biological basis of all social behavior."⁴⁰ You can see the interplay of these two disciplines in the often-cited "sweet tooth" example.

Our ancestors developed a sweet tooth that helped them scour the earth for nourishment rich in natural sweeteners. In its original environment, this drive helped ensure proper nutrition for survival and reproductive capacity. Fast-forward a few millennia, and we now find ourselves living in a world overflowing with sweets (artificial and natural). The food industry is not naïve to our insatiable sweet tooth; it exploits it. Not surprisingly, many people satisfy this once very good desire to the sum of gluttonous obesity. Our limbic system- amygdala, hippocampus, thalamus, hypothalamus, and insula- seems partially to blame as part of its purpose is to regulate emotions and cravings. Remote ancestors of ours never experienced the hyper-stimulation of dopaminergic neuronal pathways by way of modern

“feel good” substances like engineered junk foods or drugs. Such pleasure sensors in the brain emerged to encourage rewarding behaviors. One could label them *good* behaviors, teleologically speaking. Now, anyone tormented by substance addictions feels the weight of this evolutionary mismatch.⁴¹

The applications of evolutionary psychology and sociobiology are not captive to sins of excess. The eventual emergence of a developed prefrontal cortex opened the hamartiological door to all manner of social ills and self-serving behavior.⁴² Jonathan Haidt has even theorized a series of “moral foundations,” rooted in evolutionary psychology, that explain both the positive and negative aspects of moral psychology.⁴³ Ultimately, insights gleaned from these two disciplines suggest that our inherited proclivities are not ideally suited for a life of righteousness and holiness in a world of complex social relations, materialist media, and ever-evolving technology. It may just be that all humans inherit an unchosen “sinful” nature at this period in our evolutionary history. This proposition appears observable both at the individual and societal level. We naturally desire temporal goods like food, shelter, and sex. The problem is, we don’t live in our ancestors’ environments where their desires for the like were appropriately actualized in line with part of humanity’s *telos* to “be fruitful and multiply.”

It is common in the evolutionary creation camp to adapt the view that human beings are creatures weighed down by millions of years of genetic calibrating, the result of which is a species whose genes once led us to “wholly good” ends but now lead us to sinful autonomy. Walking a fine line to avoid overly naturalistic assertions, they collectively present this possibility: perhaps we don’t need a Fall to be fallen. Celia Deane-Drummond taps this theological vein when she suggests, “It is not so much that guilt is inherited through original sin, but that original sin creates the distorted social context in which it is impossible not to be a sinner.”⁴⁴ To her assertion, Mark Heim adds some thoughts from memetic theory, “If others are sinners [and presume millennia of accumulated structural sin], I will necessarily be ‘conceived in sin,’ not in terms of a genetic code but through my mimetic nature.”⁴⁵ In this view, if sin is an ever-actualized social reality, we are all consequently *born in sin*.⁴⁶

Wesley wavered back and forth between models of how our sin nature is propagated. We will cover these developments in the following section. Helpful to our position now is a consistent theme that Randy L. Maddox observes running through Wesley’s works as it relates to the effect

of original sin, which he terms "*lost participation*."⁴⁷ According to Maddox, original sin is not "some 'thing' that we inherit, but the distortion of our nature resulting from being born into this world already separated from the empowering Divine Presence [lost participation]."⁴⁸ Swamidass lends his thought to this position as well when he speculates that the nature of original sin is inherited exile, a fall that "grows into us."⁴⁹

Below is a truncated, speculative, and provisional outline of a Fall and subsequent communication of original sin that attempts to take seriously the claims of evolutionary psychology and sociobiology while still retaining the necessity of regenerating grace, soteriologically speaking:

God creates a *good* world and produces biological life via an evolutionary process (which includes even the nastier parts like death, predation, and evolutionary dead-ends) → Creatures complex enough to be said to "bear the image of God" arise from this process with an original population of no less than 10,000 individuals → God corporately elects this emergent species as his covenant people to serve as his representation to and for the created order → These original humans are not *perfect*, in the popular sense, but are enabled and empowered to carry out God's *very good* mission for them on earth → They break faith with God by choosing instead to pursue their own perceived good and "fall" → After this nonessential temporal "fall" humanity is left in a state that requires the restoring grace of God found only in Christ Jesus.⁵⁰

The result of this provisional model is an inbeing sin that amounts to relational exile from God, a state in which we are utterly incapable of living the way God intended absent his enabling presence, absent a new birth.

Suggesting that original sin may have a biological component(s) has enormous theological implications. We genuinely do not know the depths of our "cure" if we are unfamiliar with the severity of our "disease." Developing scientific theories may do theology a favor as they continue to unmask what it means to be fallen. These biological revelations and theological innovations could prove fruitful for a constructive doctrine of original sin, but they also carry a serious risk- ontologizing sin.

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Not Assumed, Not Healed BURY THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Hans Madueme is a vocal opponent of the doctrine of original sin having a biological component, at least one that presumes to deny the

historicity of Adam and Eve. According to Madueme, “The fall is midwife to the gospel.”⁵¹ A temporal fall does the three-fold work of safeguarding God’s holiness, affirming the goodness of the created order, and grounding eschatological hope in God’s original intention for creation. Here we observe the classic, western V-pattern of salvation history: paradise made □ paradise lost □ paradise remade.

Wesley was akin to this way of framing salvation history. He too would have resisted evolutionary hamartiologies that render evil “*intrinsic* to divine creation, or alternatively, [ones within which] evil becomes a dualistic reality existing alongside God and intruding itself into his creation.”⁵² Madeume’s main contention is that “biologized hamartiology conflates the doctrine of creation and the doctrine of sin.”⁵³ By presenting the nature of sin as an *inevitable* outgrowth of our evolutionary development, he argues, evolutionary theologians have resurrected Manichaean heresy. Truthfully, such a presentation also sounds eerily analogous to John Taylor’s conclusion that Wesley vehemently opposes, “If we come into the world infected and depraved with sinful dispositions, then sin must be natural to us; and if natural, then necessary; and if necessary, then no sin.”⁵⁴

Wesleyans need not fall prey to these heretical slippery slopes. Though his thought took some time to take shape, Wesley was prescient on this matter. In his *Doctrine of Original Sin*, Wesley responds to a slimmed-down version of the assertion above, “If sin be natural, then it is necessary,” saying:

If by sin meant the corrupt bias of our wills, that indeed is natural to us, as our nature is corrupted by the fall; but not as it came *originally out of the hand of God*. Therefore it is improperly compared to the appetites of hunger and thirst, which might be in our original nature. Now, this bias of the will is certainly evil and sinful, and hateful to God; whether we have contracted it ourselves, or whether we derive it from Adam, *makes no difference*.⁵⁵

Clearly, Wesley believed that our state of sin is not natural in the sense that God is the direct author of sin. Still, he seems to afford some grey space concerning sin’s etiology and propagation in his concluding quip.

As an ordained Anglican minister, Wesley refused to run roughshod over his Church’s *Thirty-Nine Articles* when building out his theological anthropology. Front and center in his considerations stands

Article IX's pronouncement that original sin "naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam."⁵⁶ This intentionally muddled article allows Wesley to vacillate throughout his life regarding his view of exactly how original sin is naturally engendered. At first, Wesley was content with how Article IX obfuscated the issue but his willingness to dodge the topic eroded in 1755 when Richard Tompson pitted the biological transmission of original sin against Wesley's doctrine of entire sanctification. Imagine a scenario where two entirely sanctified individuals procreate. Do their offspring have a naturally engendered fallen nature?⁵⁷

Wesley got to work to come up with a reasonable response by plunging the depths of the two most prominent theological models of his day for the communication of inbeing sin- traducianism and creationism. John Wesley began and concluded his theological journey as a traducian. With Augustine, he settled on the idea that our entire being (body and soul) was present in Adam's loins during the fall.⁵⁸ In short, there is a biological component to sinful communication- a natural transmission- though Wesley did not embrace Augustine's doctrine of concupiscence wherein the physical act of procreation (along with its inherit lust) is the sin transmitting agent. On the whole, Wesley avoids Manichaeism by affirming that original sin is naturally engendered in its corrupting effects, but that corruption traces back logically, theologically, and chronologically to a temporal fall in Adam. Such a position retains Augustine's "priority-of-the-good" thesis since sin's alien entrance does not predate a Fall in time.⁵⁹

The middle Wesley is less dogmatic on this point. During the period of his life that he wrote *The Doctrine of Original Sin*, Wesley had been dipping his toes in the creationism camp.⁶⁰ Still, neither view is forcefully advocated in his treatise. Here, I believe, is Wesley's wisdom. He takes the time to refute Taylor's claims that Adam's curse only resulted in physical death because he wants to show not only that we are all subject to physical decay because of sin but that we are all spiritually dead as well. Hence, again, highlighting the need for regenerating grace. All the while, Wesley has ample opportunity in his treatise on original sin to advocate for or propose a model for the dissemination of spiritual death. He explicitly declines to do so:

Before I say anything on this head, I must premise, that there are a thousand circumstances relating to it, concerning which I can form no conception at all, but am utterly in the dark. I know not how my body was

fashioned there; or when or how my soul was united to it: And it is far easier, in speaking on so abstruse a subject to pull down, than to build up. I can easily object to any hypothesis which is advanced; but I cannot easily defend any.

And if you ask me, how, in what determinate manner, sin is propagated; how it is transmitted from father to son: I answer plainly, I cannot tell; no more than I can tell how man is propagated, how a body is transmitted from father to son. I know both the one and the other fact; but I can account for neither.⁶¹

Wesley's turn to mystery concerning the transmission of original sin from generation to generation is prudent. Perhaps it ought to also be adopted in the Wesleyan tradition for discussions concerning sin's etiology.⁶²

Emergence Theory

It is hard to talk about sin and its nefarious nature without also using the language of "soul" and "mind"; they are intrinsically linked. Christian theology draws on the philosophical canon for its discussion of these terms. Wesleyan theology, in particular, is most acquainted with conceiving what it means to be *Homo spiritualis* through Platonic categories. The soul is often seen as a distinct from the body, immaterial "thing" with heaven as its origin and end. This conception would not be far afoot from what was floating around in Wesley's theological mind during his aforementioned foray into creationism.

The soul/body dualistic paradigm was popular in Wesley's day. Thomistic dualism and Cartesian dualism were both notable theories that Wesley dealt with extensively.⁶³ Contemporary scholarship, however, has witnessed a turn away from these traditional categories and presentations of theological anthropology in favor of what's broadly known as emergence theory.⁶⁴

Emergence theory is a diverse, transdisciplinary philosophical framework that spans philosophy of science, philosophy of mind, philosophy of religion, and more. The nature of this project affords space for only a rudimentary introduction. For our purposes, emergence theory is an effort to avoid the language of soul while still conceiving of "things" that are part of the human person, but which are irreducible epistemologically, and oftentimes ontologically. For example, emergence theory argues that the advent of mind, consciousness, rationality, etc., is

not simply a neurophysiological phenomenon; it is "supervenient" one. The concept of supervenience is a relationship of downward causation. Put short, the emergent mind is reliant on and caused by its neurological basis, but is superveniently endowed a nature of its own that allows it to exert downward causal power. Matter causes mind but mind then has the ability to then influence its generating matter.⁶⁵ Emergence theory allows one to develop a theological anthropology that is simultaneously monistic though not physicalist, and dualistic though not in the substance sense.⁶⁶

Critical for our discussion is how the ideas of supervenience, downward causality, and irreducibility have hamartiological significance. Ignacio González-Faus reasons that "when human beings sin, they create structures of sin, which, in their turn, *make human beings sin*."⁶⁷ Sin is dependent on individual actualization but quickly becomes irreducible to the individual sinner and can exercise downward causal pressure on society at large. These newly evolving categories may afford us a way to conceive of the alien entrance of sin on both a personally binding and societally compulsory level. Matthew Croasmun even argues that it may help us understand (S)in in the cosmic sense that Paul outlines in his Epistle to the Romans.⁶⁸ Perhaps emergence theory presents the Wesleyan tradition some new ways to envision how original sin is "naturally engendered."

Final Reflections

As we turn to conclude our study, it is best to embrace Wesley's "catholic spirit."⁶⁹ Wesley was a man of fierce conviction who could still offer an olive branch to those who disagreed with him so long as they were unified in Christian faith.

Constructive theology concerning human origins and human sinfulness many have a profound impact on how we understand critical components of Wesley's *ordo salutis* moving forward. Introducing a biological component to the doctrine of original sin has the potential to introduce some "limits" to the therapeutic nature of grace in Wesley's explanations of regeneration and entire sanctification. We have soteriological categories readily available to conceive of a mending or eradication of inbeing sin when it is understood as lost participation, exile, relational estrangement, or even the broadly Reformed position of imputed guilt. Things get more tricky if inbred sin incorporates evolutionary baggage. How might holiness and evolution intersect in the quest for Christian Perfection?⁷⁰

Some of the preceding comments also have Christological implications. For instance, in what sense does Jesus share in our humanity if there is something borderline *essentially* sinful about our nature? Does Christ take on our evolutionary baggage and model for us a path to Spirit-empowered sinless living? Perhaps. Still, would not our inherited proclivities be an assault to Jesus Christ's impeccability? Suppose instead that Jesus doesn't assume our evolutionary history in his Incarnation. Is He then fully human, or do we have a *novum* Apollinarianism on our hands? Imagine also the kerygmatic difficulty such a formulation of original sin might present. For many ministers the practical concern when discussing human origins and salvation history is, quite simply: will it preach?

Theological "innovations," the like of which we have discussed, have the potential to stress bonds of Christian love and lead to squabbling. I propose we are quick to embrace and embody Wesley's qualifications for a catholic spirit:

Dost thou believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and him crucified[?]...Is thy faith ενεργουμενη δι' αγαπης,- *filled with the energy of love?*... Is thy heart right toward thy neighbor?... Do you show your love by your works?... 'If it be, give me thy hand.' I do not mean, 'Be of my opinion.' You need not: I do not expect or desire it. Neither do I mean, 'I will be of your opinion.'⁷¹

For Wesley, catholic spirit is neither "*speculative*" nor "*practical latitudinarianism.*" Instead, it is the ability to respectfully disagree with "all whose hearts are right with his heart."⁷² That is, people who are also pursuing God in worship to the best of their knowledge.

One is free to conceive of a different, if not better, means of affirming the authority of scripture in our scientifically informed age. The specific "nature" of sin, if it is even appropriate to use such a term, need not have a basis in ancient brain modules to lead us to an understanding of universal human sinfulness. Better models may be yet to be developed. Human nature does not have to fit the mold of traditional substance dualism, emergent dualism, or even radical monism to affirm the goodness of creation and Creator. Our tradition can afford latitude without being latitudinarian. Wesley's catholic spirit can govern our theological reflections on the doctrine of original sin so long as we stick to "the plain, old faith."

End Notes

¹ For a typical depiction of original sin in the neo-orthodox tradition see Harry Emerson Fosdick, *The Modern Use of the Bible* (New York: Associated Press, 1924). For a current representative of the reconceived view see Tatha Wiley, *Original Sin: Origins, Developments, Contemporary Meanings* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2002).

² For a purposefully conservative approach on theological grounds see Hans Madueme and Michael Reeves, "Threads in a Seamless Garment: Original Sin in Systematic Theology," in *Adam, the Fall, and Original Sin: Theological, Biblical, and Scientific Perspectives*, Hans Madueme and Michael Reeves eds., (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2014), 209-224 & Hans Madueme "'The Most Vulnerable Part of the Whole Christian Account': Original Sin and Modern Science," in Hans Madueme and Michael Reeves eds., 225-250. For a more moderate biblical theology see Henri Blocher, *Original Sin: Illuminating the Riddle* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999).

³ For a discussion on the principal of dogmatic minimalism see Oliver D. Crisp, "A Moderate Reformed View," in *Original Sin and the Fall: Five Views*, eds. J. B. Stump and Chad Meister (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2020), 37. Also see Oliver D. Crisp, "Desiderata for Models of the Hypostatic Union," in Oliver D. Crisp and Fred Sanders, eds. *Christology, Ancient and Modern: Explorations in Constructive Dogmatics* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Academic, 2013), 19-41.

⁴ I have made this case at length elsewhere. See Logan Patriquin, "Towards an Evolutionary Understanding of Original Sin" (unpublished). For a helpful introduction to the historical Adam debate see Gregory A. Boyd and Philip G. Ryken, *Four Views on the Historical Adam* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2013). I adopt a similar approach to Denis Lamoureux's section, "No Historical Adam: Evolutionary Creation View," in Gregory A. Boyd and Philip G. Ryken eds., 37-65. For more on his assumptions see Denis Lamoureux, *The Bible and Ancient Science: Principles of Interpretation* (Tulahoma, TN: McGahan Publishing House, 2020). See also J. Richard Middleton, "Reading Genesis 3 Attentive to Human Evolution: Beyond Concordism and Non-Overlapping Magisteria," in *Evolution and the Fall*, eds. William T. Cavanaugh & James K. A. Smith (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2017), 67-97.

⁵ see John Taylor, *The Scripture-Doctrine of Original Sin, Exposed to Free and Candid Examination* (London: J. Waugh, 1740).

⁶ Herbert McGonigle, "Know Your Disease! Know Your Cure!: John Wesley's Doctrine of Original Sin." *The Bible in TransMission* (Summer 2008), 10.

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⁷ John Wesley, "Sermon XLIV: Original Sin," *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A.*, ed. Thomas Jackson, 3rd ed., 14 vols., (London: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 1872; reprinted Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1979) 6:65. Sec. III.5. Emphasis mine.

⁸ Kenneth J. Collins, *John Wesley: A Theological Journey* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2003), 43.

⁹ Ben Witherington III, "New Creation or New Birth? Conversion in the Johannine and Pauline Literature," in *Conversion in the Wesleyan Tradition*, eds. Kenneth J. Collins & John H. Tyson (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2001), 119.

¹⁰ R.J. Berry and T.A. Noble. *Darwin, Creation and the Fall: Theological Challenges* (Nottingham, EN: Apollos, 2009), 72.

¹¹ For an in-depth argument about the "event" nature of the Fall see Denis O. Lamoureux, *I Love Jesus and I Accept Evolution* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2009), 81-84. Also see Denis O. Lamoureux, *Evolutionary Creation: A Christian Approach to Evolution* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2008), 158-169. Dennis Venema illustrates the difficult idea of evolution as a population-level event in his book co-authored with Scot McKnight, *Adam and the Genome: Reading Scripture after Genetic Science* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Press, 2017), 19-22 & 44-66. Also see, Christopher Southgate, *The Groaning of Creation: God, Evolution, and the Problem of Evil* (Louisville and London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), 28. See also, Dennis R. Venema, "Genesis and the Genome: Genomics Evidence for Human-Ape Common Ancestry and Ancestral Hominid Population Sizes," *Perspectives on Science and Christian Faith* 62, no. 3 (September 2010): 166.

¹² See S. Joshua Swamidass, *The Genealogical Adam and Eve: The Surprising Science of Universal Ancestry* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2019) 46-47 & 64-69. Unique in Swamidass' argument is that a historical Adam and Eve couple would likely be "genetic ghosts," not discoverable by genetic examination, but could still be genealogical ancestors of all human beings by AD 1.

¹³ Joel B. Green, "A Wesleyan View," in Stump and Meister eds., 56.

¹⁴ Randy L. Maddox, *Responsible Grace: John Wesley's Practical Theology* (Nashville, TN: Kingswood Books, 1994), 57.

¹⁵ Green, 57. Also see Collins, *The Theology of John Wesley: Holy Love and the Shape of Grace* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2007), 65.

¹⁶ Wesley, *Works* (Jackson) 2:113 cited in McGonigle, 12. Emphasis mine.

¹⁷ James K. A. Smith, "What Stands on the Fall? A Philosophical Exploration," in William T. Cavanaugh & James K. A. Smith, eds., 50.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 51. NOT TO BE USED WITHOUT COPYRIGHT PERMISSION
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¹⁹ See David Rainey, "Beauty in Creation: John Wesley's Natural Philosophy," *Wesley and Methodist Studies* 9.1 (2017): 18-35. Also see

Randy L. Maddox, "John Wesley's Precedent for Theological Engagement with the Natural Sciences," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 44.1 (Spring 2009): 23-54.

²⁰ "A Plain Account of a People Called Methodists," *Works* (Jackson) 8:264. For this section I am indebted to the work of J. W. Haas, Jr., "John Wesley's Vision of Science in the Service of Christ," *Prospectives on Science and Christian Faith* 47 (December 1995): 234.

²¹ John Wesley, *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament*, Fourth American Edition. (New York: J. Soule and T. Mason, 1818), 37–38.

²² Green, "A Wesleyan View," 75.

²³ To engage with perspectives from biblical theology See Joel B. Green, "'Adam, What Have You Done?': New Testament Voices on the Origins of Sin," in *Evolution and the Fall*, eds. William T. Cavanaugh & James K. A. Smith (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2017), 98-116. Also see Scot McKnight's section of Dennis R. Venema and Scot McKnight, *Adam and the Genome: Reading Scripture after Genetic Science* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos, 2017), 93-191. Also see Peter Enns, *The Evolution of Adam: What the Bible Does and Doesn't Say about Human Origins* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos, 2012). Finally, see John H. Walton, *The Lost World of Adam and Eve: Genesis 2-3 and the Human Origins Debate* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2015).

²⁴ Bill T. Arnold, "Toward a Wesleyan Understanding of 'Original Sin.'" *Firebrand*, June 1, 2020. <https://firebrandmag.com/articles/toward-a-wesleyan-understanding-of-original-sin>.

²⁵ See W. Reginald Ward and Richard P. Heitzenrater, eds. *The Works of John Wesley*, Bicentennial ed. Vol. 21, *Journals and Diaries II* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1990), 456. Cited in Kenneth J. Collins, *John Wesley: A Theological Journey*, 186.

²⁶ Randy L. Maddox, *Responsible Grace: John Wesley's Practical Theology* (Nashville, TN: Kingswood Books, 1994), 74-75.

²⁷ Nowhere is this more clearly see than in his remarks on Romans 5:12 & 19. See Wesley, *NT Notes*, 375-376. Also see Thomas H. McCall, "'But A Heathen Still': The Doctrine of Original Sin in Wesleyan Theology," in *Adam, the Fall, and Original Sin: Theological, Biblical, and Scientific Perspectives*, Hans Madueme and Michael Reeves, eds. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2014), 148-151.

²⁸ For example, see Wesley, "The Doctrine of Original Sin, according to Scripture, Reason, and Experience," pt. 4 *Works* (Jackson) 9:367, sec. 8. "If you, who are most unwilling to acknowledge the fall of man, would but look into yourself daily, and observe all the sinful and irregular turns of your own heart; how propense you are to folly, in greater or less instances; how soon appetite and passion oppose reason and conscience; how frequently you fall short of the demand of the perfect law of God; how thoughtless and forgetful you are of your Creator; how cold

and languishing your affection to Him; how little delight you have in virtue, or in communion with God: Could you think you are such an innocent and holy creature as God at first created you? and that you have been such even from your childhood? Surely a more accurate observation of your own heart must convince you, that you yourself are degenerated from the first rectitude of your nature," (Here on out *DOS*). Also see, Celia Deane-Drummond, "In Adam All Die?" in *Evolution and the Fall*, eds. William T. Cavanaugh & James K. A. Smith (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2017), 45.

²⁹ *DOS*, pt. 1, *Works* (Jackson) 9:235, sec 14.

³⁰ Wesley, "Sermon XLIV: Original Sin," *Works* (Jackson) 56, sec. I.1. Emphasis original.

³¹ *DOS*, pt. 2, *Works* (Jackson) 9:308, sec. 1. Also see Wesley, "Sermon XLV: The New Birth," *Works* (Jackson) 6:68, sec. 4. "This then is the foundation of the new birth,- the entire corruption of our nature. Hence it is, that, being born in sin, we must be 'born again.'"

³² *DOS*, pt. 3, *Works* (Jackson), 9:332, sec. 6. Here is the larger literary context of the quote: "My reason for believing he was so, in some sense, is this: Christ was the representative of mankind, when God 'laid on him the iniquities of us all, and he was wounded for our transgressions.' But Adam was a type or figure of Christ; therefore, he was also, in some sense, our representative; in consequence of which, 'all died' in him, as 'in Christ all shall be made alive.'"

³³ Taylor described the new birth and regeneration as merely "the gaining those habits of virtue which make us children of God." See *DOS*, pt. 2, *Works* (Jackson) 9:308, sec. 2.

³⁴ see Wesley's response, "But regeneration is not 'gaining habits of holiness;' it is quite a different thing. It is not a natural, but a supernatural, change; and is just as different from the gradual 'gaining habits,' as a child's being born into the world is from his growing up into a man. The new birth is not, as you suppose, the progress, or the whole, of sanctification, but the beginning of it; as the natural birth is not the whole of life, but only the entrance upon it. He that 'is born of a woman,' then begins to live a natural life; he that is 'born of God,' then begins to live a spiritual. And if every man 'born of a woman' had spiritual life already, he would not need to be 'born of God.'" *Ibid.*, pt. 2, 9:310, sec. 3.

³⁵ Tom Oden summarizes Wesley's point well in Thomas C. Oden, *John Wesley's Teachings: Volume 1 God and Providence* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2012), 200. "Those who have no way to grasp the perplexity, depth, and recalcitrance of human sin have little motivation to speak of Christ on the cross. We cannot get to atonement [regeneration] or redemption until we take seriously the predicament to which Christ is an answer."

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³⁶ Wesley, "Original Sin," *Works* (Jackson) 6:63, sec. III.2.

³⁷ Dan Lioy, *Evolutionary Creation in Biblical and Theological Perspective*. Studies in Biblical Literature Vol. 148 (New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing, 2011), 141.

³⁸ Michael Ruse, *Can a Darwinian Be a Christian?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 210.

³⁹ Neils Henrik Gregersen, "What Theology Might Learn (and Not Learn) from Evolutionary Psychology: A Postfoundationalist Theologian in Conversation with Pascal Boyer," in *The Evolution of Rationality: Interdisciplinary Essays in Honor of J. Wentzel Van Huyssteen*, ed. LeRon F. Shutz (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006), 306.

⁴⁰ E. O Wilson, *Sociobiology: The New Synthesis*, 25th anniversary edition (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 2000), 4.

⁴¹ Both Patricia Williams and Michael Dowd discuss various ways our neural anatomy may have hamartiological weight in their respective works, *Doing without Adam and Eve: Sociobiology and Original Sin* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2001), 43, and *Thank God for Evolution: How the Marriage of Science and Religion Will Transform Our Life and Our World* (New York: Plume, 2007), 147.

⁴² For a full treatment on the mental modules see Logan Patriquin, "Towards an Evolutionary Understanding of the Doctrine of Original Sin," (unpublished). Also, for an admittable fully naturalistic account of moral emergence see Robert Wright, *The Moral Animal: Evolutionary Psychology and Everyday Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

⁴³ Jonathan Haidt, *The Righteous Mind: Why Good People Are Divided by Politics and Religion* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 2012), 142. For a while the general consensus among anthropologists was that "evolution got our species to the point of becoming bipedal, tool-using, large-brained creatures, but once we developed the capacity for culture, biological evolution stopped, or at least became irrelevant." Haidt rejects the prevailing view of anthropology in an attempt to formulate an evolutionary account of moral intuition. Even still, he warns against reductionist and functionalist attempts to explain how every behavior evolved to serve a certain "function."

⁴⁴ Deane-Drummond, 45.

⁴⁵ Mark S. Heim, "A Cross-Section of Sin: The Mimetic Character of Human Nature in Biological and Theological Perspective," in *Evolution and Ethics: Human Morality in Biological and Religious Perspective*, eds. Philip Clayton and Jeffery Schloss (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004), 268. Memes, like genes, are packages of information that get passed from generation to generation. One is biological and inherited via procreation. One is cultural and inherited from our sociological setting.

⁴⁶ Oden, 207. "Original sin implies that no one can enter history as if starting with an absolutely clean moral state, as if nothing unseemly had ever happened before."

⁴⁷ Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, 81. Author's Emphasis. "Humans are creaturely beings who can develop spiritual wholeness only through dynamic relationship with God's empowering grace. The essence of the first sin was the severing of this relationship, the desire to be independent of God. When Adam and Eve separated from God's Presence the result was their spiritual death—their loss of the Likeness of God (moral Image of God) and the corruption of their basic human faculties (natural Image of God). All subsequent human beings come into the world already separate from God, hence spiritually dead."

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Swamidass, 179. It should be noted, though, that his model of original sin affirms both the evolutionary pre-history of humans and a historical *de novo* Adam and Eve (*ibid.*, 184-200).

⁵⁰ The preceding was a summary of James K. A. Smith's "imagined scenario" in *Evolution and the Fall*, 61-62 at originally appeared in Logan Patriquin, "Testing the Homiletical Bouyancy of James K. A. Smith's "Narrative-Arc" Approach to the Fall," *The Asbury Journal* 74.1 (Spring 2019): 171-182. I took some stylistic and theological liberties in my presentation of his thought.

⁵¹ Hans Madueme, "An Augustinian-Reformed View," in Stump and Meister eds., 15. Also see Hans Madueme and Michael Reeves, eds, *Adam, the Fall, and Original Sin: Theological, Biblical, and Scientific Perspectives* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2014), 209-250.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 17. Author's emphasis.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁵⁴ Taylor, 129.

⁵⁵ *DOS*, pt. 2, Works (Jackson) 9:274, sec. 2:10. Emphasis added.

⁵⁶ McCall, 150 & Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, 78. In an important turn though, Wesley modified this article for use by American Methodists and omitted reference to "original guilt."

⁵⁷ See "Letter from Richard Tompson to John Wesley (10 July 1755)," *Letters*, ed. Frank Baker. 7 vols.; Vols. 25–31 in *The Works of John Wesley* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980—) 26:571. Also see Letter from Richard Tompson to John Wesley (15 August 1755), 27, *Works*, 26:590. Cited in Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, 78–79.

⁵⁸ Genesis 5:3 NRSV "When Adam had lived one hundred thirty years, he became the father of a son *in his likeness, according to his image,*

and named him Seth." Emphasis added. See also Collins, *The Theology of John Wesley*, 68.

⁵⁹ James K. A. Smith outlines the priority-of-the-good thesis in Smith, "What Stands on the Fall? A Philosophical Exploration," 59.

⁶⁰ Creationism held that God creates every individual soul and only the material body is produced through physical procreation. See Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, 76.

⁶¹ *DOS*, pt. 3, *Works* (Jackson) 9:334-335, sec 7.

⁶² The preceding section is heavily indebted to Randy Maddox's brilliant analysis in his section titled, "Humanity as Fallen: Debilitated and Depraved, but Guilty?" in *Responsible Grace*, 73-83.

⁶³ Charles W. Christian, "John Wesley's Anthropology: Traditional and Innovative Elements," *The Asbury Journal* 59.1&2 (Spring/Fall 2004): 140.

⁶⁴ See Warren S. Brown, Nancey Murphy, and H. Newton Malony, eds. *Whatever Happened to the Soul?: Scientific and Theological Portraits of Human Nature* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1998).

⁶⁵ For a full treatment of this topic see William Hasker, *The Emergent Self* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999). Also see Neils Henrik Gregersen, "Emergence in Theological Perspective: A Corollary to Professor Clayton's Boyle Lecture," *Theology and Science* vol. 4, no. 3 (2006): 309-320. Also see Philip Clayton, *Mind & Emergence: From Quantum to Consciousness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁶⁶ It seems to me that Wesley was yearning for such an ontological grounding for the soul in his, "Remarks on the Limits of Human Knowledge," *Works* (Jackson), 13:497. "And where is the soul lodged? In the pineal gland? the whole brain? in the heart? the blood? in any single part of the body? Or, is it (if any one can understand those terms) all in all, and all in every part? How is it united to the body? What is the secret chain, what the bands, that couple them together? Can the wisest of men give a satisfactory answer even to these few, plain questions?" Also see Peter G. H. Clarke, "Humanity and Humanness," in *The Lion Handbook of Science and Christianity*, ed R. J. Berry (Oxford, England: Lion Hudson, 2012), 201.

⁶⁷ José Ignacio González Faus, "Sin," in *Systematic Theology: Perspectives From Liberation Theology: Readings From Mysterium Libertionis*, eds. Jon Sobrino and Ignacio Ellacuría (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996), 198. Emphasis original.

⁶⁸ See Matthew Croasmun, *The Emergence of Sin: The Cosmic Tyrant in Romans* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017).

⁶⁹ Wesley, "Sermon XXXIX: Catholic Spirit," *Works* (Jackson) 5:492-504. Also see "Sermon XXXVIII: A Caution Against Bigotry," *Works* (Jackson) 5:479-492.

⁷⁰ On this point Matthew Nelson Hill has already stocked the theological fire. See his work *Evolution and Holiness: Sociobiology, Altruism and the Quest for Wesleyan Perfection* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2016).

⁷¹ "Catholic Spirit," *Works* (Jackson) 5:497-499, sec I.13-II.1. Emphasis Wesley.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 5:501-503, sec. III.1-2 & 5.



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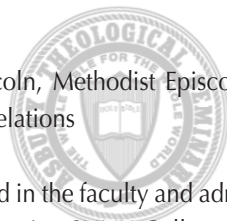
Samuel J. Rogal
Lincoln Among the Methodists

Abstract:

While not a professed member of any religious denomination, the relationship between Abraham Lincoln and the Methodist Episcopal Church of his time is important, both in terms of their views on the abolition of slavery and the political rise of the number of Methodists in the United States. This article charts the course of that relationship from before Lincoln's Presidency, his election campaign against Peter Cartwright, and the significance of Bishop Matthew Simpson. This was period when the rise of Methodism was to have serious implications politically because of the rapid size, growth, and moral views of the church.

Keywords: Abraham Lincoln, Methodist Episcopal Church, United States history, religion, church relations

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The seemingly endless biographers of Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) have generally and collectively concluded that attempts to adorn their subject's lapel with a firm denominational label prove more than difficult. His impoverished nomadic parents, Thomas Lincoln (1778-1851) and Nancy Hanks Lincoln (?-1818), as well as his widowed step-mother from Elizabethtown, Kentucky, Sarah Johnston, held rigidly to the teachings of the Baptist Church, but there exists little evidence that their son committed to that line of thought or discipline. Although Lincoln, following the death of his four-year-old son, Edward Baker Lincoln, on 1 February 1850, regularly attended Presbyterian churches in Springfield, Illinois, and Washington, DC., he did not become a communicant of that denomination. Indeed, there lies even less detail concerning his interest in Christian creeds or formal theology. The Bible lay upon his reading table as the sole source sufficient to meet his religious needs.¹

One historian of American religion has referred to Lincoln's religious habits and conduct as having been the result of a "son of a hard-shell Baptist who [Abraham Lincoln] never lost hold of the proposition that nations and men are instruments of the Almighty."² Support for that statement derives most readily from Lincoln's "Second Inaugural Address" on 4 March 1865, where, within a span of less than two paragraphs appear no less than fifteen (15) undisputed references to the Supreme Being and thirteen (13) direct references and allusions to Biblical passages: Both parties engaged in the present war, claimed the President, "read the same *Bible* and pray to the same **God** and each invokes **His** aid against the other."³ It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just **God's** assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces..." "The **Almighty** has **His** own purposes."⁴ "Woe unto the world because of offenses! For it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh!"⁵ If we should propose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of **God** must needs come, but which having continued through **His** appointed time,⁶ **He** now wills to remove,⁷ and that **He** gives to both North and South, this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein my departure from those **divine attributes** which the believers in a **living God**⁸ always ascribe to **Him**?⁹ "Yet, if **God** wills it [the Civil War] continue, until. . . the bondman's. blood drawn with the lash. . . shall be paid by another... it must be said 'the judgments of the **Lord** are true and righteous altogether."¹⁰ With malice toward none,¹¹ with charity for all;¹² with firmness

in the right,¹³ as **God** gives us you see the right,¹⁴ let us strive on to finish the work we are in;¹⁵..."¹⁶

Despite Lincoln's knowledge of the substance of holy scriptures and evidence in his willingness to accept the spirit and the workings of a Judaic-Christian God, he offered main line Protestant denominations few opportunities to recruit him into their ranks. Thus, his relationships with those religious organizations existed principally on social and political levels. The Methodists had entered the game early in the history of the new Republic. In May 1785, Thomas Coke (1747-1814), one of two superintendents appointed by John Wesley for Methodism in the infant United States, organized a petition calling for either immediate or gradual elimination of slavery in Virginia, encouraging that document to be sent directly to the retired General George Washington. Coke and his co-superintendent, Francis Asbury (1745-1816), managed to arrange a dinner meeting on the petition with Washington at Mount Vernon in late May or early June 1785, and the two Methodist leaders believed, at the end of that session, that Washington supported the petition. However, Washington never signed the document. Although he appeared generally receptive to the notion of a gradual emancipation, he hesitated at the thought of a large population of freed slaves in Virginia and, eventually, throughout the nation. Coke and Asbury would achieve a small token of success when, Washington, in his will, declared freedom for his own slaves. "Indeed," remarked Francis Asbury's biographer, "his [Washington's] intention to free his slaves appears to have taken shape in about 1789, a decade before his death and not long after his meeting with Asbury and Coke."¹⁷ As for Coke, he found himself in political difficulty at, and following, the Methodist Conference in New York on 28 May-5 June 1789. There he participated in the drafting of an address to the newly elected President of the United States, George Washington, expressing the loyalty of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the nation and to its leader. Coke also served on the delegation that delivered the document to the President. The problem arose from Coke's continued British citizenship, as well as his continued affiliation with the Tory Party in England, resulting in severe criticism from the New York press, public disapproval in England, and condemnation from the British Methodist Conference. As though taking his cue from the departed John Wesley, Coke excluded mention of the affair in his journal.¹⁸

The connection between the third Wesley appointed superintendent for American Methodism, Richard Whatcoat (1736-1806),

and George Washington proves difficult to translate, principally because its source, the entries in Whatcoat's journal between 1 August 1789 and 31 December 1800, appear as hasty jottings and fragmentary notes, as opposed to extended observations and recollections of persons and events. Thus, his entry for 2 September 1790 reads, "B.D.T. [breakfast, dinner, tea] at Bror manlys [Henry Manly's] preachd [*sic*] in the Evning [*sic*] to A Small [congregation] this Day for the first time I saw his Exelency [*sic*] president Washington [.]" The reader cannot determine whether Whatcoat actually visited with Washington, or if he simply caught sight of the President. However, Whatcoat's colleague on the Methodist itinerancy, Thomas Morrell (1747-1838), a native of Staten Island, New York, had distinguished himself as a captain of militia, then promoted to major, in the Continental Army during the American Revolution, and he had maintained and retained a friendship with George Washington, although the specifics of that post-war relationship have not yet come to light.¹⁹ Of course, the exact number of Methodists who had served in the Continental Army from 1775 to 1783 and knew, both then and later, George Washington cannot be determined; Thomas Morrell might have been one among hundreds.

As George Washington evidenced an awareness of the infancy of American Methodism both during and following the creation of a new nation, Abraham Lincoln would recognize the growing strength and maturation of the Methodist Episcopal Church both prior to and during a national crisis that threatened the destruction of that nation. The discussion needs to begin, naturally enough, with Abraham Lincoln's parents, Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks Lincoln. The couple had been married, in Hardin County, Kentucky, by a Methodist minister, Rev. Jesse Head, known only as an outspoken opponent of slavery, and thus, logically, attended Methodist services. At some point, however, they removed to a congregation of Separate Baptists, their worship house located at South Fork, two miles from their farm, and when the debate over slavery seriously divided that church in August 1808, the Lincolns joined the newly formed Little Mount Baptist Church, situated three miles east of the farm. Most likely, Abraham Lincoln knew little concerning his parents' Methodist experience, and he demonstrated even less interest in pursuing the matter.²⁰

Nonetheless, Lincoln would not lose sight of the Methodists. For six years—from 1831 to 1837, from the ages of twenty to twenty-six—he resided and worked in New Salem, Illinois, a settlement on the Sangamon River, twenty miles northwest of Springfield, a village then

without a church, but one in which its settlers experienced no barriers to the practice of their religious sentiments. The Baptists met in the local schoolhouse, while the Presbyterians and Methodists did the same in one another's homes. In the summers members of each denomination removed themselves to weekly outdoor campground meetings. The itinerant Methodist minister and frontier preacher, Peter Cartwright, whom Lincoln would have to confront in the next decade, conducted a number of revival meetings at New Salem during the future President's residence there, and one might reasonably speculate that the young man knew of those events and, possibly, attended at least one—out of curiosity, if for no other reason. "The anti-intellectualism and emotionalism of the of the revivals turned some residents away," argued one of Lincoln's biographers, treading upon the thin ice of generalization, "while inspiring a search in others for a more rational faith."²¹ The writer does not commit his subject firmly to the "some" or to the "others." Nonetheless, during his youth in Kentucky and Indiana, and in the brief New Salem period, Lincoln observed the deep divisions within he Baptist Church—General Baptists, Particular Baptist, Separate Baptists—and the rancor among Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists, all of which tended to widen the distance between those principal nineteenth-century denominations and him.

Occasions did arise, however, when Lincoln responded to a friendly wave from the Methodist Episcopal Church. There crossed his path for a brief moment another frontier preacher, Orceneth Fisher (1803-1880). Born into a Baptist family at Chester, Windsor County, Vermont, Fisher accompanied his parents to the Indiana territory at some point prior to 1821, after which he left the Baptist fold and embraced Methodism. In 1823, he joined the Missouri Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, then, a year later, removed to the Illinois Conference. Fisher spent 1839-1840 on the Methodist itinerancy in Texas, returned to Illinois for a short tour, then spent the remainder of his years on the itinerancy in the Northwest, Texas, and the Pacific Coast. At Springfield, Illinois, Fisher preached in "a modest-looking [Methodist] meeting-house, which speaks more for the simple piety of the inhabitants, than the ostentatious taste of the citizens..." Further, the state capitol then under construction, the Illinois Senate met in Fisher's church, and his tenure in Springfield coincided with Lincoln's early law practice there—the latter having moved to that town from New Salem in 1837. According to one Methodist historian, Orceneth Fisher had related to his children those occasions when Lincoln attended

his services.²² What prompted Lincoln to do so rises as a question without satisfactory answers. Ronald White stroked his readers' imaginations by noting that despite Lincoln's position in the Illinois General Assembly, he remained practically friendless in Springfield. "Lincoln considered attending a church in Springfield, but, remarked, 'I've never been to church yet, nor probably not be soon. I stay away because I should not know how to behave myself.'" ²³ How does one reconcile that statement, even though it had been filtered through a secondary source, with Rev. Orceneth Fisher's tales to his children? To accept both means to establish Lincoln's view of a church service, including a *Methodist* service, as a social occasion, as opposed to participation in a meaningful religious experience.

Before releasing entirely the thin grasp of a connection between Lincoln and Methodism during the young legislator-lawyer's early period in Springfield, Illinois, consider this interesting (coincidental?) link. On 15 October 1924, at the intersection of Sixteenth and Mt. Pleasant Streets, Washington, D.C., occurred the dedication of the Methodist Bishop Francis Asbury monument—an equestrian statue of Asbury created by Everette Wyatt: a book in the right hand clutched to his breast, the left hand on the reins, and the horse, head bowed, as though paused and prepared for a drink from a stream.²⁴ A similar equestrian statue of Asbury, seemingly recreated by Wyatt, stands adjacent to Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, Kentucky.²⁵ Beside the Wyatt piece place the equestrian statue *Life on the Circuit*, executed by Anna Vaughan Huntington Hyatt (1876-1973),²⁶ depicting Abraham Lincoln in the saddle, reading, as he travelled across the Eighth Judicial Circuit in central Illinois, his horse paused, drinking from a stream. Was Anna Huntington attempting a relationship of some sort between the patriarch of American Methodism and the young lawyer embarking upon his road to prominence? After all, both men rode the circuit—one to save souls, the other to serve justice.

Lincoln's experience with Methodism assumed a totally new dimension at the very outset of his political career. When, at age twenty-three, he sought a seat in the Illinois General Assembly in 1832, he came in eighth in a field of thirteen candidates; ahead of him stood a forty-seven-year-old Methodist itinerant preacher on the western frontier by the name of Peter Cartwright (1785-1872). Born in Amherst County, Virginia, Cartwright accompanied his family in 1790, to Kentucky. Offered little in the way of formal education, the boy eventually embraced horse racing and gambling until, at a camp meeting in 1801, he underwent religious

conversion. A year later he obtained a license to preach as an exhorter in the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1803, Cartwright, having mastered the skill of contemporary preaching, became a circuit rider, thus beginning two decades of preaching at least one sermon per day. Then followed ordination as a deacon in 1806, elder in 1808, presiding elder of the Methodists' Cumberland circuit from 1821 to 1823, transfer to the Illinois Conference in 1824, and presiding elder for that Conference over the next half-century. Described as "a rugged man, about five feet ten inches tall, Cartwright bore his nearly two hundred pounds on a medium frame. His resolute personality exuded from a face with high cheekbones, a firm jaw, and piercing black eyes,"²⁷

Cartwright expressed little patience with religious formalism, having been convinced that daily reading of holy scriptures and consistent prayer comprised the essential components of the truly spiritual life. The "texts" of his sermons focused upon the clear message of free salvation and rigid moral conduct—the guiding purpose of early American Methodism. He also advanced a form of anti-intellectualism, maintaining that Methodists could ignite the spirits of their congregations while their denominational rivals spent their time earning college degrees and negotiating for their stipends. By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, Cartwright's fundamentalist views began to recede, and he lamented the fact that the Methodist Episcopal Church had begun to ignore the popular enthusiasm that had cultivated the essence of the movement. Again, he mounted a rhetorical assault upon those Methodist ministers who had become "downy doctors and learned presidents and professors," while Methodist laymen and women desired little beyond affluence, social fashion, and maternal comfort.²⁸

In an effort to establish his reputation and solidify his leadership, Peter Cartwright turned his attention to politics. Twice he gained election to the Illinois General Assembly, representing his district from 1824 to 1840, embracing an anti-slavery policy. At the 1844 General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, featuring a debate over slave-holding, he attempted, without success, to prevent a division between the two factions, resulting, in 1845, with the formation of the Protestant Episcopal Church, South. Nonetheless, Cartwright's career remained without serious blemish. Reportedly, throughout a career spanning seventy years, he had preached nearly 15,000 sermons and baptized close to 10,000 persons while

traveling circuits in Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Peter Cartwright died at Pleasant Plaines, Illinois, on 25 September 1872.

Fourteen years following their initial 1832 political confrontation, the sixty-one-year-old Democrat Cartwright and the thirty-seven-year-old Whig Lincoln entered the arena in an effort to represent the Illinois Congressional District. Interestingly enough, they waged the contest at a distance from each other—no debates, no joint appearances. To the surprise of but a few, Cartwright injected religion into the campaign as a principal issue. Lincoln received word that in a number of the northern counties in the district, “Mr. Cartwright was whispering the charge of [religious] infidelity against me...”²⁹ In response, Lincoln prepared a handbill addressed “To the Voters of the Seventh Congressional District,” dated 31 July 1846—four days before the election: “That I am not a member of any Christian Church is true,” he confessed;

...but I have never denied the truth of the scriptures; and I have never spoken with intentional disrespect of religion in general, or of any denomination of Christians in particular. It is true that in early life I was inclined to believe in what I understand is called the ‘Doctrine of Necessity’—that is that the human mind is impelled into action, or held in rest by some power, over which the mind itself had no control, and I have sometimes (with one, two or three, but never publicly) tried to maintain this opinion in argument. The habit of arguing thus, however, I have entirely left off for more than five years. And I add here, I have always understood this same opinion to be held by several of the Christian denominations. The foregoing is the whole truth, briefly stated, in relation to myself, upon this subject.

Lincoln then concluded,

I do not think I could myself, be brought to support a man for office, whom I knew to be an open enemy of, and a scoffer at, religion. Leaving the higher matter of eternal consequences, between him and his Maker, I still do not think any man has the right thus to insult the feelings, and injure the morals, of the community in which he may live. If, then, I was guilty of such conduct, I should blame no man who should condemn me for it; but I do blame those, whoever they may be, who falsely out such a charge in circulation against me.³⁰

Lincoln’s “friends,” for whatever reason, never published this document.

Undeterred by the failure of that initial response, Lincoln, eleven days later, from Springfield, Illinois, on 11 August 1846,³¹ addressed a letter to Allen N. Ford, a publisher at Lacon, Illinois,³² and the editor of the *Illinois Gazette*. He had just returned from a campaign tour of the northern counties of the district and received a letter from Jacksonville, Illinois, claiming that Peter Cartwright had been spreading rumors about his [Lincoln's] infidelity. "I have little doubt now," asserted Lincoln,

that to make the same charge—to slyly sow the seeds in the same spots—was the chief objective of his mission through your part of the District, at a time when he knew I could not contradict him, either in person or by letter before the election. And, from the election returns in your county [Marshall], being so different from what they are in parts where Mr. Cartwright and I are both well known, I incline to the belief that he has succeeded in deceiving some honest men there.³³

Lincoln then turned his attention to a person identified only as

"Mr. Woodward, our worthy commissioner from Henry"³⁴ spoken of by your [Jacksonville] correspondent, I must say it is a little singular that he should know so much about me, while, if I ever saw *him*, or heard of him, save in the communication in your paper, I have forgotten it. If Mr. Woodward has given such assurance of my character as your correspondent asserts, I can still suppose him to be a worthy man; he may have believed what he said; but there is, even in that charitable view of his case, one lesson in morals which he might, not without profit, learn of even me—and that is, never to add the weight of his character to a charge against his fellow man, without *knowing* it to be true. I believe it is an established maxim in morals that he who makes an assertion without knowing whether it is true or false, is guilty of falsehood; and the accidental truth of the assertion, does not justify or excuse him. This maxim ought to be particularly in view, when we contemplate an attack upon the reputation of our neighbor. I suspect that it will turn out that Mr. Woodward got his information in relation to me, from Mr. Cartwright; and I here aver, that he, Mr. Cartwright, never heard me utter a word in any way indicating my opinions on religious matters in his life.³⁵

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In the end, all of this excitement came to naught. A total of 11,169 white males from the Illinois Seventh Congressional District cast votes on 3

August 1846: 6340 (56.8%) for Abraham Lincoln, 4829 (43.2%) for Peter Cartwright.³⁶

How, then, does one interpret Lincoln's victory? Other than second-hand newspaper reports, Lincoln's broadside of 31 July 1846 and his 11 August letter to Allen Ford, little specificity concerning the Congressional campaign of 1846 has emerged. Peter Cartwright never mentioned it in his 1858 *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, the Backwoods Preacher*, nor did later editors of that volume take note of it. Prior to the election of 1846, Cartwright had declared his commitment to the "born again/holiness gospel when he stated that 'real religion'" embraced the notion of the Holy Spirit "'bearing witness with our spirits that we are the children of God,'³⁷ which results in an effective expression of faith, a 'sensible evidence of change of heart.'" When Cartwright opposed Lincoln in the 1846 Congressional election, his principal campaign issue focused hard upon Lincoln's "unsuitability for office because of his rational realistic skepticism." He harped upon Lincoln's "unwillingness to affirm a palpable conviction of sin and an explicit new birth encounter with Jesus." In Cartwright's view, Lincoln emerged as "an infidel." To the majority of voters in the District, presumably aware of Cartwright's religious agenda because of his years of preaching in that area of the state, "his insistence on evangelical conversion" proved to have been "typical Methodist fare."³⁸ Would that campaign and its election result, then, be considered Lincoln's victory over Methodism or over the Methodist Episcopal Church? No! He had campaigned against Peter Cartwright as a purely political opponent, Whig versus Democrat. His election proved that one need not necessarily be obliged to practice frontier-style Methodism to be considered a Christian. One needed only to be Abraham Lincoln.

Lincoln appeared to have little contact of importance with Methodism, its people or its Church, until two years prior to the 1860 Presidential election. In the seventh of the campaign debates on 25 October 1858 between Senator Steven Arnold Douglas (1813-1861) of Illinois, Lincoln declared,

There never was a party in the history of this country, and there probably never will be of sufficient strength to disturb the general peace of the country. Parties themselves may be divided and quarrel on minor questions, yet it extends not beyond the parties themselves. But does not the question make a disturbance outside of political circles? Does it not enter into the churches and rend

them asunder? What divided the great Methodist Church into two parts, North and South? What has raised the constant disturbance in every Presbyterian General Assembly that meets?³⁹

The answer, of course: slavery! Two years later, on the eve of his first Presidential term, Lincoln found his way into the poverty-stricken sections of New York City. By 1860, the Five Points Mission House of Industry, situated in that metropolis as an adjunct of the Methodist Ladies' Home Missionary Society, had become a regular stop for visitors seeking to examine, first hand, a well-publicized prime example of Methodist piety and charity. Lincoln, by now an knowledgeable politician, campaigning for the Presidency, visited the Five Points Mission on 24 February 1860.⁴⁰

Following the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, in the North, an interdenominational organization, the United States Christian Commission, had been created, with significant assistance from Methodist Bishop Edward Storer Janes (1807-1876),⁴¹ to supply relief, carried forth mainly by Methodist women, and to conduct worship services by the ministry, both for the benefit of Union soldiers. Further, nearly five hundred pastors from the Methodist Episcopal Church volunteered as regimental chaplains. President Lincoln would later respond to the wholesome support of the war effort of the Methodist Episcopal Church North, emphasizing to Church leaders the point that the Church, "by its greater numbers... sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals, and more prayers to heaven than any. God bless the Methodist Church."⁴² Indeed, throughout the war, Bishop Matthew Simpson (1811-1884)⁴³ became a close and trusted associate of Lincoln, an "informal" chaplain, if you will, and the President, in turn, viewing him as the "greatest orator he had ever heard," extended his favor toward Simpson. Following Lincoln's assassination Simpson preached the President's funeral sermon in Springfield, Illinois, a highly patriotic oration, labeling Lincoln a Christian hero and a martyr, endowed with noble virtues and godly character—a far cry from two decades earlier when Peter Cartwright had branded Lincoln an infidel. During the war the aged Cartwright had mellowed in his opinion of Lincoln and extended his appreciation to the President for his leadership.⁴⁴

Following the issuance of the first draft of the Emancipation Proclamation on 22 July 1862, Lincoln received an unheralded measure of support from a different segment of Methodism, The Methodist Protestant Church, comprised of a group of democratic-leaning reformers

and innovators disenfranchised from the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1830. They formed, in the same year, the Methodist Protestant Church as a denomination without bishops or presiding elders, with preachers appointed by an elected “President” of Conference—and those appointments could be appealed. The laity and clergy of the new denomination achieved equal representation in denominational meetings, an egalitarian polity that all members viewed as truly “Protestant.” However, the Methodist Protestant Church assumed a conservative view on the issue of slavery, obviously a concession to Southern members, a position that, thirty years later, brought about serious disruption and division.⁴⁵

At the General Convention of the Methodist Protestant Church, held at Cincinnati, Ohio, on 5-12 November 1862, by then devoid of membership from any of the Confederate States,⁴⁶ the Committee on the Country, chaired by Dennis B. Dorsey, Jr., from Western Virginia, “reported a series of whereases and resolutions,” the principal item reading,

Resolved, That we heartily endorse the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln; because it strikes at that baleful cause of all our civil and ecclesiastical difficulties, American slavery, the sum of all villainies,⁴⁷ the darling idol of all villainies, the central power of villainous secessionism, but now, by the wisdom of the President, about to be made the agent of retributive justice in punishing that culmination of villainous enterprises, the attempt to overthrow the most glorious civil government that God’s providence ever established on earth.⁴⁸

Lincoln’s reaction and response to the resolution (if, indeed, a response ever came forth) have not survived.

During the second half of the war, one could uncover a time or two when the stream of cooperation between Lincoln and the Methodists did not always flow with harmony, more the result of failures within the President’s own administration than from actions by the Methodists. As but one instance, note this situation that arose in the winter of 1863-1864. From the Executive Mansion in Washington, D.C. Lincoln wrote to Secretary of War Edwin McMasters Stanton (1814-1869), notifying him that

In January 1863, the Provost-Marshal at St. Louis, having taken the control of a certain church from one set of men, and given it to another, I wrote Gen. [Samuel Ryan] Curtis [1807-1866, head of the Department of Missouri]

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on the subject, as follows: "the U.S. Government must not, as by this order, undertake to run the churches. When an individual, in a church or out of it, becomes dangerous to the public interest, he must be checked; but the churches, as such, must take care of themselves. It will not do to appoint trustees, Supervisors or other agents for the churches."

Then on 22 December 1863, Lincoln wrote to Oliver D. Filley of St. Louis and repeated to him his order to General Curtis, adding, "I have never interfered, nor thought of interfering as to who shall or who shall not preach in any church; nor have I knowingly, or believingly, tolerated any one else to so interfere by my authority. If any one is so interfering by color of my authority, I would like to have it specifically made known to me... I will not have control over any church on my side.' After having made these declarations in good faith, and in writing," concluded Lincoln to Stanton, "you can conceive of my embarrassment of what having brought to me what purports to be a formal order of the War Department, bearing date Nov. 30th 1863, giving Bishop Ames⁴⁹ control and possession Southern Military Departments, whose pastors have now been appointed by a loyal Bishop or Bishops, and ordering the military to aid him against any resistance which may be made to his taking such possession and control. What is to be done about it?"⁵⁰ Whether the question yielded a response proves difficult to determine, and no mention of the matter arises in further correspondence from Lincoln to Stanton.

Perhaps the last "direct" contact between Abraham Lincoln and the Methodist Episcopal Church occurred approximately eleven months prior to the assassination of the President. From the General Conference of that Church, held at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in mid-May 1864, emerged an epistolary address directly to the President, dated 14 May 1864 and signed on behalf of the members of the Conference, by Joseph Cummings,⁵¹ the General Conference chairman. Be aware that this address to Lincoln extends far beyond a pile of paragraphs of bloated rhetorical praise and perhaps devoid of ninety percent of no other purpose other than the obligatory knee-bending before the monarch. The Conference had an agenda here, beginning with informing the President of its strength as a religious organization: "The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, now in session in the city of Philadelphia, representing nearly seven thousand ministers and nearly a million of members, mindful

of their duty as Christian citizens, takes the earliest opportunity to express to you the assurance of the loyalty of the Church, her earnest devotion to the interest of the country, and her sympathy with you in the great responsibilities of your high position in this trying hour.”⁵² Unfortunately, the Conference did not appreciate, or did not even know, how “trying” the hour had become; it hoisted the flags much too soon by claiming. “Loyal and hopeful in national adversity, in prosperity thankful, we most heartily congratulate you on the glorious victories recently gained, and rejoice in the belief that our complete triumph is near.”

However, a triumph of another sort did emerge, one to which the Methodist Episcopal Church North had developed and maintained a passionate interest—a triumph that these representatives of the Church could confine to but a single sentence: “We honor you for your proclamations of liberty, and rejoice in all the acts of the government designed to secure freedom to the enslaved.”

Following the issuance of assuring the continued loyalty of Northern Methodists, the writers of the address proceeded to outlie for the President the record of that loyalty established by the Methodist Episcopal Church. “With exultation we point to the record of our Church as never having been tarnished by disloyalty. She was the first of the Churches to express, by deputation of her most distinguished ministers, the promise of support to the Government in the days of [President George] Washington. In her Articles of Religion⁵³ she has enjoined loyalty as a duty, and has ever given to the government her most decided support.” In terms of what the writers labeled, albeit in general terms. “this present struggle for the nation’s life many thousands of her members, and a large number of her ministers have rushed to arms to maintain he cause of God and humanity. They have sealed their devotion to their country on every battlefield of this terrible war.” Further, reads the address, the writer(s) pressing hard to underscore the extent of Methodist loyalty to the Union cause, “Our earnest and constant prayer is, that this cruel and wicked rebellion may be speedily suppressed; and we pledge you our heartfelt cooperation in all appropriate means to secure this object.”

The address also provided Lincoln with a degree of opportunity to view the collective mood of the Methodist leadership toward the role of government in the face of open rebellion.

We regard this dreadful scourge now desolating our land and wasting the nation's life as the result of a most unnatural and utterly unjustifiable rebellion, involving the crime of treason against the best of human governments and sin against God. It required our government to submit to its own dismemberment and destruction, leaving no alternative but to preserve the national integrity by the use of natural resources. If the government had failed to use its power to preserve the unity of the nation and maintain its authority it would have been justly exposed to the wrath of heaven,⁵⁴ and to the reproach and scorn of the civilized world.

One significant and apparent gap within the argument of the Church proved to have been the fact that, in the North, moderate anti-slavery politicians had placed equal blame upon their radical abolitionist colleagues for abstaining from attempts, prior to 1861, to seek means of compromise and thus diffuse efforts toward secession and war. The “reproach and scorn” had been equally merited by both North and South. Nonetheless, the Methodists continued to believe “that our national sorrows and calamities have resulted in a great degree from our forgetfulness of God⁵⁵ and oppression of our fellow-men. Chastened by affliction, may the nation humbly repent of her sins,⁵⁶ lay aside her haughty pride,⁵⁷ honor God in all future legislation, and render justice to all who have been wronged.”

Should those directives be pursued, the address can then proceed to its conclusion upon two hopeful notes: First, a positive look to the future, wherein “We trust that when military usages and necessities shall justify interferences with established institutions, and the removal of wrongs sanctioned by law, the occasion will be improved, not merely to injure our foes and increase the natural resources, but also as an opportunity to recognize our obligations to God and to honor his law. We pray that the time may speedily come when this shall be truly a republican and free country, in no part of which, either state or territory, shall slavery be known.” Second, the piece ends with a call to prayer for the President and the nation. “The prayers of millions of Christians, with an earnestness of millions of Christians never manifested for rulers⁵⁸ before, daily ascend to heaven that you may be endued with all needed wisdom and power. Actuated by the sentiments of the loftiest and purest patriotism, our prayer should be continually for the preservation of our country undivided, for the triumph of our cause, and for the permanent peace, gained by the sacrifice

of no moral principles, but founded on the word of God, and securing in righteousness, liberty, and equal rights to all.”⁵⁹

Abraham Lincoln responded to the General Conference address four days later, on 1 May 1864,⁶⁰ having done so in the tone and manner of an elected official, carefully avoiding expressions of personal feeling: “Gentlemen,—In response to your address, allow me to attest the accuracy of its historical statements, endorse the sentiment it expresses, and thank you, in the nation’s name for the sure promise it gives.” He held a firm grip upon the line of objectivity, claiming that

Nobly sustained as the government has been by all the Churches, I would utter nothing which might in the least appear invidious against any. Yet without this it may fairly be said that the Methodist Episcopal Church, not less devoted than the best, is, by its greater numbers, the most important of all. It is no fault in others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals, and more prayers to heaven than any. God bless the Methodist Church! bless all the Churches! And blessed be God who in this our great trial giveth us the Churches.

A closing salutation does not follow, only, “May 18, 1864, A. Lincoln.”⁶¹

At the end of it all, and on the surface—meaning in public—Lincoln managed to maintain his personal distance from American Methodism. Nonetheless, as a politician, he certainly must have understood the numbers involved; he could count church membership and he could translate the figures into votes. For example, according to one source, by 1860, the combined lay membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church (1,661,086) and the Evangelical United Brethren (141,841) had reached a total of 1,802,927—or 5.7% of the population of the United States (31,443,321).⁶² Because of the number of political and ecclesiastical variables that occurred from 1860 to 1865, one cannot accept those figures as “official,” but if nothing else, they do allow one to assess the political strength of American Methodism during Abraham Lincoln’s relatively brief tenure in the executive mansion. Place that beside the President’s close relationship with Bishop Matthew Simpson and a vision emerges that might have tantalized the imaginations of one or two historians or biographers; but those seeds took no roots. There arises no evidence that Lincoln consciously sought to acquaint himself with or to read seriously the Articles of Religion

of the Methodist Episcopal Church, or that he ever contemplated entering into its membership. There ends that story.

The Methodists, however, held little reservation in claiming Abraham Lincoln as among their own. The President's Emancipation Proclamation harmonized well with the strong abolition position of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and his equally strong determination to preserve the Union fit well with the political agenda of the church. More importantly, however, the church wanted a hero to rise above the bloody destruction of civil war, and a number of its members truly believed that Bishop Matthew Simpson, a long-time abolitionist, had inspired Lincoln to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. No matter that such a belief lacked validity, for the purported hero became an actual martyr on 14 April 1865 when John Wilkes Booth put a bullet into his head and he died the next day. At Lincoln's funeral in Springfield, Illinois, Bishop Matthew Simpson, speaking on behalf of his nation and his church, concluded, "Chieftain, farewell! The nation mourns thee... Mute though thy lips be, yet they still speak. Hushed is thy voice, but echoes of liberty are ringing throughout the world, and the sons of bondage listen with joy. Thou didst fall not for thyself. The assassin had no hate for thee. Our hearts were aimed at; our national life was sought. We crown thee as our martyr and Humanity enthrones thee as her triumphant son. Hero, martyr, friend, farewell."⁶³ In the end of that story, the Methodist Episcopal Church could claim, for five short years, both its hero and its martyr.

End Notes

¹ For those who will be satisfied with but a brief yet accurate overview and/or summation of Lincoln's "religion," *The Encyclopedia of American Religious History* of Edward L. Queen II, Stephen R. Prothero, and Gardiner H. Shattock, Jr. (New York, NY: Facts On File, Inc., 1996): 1:362-363, will do. For more in-depth study of the subject, see Glen E. Thurow, *Abraham Lincoln and American Political Religion* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1976), and William I. Wolf, *The Almost Chosen People: A Study of the Religion of Abraham Lincoln* (1959), revised as *Lincoln's Religion* (Philadelphia, PA: The Pilgrim Press, 1970). Of course, one will always be best served by attentiveness to the primary sources—the speeches and the letters.

² Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1972): 686.

³ My *italics* and **bold**.

⁴ Jeremiah 51:29—“And the land shall tremble and sorrow: for every purpose of the Lord shall be performed against Babylon, to make the land of Babylon a desolation without an inhabitant.” (KJV)

⁵ Matthew 18:7 (KJV)

⁶ Genesis 18:14—“Is anything too hard for the Lord? At the time appointed I will return unto thee, according to the time of life, and Sarah shall have a son.” (KJV)

⁷ 2 Kings 23:27—“And the Lord said, I will remove Judah also out of my sight, as I have removed Israel, and will cast off this city of Jerusalem which have chosen and the house of which I have said, My name shall be there.” (KJV)

⁸ Deuteronomy 5:26—“For who is there of all flesh, that hath heard the voice of the living God speaking out of the midst of the fire, as we have, and lived?

⁹ Deuteronomy 32:3—“Because I [Moses] will publish the name of the Lord: ascribe ye greatness unto our God.” (KJV)

¹⁰ Psalms 19:9—“The fear of the Lord is clean, enduring forever: the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.” (KJV)

¹¹ 1 Peter 2:1—“Wherefore laying aside all malice, and all guile, and hypocrisies, and envies, , and all evil. . . .” (KJV)

¹² 2 Thessalonians 1:3—“We are bound to thank God always for you, brethren, as it is meet, because that your faith growth exceedingly, and the charity of every one of you all towards each other aboundeth.” (KJV)

¹³ Job 41:24—“His [a leviathan’s] heart is as firm as a stone; ye, as hard as a piece of the nether millstone.” (KJV)

¹⁴ Deuteronomy 12:28—“Observe and hear all these words which I command thee, that it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee forever, when thou doest that which is good and right in the sight of the Lord thy God.” (KJV)

¹⁵ Colossians 1:29—“Whereunto I also labour, striving according to his [God’s] working, which worketh in me mightily.” (KJV)

¹⁶ Don E. Fehrenbacher (ed.), *Abraham Lincoln: Speeches and Writings, 1859-1865* (New York, NY: Library Classics of the United States, Inc., /Library of America, 1989): 687.

¹⁷ John A. Vickers (ed.), *The Journals of Dr. Thomas Coke* (Nashville, TN: Kingswood Books/Abingdon Press, 2005): 63-64; John Wigger, *American Saint: Francis Asbury and the Methodists* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009): 251-252.

¹⁸ J.A. Vickers, *Journal of Coke*, 92, 126-127.

¹⁹ See William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1840. Volume IV: The Methodists: A Collection of Source Materials* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1946):113, 117; Samuel J. Rogal (ed.), *To Go and Serve the Desolate Sheep in America: The Diary/ Journal of Bishop Richard Whatcoat, 1789-1800* (Bethesda, MD: Academica Press, LLC, 2001): 35; James Grant Wilson and John Fiske (eds.), *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, NY: D. Appleton and Company, 1888-1901), 4:407.

²⁰ Donald C. White, Jr., *A. Lincoln: A Biography* (New York, NY: Random House, 2009): 17-18.

²¹ White, *Lincoln*, 45.

²² Sweet, *The Methodists*, 469, 476. Sweet, in turn, cited from John C. Simmons, *History of Southern Methodism on the Pacific Coast* (1886): 141.

²³ White, *Lincoln*, 86. White noted his sources for Lincoln's statement as Joshua F. Speed, *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln and Notes of a Visit to California. Two Lectures* (Louisville, KY: John P. Morton and Company, 1884): 23; and Lincoln's conversation with Mary S. Owens, 7 May 1837, in Roy P. Basler (ed.), *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 9 vols. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953-1955), 1:78. Lincoln had courted Mary Owens, the daughter of an affluent Kentucky family, but the relationship eventually came to an end.

²⁴ Wigger, *American Saint*, 412-414.

²⁵ Kenneth Cain Kinghorn, *The Heritage of American Methodism* (Strasbourg, France: Editions du Signe, 1999), 36.

²⁶ Born in Cambridge, Massachusetts; studied in Boston and New York; wife of American writer and Hispanic scholar, Archer Milton Huntington (1870-1955); Huntington's work represented by bronzes of animals in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; carved lions in New York City; statues of Joan of Arc in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, in New York City, and in Blois, France; statues of El Cid in New York City, Seville, Spain, Buenos Aires, Argentina; memorial monuments to Collis Potter Huntington (1870-1955), railroad magnate, in Newport News, Virginia; bust of the Swiss naturalist Jean-Louis Rudolphe Agassiz (1807-1873) in the American Hall of Fame; additional work in Carnegie, Cleveland, San Diego, San Francisco, Luxembourg and Edinburgh museums; honored by the governments of France and Spain; member of the National Sculpture Society, American Academy of Arts and Letters.

²⁷ White, *Lincoln*, 134.

²⁸ Queen, *et al*, *American Religious History*, 1:107.

²⁹ White, *Lincoln*, 135.

³⁰ Don E. Fehrenbacher (ed.), *Abraham Lincoln. Speeches and Writings, 1832-1858* (New York, NY: The Library of America/Library Classics of the United States, Inc., 1989): 139-140.

³¹ The election had been held a week earlier, on 3 August 1846, but even by the 11th, all votes would not have been collected and counted, nor the result of the election known.

³² Lacon, Illinois, on the Illinois River, forty (40) miles northeast of Peoria.

³³ Fehrenbacher, *Lincoln, 1832-1858*, 140-141.

³⁴ Henry, Marshall County, Illinois, on the Illinois River, thirty miles north of Peoria.

³⁵ Fehrenbacher, *Lincoln, 1832, 1858*, 140-141.

³⁶ White, *Lincoln*, 135.

³⁷ Romans 8:16—"The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." (KJV)

³⁸ Jason E. Vckers (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to American Methodism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013): 67.

³⁹ Fehrenbacher, *Lincoln, 1832-1858*, 805.

⁴⁰ Russell E. Richet, Kenneth E. Rowe, and Jean Miller Schmidt, *The Methodist Experience in America. A History* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2010), 1:129.

⁴¹ Bishop Janes, born in Sheffield, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, the son of a mechanic who united with the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1820, at age thirteen; a self-educated country school teacher, Janes removed to New Jersey and entered the Methodist ministry; admitted (1830) into the Philadelphia Conference, which embraced the entire state of New Jersey; appointed (1835) financial agent for Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania and (1840-1844) financial secretary of the American Bible Society, an office that required travel throughout various sections of the country; at age thirty-eight elected and ordained (1844) bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church by the General Conference assembled in New York City; visited Europe (1854) to represent the church in the session of the British Wesleyan Conference, visiting, as well, the Irish and French Methodist Conferences and the overseas missions of his own church in Germany, Switzerland, Norway, and Sweden; as a preacher, he achieved a reputation for his rhetorical simplicity and his correctness; a resident of New York City from 1844 until his death on 18 September 1876. See Wilson and Fiske, *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 3:400-401.

⁴² J.E. Vickers, *Companion to American Methodism*, 75.

⁴³ Born in the village of Cadiz, Harrison County, northeastern Ohio, receiving his initial education there, following the death of his father in 1813, from his uncle, also Matthew Simpson—educated, a scholar familiar with Greek and Hebrew, state senator for a decade, and a judge of the Harrison County Court; in 1827; at age sixteen, young Matthew Simpson left Cadiz for Madison College (now Allegheny College), Meadville, Pennsylvania, where he became a tutor before he had reached the age of nineteen; studied medicine (1833) and opened a practice; attracted to Methodism, and entered the Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church; minister on trial (1834); third preacher of the St. Clairsville circuit, Ohio; removed to Pittsburgh (1835); transferred (1837) to Williamsport, Pennsylvania; elected (1837) vice president and professor of Natural Science, Allegheny College; president of Indiana Asbury (now De Pauw University) College, Greencastle, Indiana (1839-1848); elected (1848-1849) to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, appeared at the Conference of 1852 as the leader of his delegation, and the Conference elected him bishop; sent abroad (1857) as a delegate to the English and Irish Wesleyan Methodist Conference and a delegate to the World Evangelical Alliance at Berlin, Germany; further travels to Pakistan, Turkey, Palestine, Egypt and Greece; removed (1859) from Pittsburgh to Evanston, Illinois, where he became the nominal head of the Garrett Biblical Institute; removed to Philadelphia, where he delivered a series of sermons, while his official duties in 1870 and 1875; became the nominal head of the Garrett Biblical Institute. Evansville, Illinois; removed to Philadelphia, where he delivered a series of sermons, while his official duties in 1870 and 1875; removed to Philadelphia, where he delivered a series of sermons, while his official duties in 1870 and 1875 carried him abroad; visited Mexico (1875); delivered the opening sermon at the Ecumenical Council in London; delivered an address upon the death of President James Abram Garfield (1831-1881) at Exeter Hall; selected by the faculty of Yale College to deliver a series of addresses before the students of the theological department, those published as *Lectures on Preaching* (New York, 1879); although in serious ill-health, he attended the General Conference of 1884 in Philadelphia; his publications included *One Hundred Years of Methodism* (New York, 1876) and *Cyclopaedia of Methodism* (Philadelphia, 1878; 5th 3e., rev., 1882); a volume of his sermons appeared posthumously in 1885; appearances in his later years appeared mostly patriarchal; his delivery from the pulpit described as simple and natural eloquence, but increasing in power from the beginning to the close; outwardly described as “peculiar to himself and equally attracted to the learned and the ignorant... at his best few could refuse his pathetic requests”; further described as a man of natural soundness and judgment, a parliamentarian of remarkable aptitude and promptitude, and one of the best presiding officers and safest of counsellors; Bishop Simpson died at Philadelphia on 18 June 1884, with a window in his memory to be placed by American admirers in John Wesley’s West Street Chapel, London. Wilson and Fiske, *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 5:538-539.

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⁴⁴ J.E. Vickers, *Companion to American Methodism*, 80, 94, 339.

⁴⁵ J.E. Vickers, *Companion to American Methodism*, 71.

⁴⁶ At the 1862 General Conference, the Methodist Protestant Church comprised the Conferences of Boston, New York (including the Conferences of Onondaga and Genesee counties), New Jersey, Pennsylvania (including the Pittsburgh Conference), Ohio, Michigan, Western Michigan, Indiana (including the Wabash Conference), Illinois, North Illinois, South Illinois, Iowa, North Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, and Commissioners from Western Virginia.

⁴⁷ "In returning [to London from Dorking, Surrey], I read a very different book, published by an honest Quaker [Anthony Benezet (1713-1784), *Some Historical Account of Guinea* (Philadelphia, 1771)], on that execrable sum of all villainies, commonly called the 'slave trade.' I read of nothing like it in the heathen world, whether ancient or modern. And it infinitely exceeds, in every instance of barbarity, whatever Christian slaves suffer in Mahometan countries." John Wesley, Wednesday, 12 February 1772. See W. Reginald Ward and Richard P. Heitzenrater (eds.), *Journal and Diaries V (1765-1775)*, in *The Works of John Wesley, Volume 25* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1993): 307.

⁴⁸ Edward Jacob Drinkhouse, *History of Methodist Reform, Synoptical of General Methodism, 1703-1898, with Special and Comprehensive Reference to the Most Salient Exhibition in the History of the Methodist Protestant Church* (Baltimore, MD and Pittsburgh, PA: The Board of Publication of the Methodist Protestant Church, 1899), 2:450-451, 452-453.

⁴⁹ Edward Raymond Ames (1806-1879), born in Athens, Ohio, ; studied for two years at the Ohio State University, Columbus, before opening and maintaining (1828-1830) a high school in Lebanon, Illinois, which eventually developed into McKendree College; joined the Indiana Methodist Episcopal Conference and became an itinerant minister; chosen, at the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church (1849), secretary of the Missionary Society; journeyed throughout the South and West, and among the Indian tribes, in all a distance of more than 25,000 miles; presiding elder (1844-1852), then elected bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church—the first Methodist bishop to visit the Pacific Coast; during the Civil War, rendered service as a member of several Federal commissions; died at Baltimore, Maryland, 25 April 1879. Wilson and Fiske, *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 1:64.

⁵⁰ Fehrenbacher, *Lincoln, 1859-1865*, 573.

⁵¹ Joseph Cummings (1817-1904?), born in Falmouth County, Maine; graduated (1840) Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, then taught school at Amenia Seminary, Amenia, Dutchess County, New York, becoming principal there in 1843; joined (1846) the New England Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church and stationed in Massachusetts—Malden, Chelsea, and Boston (Hanover Street Methodist Church and Bromfield Street Methodist Church); professor of theology, Methodist General Biblical Institute, Concord, New Hampshire (1853-1854); president of Genesee College, Lima, Genesee County, New York (1854-1857); president of Wesleyan University (1857-1875) and then

(1875-1877) professor of Mental Philosophy and Political Economy; president (1881) of Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois; delegate to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church (1864, 1876, 1880, 1884); awarded Doctor of Divinity degrees from Wesleyan University and Harvard College and the Doctor of Laws from Northwestern University. See Wilson and Fiske, *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 2:30-31.

⁵² From the Union point of view, both civil and military, the end of the war, during the first two weeks of May 1864, appeared off in the distance. On 5-6 May 1864, the armies of Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee batted to a bloody stalemate in the tangled woods of the Virginia "Wilderness." Four days later, Grant, attempting to circumvent Lee's troops, arrived at Spotsylvania, Virginia, to discover the Confederate army waiting for him. For five days (8-12 May 1864) the two armies battled to an inconclusive decision and retired to their trenches. Grant then determined to wear away Lee's force, whatever the cost to his own army, writing on 11 May to the chief-of-staff of the Union Army, General Henry Wager Halleck, and setting down the oft-quoted line, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." In the West, on 13-15 May 1864, General William Tecumseh Sherman led his superior Union force to Resaca, Georgia, on the road to Atlanta, and a victory over Confederate troops under the command of General Joseph Egleston Johnston. However, Johnston's movements in retreat saved a considerable number of his troops. Finally, on 15 May, Confederate cavalry and infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-General Jubal Anderson Early, defeated a Union force led by the German-born Major-General Franz Sigel, thus thwarting the Federal attempt to sweep the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Those events succinctly summarized in a number and variety of American historical reference works, including Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and John S. Bowman (eds.), *The Almanac of American History* (New York, NY: A Bisson Book/G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1983): 280.

⁵³ Articles of Religion = a redacted and especially dogmatic version of the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion of the Church of England, as well as a redacted (and equally dogmatic) version of the Book of Common Prayer, drawn forth by American Methodists in the late eighteenth century. By 1808, those articles numbered twenty-five, including a restrictive rule that made them applicable to teaching and prohibited the changing or altering of them in any manner. Membership into the Methodist Episcopal Church, as well as ordination therein, required public affirmation of the Articles. Historically, the Articles of Religion marked the actual beginning of the decline of John Wesley's influence upon American Methodism. See J.E. Vickers, *American Methodism*, 12, 17; Richey, *et al*, *The Methodist Experience in America*, 1:81-82, 578 (note 22).

⁵⁴ Ezra 5:12—"But after that our fathers had provoked the God of heaven unto wrath, he gave them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon, the Chaldean, who destroyed this house and carried the people away into Babylon." (KJV) Romans 1:18—"For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness." (KJV)

⁵⁵ Hosea 4:6—"My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge, because thou hast rejected knowledge. I will also reject thee, that thou shall

be no priest to me: seeing thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I will also forget thy children.” (KJV)

⁵⁶ Acts 5:31--:Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sins.” (KJV)

⁵⁷ Jeremiah 48:29—“We have heard the pride of Moab; he is exceeding proud; his loftiness and his arrogance, and his pride, and the haughtiness of his heart.” (KJV)

⁵⁸ Interestingly, in the final sentence of the paragraph immediately preceding, there resides the phrase “this shall be a republican and truly free country”; yet, here, the address places Lincoln within the group of *rulers*! The writers might well have lost sight, for the moment, of their republican idealism.

⁵⁹ Richey, *et al*, *Methodist Experience in America*, 2:326-327.

⁶⁰ The response not “selected” by Fehrenbacher in *Lincoln, 1859-1865*.

⁶¹ Richey, *et al*, *Methodist Experience in America*, 2: 327.

⁶² “United Methodist Lay Membership as Compared to United States Population Census,” in Richey, *et al*, *Methodist Experience in America*, 2:22.

⁶³ Cited from Frederick A. Norwood, *The Story of American Methodism: A History of the United Methodists and Their Relations* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1974): 243.



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Philip F. Hardt
*A Methodist Response to Infant Mortality in the 19th
Century: Public Health, Foundling Hospitals, and
Abortion Curbs*

Abstract:

During the 1850s, infant mortality greatly increased in New York City and other large cities. One of the leading physicians to address this problem in New York City was Dr. David Meredith Reese, an active Methodist layman, who was also involved in many other issues of the day: phrenology, colonization, and Bible reading in the schools. In 1857, his *Report on Infant Mortality in Large Cities* was published in which he both examined its extent and sources and also suggested ways to reduce it. Strikingly, two of his recommendations for its reduction coincided with efforts already underway. For example, his call to restrict abortion, especially among upper-class married women, coincided with the campaign of the American Medical Association (hereafter, AMA) to lobby state legislatures for stricter laws against it. Again, his suggestion that New York City establish at least one foundling hospital for unwanted infants occurred at the same time that two municipal committees were also considering this possibility. Although Reese died in 1860 before any of his recommendations had been fully implemented, he still played a major role, along with other Manhattan physicians, in focusing the public's attention on this problem.

Key Words: David Meredith Reese, New York City, infant mortality, abortion, foundling hospital

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Introduction

Why were New York City and other large American cities fighting a losing and dispiriting battle against increasing infant mortality in the mid-1850s? Was it possible in some way to reverse that alarming trend? In 1857, Dr. David Meredith Reese, a highly respected Manhattan physician and Methodist layman, responded to this crisis with the publication of his nineteen-page *Report on Infant Mortality in Large Cities* which described the increase and sources of infant mortality. Although it was a daunting task, he believed it could be reduced if new public health measures were implemented, one or possibly two foundling hospitals were built, and the increasing number of abortions, especially among wealthy married women, were curbed. Intentionally or not, his campaign against abortion coincided with that of the newly-formed American Medical Association which somewhat surprisingly had little initial support from the churches.

Dr. David Meredith Reese

Dr. Reese was born in Maryland around 1800 and raised in a deeply religious family in which both sets of grandparents were devout Quakers. Moreover, this environment most likely led to his deep knowledge of the scriptures which he continually displayed in his later writings. Yet, Reese himself was not a Quaker although he had great respect for that tradition; after seriously considering Calvinism during his adolescent years, he finally joined the Methodist Episcopal Church. He graduated from the medical college at the University of Maryland in 1819 and practiced medicine in Baltimore until he moved to New York City shortly thereafter. Then, for the next forty years until his untimely death at the age of sixty, he made an immense impact in a number of areas due to his passionate Methodist faith, his religiously-informed involvement in some of the most pressing issues of the day, and his outstanding medical expertise.

First, Reese made major contributions not only to the New York Station (i.e., a city circuit of approximately eight Methodist churches) but also to the entire denomination. For example, he served as a local preacher and was listed on several monthly preaching plans in the early 1830s. Moreover, he served as a class leader for many years which automatically made him a member of the Quarterly Meeting Conference (hereafter, QMC). He further distinguished himself on the QMC by serving on several committees that sought to extend the station's outreach to other less-served parts of lower Manhattan through the erection of new churches.

He also served as one of the board of managers of the Mission Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church (hereafter, MEC) which was headquartered in Manhattan. Finally, in 1830, he was elected president of the Young Men's Missionary Society which supported a number of domestic and international missions including the mission to Liberia.

Second, Reese made significant and, at times, controversial contributions to the important socio-cultural issues of his day. For example, starting in the 1830s, if not earlier, Reese wholeheartedly supported colonization – the voluntary return of free blacks and emancipated slaves to Africa – as the most pragmatic solution for racial discrimination. At the height of the colonizationist-abolitionist controversy, he wrote three pamphlets and one chapter in a book defending its aims. To be sure, his willingness to take this position earned him the enduring hatred of the abolitionists and many blacks also attacked him in their own publications. In addition, Reese was a long-time member of the Colonization Society of the City of New York and served as a delegate to several national conferences of the American Colonization Society. Again, in the late 1830s, he denounced the relatively new pseudo-science of phrenology which said the size of one's head determined various aspects on one's personality and actions. After initially welcoming it as a possibly new contribution to medical science, he reversed himself after seeing how it skeptically treated traditional Christian beliefs and practices. In the 1840s, he also criticized liberal prison reformers who wanted to rehabilitate criminals using phrenological ideas; the chief idea being that criminals were not to be held accountable for their actions. Finally, Reese strongly supported the required reading of the King James Bible (hereafter, KJV) in the city's public schools. In the 1840s, the new Roman Catholic bishop of New York, John Hughes, had led opposition to it which culminated in a crowded Common Council meeting in which Reese and other Methodist leaders defended the current plan. Moreover, in 1844, his close (Methodist) friend and book publisher, James Harper, who been elected mayor, appointed him as superintendent of the city and county schools since he firmly opposed the elimination of the KJV. Yet, his strenuous efforts to retain it were ultimately unsuccessful as a series of new state regulations finally led to its elimination entirely.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Reese made a number of significant contributions to the field of medicine. For example, after graduating from medical school in Baltimore, he practiced medicine there, taught surgery and medical jurisprudence at Washington University, and

wrote *Observations of the Epidemic of 1818*. Then, in the early 1820s, he moved to New York City and quickly established himself as an excellent physician. For example, he was an original member of the prestigious New York Academy of Medicine, drafted its first constitution, and took part in its regular discussions. Besides practicing medicine, he wrote or edited a number of medical books such as *Cooper's Surgical Dictionary* (editor); *Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, and Pneumatics*; *Medical Lexicon of Modern Terminology*; and *Treatise on the Epidemic Cholera* (in New York). Moreover, in 1839, he was appointed professor at the Albany Medical College where he was asked to deliver the lecture for the school's opening. He also held an appointment at Castleton Medical College in Vermont (*American Medical Times* 1861: 326).

Furthermore, in 1846, Reese was appointed to a ten-man committee which sought ways to improve the state of the city's hospitals. According to John Duffy, "this group...included some of the outstanding doctors in New York – J. W. Francis, Joseph M. Smith, Valentine Mott, D. M. Reese, and others – recommended creating two divisions, one for Bellevue and another for the institutions on Blackwell's Island. Under the new organization, Bellevue was to have a resident physician, six visiting physicians, six visiting surgeons, and eight assistant resident physicians" (Duffy 1974: 484). After accepting the committee's recommendations, the Common Council then appointed Reese as resident physician. Although he only served a year or two until 1848 when the position was abolished due to the politicians who opposed it, he made several needed improvements. These included increasing the size of the hospital, reducing the high number of typhus cases, eliminating the use of prisoners as hospital orderlies, and purchasing better quality medicines instead of adulterated ones (*American Medical Times*, 326; Duffy, 484-486).

After his position was abolished, he returned to private practice, edited a monthly journal, and served as second vice-president of the newly-formed American Medical Association. Finally, in 1859, he was appointed chair of the Practice of Medicine at the newly-reorganized New York Medical College where he lectured the year before his death (*American Medical Times*, 326).

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Report on Infant Mortality in Large Cities

Reese's report, published in 1857 at a time when infant mortality had reached crisis proportions, attempted to do three things. First, Reese

documented the steep increase in infant mortality using statistics from both the newly-formed AMA and the City Inspector of New York. For example, during the past fifty years in New York City (1804-1853), forty-nine percent of the total deaths reported were those five years and under: 176,043 out of 363,242. Moreover, Reese noted that in New York City in 1843 deaths under five years old amounted to 4,088 while in 1853 they had jumped to 12,963, an increase of 8,375, which was a bigger percentage of increase than that of the general population. Again, Reese compared the number of deaths under five years old in 1853 (12,963) to all other deaths for that year (9,739), which was 3,224 more than all other ages. Moreover, Reese noted that two Philadelphia doctors had found a similar increase in their city's infant mortality. Their findings, and those in other large American cities convinced Reese of the "enormous extent of infant mortality, and its amazing increase..." which had now exceeded that of many large European cities (Reese 1857:6-7 [note: all references to Reese are from his *Report on Infant Mortality in Large Cities* unless otherwise noted]). Finally, Reese listed statistics for only stillborn and premature births in New York City. During the past fifty years the number of these deaths was 24,164. He also compared the number of these deaths in New York City over a ten-year period: 760 had died in 1843 while 1,930 had died in 1853 which represented an increase of 1,170 or one hundred forty percent (Reese, 6-7).

The second part of Reese's report listed four major causes of infant mortality. The first cause was the transmission of various diseases such as scrofula, syphilis, or consumption from the parents to the infant. The second cause was the failure of the mother to breastfeed her infant and instead use substitutes which were potentially lethal. These included "teas...drugs... molasses, sugar and water, catnip tea, olive or castor oil, goose-grease... salt and water, soot tea, gin sling, and even urine..." (Reese, 11). The third cause was the unhealthy living conditions of the poor whose "garrets or cellars or shanties are sadly deficient in the supply of light, pure air, free ventilation, cleanliness, clothing, fuel, and necessary food, so necessary to the health...of the mothers, not less than their offspring, whose vitality is...derived from the maternal bosom in the milk, whose quality depends on the blood which circulates in her veins" (Reese, 12). Finally, Reese blamed the increase of infant mortality on "quackery" which had been on the rise for several years. In *Humbugs of New York*, Reese defined a quack as "every practitioner, whether educated or not, who attempts to practice imposture of any kind...although the epithet...is attached ordinarily only

to those ignorant and impudent mountebanks, who, for purposes of gain, make pretensions to the healing art, without any acquaintance with the structure or functions of the human body..." (Reese 1838:111). At the same time, Reese noted that even some trained doctors, especially younger ones, were tempted to engage in this unscrupulous practice since it brought them immediate profits. Reese also mentioned the various types of quackery that had existed throughout history: astrological, mineral, vegetable, animal, and now touching which claimed to cure indigestion. Finally, Reese acknowledged that neither the doctors' criticism of it nor punitive laws could stop it due to the extreme gullibility of the public. Besides the deadly adult medicines, quack-doctors also promoted drugs for the infant illnesses which either caused serious harm or even death. According to Reese, these were deaths that could have easily been prevented if a trained doctor had treated the child in a timely manner (Reese 1838: 113-115, Reese, 12-13).

Reduction of Infant Mortality (1): Public Health Measures

Finally, Reese's report advocated several possible, but admittedly difficult, ways to reduce infant mortality. First, he offered various public health initiatives directed to the state legislature, the city authorities, and to the mothers themselves. For example, in order to prevent the transmission of disease, he called for state laws to prohibit a marriage if one or both partners were "consumptive, scrofulous, scorbutic, goutey, insane, intemperate" and "especially" if they were "syphilitic..." (Reese, 13-14). Moreover, he urged the city government to provide better housing for the poor and use "sanitary medical police" to enforce public health rules. Reese not only called for the abolition of the "narrow, contracted alley, filthy courts, and underground cellars" but also "tenant-houses, in the miserable apartments of which, thousands of families, each cook, eat, and sleep in a single room, without the light, ventilation, or cleanliness essential to the life of either parents or children." In addition, he called upon both the city government and the churches to do a better job of providing proper food, clothing, and fuel (i.e., firewood) to the poor (Reese, 14-15).

An economic depression which began in 1837 and lasted until 1843 had led to more crowded conditions for two reasons. First, builders lacked the financial backing to construct new housing. Second, the depression caused landlords to develop the "tenant house" or tenement in which a single-family wooden dwelling was converted into many apartments or a boardinghouse. Somewhat unbelievably, these "tenant

houses” often contained twenty-four families. Sheds and stables were also converted into apartments. In addition, many tenant houses had no access to fresh water, no connections to sewer lines, and no indoor bathrooms. Indeed, up to fifty persons used the outdoor bathrooms which had no provision for drainage (Burroughs and Wallace 1999: 746-747).

Yet, these conditions did not go unchallenged. Indeed, during the next twenty years, reformers made several, generally unsuccessful efforts to remedy the situation. The first attempt occurred in 1842 when the City Inspector, Dr. John Griscom, a devout Quaker and member of the executive committee of the Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor (hereafter, AICP), published a groundbreaking report on the city’s public health. Griscom determined that most of the deaths from unsanitary conditions could have been prevented and listed what he believed were the two major causes. He asserted that “first among the most serious causes of disordered general health was the city’s crowded and poorly ventilated housing, especially its courts and cellars.” Moreover, “he condemned the cupidity of those who had taken advantage of abject destitution to convert their basements ‘into living graves for human beings’” (Burroughs and Wallace, 784). The second cause was the undrainable (and often uncleaned) outdoor bathrooms that large numbers of residents used. His report also included several recommendations such as sewer connections, reservoir water to be provided at no cost, and a housing code which would require larger rooms, the elimination of cellar apartments, limitations on occupancy, and the creation of “Health Police” who would both inspect and, if necessary, condemn uninhabitable buildings. His report, however, did not please the Common Council which found it politically expedient not to appoint him the following year (Burroughs and Wallace, 784-785).

The second major attempt occurred on June 5, 1850 when a number of delegates, reform groups, and unions met for an Industrial Congress. Although they were primarily concerned with working conditions they also “backed a law at home to oversee construction and inspection of tenements to ensure they met approved standards of public health” (Burroughs and Wallace, 771). Again, the city took no action and, in 1852, both cholera and typhus outbreaks occurred in the city as the result of the crowded and filthy conditions. Finally, in 1856, the AICP, physicians, businessmen, and those who insured against fires pressured the state legislature for action. In response, the legislature formed a “Tenant House Committee,” investigated the poor sections of lower Manhattan such as Corlear’s Hook, and issued a

“Tenant House Report” the following year. Although the report did result in the first-ever housing code, it met with stiff resistance (Burroughs and Wallace, 788-790).

In summarizing this period, Burroughs and Wallace noted that “between 1845 and 1854 the citywide mortality rate hovered at an all-time high of forty deaths per one thousand city residents and the gap between bourgeois and working-class districts widened dramatically: in 1855 the sixth ward had the highest death rate in New York.” Regarding only infant mortality, they noted that “pulmonary diseases drove the rate to a record high of one hundred sixty-six per one thousand between 1850 and 1854, with the casualties (the AICP noted) ‘chiefly amongst the children of the poor, in the most filthy parts of the city.’ Between 1850 and 1860 more than one half of those under the age of five died each year – seven of every ten under the age of two – figures equal to the worst of the English factory districts” (Burroughs and Wallace, 790).

Reese also urged the city authorities to stop distilleries from producing adulterated milk known as “swill milk.” Reese noted that doctors in the city had repeatedly condemned this activity but to no avail. Reese lamented that “wherever they (i.e., the distilleries) exist, their slops (or waste) will furnish the cheapest food for cows, the milk of which is more pernicious and fatal to infant health and life than alcohol itself to adults...So long as distilleries are tolerated in cities, cow stables will be their appendages, and the milk, fraught with sickness and death, will still perpetuate mortality” (Reese, 16). Yet, distillery owners, such as those on Nineteenth Street and Thirty-sixth Street on the west side of Manhattan, had no plans to stop since the production of swill milk increased their overall profits. Following a practice which had begun earlier in London, the owners had built cow stables next to their distilleries which they, in turn, rented to the cows’ owners. Besides the rent, the cows’ owners also paid for the swill which the cows ate. This waste, which consisted of “processed corn, barley, and rye malt,” was piped into their troughs in the form of a boiling liquid which they at first refused to eat but after a few days grew so hungry that they finally consumed it (McNeur 2014:150-151).

The swill caused harm to both the cows and also to the infants who later consumed it as milk. For example, the swill caused not only sores on the cows’ bodies but also the loss of their tails. Moreover, the weakened cows were no longer able to eat healthier foods such as oats and hay since the swill had also caused their teeth to fall out (McNeur,

152-153). Although distillery cows produced a much greater quantity of milk than grass-fed cows, their milk was watery, bluish-looking, and lasted only a short time (no refrigeration or pasteurization existed at this time). To enhance the milk, chalk, eggs, flour, and even Plaster-of-Paris were often added (McNeur, 150). Yet, poor women purchased it both because of its low price of six cents a quart and their need to wean their children quickly and then get back to work outside the home. Moreover, wealthier women also purchased it since some unscrupulous vendors advertised it as “pure country milk” from places like Westchester County (McNeur, 153). Yet, the “swill milk” wreaked havoc with infants’ health. According to Catherine McNeur, “year after year, doctors attributed high infant mortality rates to several digestive and nutritional diseases such as *cholera infantum* and *marasmus*, which likely had roots in babies’ consumption of swill milk or other contaminated or spoiled foods.” To be sure, the mortality rate was staggering: “One 1853 estimate placed the annual number of infant deaths caused by swill milk at eight to nine thousand” (McNeur, 153).

Despite the repeated efforts of the city’s physicians and a general public outcry, an attempt to shut down the cow stables failed one year after Reese’s report appeared. Earlier efforts against the production of adulterated milk had also failed because corrupt politicians refused to act. Then, in 1858, *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper* mounted a crusade against swill milk through its articles and engravings. Frank Leslie was a pseudonym for Henry Carter, an engraver, who had emigrated from England to New York City in 1848. This relentless pressure led to the formation of a committee of aldermen and councilmen who inspected the cowsheds located next to the two distilleries on the west side on May 27, 1858. The owners, however, had been given advance warning and were able to make things more presentable. The committee members tasted the milk and took some to be chemically analyzed. Shortly after, the committee voted to allow the owners to continue to produce swill milk but with the recommendation that they provide more ventilation in the sheds. It is also likely that they may have been bribed, a common practice at the time. Despite the intense pressure for reform, the production of swill milk continued for many years (McNeur, 157-159).

Reese’s final public health initiative was an exhortation to all mothers, especially wealthy ones, to breastfeed their children rather than avoiding it or hiring a wet nurse (Reese, 16). According to Reese, “... those mothers who, at the dictate of fashion or ease, withhold themselves

from the office and duty of suckling their own children, while their own breasts yield nutriment, and their health is adequate to the task, inflict upon themselves very great injury, while contributing to swell the aggregate of infant mortality" (Reese, 16). Indeed, Reese warned that a lack of breastfeeding could lead to atrophy and feebleness which could cause death. Moreover, he advised mothers or those about to be mothers among the wealthy to avoid foolish behavior that could adversely affect the "quality and quantity of their milk." These included "errors in diet; late hours; crowded assemblies; the excitements of the opera, the theatre, or the ball-room; the transitions from high to low temperatures; the exposure to night air, especially with insufficient clothing, such as exacting customs and fashion demand..." (Reese, 17).

A Troubling Side Effect: Smaller Families

He also linked these careless and self-indulgent behaviors with the troubling new phenomenon of smaller families. In contrast, he noted that the previous generation of mothers, on the average, had given birth to ten healthy children who lived to adulthood. Indeed, Reese asserted that "the privation of all these by young mothers was voluntarily submitted to in the generation of our parents, and hence more children were reared to bless their households, and the pleasing spectacle of a 'houseful of children' was not then so rare as it confessedly is now" (Reese, 17). At the same time, smaller families may have also concerned Reese and other physicians (and politicians) for another reason: the very real fear that the recent Catholic immigrants from Ireland and Germany who generally shunned abortion would soon overtake the native-born Protestant population. To be sure, this fear had already manifested itself in New York City politics with Catholic immigrants primarily supporting the Democrat party which had led to the formation of nativist parties such as the New York City-based American Republican Party.

At the same time, other powerful social forces which had begun in Europe were apparently also contributing to the rise of smaller families in the large cities of America in four major ways. First, the Industrial Revolution had adversely affected traditional family life. For example, in a small town more social controls existed over one's behavior. In contrast, the husband who went to the city for work had more "anonymity" and therefore could indulge in drunkenness or even prostitution since he often left his wife and children back home. An example comes from John Wesley's journal entry

on April 20, 1772: "I went on to Greenock, a seaport town, twenty miles west of Glasgow. It is built very much like Plymouth Dock and has a safe and spacious harbor. The trade and inhabitants, and consequently the houses, are increasing swiftly. And so is cursing, swearing, drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, and all manner of wickedness (Wesley 1993:316)." In addition, if an entire family did move to the city, they would find many things more expensive such as housing and experience more crowded living conditions. Finally, scholars have noted that "the upper classes" in nineteenth century England, "were perennial targets of reformers during the 1800s especially" because of "alleged debauchery and immorality" (Eberstadt 2013: 133). A similar situation was occurring New York City which led to the formation of the Society for the Prevention of Vice in the 1870s. In sum, large cities contained many temptations and difficulties even for parents who did want to raise a large family (Eberstadt, 116).

Second, urbanization apparently led to smaller families which would effectively nullify Reese's call for a return to the larger ones of the previous generation. For example, at roughly the same time that Reese wrote his report, Mary Eberstadt has pointed out that people in western Europe who had moved "to cities made them less likely to have and live in strong families" (Eberstadt, 118). Moreover, "secularization theorists" have also demonstrated that "urbanization is closely linked with small families" and "that following the industrial revolution, many western people (in Europe) started having smaller and more chaotic families on account of their moves into cities" (Eberstadt, 168). Third, while many upper-class women were delaying marriage, some poorer, immigrant women were also delaying or avoiding it altogether. An example comes from young Irish immigrant women who came to New York City. According to Burroughs and Wallace, "violence, drink, poverty, desertion: all these devalued matrimony for Irish women, continuing a Famine-generated retreat from traditional marriage patterns" (Burroughs and Wallace, 801). Instead of marrying, many chose life in the convent.

Finally, residents of large cities tended to be less religious, which would most likely make them less aware of and receptive to the biblical teachings on marriage and its potential fruitfulness. Accord to Owen Chadwick's extensive research of religious practice in England "the larger the town the smaller the percentage of persons who attended churches on Sundays. This statistic is liable to variation...Still, it is a proven statistic... whether or not decline in church-going is a sign of secularization (and it

probably is), bigger towns were a cause” (Eberstadt, 116). In sum, these relatively new developments, coupled with women’s greater educational opportunities and strong involvement in social reform movements in America overwhelmed Reese’s call to return to the values of an earlier time, even if it was just one generation ago!

Reduction of Infant Mortality (2): The Establishment of a Foundling Hospital

Second, Reese believed that the establishment of new city and state institutions could significantly reduce infant mortality. The first institution he suggested was a “children’s hospital” for infant-related illnesses. Reese also had public safety in mind since he pointed out that an infected child in one of the large “tenant houses” could easily infect the entire neighborhood and possibly the entire city (Reese, 15). To be sure, New York City had experienced periodic yellow fever and cholera epidemics in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which had caused numerous deaths. The second institution was perhaps an even more pressing necessity: the establishment of New York City’s first-ever foundling hospital for abandoned infants or those in danger of being aborted. According to Reese, “these charities, wisely conducted, would diminish the stillborn and premature birth interments, in all our large cities” and “almost annihilate the plea of necessity, urged in behalf of the horrible trade of abortionism, and thus lessen the number of its victims” (Reese, 14). Finally, Reese urged the state to provide “lying-in asylums” which would be open to both married and unmarried women in order to reduce the possibility that the distressed women might not only abandon or abort their children but also commit suicide to avoid the stigmatization and shame that accompanied an out of wedlock birth (Reese, 14).

Although Reese’s call for “sanitary medical police” or health inspectors and better housing for the poor did not occur immediately, strong support for a foundling hospital had been building for several years and was about to result in municipal action. To be sure, foundlings, or abandoned infants, had long been a problem. For many years they had been the responsibility of the city’s almshouse. Yet, the almshouse had been seriously unable to cope with the burgeoning number of foundlings. Their policy was to place these infants, whose health was already impaired, with wet-nurses. This policy, however, had several drawbacks: they themselves lived in unsanitary conditions, they frequently neglected the infants, and

they often cared for several infants at the same time in order to make more money. Moreover, by the 1850s, the problem had become more acute for several reasons. First, the number of foundlings had increased as the city's population had increased. Indeed, it was this increase during the Panic of 1857 that finally led the city's Board of Councilmen to form a committee to study the feasibility of starting a hospital. Second, both the almshouse officials and the police chief feared that abandoned male children would become vagrants and join one of the city's violent gangs. Third, more people no longer believed that a foundling hospital would increase illegitimacy among unmarried women, especially prostitutes. Fourth, the city's newspapers, concerned citizens, and prominent reformers such as Arabella Mott and Mary Dubois had made this an issue. Finally, published reports such as Reese's had contributed to the public outcry (Miller, 2008: 95-96).

This groundswell of support led to the creation of two separate committees to study the possibility of a foundling hospital. In 1857, the same year as Reese's report was published, the Almshouse Board of Governors formed a three-man committee. Then, in 1858, the city's Board of Councilmen passed a resolution to investigate "the expediency of establishing a Foundling Hospital" (Galpin 1858: 1). The resolution was "laid on the table" (i.e., deferred to a later time) and then printed. A committee was formed which interviewed several distinguished physicians such as Dr. Alexander B. Mott and Reese in order to get their input. Like Reese, the committee acknowledged that both prostitutes and wealthy married women were having abortions to eliminate unwanted children. For example, their report stated that these abortions were "occurring not in squalid haunts of poverty but among the so-called better classes where exposure would be infamy" (Galpin, 2). Like Reese, the committee also acknowledged how easy it was to get an abortion and that the high number of stillborn and premature births were most likely due to an abortion or the after-effects of an attempted one. At the same time, the committee wondered if a foundling hospital would lead to the increase of abandoned children since prostitutes could theoretically have their babies, leave them at the foundling hospital, and then quickly resume their occupations.

Reese's response to the committee can be summarized in three ways. First, he blamed the deaths of children under one year old in New York City to "infanticide, abortionism, and the system of boarding them out to anyone who will take them" (Galpin, 4). Second, he believed that a

foundling hospital would not lead to more prostitution. Third, while strongly supporting the creation of a foundling hospital, he argued that two separate institutions should be established: a foundling hospital for illegitimate children and an “Infant Home” for legitimate ones. His reasoning was two-fold: “One half the former were born constitutionally diseased, and it would be imprudent to allow healthy children to live with them, not to speak of the odium which would attach through life to anyone who should emanate from a Foundling Hospital” (Galpin, 4). Moreover, he felt that an “Infant Home” should be established first, and then a foundling hospital, if needed. He apparently took this position because of his concern for the high number of abortions among wealthy married women. Ultimately, the Board of Councilmen recommended that only a foundling hospital should be established who would receive both legitimate and illegitimate children. Their recommendation was accepted and the cornerstone was laid in 1859 but, due to several factors including the Civil War, the Infant’s Home, as it was called, did not open until December, 1865.

Reduction of Infant Mortality (3): Curbing Abortion

Finally, Reese believed infant mortality could be significantly reduced if both the general public and the state legislature took a sterner approach to abortion. The first way was to discredit the erroneous doctrine known as “quickening.” Indeed, in his report, Reese had concluded that abortion was the leading cause of stillborn and premature births because many women believed it was acceptable to end a possible pregnancy before “quickening” had occurred. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it was commonly believed that life did not begin until “quickening,” the moment that a woman first felt the movement of the child in her womb - usually the fifth month of pregnancy. Of course, Reese, like most university-trained doctors, knew that conception had occurred much earlier. This doctrine, however, was firmly embedded in society and even its laws. For example, English law, which had heavily influenced American law, had long permitted abortion before quickening. In contrast, an abortion after quickening, was classified as a misdemeanor but only because of the danger to the mother’s life. Similarly, some northeastern states in the 1840s also made abortion before quickening a misdemeanor but, again, only to protect the life of the mother. The punishment varied from three months to three years imprisonment. Yet, these laws were difficult to enforce, especially if the woman lived. Despite some small alterations in the state

laws, abortion before quickening would continue to be a relatively minor criminal offense until many state legislatures finally passed much stricter laws in the 1860s and 1870s (Smith-Rosenberg 1985: 219-220).

To be sure, Reese acknowledged that an unmarried woman who had been seduced and did not want the shame of an illegitimate birth quite naturally sought an abortion before quickening had occurred. That was perhaps understandable since an illegitimate child in the mid-nineteenth century would undoubtedly stigmatize the woman and possibly push her into a life of prostitution or to commit suicide. Yet, what was new and even more alarming to Reese and many other physicians, was the number of *married* women who used this doctrine to abort their child. According to Reese, “the proof is overwhelming and everywhere known to the profession, that even the married, to postpone the cares of a family, the perils of parturition, the privations and duties of maternity, and sometimes in view of the pecuniary burdens they apprehend as intolerable, consent to the use of drugs, and even the employment of instrumental and other means, to arrest early pregnancy and to produce premature delivery, persuading themselves in the vulgar fallacy that there is no life before quickening, and that early abortionism is therefore less than murder” (Reese, 9-10).

The second way was to stop or at least severely restrict the ease with which one could find an abortionist (generally midwives or occasionally a doctor). Indeed, in the 1840s and 1850s, until public opinion finally began to shift, many abortionists placed advertisements in the city newspapers not only for abortifacients (i.e., abortion inducing pills or drugs) but also for the procedure itself. Moreover, abortionists even had business cards which listed the cost and where it could be obtained. For example, “Madame Restell, one of the most efficiently organized of the new abortionists, aggressively established her dominance in the field through widespread advertising and innovative marketing techniques” (Smith-Rosenberg, 226). One such advertisement read as follows: “Madame Restell, the female physician, is daily at her office, No. 146 Greenwich Avenue, where she will treat diseases to which females are liable” (Huntingdon 1897: 4). Regarding this permissiveness, Reese lamented that “the ghastly crime of abortionism...has become a murderous trade in many of our large cities, tolerated, connived at, and even protected by corrupt civil authorities, and often patronized by newspapers whose proprietors insert conspicuously the advertisements of these male and female vampires, for a share in the enormous profits of this inhuman traffic in blood and life” (Reese, 9).

Similarly, Bishop Huntingdon of the Episcopalian Church, asserted that “a newspaper has a certain responsibility, in forming and guiding the public mind, if it destroy or partially destroy, or vitiate that mind, it is undoubtedly answerable. No question but that scores and scores of the Restell visitors were led to her habitation by seeing her advertisements, time after time in the paper to which we refer” (Huntingdon 1897: 11).

Thirdly, Reese called for a more consistent approach to enforcing the laws against abortion that were already in effect. For example, in his report, Reese stated that “these murderers, for such they are, are well known to the police authorities; their names, residences, and even their guilty customers and victims are no secret to the authorities; they have their boxes at the post-office, loaded down with their correspondence and fees; take their seats at the opera; promenade our fashionable thoroughfares, and drive their splendid equipages upon our avenues in proud magnificence... while the ‘blood of the slaughtered innocents’ is crying against them for vengeance” (Reese, 9). Another example comes from a letter to the *New York Tribune* on August 24, 1847, written by “Citizen”: “When one of the most dangerous individuals in our midst, one who has amassed a fortune, and is daily adding to it by a pursuit so infamous and so contrary to the laws of God and society...is presented to my eyes, and I see her driving in such state through our midst...I cannot but think that we are making a retrograde movement in morality, and...that a waste of justice now will bring a heavier judgment and punishment upon the community at a future day” (Browder 1988: 74).

Finally, Reese called for stronger laws against abortion in the hope that they would be a deterrent. For example, he asserted that “as in a civil contract, the fruits of which vastly concern the public welfare, bearing as they do upon the present and the future generation, it is the duty of the State, in every civilized and Christian country, to surround marriage with all the sanctions of law, and to protect the unborn fruits of such alliances from premature destruction by statutory enactments” (Reese, 13-14).

The Infamous Career of Anna Lohman

The uneven and weak enforcement on existing laws is illustrated in the career of Anna Lohman (a.k.a. Madame Restell) who was considered the most notorious (and financially successful) of all the abortionists. It is undeniable that Reese must have been familiar with her since she often rode down Fifth Avenue in her expensive coach driven by her servants and

was a familiar (and hated) face to many New Yorkers. Lohman was born in England in 1812, married Henry Sommers, a tailor, and moved to New York in 1831. Although Lohman was arrested several times in the 1840s, she was often able to avoid trial since many of her clients often refused to testify in order to avoid both the shame and loss of their reputations. Moreover, even when she was finally convicted, she initially received lenient treatment. On September, 7, 1847, Lohman was arrested on a charge of manslaughter in the second degree for medical malpractice upon Maria Bodine. Lohman pled not guilty but at her October trial, which lasted nineteen days and received nationwide press coverage, she was found guilty and sentenced to one year in the city penitentiary on Blackwell's Island. Even in jail, she was given preferential treatment. For example, her husband was allowed to visit her and stay as long as he wanted. Moreover, she had a bed, a lamp, and her cell was left unlocked. This lenient treatment led the Board of Aldermen to investigate resulting in several changes including the firing of the warden. Yet, even at the end of the year, she was unrepentant and even "boasted that it was worth a hundred thousand dollars of advertising" (Huntingdon, 10-11).

Although Restell and other well-known abortionists generally received lenient treatment, the laws against abortion had already begun to change and would change even more starting in the early 1870s. Up to the mid-1840s, abortion had been a misdemeanor. This changed, however, in May, 1845, when the state legislature of New York enacted a stricter law due to the public outrage surrounding not only the deaths of several young women at the hands of abortionists but also the way that the health of some women had been seriously impaired after an abortion, especially a failed one. This new law contained three sections. Section one stated that the death of the woman or the fetus was now second-degree manslaughter after quickening (now a felony) punishable by four to seven years in state prison. Section two said that anyone involved in procuring an abortion – a pharmacist, doctor, or any other person – at any time, even before quickening could receive three to twelve months in jail. Finally, section three called for the woman herself getting the abortion to receive from three to twelve months in jail plus a fine.

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The American Medical Association and the Crusade against Abortion

Although restricting abortion was only one of Reese's recommendations for reducing infant mortality, the medical, cultural, and

religious issues surrounding it raise three important questions. First, what caused Reese to suddenly write a report on infant mortality in large cities that also included an unusually strong condemnation of abortion at this particular time? Was it possible that his report somehow supported, at least with regard to abortion, another effort that was simultaneously occurring throughout the entire country? It is indisputable that he was well aware of and personally supported this new effort.

Reese's denunciation of stillborn and premature births due to abortion coincided exactly with the newly-formed AMA's national campaign against it. In 1857, the same year Reese's report was published, Dr. Horatio Storer, a Boston gynecologist, began to implement an unrelenting campaign within the AMA for stricter abortion laws in every state. That same year, Dr. Storer wrote to "influential physicians all around the country...inquiring about the abortion laws in each of their states" (Mohr 1978: 149). Many responded that their states had either very weak laws or none at all. Moreover, some doctors, such as Alexander Sommes of Washington, D. C., went further and wrote to Storer that now was the time "to put such an extinguisher upon it as to prevent it becoming a characteristic feature in American civilization" (Mohr, 137). Another influential doctor, Thomas Blatchford, replied to Storer that his concern was justified since, in Blatchford's opinion, abortion had become much more common during the past forty years.

Did Reese also receive a letter from Storer which may have motivated him to take on the wide-open abortion business in New York City? Although no correspondence between them seems to exist, the answer is highly likely that Storer included Reese given his prestigious place in the New York City medical establishment. Moreover, Reese's direct connection with Storer is confirmed since Reese was present at the first annual convention of the AMA in Nashville, Tennessee in 1857 where he would have heard Storer propose that a committee develop a "position paper" on abortion to bring to the next convention. This resolution passed and several prominent doctors such as Sommes, Blatchford, and Hugh Hodge of Philadelphia were appointed to the committee with Storer himself as chairman. Once again, Storer wrote to doctors in the U. S. asking for them to support the committee's report at the next convention. Most likely, Reese would have also received the second letter. The following year, Storer presented the committee's report which was accepted and made three points: life began long before "quickening," some "regular doctors"

(i.e., university-trained ones) performed abortions, and a serious lack of abortion laws existed throughout the country. In addition, the report made the following resolutions: that the AMA, as a body, reject the quickening doctrine, urge state legislatures to pass stricter abortion laws, and call upon each state medical society to lobby their own state legislature. Although it is not certain that Reese attended this convention and the next two before his untimely death, he sent annual reports one of which was on “Medical Education.” Storer continued to lead the fight until ill health in 1872 caused him to leave the country. Finally, beginning in the 1870s, as a result of the intense lobbying, many states began to pass stricter laws against abortion. (*American Medical Times*, 326; Mohr, 154-159).

The (Mostly Absent) Role of the Churches

A second question that might be asked is how did the churches respond to this issue? While most university-trained doctors considered abortion to be not only an often-dangerous and even fatal medical procedure, they also viewed it through a moral-religious lens as the taking of an innocent life. To be sure, many doctors were evangelical Christians, such as Reese, who would see abortion as violating the commandment, “Do not kill.” For example, Dr. Storer himself called it “infanticide” (Smith-Rosenberg, 222). But, what about the churches themselves? Did they take a strong moral stand against it as the AMA had? If they didn’t, what might the reasons have been? Finally, what was the relationship between the medical profession and the churches during the AMA’s campaign?

Although it might be reasonable to expect the Protestant denominations, especially the more evangelical ones, to condemn abortion, they were strangely silent. In his extensive research on the denominational periodicals of that time, Richard Mohr has suggested four reasons. First, religious periodicals generally published only articles suitable for “family reading” rather than a frank discussion of sexual matters. Second, it’s possible that many clergy didn’t believe that their female parishioners would get an abortion. Third, it seems possible that many clergy themselves may have agreed with the quickening doctrine so they wouldn’t have seen it as a sin. Finally, clergy may have wanted to leave the matter between the woman and her doctor (Mohr, 183-184).

At the same time, the churches’ failure to respond, at least initially, drew fierce criticism from the medical profession who were almost fighting this battle alone. For example, “medical journals accused the religious

journals of valuing abortifacient advertising revenue too highly to risk criticizing the practice; physicians condemned ministers as cowardly and hypocritical" (Mohr, 184). Again, Dr. Orrin Fowler who also wrote a medical handbook expressed his exasperation in this way: "The Catholic Bishop of Baltimore...anathematized it...the Old School Presbyterian Church have also condemned it! Would to God New School, Baptist, Methodist, Swedenborgian, Episcopal, Universalist, Unitarian, Trinitarian, Arian, Spiritualists (and all others) ...would follow suit" (Mohr, 193). Moreover, the Michigan medical society, in its report to the State Board of Health, included this broadside: "The Protestant Clergy by abstaining from giving correct moral and religious instructions in this matter, have a negative influence which favors the propagation of erroneous ideas" (Mohr, 194-195). Finally, Mohr concluded that, "although American church-men certainly did not oppose the anti-abortion crusade, neither did they become conspicuously involved in it, especially compared to their involvement in various other nineteenth-century movements for the alteration of social policy, such as temperance" (Mohr, 195).

Eventually, the Roman Catholic Church and the Congregational Church took strong positions at about the same time. While the Roman Catholic bishop of Boston, Bishop Fitzpatrick, had written to Storer in 1858, that "it affords me pleasure to learn that the AMA has turned its attention to the prevention of criminal abortion, a sin so directly opposite to the first laws of nature, and to designs of God, our Creator, that it cannot fail to draw down a curse upon the land where it is generally practiced," it still took the Catholic Church another ten years before they engaged the issue (Mohr, 186). For example, in 1868, the Roman Catholic bishop of Baltimore, Bishop Spaulding, issued a pastoral letter on behalf of the regional bishops who had recently met in which he not only echoed Fitzpatrick's comments but went beyond them: "The murder of an infant before its birth is, in the sight of God and His Church, as great a crime, as would be the killing of a child after birth...No mother is allowed, under any circumstances, to permit the death of her unborn infant, not even for the sake of preserving her own life." (Mohr, 186). This statement, however, differed from the doctors' position who said they would normally perform an abortion in order to save the mother's life. Finally, in October, 1869, Pope Pius IX, reemphasized the earlier church teaching which had condemned abortion. Somewhat surprisingly, the pope's statement received little or no coverage in the Catholic periodicals in America (Mohr, 186-187).

The Congregational Church also began to speak out against abortion in the late 1860s. For example, in 1867, the Reverend John Todd published an article in a Boston church periodical entitled, "Fashionable Murder," in which he referred to the attempt to abort as "deliberate, cold murder" (Mohr, 187-188). Moreover, in 1868, the Maine Conference of the Congregational Church published a report highly critical of abortion in which they called it "a greater evil, more demoralizing and destructive, than either intemperance, slavery, or war itself" (Mohr, 189). Finally, Congregationalists in Connecticut also came out strongly against abortion in 1869 (Mohr, 189-192). Since Mohr did not examine the *Christian Advocate and Journal* (hereafter, *CAJ*) the weekly Methodist Episcopal Church newspaper which was published in Manhattan, one is left to wonder if any of Reese's fellow Methodists took a strong stand against abortion either as individuals or in print. From his labors as a local preacher, class leader, and member of the Mission Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Reese personally knew and had worked with a number of prominent Methodist leaders such as Reverend Nathan Bangs and James Harper, the former mayor of New York City (1844-1845). Yet, it is certainly possible that Reese may have acted alone and without the formal backing of his church. Given Reese's outspokenness and combativeness, that would not be surprising in the least.

A (Mostly) Acceptable Method

Finally, was it possible for a married woman in the 1850s to limit the size of her family which would meet the approval of physicians and possibly even the churches? To be sure, nearly all physicians and (most churches of that time) condemned the various types of artificial contraception. A thorough and explicit description of these artificial means can be found in Carroll Smith-Rosenberg's, *Disorderly Conduct*, and Janet Farrell Brodie's, *Contraception and Abortion in the 19th-Century America*. But what natural way, if any, was available to the married woman of that time? Surprisingly, the answer was a rudimentary and imprecise "rhythm method" (different from the twentieth-century one) whose discovery and refinement occurred in the mid-nineteenth century at the height of the abortion controversy.

This new knowledge of a woman's fertility cycle occurred first in Europe. For example, in 1842, the French physician, Felix Pouchet, determined that ovulation occurred in a somewhat predictable manner

“rather than in response to coitus (sexual relations), sexual excitement, or contact with sperm.” Moreover, he asserted “that the discharge of a mature ovum occurred in relation to menstruation every month” (Brodie 1994: 80). Based on his observations, he mistakenly concluded that conception could only occur at any time from the first to the twelfth day after menstruation. In 1844, however, another French physician, Adam Raciborski, made a more accurate prediction about the rhythm method; he believed that a married couple should avoid relations two days before menstruation and eighteen days after (Brodie, 80-81). Although these guidelines were imprecise, the main idea was correct: that during some part of a woman’s monthly cycle she would not be fertile in contrast to the previous belief that the woman was most fertile “immediately after menstruation” (Brodie, 80).

These groundbreaking ideas were both widely promoted and further developed in America in the 1840s and 1850s. For example, American physicians, such as Augustus K. Gardner, of New York City, and Horatio Storer promoted them widely through medical handbooks and lectures. Indeed, “the medical establishment, even those who disliked all other forms of fertility restrictions, embraced the notion of a ‘safe period’” (Brodie, 81). In addition, phrenologists and feminists supported this method since it left the decision to conceive with the woman. Moreover, American physicians were adding to this new body of medical knowledge. For example, in 1852, Dr. Russell T. Trall wrote *The Hydropathic Encyclopedia* in which he recommended that women wait until the twelfth day after menstruation and, fifteen years later, extended it to the fourteenth day. While his calculations were also off the mark, he did make one important contribution: women should look for signs that they had ovulated. According to Trall, “by noticing the time for two or three succeeding periods at which the egg or clot passes off, she will ascertain her menstrual habit” (Brodie, 84). Finally, Frederick Hollich, a self-taught physician who had earlier emigrated from England, provided perhaps the best advice of all: the longer a woman waited to resume sexual relations after menstruation, the more likely it was she would not conceive (Brodie, 84). Despite these uncertainties, the new method gave many married women encouragement. According to Brodie, “each (woman) was expected to experiment with the timing of those days until she found one that worked for her or shift to another method. At the very least, the conflicting advice spurred women to interest themselves in their fertility cycles, which may, in turn, have led to greater self-confidence and knowledge” (Brodie, 83).

In sum, while many married women eagerly attempted to use this new method of spacing births, it was, of course, not always successful because of the conflicting medical advice and the variations in a woman's monthly cycle. In addition, some women may have combined it with other artificial means to prevent pregnancy. It was, however, a big step forward that would be further refined in the twentieth-century.

Conclusion

In sum, Reese, along with other New York City physicians, believed that infant mortality could be lowered through the implementation of public health measures, the establishment of two foundling hospitals, and the restriction of abortion. While the public health measures took many more years to finally implement, the foundling hospital and abortion restrictions were quickly accomplished in the 1860s and 1870s. Eventually, after more municipal committees' reports and Common Council action, tenement housing was reformed and the production of swill milk was ended to name just two. Through his timely report, Dr. Reese sounded a necessary warning to the city authorities that helped prod them to take long overdue action especially on behalf of the poor and the many infants whose first five years were extremely precarious.

Suggestions for Further Research

Further research would be helpful to determine how and when the increase of infant mortality in New York City was reduced. Julie Miller's book, *Abandoned: Foundlings in Nineteenth-Century New York City* would be a good place to start. It would also be helpful to know when the public measures for better housing and unadulterated milk were implemented. Municipal reports on these subjects can be consulted as well as secondary resources such as *Taming Manhattan* and *Gotham*. From a Methodist perspective, it would be illuminating to see if the *CAJ* and the *Methodist Quarterly Review* had any articles or editorials about abortion during the second half of the nineteenth century. Moreover, research is needed to see if any Methodist ministers, laity, congregations, annual conferences, or General Conferences took a position either for or against abortion. Finally, it would be helpful to see how public opinion was changing on all of these issues by examining several New York City newspapers during this period such as the *Sun*, *Herald*, *Commercial Advertiser*, and *Police Gazette* which was published in New York City but had a nationwide readership.

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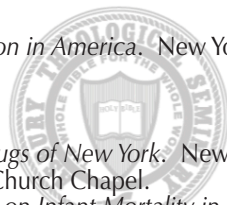
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Thomas Hampton
*A Model of Mission by and for the Marginalized:
CEZMS Missions to the Deaf*

Abstract:

This paper shares the untold stories of three missions to the deaf and mute in India and Sri Lanka. Prior to Indian independence, three of the first schools in the country specifically focused on the deaf were founded by the women of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (CEZMS). Their locations were Palamcottah, in Tirunelveli, India, Mylapore, in Chennai, India, and Kaitadi, near Jaffna, Sri Lanka. Each of these schools has adapted over time and continues to serve deaf students today with local leadership. While examining the histories of these three missions in more specific detail, there is a wider interest in the factors which allowed missionary institutions to transition to local leadership and thus survive and thrive in a post-colonial world. These missions include: the Florence Swainson Deaf School in Tirunelveli, India, the Church of South India (CSI) Higher Secondary School for the Deaf in Chennai, India, and the Ceylon School for the Deaf and Blind in Sri Lanka.



Keywords: Church of England, Zenana Missionary Society, India, Sri Lanka, hearing-impaired education

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Introduction

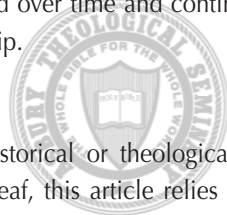
It is often said by those studying them, that “Institutions protect themselves.” Reflecting the ambitious personalities at the helm, common practice is for organizations to show strength, and in conflict to prove they can withstand vacillations of public opinion. This is the general approach of most famous companies, foundations, hospitals, and schools. The survival instinct is stamped in the DNA of prominent organizations, history presented as template for replication. But while Leviathans may be optimized for specific environments, they struggle when the world turns.

Western mission societies existed symbiotically with the British Empire, but post-World War I, it was often the voluntary sodalities led by women and other marginalized groups that thrived. These “Zenana” missions were more in-tune with the grassroots changes foreshadowing the eventual death of the empire, though the women, their work, and the institutions they led are infrequently recorded in history. Early missionaries, especially the well-educated and well-connected ones, mostly focused their efforts on high caste-Hindus, hoping to Christianize society broadly through their influence.¹ The missionaries that explored unmapped terrain, led mass conversion movements, and founded strong enough institutions to publish books about themselves are the usual subjects of mission history: the anomalies. But the history told in this paper is of a different sort.

This paper shares the untold stories² of three missions to the deaf and mute in India and Sri Lanka. Prior to Indian independence, three of the first schools in the country specifically focused on the deaf were founded by the women of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (CEZMS).³ Their locations were Palamcottah, in Tirunelveli, India, Mylapore, in Chennai, India, and Kaitadi, near Jaffna, Sri Lanka. Each of these schools has adapted over time and continues to serve deaf students today with local leadership.

Sourcing

Because few historical or theological studies have been done on the missions to the deaf, this article relies heavily on primary source documents from the Church Missionary Society (CMS) archives. Nearly all the information used to narrate the histories of these institutions comes directly from letters written by missionaries working at the schools. These letters would be gathered from across the mission, edited, and reformatted by secretaries and administrators in England, then published in mission



bulletins. Their primary purposes were fundraising and recruiting, with even early missionaries recognizing bias in the reporting.⁴ Though the CMS archives clearly prioritize the missionaries' perspectives, I believe it is best to share these incomplete perspectives in hopes of stimulating a productive dialogue.

The CEZMS was founded in 1880, primarily to facilitate Anglicans sharing the gospel in India, though it would eventually distribute its efforts through eastern Asia.⁵ "Zenana" missions were focused on outreach to women by women in societies with a highly gendered space. For this reason, the CEZMS focused mainly on women's health and children's education.

An important structural note is that during Indian independence, the CEZMS began plans to transfer ownership of its institutions to local control. Its work had frequently paralleled the CMS, and it was absorbed by the CMS in 1957, which is why the CEZMS letters and publications are now in the CMS archives. A board continued through 1968 to gradually transfer funding and property to local leadership.

Palamcottah, India

When Florence Swainson, a teacher at the Sarah Tucker School, started the first missionary school specifically for the deaf in 1895, she was simply giving specialized care for the two deaf students in her general class. She never could have predicted the impact her pioneering work would have on a country with an estimated 18 million deaf people today.⁶

The Sarah Tucker School was founded in 1858 by Reverend John Tucker, also the secretary of the CMS. His sister, Sarah, was disabled and stayed in England, but she wrote letters and magazine articles requesting funding for John's missionary work.⁷ Though Sarah died in 1857, her friends continued raising money for the school she cared about.⁸ A compound was built with the school continuing to expand enrollment and education levels through the 1900s.⁹ A school for the blind began in 1890, and a hospital opened in 1892.¹⁰

Florence Swainson was inspired by two of her deaf students to begin the first school specifically for the deaf. Plans for the school began in 1895,¹¹ and it would be called the School for the Deaf and Dumb, the first school of its type in south Asia.¹² Boys were taught trades, most commonly carpentry,¹³ and the girls were taught housework, needlework, and embroidery.¹⁴ The expressed hope was that the students would grow

up to fully support themselves, though it is difficult to tell from available documentation if this was regularly accomplished.

Another goal of the schools for the deaf was to teach them about Christianity, through a process culminating in confirmation. Confirmation involved daily lessons in Bible and theology, along with study of the creeds, commandments, and the Lord's prayer.¹⁵ Students participated fully in church services and events through signing. In a 1918 letter about a class of students being confirmed in the church, Swainson states that students "were plainly told it was not compulsory and that each one must make his or her own free choice."¹⁶ Though it is difficult to confirm numbers, it is safe to conclude from the size of the confirmation groups that a large majority of students attending the deaf schools identified as Christians and went through the confirmation process.

Without other schools for the deaf at this time, Children from across the country were dropped off at the school to be cared for, sometimes with very little instructions or information other than a name.¹⁷ Many referrals came from other Christian orphanages that could not provide specialized care. Educated Hindus also dropped off their children for education.¹⁸ Because not all hearing children were able to go to school already, and the schools for the deaf were seen as being less efficient, the British Royal Commission did not allocate funds to the deaf schools.¹⁹

The school grew quickly, but the growth brought new challenges. In 1899 the school for the deaf had 40 students,²⁰ and over 100 by 1908,²¹ but the government provided no financial aid to the program.²² Instead, funding was arranged for the school through CEZMS by connecting deaf organizations in England with the schools for the deaf in India and through other private donations.

Deaf children first began to be taught speech in 1916.²³ During this time the school grew quickly, with new dormitories, classrooms, workshops, a hospital, and teachers' houses all added. Together they formed a compound over eleven acres.²⁴ Construction of a chapel was completed in 1916, and all furniture was made by the boys who were trained at the school.

In a 1935 letter, the director of the school, Elizabeth Morgan reported that children are referred to the school from many different ministries, listing the CMS, SPG, Salvation Army, and Methodists among others.²⁵ As time passed, other missions, especially those which would eventually merge with the CSI continued to send children to the school,

though they did not financially support those students.²⁶ Letters shared through the CEZMS publications frequently request more funding for institutional growth.

Some promising students – hearing and deaf – were then taught to be teachers to the next generation of students. One girl, named Nesammal, was picked out of the “Normal Class” to train as a teacher to the deaf because of her patience and skill with her hands. Nesammal was then responsible for converting the Tamil alphabet to a Tamil finger alphabet,²⁷ and she served ten years at the school.²⁸

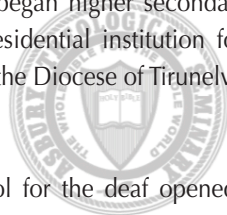
As another example, Elizabeth Morgan wrote another letter in 1935 about a stand-out student named Masillamani, who has spent every year of his life, except for summers, at the school. He was referred to the school through another L.M.S. missionary.²⁹ Through his training, Morgan reports that he became a skilled needleworker, giving his money away to his family each summer he traveled home.³⁰ Besides needlework, he was a housemaster for middle school deaf boys, taught a Sunday School class, and sometimes read scripture in chapel by signing.³¹

In her 1935 article “The Deaf Hear”, Elizabeth Morgan described the importance of the mission to the deaf in Palamcottah. Building a case for the vitality of the ministry, she compared the daily lives, especially the security, of the people who have been trained at the school with the lives of other deaf people in the country.³² She painted a picture of precarious aimlessness for those outside the school and productive contentedness within. However, she also added that the school is unable to help new deaf people who are referred to them, but who have not been specially trained.³³

Today, the school is named after its founder, called the Florence Swainson Deaf School, became a certified high school in 1978, had 200 students in 1983,³⁴ and began higher secondary level classes in 1993.³⁵ Today it is the largest residential institution for the deaf in India³⁶ and continues to be a part of the Diocese of Tirunelveli in the CSI.

Mylapore, India

A second school for the deaf opened in 1913 in Mylapore as an offshoot of Florence Swainson’s school in Palamcottah.³⁷ Early in the development of the school, through 1920, administrators had to visit the homes of families with deaf children, persuading them to allow their children to go to the new school,³⁸ but as enrollment accelerated, opening a second school made sense. By 1930, the school had 65 students.³⁹



In 1957, ten years after the Indian Independence Act, ownership of the school was transferred from the CEZMS to the local Diocese of Madras. At that time there were 115 deaf children under care at the school, and Margaret Benson and Gwen Clarke were the missionaries in charge.⁴⁰ Benson was there first, serving the school for nineteen years of her 35 years as a missionary,⁴¹ and Clarke joined in 1956. Even after official ownership transfer, top leadership at the school remained western.

In 1958, All-India Radio had a broadcast about the school,⁴² and by 1960, an average of two children per day had to be sent away because of a lack of facilities.⁴³ Despite demand, and an ambitious expansion plan,⁴⁴ funds remained too tight to expand the school,⁴⁵ likely one reason for its frequent mention in publications through this period. Besides private donations, the school raised money through a popular mimed Nativity play during Christmas⁴⁶ and sales of furniture made by the boys.⁴⁷ The school also specialized in printing and bookbinding.⁴⁸ Through 1960 there were 130 children at the school from all over India, though the majority were from Madras (Chennai).⁴⁹ By 1966, the staff also consisted of 20 people.⁵⁰

Because of the high demand but the school's inability to expand, by 1983, the school in Mylapore was just one of 25 schools for the deaf in Tamilnadu, and one of an estimated 100 in all of India.⁵¹ Interestingly the consistent size of the school combined with the continuing high demand for the school's services⁵² made the school very durable.

Today, this school is still in existence, officially called the Church of South India (CSI) Higher Secondary School for the Deaf, located in Chennai, India and affiliated with the Church of South India. Its unofficial name, for example on its Facebook page is "CSI Deaf School Chennai."⁵³

Sri Lanka

A third school for the Deaf and Blind was opened in Kaitadi in Sri Lanka (called Ceylon in most documents and quotes in this paper) in 1912,⁵⁴ and an article mentions the baptism of two deaf children along with three blind children in 1916.⁵⁵ Mention of a trained teacher for the deaf being needed was in the "Special Needs" section of a CEZMS publication in 1917.⁵⁶ A separate workplace was made for the graduates, called the Women's Industrial Section at Kandana, which focused on sewing and needlework. Some graduates of both genders returned to work at the school.⁵⁷ Jobs for male graduates were more varied, including working at an architectural firm⁵⁸ and printing for a newspaper.⁵⁹

Originally founded as a school for the deaf and blind, the school was split by a 1946 decision by the Education Department into separate schools for the deaf and for the blind. Marjorie Carter, author of most of the available sources on the school became the first Principal for the School for the Deaf.⁶⁰

Though it was hoped for that the school could be financially sustainable, there were simply too many expenses and not enough income. An industrial department had just been opened in 1937,⁶¹ but some of the graduates were not able to obtain employment after turning twenty-one, so the organization retained responsibility for the individuals. A large number of adult deaf and blind people were under the care of the organization but ineligible for government support through 1949.⁶² Additionally, most of the unemployed were also orphans who had been deserted by their parents, so there were no other available caretakers.⁶³

A new Department of Social Services was established in 1949 following the 1947 Ceylon Independence Act. Carter wrote about it hopefully as she continued her leadership in the independent country, "Through this Department the Government of Ceylon is accepting full financial responsibility for the welfare of all adult deaf or blind who are unable to support themselves."⁶⁴ The main idea was that the School for the Deaf would maintain control of education before releasing their students and older people to the custody of the state. They planned to take advantage of any government services that would be made available to them,⁶⁵ though they also planned for the construction of hostels attached to the school building to maintain a continuous deaf community.⁶⁶

In her 1949 article, Carter also expressed hope that a local leader would be trained to take over the direction of the School for the Deaf. She wrote, "Last year Mr. O. Welilakale, whose wife and two sisters were all educated at Hillwood, was sent to Manchester for training in deaf work. When he returns in August, he will become Principal of the School for the Deaf, and I shall no longer be needed. I am proud to know that that pioneer work, begun and carried on for so long by our Society, is now to be placed in the hands of trained Ceylonese."⁶⁷ She added that she was certain the institution would maintain its missionary emphasis under non-European leadership.⁶⁸ In the same publication she also stated that two Welfare Officers would be sent to England for training.⁶⁹

But there are no other mentions of Mr. O. Welilakale in the archives, and ten years later, in 1957, Carter penned another article still

listing herself as the school's principal. Titled "Education and After-Care of the Deaf in Ceylon" she describes the ministry of the school,⁷⁰ which had 36 deaf and four blind students.⁷¹ During this time, Carter was still a missionary with CEZMS, though the school had its own independent Board of Governors.⁷²

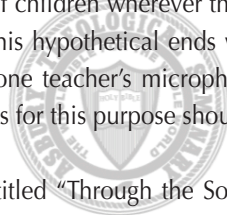
In Sri Lanka, in 1957 there was some interaction with government assistance in the programming. Carter was optimistic that "a Placement Office may be appointed by the Government to help both the deaf and the blind to find work, and to explore new avenues of employment."⁷³ There were also sections of houses for deaf people to live together,⁷⁴ though deaf people with living relatives would usually go live with them.⁷⁵ Many of the deaf people also married other deaf people.⁷⁶

Today, this school is called the Ceylon School for the Deaf and Blind, though it exists in three different residential campuses, each with about 200 students.⁷⁷ The school is funded through a mix of government grants and private donations,⁷⁸ so it is free to students, though it is governed by the Church of Ceylon through a board of directors.⁷⁹

Hearing Technologies

The connections with the mission agencies allowed the schools to have some of the latest technologies for their time. In June 1935, eight deaf students were able to hear after being given sound amplification devices. An article titled "Sound in a Silent World" describes the joy of each student listening to the sounds of everyday objects – like crumpling a piece of paper.⁸⁰ The article asks "If science can already give us instruments to penetrate the eternal silence in which these little brains and souls are encased, can we rest until these instruments are perfected and multiplied to be of service to all deaf children wherever they may be, whether in this country, or in India?"⁸¹ This hypothetical ends with a request for funding, mention of the price of one teacher's microphone and headphones, and instructions that donations for this purpose should be earmarked "Wireless for the Deaf."⁸²

A 1957 article titled "Through the Sound Barrier" describes the introduction of multi-tone hearing aids.⁸³ The small amount of residual hearing possessed by most of the children would be amplified through the technology, allowing up to ten children to listen at one time through the device. The school used this technology to introduce music and hymns.⁸⁴



The article also records the hearing aids being used to train children in speech.⁸⁵ This would eventually become a standard practice at all locations.

In general, the deaf children outside the school are described as being non-reactive, desolate and miserable. Articles today describe them in similar terms.⁸⁶ Through education and community with other deaf people, “Sullenness and selfishness gradually disappear, and as they improve in hearing and speech, they become unselfish and helpful to others.”⁸⁷ Even in the school, children who are mute are described with the common term “dumb.” For example, Florence Swainson, founder of the first school, consistently referred to her students as “little Dumbies” intending it as a term of endearment.⁸⁸ Though she did think highly of many of her students, she believed the schools and the ministries were essential for rescuing them from otherwise terrible lives.

Witnessing to God’s Power

Power dynamics are clearly present along axes of race, nationality, age, ability to speak or hear, religious affiliation, and education – it is a natural component of a missionary society focused on serving socially disadvantaged groups. While the schools for the deaf did not use the most progressive terminology by today’s standards, their emphasis on all people being equal in the eyes of God was positively egalitarian. The pioneering teachers at the deaf schools were passionate that everyone deserved an education and an ability to pursue self-sufficiency. This passion drove them to innovate and initiate new programs even when outside support was extremely limited. A 1930 version of the “Headquarters’ Notes” describes the schools of Blind and Deaf as places where children “find hope and possibilities of usefulness.”⁸⁹ Begging is seen as something for the missionaries to do, not the children. There are many anecdotes of children who learn to be independent and self-supporting through education.⁹⁰

The schools were unparalleled, and it is no coincidence that they came to exist within the usually decentralized and agile structure of the CEZMS. Care for the underprivileged was always an area of emphasis for the CEZMS, with specialized programs evolving for multiple ostracized populations.⁹¹ The schools worked under the radar, received little to no government support, and were frequently marginalized themselves for their efforts. Yet demand for the school’s services proved their utility, and the high rate of conversion to Christianity by the students and their parents

demonstrated that many who encountered the schools and their teachers would eventually subscribe to the same principles.

Still, it is positive that the missionaries clearly state that deaf children have the full ability to place faith in God. "Faith is as possible to a little deaf child as to a hearing child only if the child has been to a Mission school... The children are taught to pray to Him. They pray with signs as well as with words, and when they make their signs they believe that God is looking at them and they are very reverent at prayer."⁹² Maintaining that the deaf children are equally valuable to God, even if not recognized in broader society, was clearly an empowering belief and message animating the function of the school.

The missionaries do commonly describe difficulties in doing missions to deaf populations, but in their view, overcoming these difficulties made the ministry even more effective in demonstrating God's power and blessing at the school. In a 1927 article, Elizabeth Morgan writes, "How shall we give the Word to those who cannot hear? Is it not written, 'Faith cometh by hearing?'" She responds to this question with another quotation from Jesus, "It is difficult indeed, but the call is insistent, 'Feed my lambs.' We dare not ignore the deaf and dumb children. For them as well as for us Christ died. They, too, are children of God, and we cannot let them remain in ignorance of their heritage."⁹³ She also described the education of the deaf as "a Christian miracle."⁹⁴

Conclusion

Overall, the CEZMS mission providing education to deaf populations was an impressive, female-founded mission that was well ahead of its time in sharing the gospel and offering support to children in extremely isolating situations. They are strong models of mission by and for marginalized populations. Though budgetary pressures were a constant pressure, it actually forced the three schools in Palamcottah, Mylapore, and Sri Lanka to be innovative with the resources they had, to train highly involved indigenous leaders from the beginning, ultimately building resilient institutions that could thrive during colonial transition. All three are successful institutions today, run by the local church, with high demand still for services,⁹⁵ and exemplifying the potential of holistic mission.

End Notes

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² For example, there is no mention of ministry to the deaf, even in passing, in the otherwise excellent and comprehensive Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise Since 1700* (New York: Routledge, 2008). I have also not found more than a few paragraphs written on any of these institutions other than in primary source materials.

³ Elizabeth Morgan, "The Deaf Hear," *India's Women and China's Daughters*, October 1935, 179.

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⁵ Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise Since 1700*, 190.

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⁹ Ibid., 15–16.

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¹⁹ Dev Raj Seth, *A History of Western Education in India: 1854-1920. A Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy* (University of London, 1936), 285–86.

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²³ Swainson, "A Confirmation at Palamcottah School for the Deaf."

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²⁵ Morgan, "The Deaf Hear," 180.

²⁶ Elizabeth Morgan, "Open Thy Mouth for the Dumb," *Looking East: The Journal of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society* LXIX, no. 6 (August 1949): 104.

²⁷ "School for the Deaf and Dumb at Palamcottah," 180.

²⁸ Ibid., 181.

²⁹ Morgan, "Open Thy Mouth for the Dumb," 105.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Morgan, "The Deaf Hear," 180.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ *1983 CMS Historical Record* (London: Gilbert and Rivington, LD., 1983), 42.

³⁵ "Florence Swainson Deaf School » About Us."

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ "Through the Sound Barrier," *CMS Outlook* 3 (November 1957):

14.

³⁸ *1959-1960 CMS Historical Record* (London: Gilbert and Rivington, LD., 1960), 447.



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³⁹ "Some of the Open Doors: The School for the Deaf, Mylapore," *India's Women and China's Daughters* L, no. 519 (April 1930): 66.

⁴⁰ "Through the Sound Barrier," 14.

⁴¹ "CSI School for the Deaf, Mylapore," in *1966-1967 CMS Historical Record* (London: Gilbert and Rivington, LD., 1967), 191.

⁴² *1959-1960 CMS Historical Record*, 447.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Charles Chittenden, "Training for Life - Palamcottah," *Looking East at India's Women and China's Daughters* LXXVII, no. 2 (April 1957): 20.

⁴⁵ *1959-1960 CMS Historical Record*, 448.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 447.

⁴⁸ Chittenden, "Training for Life - Palamcottah," 20.

⁴⁹ *1959-1960 CMS Historical Record*, 446.

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⁵¹ *1982 CMS Historical Record* (London: Gilbert and Rivington, LD., 1982), 58.

⁵² Shirin D. Antia, "Education of the Hearing Impaired in India: A Survey," *American Annals of the Deaf* 124, no. 6 (1979): 785-89.

⁵³ "(1) CSI Deaf School Chennai - About," accessed March 10, 2021, https://www.facebook.com/pg/CSI-Deaf-School-Chennai-659518160825230/about/?section=hours&tab=page_info.

⁵⁴ "About Us," The Ceylon School for the Deaf and Blind, accessed March 14, 2021, https://csdeafblind.lk/about_us.php.

⁵⁵ "Baptisms at the School for the Deaf and Blind, Ceylon," *India's Women and China's Daughters* XXXVI, no. 357 (March 1916): 51.

⁵⁶ "Special Needs," *India's Women and China's Daughters* XXXVII, no. 373 (September 1917): 102.

⁵⁷ Marjorie O.M. Carter, "Education and After-Care of the Deaf in Ceylon," *Looking East: The Journal of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society* LXXVII, no. 2 (April 1957): 22.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Marjorie O.M. Carter, "After Care for the Deaf and Blind," *Looking East: The Journal of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society* LXIX, no. 6 (August 1949): 103–4.

⁶¹ Ibid., 103.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 104.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 103.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 104.

⁷⁰ Carter, "Education and After-Care of the Deaf in Ceylon."

⁷¹ Ibid., 22.

⁷² Carter, "After Care for the Deaf and Blind," 103.

⁷³ Carter, "Education and After-Care of the Deaf in Ceylon," 22.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ "About Us."

⁷⁸ *Ceylon School for the Deaf and Blind 2019 Annual Report*, 2019, 3, https://csdeafblind.lk/ann_report/Final-Annual-Report-2019.pdf.

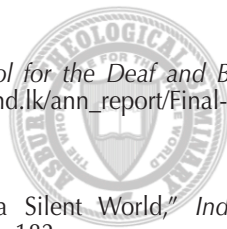
⁷⁹ Ibid., 1.

⁸⁰ "Sound in a Silent World," *India's Women and China's Daughters*, October 1935, 182.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ "Through the Sound Barrier."



⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁸⁶ "A Mom Fights To Get An Education For Her Deaf Daughters," NPR.org, accessed March 14, 2021, <https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsocks/2018/01/14/575921716/a-mom-fights-to-get-an-education-for-her-deaf-daughters>.

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⁸⁸ "School for the Deaf and Dumb at Palamcottah," 180.

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⁹⁰ "Through the Sound Barrier," 15.

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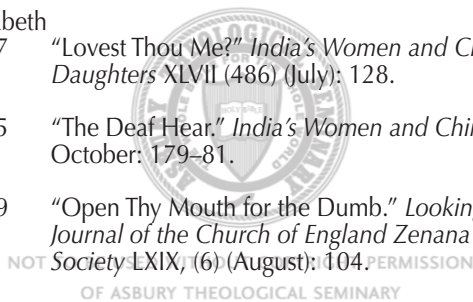
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Robert A. Danielson and Kelly J. Godoy de Danielson
Listening to Other Voices: Moving Beyond Traditional Mission Histories- A Case Study from El Salvador

Abstract:

For the most part, mission history has focused on the work and effort of missionaries and not as much on the missionized, those people and communities they assisted. This is a flaw in the field which needs to be corrected, but how do we accomplish this? This article proposes a two-step process. First, by closely reading the traditional histories and the primary documents, we can emphasize and highlight the roles and voices of the missionized. Second, by using oral history interviews we can capture essential thoughts and attitudes of missionized people and communities about their mission experience. This dual approach helps balance out the perspectives to give a deeper, more complex reading of mission history. A case study approach is used in this article, focused on the mission of the Colegio Bautista (a mission of the American Baptists) in Santa Ana, El Salvador.

Keywords: El Salvador, Colegio Bautista, Santa Ana, mission history, oral history

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Introduction¹

As the authors of this article, we have a unique set of experiences to bring to evaluating how mission history is accomplished. One of us (Robert) is a professional missiologist and mission historian who is descended from a number of generations of pastors and missionaries in the United States, and who also has research experience as a professional librarian. The other (Kelly) is a biblical scholar whose family has been involved in the Baptist Church of Santa Ana, El Salvador for three generations as lay people from the nation of El Salvador. In addition, her family was involved with one of the key mission efforts of the American Baptists in El Salvador, a mission school in Santa Ana. Each of us brings a unique perspective to the understanding of the mission of the American Baptist Church to the people of Santa Ana, El Salvador, with both the outside (the etic view) and the inside perspective (the emic view) helping to enrich the overall perspective and understand the mission effort in a deeper more multilayered way.

Too often mission history has been written by the missionary and the voices of the missionized have been ignored, surpassed, or simply just absent from the conversation. In this article, we are going to attempt to bring together both perspectives to gain a fuller understanding of the history of American Baptist missions in Santa Ana. Through both research of the missionary records and sources in English, and through an oral history approach, we will examine the history of the Baptist mission in a more multifaceted manner. For the purposes of this article, we are going to focus on the American Baptist mission to the city of Santa Ana, El Salvador as a case study to illustrate this methodology. This includes both the church itself as well as one of its major mission outreaches, a school known at the Colegio Bautista. The church in Santa Ana is one of the oldest and most well-established Baptist churches in El Salvador, and the Colegio Bautista in Santa Ana has just recently celebrated its 100th anniversary in 2019, which included recognition by the government of El Salvador with an official postage stamp and visits by government officials.²

In this article, we will approach the mission history of this work in a three-step process. First, there will be a more detailed exploration of the early history of Protestant missions in Santa Ana, El Salvador to demonstrate how the current context came into being and to place the American Baptists in their earliest setting. (The American or Northern Baptists are just one of many Baptist denominations in the United States, and should not be confused with others Baptist groups frequently involved

in mission work.) Santa Ana is the second largest city in El Salvador (and the capital city of the department that goes by the same name) and is located in the mountains and coffee-growing area of northwest El Salvador, bordering both Guatemala and Honduras. It is the location of some of the earliest Protestant mission work in the country. Second, there will be a more in-depth analysis of the history of the Colegio Bautista, which is not well-known, but is well-documented. In both of these stages, there is a conscious choice and decision to highlight the names and involvement of local Salvadorans in the history, who often get overlooked in traditional mission history. Finally, the oral history of one Salvadoran family will be included, which includes three generations of stories to help frame the mission history of the Colegio Bautista in terms of how this mission work was perceived by the missionized.

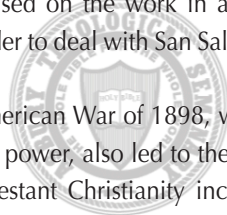
The Missionaries of Santa Ana in Traditional Historical Research

For much of its history, Latin American mission history has been dominated by Roman Catholic control of the region, especially due to the control of the area by the Spanish Empire. This control was gradually breaking apart, from independence movements such as the 1821 movement where Central America separated from Spain, and then other political movements such as 1839 when El Salvador became an independent republic. Bible societies began sending colporteurs into Latin America in the late 1800s. Colporteurs were local itinerant evangelists, who would sell Bibles and distribute other religious literature as a form of early Protestant evangelism. Rev. Francisco G. Penzotti (1851-1925) was an Italian-Swiss immigrant to Uruguay when he was 13 years old. He was converted under a Methodist missionary and became a worker for the American Bible Society from the Methodist Church. He gained international prominence after the Penzotti Affair when he was imprisoned by the Peruvian government for preaching Protestantism (1890-1891). In 1894, the American Bible Society sent him to explore the possibility of opening work in Central America. He worked there about fifteen years, and it was noted that except for a small Presbyterian mission he encountered in Guatemala³, he met no other Protestants in Central America. By the time he left, he had opened offices of the American Bible Society in every nation of Central America and had organized groups of colporteurs working in the region.⁴ The Spanish-American War of 1898 led to a complete collapse of Spanish dominance in the region, with Cuba and Puerto Rico becoming colonies of the United States. American

Baptists moved into Cuba and Puerto Rico almost immediately in 1899, and by 1910 reported 44 churches with 2,218 members in Cuba and 38 churches with 1,923 members in Puerto Rico. The first Protestant group to enter El Salvador was the Central American Mission (CAM), founded in 1890, which entered El Salvador in 1896. Rev. Samuel A. Purdie was the first missionary (although he was helped by Penzotti of the American Bible Society, who had taken several missionaries associated with the Central American Mission on his initial tour of Central America in 1894).⁵ Purdie was shortly followed in 1897 by Rev. Robert H. Bender, sometimes referred to as the “Beloved Apostle of El Salvador.”

The Central American Mission work was focused in San Salvador, the capital of El Salvador, but even as early as 1905 they were expanding their work to Santa Ana. Samuel Purdie, who came in 1896 died of tetanus from a cut finger while working on his printing press in 1897, leaving charge of the CAM work in El Salvador under the guidance of the newcomer, Robert Bender. Robert Bender writes in the *Central American Bulletin* for January 15, 1906 that a Brother Rufino was doing the work in Santa Ana, but that a resident missionary was needed for that work.⁶ By 1908, there were 25 congregations in El Salvador with around 600 believers. At this time, Bender wrote, “The Lord has been pleased to raise up six national helpers to assist us. One of these having charge of the large and growing work in Santa Ana is supported partly by that church and partly by friends in the States, while the other five are self-supporting and at the same time have oversight of from one to seven congregations. In addition, seven of our men are employed by the American and British Bible Societies and give all of their time to the sale of the Word of God.”⁷ In 1909 Percy T. Chapman arrived in Santa Ana to help with the work of the Central American Mission there, and his work focused on the work in and around Santa Ana and Metapán, freeing up Bender to deal with San Salvador and the work around the capital city.⁸

The Spanish-American War of 1898, which led the United States into becoming a colonial power, also led to the opening up of larger parts of Latin America to Protestant Christianity including other groups along with the American Baptists entering El Salvador. Perhaps most interesting in El Salvador is the presence of a very early group of Pentecostals, which was planted by a Canadian, Frederick Ernest Mebius (1869-1945). The information about his work is not clearly documented, but he appears to



have arrived in El Salvador around 1904-1907 after being a missionary to Bolivia for the Christian and Missionary Alliance, a holiness denomination.⁹ After converting a few members away from the Central American Mission in Santa Ana, Mebius was centered in Cerro Verde in the department of Santa Ana and did most of his preaching in that area.¹⁰ One account, translated from Spanish notes,

When three believers from the Central American Mission that was already operating in El Salvador, found out about this brave foreigner, who boldly presented a living and distinctive gospel, they visited him. One of them, surnamed Leiva, spoke with him in more detail, and all were inspired by Mebius's enthusiastic manner. Mebius later testified that, although he did not know Spanish, he could understand everything that the evangelical brothers spoke to him, and in the same way the latter understood Mebius.¹¹

A separate account with no clear reference notes, "Entrusted with a congregation of the Central American Mission in El Salvador during the absence of the resident missionary, Mebius preached the doctrine of Spirit baptism and gathered a group of believers who received the experience. Although these converts were not expelled from their congregation, they followed Mebius within a few months to live among the coffee workers in the village of Las Lomas de San Marcelino."¹² Sadly, this account must be read cautiously since the author also identifies Mebius as arriving in 1915 and being associated with the Salvation Army in Bolivia, and both of those facts are clearly incorrect. It is possible oral sources might be combining bits of the story of Mebius with accounts of Chapman's later taking the church in Santa Ana to the American Baptists in 1911.

Whatever the truth of the origin, Mebius founded a group of clearly Pentecostal churches, some of which would later become part of the Assemblies of God¹³ and some part of the Church of God (Cleveland).¹⁴ Other individual congregations would maintain independence of outside denominational control. Often these groups are categorized as the Free Apostolic Churches and typically carry the name "Apostolic Church", such as The Apostolic Church of the Apostles and Prophets, The Apostolic Church of the Upper Room, The Apostolic Church of God in Christ, and The Apostolic Church of the New Jerusalem.¹⁵

Meanwhile, under a constant burden of work, and with his wife in need of surgery, the overworked Robert Bender chose to take a furlough back to the United States on January 6, 1910. He left the growing work of the Central American Mission in the hands of Chapman in Santa Ana and Rev. William Keech, a worker for the British and Foreign Bible Society who had been working with CAM in San Salvador, as well as a number of native pastors, whose names are only occasionally mentioned in the literature: Rufino Sandoval¹⁶, Salvador Portillo¹⁷, Claudio Anaya¹⁸, Abel Tobar¹⁹, Adán Corea²⁰, José María Pérez²¹, and Pedro Rodríguez are a few of the names mentioned, but little is told about them or their view on evangelistic work.

While Bender was out of the country, the American Baptists made a decision to move into El Salvador in 1911. In an article published in 1911, Field Secretary L. C. Barnes wrote an article laying out their strategic reasons for choosing El Salvador.²² First, it was seen as being central to a large area with no systematic denominational mission. Second, the political situation in El Salvador seemed fairly open and was relatively stable. Third, there was a solid leader for the work in Rev. William Keech, who was willing to join the Baptist mission. Barnes also notes a concern for the growing Pentecostal movement when he wrote, "A reason for immediate action is that sheep without a shepherd are easily scattered and devoured. For example, representatives of the new cult of speaking-with-tongues have wandered from the United States into El Salvador and are ravaging some of the babes in Christ."²³

At the end of his article, Barnes includes the full text of a letter from Emilio Morales, a local leader of a small group of Evangelical Christians in Sonsonate, El Salvador which was written on November 30, 1910. He records the following information,

From the year 1889 the work has been under the direction of the Central American Mission, which Society nevertheless has almost abandoned it. The Republic of El Salvador, having more or less one and a half millions of inhabitants, has had only one active missionary, Mr. Robert Bender, of the said Society; it is about eighteen months ago that another missionary came, Mr. Percy T. Chapman, upon which Mr. Bender went to the United States, leaving again only one missionary. Mr. Chapman is located in Santa Ana, and the work of that place is even more than he can properly attend to, leaving the departments of Sonsonate and Ahuachapán, where there exist five centers of importance and activity, each having other smaller congregations of 15, 20,

30, 40 and 50 members, a considerable number of whom are communicants. All this work is cared for by native residents (not paid pastors), the writer, who is a shoemaker, having charge in the character of pastor, under the direction of the missionary in Santa Ana.²⁴

In addition to Keech, Percy T. Chapman shifted his allegiance to the American Baptists from the Central American Mission and brought with him the existing CAM church in Santa Ana to help boost the initial work of the American Baptists.

This shift from the Central American Mission to the American Baptists while Robert Bender was still on furlough came as an unwelcome surprise for the Central American Mission. In a sharply worded article in April of 1911, they wrote,

The Northern Baptists have decided to begin work in Salvador. The step was taken without consultation with this mission and because of their failure to advise us, some very serious mistakes have already been made and great injury done to the work... They will begin work in the capital, where we have maintained a testimony for about 15 years. Rev. Mr. Keech of the B. and F. Bible Society, and wife, who was for several years prior to her marriage connected with our mission in Salvador, will have charge of the work... Had we been consulted we might have suggested a field where they could have labored without building on another's foundation, and without the apparently unavoidable confusion which follows the intrusion of denominational differences. The reason given for failure to observe the principles of comity²⁵ in consulting us before entering the field was that the mission had violated the principles of comity by soliciting funds in the States. But they had seen our Bulletin setting forth our principles and making it clear that we have never solicited men or means. While this excuse may satisfy them, it does not minimize the disasters on the field arising from the failure to recognize other mission societies. From the correspondence we find that independent societies are the objects of quite determined attack.²⁶

Robert Bender rushed back to El Salvador, leaving his wife who was recovering from several surgeries in California. A newly married George Peters was also sent with his bride to replace Percy Chapman and his wife. The animosity though, was far from ended. At the end of 1911, Robert

Bender had returned to El Salvador and *The Central American Bulletin* noted,

Bro. R. H. Bender has reached Salvador, where he spent fourteen years of arduous service for the Master. The churches so far visited have given him a warm welcome, and the Lord is abundantly blessing his ministry. The Northern Baptists, who have recently entered Salvador through their Home Missionary Society, have re-baptized and taken charge of the churches organized by our Bro. Bender at Santa Ana and Sonsonate, although some of the members of these places have not yet joined the Baptists. We desire to commend the Christian spirit manifested by Bro. Bender under great trial on his old field, and urge all our friends to continue in prayer for him.²⁷

While Bender seems to have struggled on the field to find a new building, raise money for putting together the CAM mission work a second time, and finding more native preachers, he does appear to have worked things out on the field with the Baptists. By April of 1912, Bender is reporting on a conference in San Salvador where Keech and the Baptists joined CAM for worship.²⁸

In 1916, Rev. J. B. Todd replaced the Peters at the Santa Ana church. He arrived December 28th and it was considered significant that he could speak Spanish and address the people in their own language. The report notes that when Chapman arrived “all he could do was shake his head” since he knew no Spanish.²⁹ Importantly, this report does reveal some insight into the local workings of the church as well, noting that three native preachers were examined: Adán Corea (becoming the pastor of the San Salvador church later in the report), David Cardona, and Pedro Mariano Rodríguez (all three names having previously been found in the reports of the *Central American Mission Bulletin*). The report notes that all three had been active preachers for a number of years and their Christian experience, their view of the doctrines, and their call to ministry was approved by a group of 25 appointed delegates from various churches. The religious situation in Santa Ana (and much of El Salvador in general) was now fairly set. Even today, you will find the Protestant churches in the city are most often tied to CAM (now known as Iglesia Evangélica Misión Centroamericana³⁰), the Baptists (Asociación Bautista de El Salvador³¹), or the various Pentecostal groups.

The Colegio Bautista and Educational Ministry

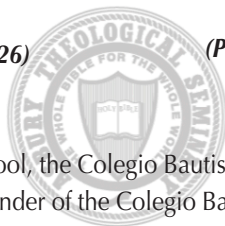
By 1918, there were three American Baptist missionaries overseeing work in El Salvador: Rev. William Keech in San Salvador, Rev. J. B. Todd in Santa Ana, and Rev. E. L. Humphrey in San Miguel. In an article expressing the needs of the mission field, Dr. Brink notes the reasons for establishing schools in the area include both the low pay, and therefore low quality of education as well as the persecution of Protestant children in the current education system. Brink writes, "These schools are necessary because of the utter inadequacy of the local public schools. For example, in Santa Ana, a city of 50,000 people in El Salvador, only \$3,000 was expended last year for the salaries of public school teachers. Another reason is the constant persecution to which the children from Protestant homes are subjected in the public schools."³²



Louise B. Carter
(Principal 1919-1926)



Ruth M. Carr
(Principal 1927-1961)



The mission school, the Colegio Bautista was established in 1919. The first principal and founder of the Colegio Bautista was Louise B. Carter, who was a missionary for the American Baptists from December of 1917 to 1926. She began work as the principal in 1919 along with Martha Howell, who had come from work with African-American children at the National Training School for Women and Girls in Washington, D.C. in 1918. Louise Carter, wrote about the first day of classes,

At eight twenty-five we rang the little hand bell and formed the children in two lines. In one line we put all those we knew were able to read; in the other, all those we felt confident would form our "beginners." The first line passed into Miss Howell's room and the second into my room. They were a most happy little group of children, ranging in age from six years to fifteen years.

After opening exercises of hymns, prayer and Bible reading, we enrolled all and sent our tiniest children home, keeping the older ones for an examination in order that we might know how to organize them into classes. Miss Howell had prepared arithmetic, and I was ready with the reading.

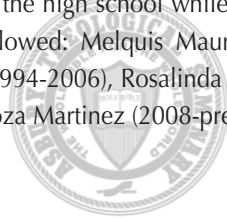
Such a mixture of results was obtained! Many could read the printed page very fluently, but could not read a written sentence. Some know the combinations in arithmetic but could not recognize a number when written on the board, nor write one. Some could spell most swiftly and with words perfectly syllabicated, but could not write the word. You can imagine the situation in which we found ourselves. This condition came about through haphazard teaching of the children in their homes. We have been examining and classifying all week, and the Chinese puzzle is gradually straightening itself out.³³

In the article, Carter goes on to relate that the first year had fifty-nine students between the ages of six and sixteen, which met in two small rooms in a rented house. The school charged what people could afford, which was reported at one peso per month. Others wanted to be in the school, but due to lack of furniture and space they had to put off the others until a new school building was constructed. The article includes the plans for what the first school would look like, and this school opened in October of 1920. It was somewhat small with three classrooms, an assembly hall, dining hall, kitchen, and two bedrooms, with a smaller second floor with five bedrooms which helped accommodate the missionaries' living quarters. Martha Howell, an American Baptist missionary at the time notes the glowing vision of the missionaries as the first year of the school finished,

On November 6, the first scholastic year of the Santa Ana Baptist College came to a close. The presence of a large group of mothers and fathers manifested their interest. To the children the school has become a great living reality, and they watch with enthusiasm the completion of the great building in which they will begin work again in February. Each child holds in his possession a card of record which will easily place him

at the reopening, but along with those children will come many who for months have begged for admission—unlettered, untrained children—in themselves a big task for teachers. Prejudice will break away more and more as Salvadoreans learn that the Santa Ana Baptist College is an established institution and that its great aim is that of lifting human life by bringing it in contact with the Saviour of the world.³⁴

The work of Carter and Howell was followed by Ruth M. Carr (1863-1974) who came as a missionary in 1923 and led the school from 1927 to 1961, when she retired. Carr was also given El Salvador's highest honor, the Order of José Matías Delgado. Significant accounts of life in the Colegio Bautista during the mission period come from two sources. Ruth Carr wrote an unpublished manuscript in 1963, entitled *A Short History of Colegio Bautista, Santa Ana, El Salvador*³⁵ and Grace Hatler (1904-1970, who started in 1954 as the director of the boarding students) published a book in 1966 entitled *Land of the Lighthouse*.³⁶ These two records provide most of the information for the school from the missionary perspective. Ruth Carr was followed by Jason Eugene Cedarholm (Don Eugenio) (1916-1998)³⁷ who led the school from 1961 to 1980, when the missionaries left El Salvador due to the growing problems of the Salvadoran civil war (1979-1992). His wife, Helen (1909-1997) served with him, while their two sons attended school in the United States. After 1980 the school moved out of the hands of missionary leadership and into local control with Esteban Rodríguez Jiménez³⁸ becoming the first Salvadoran principal of the school and leading it from 1980-1984. Then Gilberto Mendoza Olivares became principal from 1984 to 1991. Both Jiménez and Olivares had administration experience under Cedarholm, with one overseeing the primary school and the other overseeing the high school while Cedarholm was principal. Additional principals followed: Melquis Mauricio Gómez (1991-1994), Samuel Alberto Godoy (1994-2006), Rosalinda Rendón de Valiente (2006-2008), and Ismael Mendoza Martínez (2008-present).





Jason Eugene Cedarholm
(Principal 1961-1980)



Esteban Rodríguez Jiménez
(Principal 1980-1984)

Returning to the history of the Colegio Bautista, Ruth Carr noted that the first school was too small and had several problems. It was next door to a Catholic girl's school which made life difficult for students "to avoid such encounters as buckets of hot water aimed adroitly from her door, or harangues of insulting threats."³⁹ There were challenges from Catholic authorities in the political spectrum as well. Despite this, the American Baptists opened a clinic in the school in 1923 with local help including a nurse (referred to only as Victoria, whose sister Francisca was a teacher in the school) who had trained at a Baptist hospital in Mexico.⁴⁰ The second floor of the original building ultimately had to be removed as it became unstable in earthquakes. The Baptist church met in the old school building when it sold its first chapel and the original lower floor of the first school building became part of the new Baptist church which was built on that spot.

Around 1930, the American Baptists decided to purchase property for a new school building. About eight acres on a hilltop, just outside the city on a main road was chosen, and for \$15,000 it was purchased as one lot. The land contained a number of old mango trees, but local neighbors seemed to be unhappy with losing access to the property. Fences posts were removed, wires cut, and walls dug underneath. Carr reports that things became difficult as the building was being planned. A revolution

occurred (when President Arturo Araujo Fajardo was overthrown by the military in 1931, to be replaced by General Maximiliano Hernández Martínez), followed by what she refers to as a “communist” uprising (the 1932 Salvadorean peasant uprising led by Farabundo Martí). General Martínez’s response, commonly called La Matanza (“the slaughter”) led to between 10,000 and 40,000 deaths, mostly indigenous people and political opponents. This kept the missionaries on edge fearing attacks on Santa Ana. This situation was complicated by a heavy fall of volcanic ash from a volcano in Guatemala (most likely the 1932 eruption of Volcán de Fuego near Antigua, which had a heavier than usual amount of ash in the eruption that occurred that year).

The first building on the property was a small clinic, which was organized by Maude McCarter, a nurse from the United States who served from 1929 to 1933. The large new two-story building that was constructed near the clinic was opened in February of 1932. Construction was still underway when the high school opened. According to Ruth Carr, the building “contained living quarters for the missionary teachers, a section for some thirty boarding girls and class rooms for high school.”⁴¹ Carr notes that it was difficult to find teachers, whose salary was \$16 a month for primary school and \$32 a month for high school. One local Salvadoran woman, Inés de Guzmán, taught from 1930 to 1943 for \$10 a month while raising her six children and while her husband completed high school (when he also became a teacher). In 1936 the work at the clinic closed and it became a missionary residence.

A pamphlet from 1935 covers the work of the Colegio Bautista in each of their three areas (San Salvador and Santa Ana, El Salvador, and Managua, Nicaragua).⁴² In this year, there were 223 students enrolled in Santa Ana with 23 high school students in the new building, which leaves 200 primary students still studying in the old school building. This compares with 127 primary students enrolled in San Salvador, with no high school and 432 students with 36 high school students in Managua. Unlike most literature about the Colegio Bautista, students are mentioned a bit more here. It refers to two daughters of a member of the National Assembly of El Salvador who attend, but also a girl of 17 in the second grade because it is her first chance to go to school in her life. So, both students from the elite and poorer families mixed within the school. The pamphlet also highlights Miguel, who swept classrooms to pay for his tuition, alongside of Noé Arrazate, who because of the excellence of his work had been given a

scholarship from the French government for being one of the best students in El Salvador. Another student, Ramón Villalta is highlighted as an excellent student who had to finish his high school work at a Catholic school because the Colegio Bautista hadn't been approved for their fourth-year course of study at that time due to needed funds. However, the pamphlet points out to potential donors that Ramón's name was removed from the list of those students who were required to attend Mass.

About 1940 it was time to abandon the old school in the heart of the city, which had continued to serve as the primary school. The hope had been to build another building close to the high school, but the cost was too much, so the high school building was renovated and expanded so both groups could fit in the same building. At this time, Carr notes there was another active attempt by Roman Catholics in Santa Ana to prevent the work at the Colegio by threatening excommunication to parents of students sent to "such a heretical institution."⁴³ However, the school continued to grow until it reached its height in 1953 with 543 students. Carr credits this to the high moral standards, quality education, lower tuition and uniform fees, and the fact the religion was not compulsory.



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Entrance of the Primary School Building, Colegio Bautista in Santa Ana, El Salvador.

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The founding date of 1932 still shows underneath the name of the school.

The Colegio Bautista had provided boarding for girls from the beginning. When Louise Carter left in 1925 there were 15 boarding students. The numbers always remained low, even though fees were about \$7.50 a month. The school began to subsidize students because many came from families of pastors or lower income levels. As a result, the numbers rose to a high of 108 under Estoy Turner Reddin (1941-1955) who reorganized the work, but after Grace Hatler arrived to oversee this area of the school, the decision was made to keep the number at 80 because of space issues. In this period of time the school flourished. The girls had a special pew in the front of the church and Carr also notes an expanded agricultural effort so that, "100 banana trees planted on the school property provide one third of the bananas that the girls need, and a fine chicken ranch more than supplies the eggs for the big family."⁴⁴ Grace Hatler was also instrumental in helping girls from the school find further education in the United States.

Grace Hatler's book is helpful to portray some of the ideas of the missionaries of this time. She focuses on her work with the boarding school, but especially in projects aimed at health and nutrition. She points out a few specific people she worked with, but they are often students who were working to overcome difficulties like polio or deafness. In some of her work focused on the health of the boarding school students, she refers to Dr. Mauricio Cader Ramos (she also mentions a Dr. Carlos Peñate and a Nurse Chacón who helped with this type of work) who came to check the girls at the boarding school to find that roughly half of them were experiencing some form of malnutrition.⁴⁵ So, she worked with the families of the students to send extra fresh fruit to the Colegio to supplement their diet. In line with this, she also discusses the formation of the chicken ranch in some detail, as well as the formation of 4-H Clubs and efforts with the Heifer Project to build up agricultural work. Hatler also discusses a little of her effort to provide scholarships for girls to study both in the Colegio and further on in the United States. She also details the sense of loss of the community at the death of the pastor of the Baptist Church, José Antonio Corea, who braved all kinds of environments to minister using only the public buses and walking on a limited salary. He was temporarily replaced by a young doctor, who was studying at the seminary, Ovidio Amaya de León, but when he went to the United States to further his education at California Baptist Theological Seminary, he was replaced by Rev. Augusto Coto. Rev. Coto along with his wife, Isabel Castenada de Coto helped continue some limited work for a clinic from the Baptist Church. Beyond these few mentions of local

leaders, Hatler only adds a few additional names near the end of her book as examples of what the Colegio Bautista had accomplished. She highlights Esteban Rodríguez Jiménez, who we have mentioned previously, but she adds that he was also president of the El Salvador Baptist Convention. In addition, she refers to Samuel Rodríguez who represented El Salvador at an important Christian Education conference in Brazil, and Hugo Sánchez, the first Protestant medical graduate in El Salvador. She sums up a rather colonial attitude as she comments that without the work of the Colegio Bautista,

Many of the pastors, doctors, nurses, teachers, social workers, club leaders, directors of Christian education, government workers, students who are now studying in the United States, and countless other leaders would still be numbered among the many deprived peons in an overcrowded meson or primitive village. There would never have been a mission with its ministries to body, mind, and spirit; and there would never have been a witness to the fact that God cares about the total individual man.⁴⁶

This is of course a major exaggeration on her part, given the detailed history of mission work presented so far, however it does exemplify how missionaries sought to portray themselves. It also shows how they portrayed the local people with their leaders as dependent on the “civilizing” influence of Christian missions. Such an effort is clearly designed to encourage more financial support from readers in the United States, but it tends to portray a false narrative about the importance of local Christians to the success of the mission.

An attempt was made to create a boarding program for boys similar to that used for girl students, and a dormitory was even constructed, but the program never really succeeded, although some male students did room with Jason and Helen Cedarholm while attending the Colegio. Several other projects were attempted at various times including a seminary and a teacher’s training department with limited success. Ruth Carr lists some 33 foreign mission workers who spent time at the Colegio for limited amounts of time, but she only notes eight important local Salvadorans. In her list she includes: Esteban Rodríguez Jiménez and Ismael Guzmán and Inés de Guzmán (who were mentioned earlier), Florinda González de Chávez (1932-1936, an early house mother in the boarding school, primary school teacher, poetess, and a mother of one of the nurses), Rutilia Peñate de Torres

(she began working at the school in 1938 as a teacher who did her primary school and high school at the Colegio on a scholarship)⁴⁷, Rosa Navarrete de Alas Palacios (who also started in 1938 as a teacher who studied at the Colegio on scholarship), Juan Rodríguez Núñez (who began work in 1955, was one of the first primary students and studied for high school at night, and who later served as a preacher and a teacher), and Dionely Alicia Lima (who came in 1949, studied on scholarship in the boarding school, was the current secretary for the school in 1963, and did a four-month leave to study in a Bible School in 1957 in the United States).

Oral History and Local Views of Mission History

In the oral history we are going to examine in this article, we must begin with Pedro Segundo García (1907 – May 20, 1969), who was a deacon in the Baptist Church in Santa Ana and was originally a mason from Metapán in the department of Santa Ana. We don't know much of his work in the church, but he set the family stories we do know into the context of the American Baptist mission. He was the son of David Rivera and Refugio García, but we know nothing of them beyond their names. As far as we know, Pedro Segundo García was the first convert to Protestantism through the American Baptists in the family.

His second wife⁴⁸, María Julia Avilés de García (Feb. 25, 1922 – July 5, 1992) was a deaconess in the Baptist church in Santa Ana, but also worked in the Colegio Bautista with the missionaries. She was in charge of the five to six cooks at the school and would go to the market twice a week with a worker from the mission pulling a large cart to hold all of the food purchased. She would have three children: Marta del Refugio, Samuel Eliseo, and Cora Noemi.⁴⁹ She would ultimately leave for the United States about 1974, together with Santos, a maid for one of the missionaries (Helen Cedarholm- known as Doña Elena), where she would work as a private nurse to elderly people in Southern California. Samuel Eliseo and Cora Noemi also would relocate to the United States, but Marta remained in El Salvador.

During her time working at the Colegio Bautista, María Julia Avilés de García was able to send her children to the mission school. Her daughter Marta was primarily a local student and did not reside as a boarder at the school, but in 1962, after much beseeching, her parents allowed her to live as a boarder at the Colegio Bautista, even though it was close to their house. Much of the oral history of this period comes from an

interview conducted by the authors with Marta, and the notes taken from that interview.⁵⁰



María Julia Avilés de García (Feb. 25, 1922 – July 5, 1992) at the Baptist Church in Santa Ana.

She was in charge of the cooks at the Colegio Bautista during the period of the missionaries in Santa Ana, El Salvador.

The only photographic image of the missionaries preserved by Marta del Refugio García de Godoy (Oct. 9, 1949 – Feb. 16, 2017) presents an interesting image. One of the missionaries (Grace Hatler) is seated in the only chair in the center of the photograph, surrounded by Salvadoran church members in indigenous dress. The photo is from about 1965 and is believed to be after a traditional dance or performance for May Day held at the church in Santa Ana. Contrary to their appearance, many of the people surrounding the missionary are not indigenous workers, but rather important people in the life of the church and the mission school. Gloria

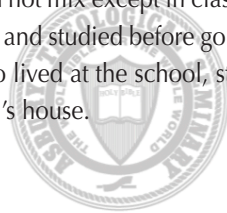
Judith Guevara, one of the women from the church also ran the library at the Colegio Bautista. Noemi Medina de Aguilar, another woman in the photo, was also active in the church and ran the school store. We have already noted Maria Julia Avilés de Garcia, who was in charge of the cooks at the Colegio Bautista. The image in the photo is one of pure colonialism, but the knowledge of the true identities of the people in the image speak to the truth that the work of the missionaries would have been impossible without the support networks of the local leaders in the church, and especially the role of the women in the church. As Marta del Refugio García de Godoy noted in her interview, “Gringos didn’t teach, they just had the power and gave the orders.”



Having coffee after a May Day Dance in the church at Santa Ana, El Salvador. Standing (left to right): Gloria Judith Guevara, María Julia Avilés de Garcia, Margot Pleitez. Sitting (left to right): Alberto Ramirez, Isabel ?, Senora de Chacon, Grace Hatler, Rosa de Fuentes, and Noemi Medina de Aguilar. Photo taken about 1965.

Marta del Refugio García de Godoy was happy to talk about the year she spent as a boarder at the school (1962). She only lived four blocks from the school, but wanted to live in the dormitory and so her mother gave her permission. She recalled that there were women who washed and ironed the clothes, but on Saturday the girls had to wash out their underwear. On Sunday they all went to church in the morning and in the afternoon wearing identical white dresses, which was set apart from their regular uniform of blue and white. They would sit on the front row of the church and walked together in pairs. There were about eight bedrooms in the dormitory with each room containing enough bunkbeds to sleep about 20 students to a room. Each room had an older girl who was responsible for the room, and she remembered the girl in charge of her room was Angela Valladares⁵¹, who was from the other side of the country. Marta only spent a year at the school because she said she enjoyed herself too much, and also there was a school store where things could be bought on credit, but she thought the items were free and her mother apparently ended up with a larger bill than expected.⁵²

During the morning, the girls would get up at 5:00am for breakfast and showers, then they went to devotions and from there changed into their school uniforms. There was no television, radio, or music permitted. From 11:00am to 2:00pm they had lunch and then a siesta. Then they changed back into their uniforms and went to classes until 4:00pm. Supper was at 6:00pm and meals usually consisted of beans, cream, bread (and milk for breakfast) or beans and rice. The girls sat together in the same groups that shared a bedroom. Once a week each girl took a turn to wash dishes and they washed in groups of three, one with hot water, one with water and soap, and a third with cold water to rinse. As a general rule, local students and boarding students did not mix except in classes. From 7:00-9:00pm the girls went to a large room and studied before going to bed. There were only about five older boys who lived at the school, studying to be teachers, and they lived in the principal's house.





A second-grade class taught by Doña Graciela de Corea at the Colegio Bautista, Santa Ana, El Salvador. Taken in 1960.

Marta del Refugio García de Godoy also remembered that the missionaries had a separate house which they shared. Grace Hatler was in charge of the boarders, while Ruth Carr was in charge of the local students. Marta's memories of Grace Hatler centered around a single incident where Hatler became angry and grabbed Marta by the throat, which definitely colored her perceptions of the American missionaries. Marta described Ruth Carr as very old with white hair, tall and thin, but very pretty with glasses and a very serious look. She was single and wore long dresses and heels with her hair held back in a bun with a comb. A "Miss Nellie" was a nurse who was at the school for a short time.⁵³ She was well-liked, but when she left the infirmary was closed. Of particular importance was Jason Cedarholm, known as "Don Eugenio" who was the principal after Ruth Carr. He, and his wife Helen (Elena) had two sons, Billy and Jacky, who went to school back in the United States, but would come at vacation times and attend classes with the students there. Marta also recalled an African-American worker who lived at the school and did odd jobs around the campus. He had a daughter who was a friend of hers and a fellow student, and she and her father lived in a small room behind the school and close to the water tank. Local people also worked at the school. Previously we

mentioned some who worked in the library and the school store. Marta also remembered a guard who would climb the mango trees and pick mangos for the students. In addition, Marta remembered with special joy taking piano lessons from Helen Cedarholm.



Marta del Refugio García-Avilés (later García de Godoy) playing the piano in the auditorium

of the Colegio Bautista in Santa Ana, El Salvador. She was a student of Helen Cedarholm.

The family continued to interact with the Colegio Bautista as Marta del Refugio García went on to marry and have four children, all of whom went to the school for their education. Marta had a special love for the school and her experiences there and so she insisted on her children attending as well. This included one of the authors of this paper (Kelly) who was the eldest child in the family. When Kelly started attending the Colegio Bautista it was still under the leadership of the American Baptist missionaries, with Jason Cedarholm (Don Eugenio) as the principal. Kelly remembers particularly that Cedarholm would play volleyball with the older boys and helped her mother with scholarship support for her younger brother. During this time period, El Salvador was in the midst of a tense political crisis. On October 15, 1979 a revolutionary junta deposed President General Carlos Humberto Romero, and the junta quickly became

a military right-wing government, which declared martial law and instituted the formation of secret “death squads” for purposes of political repression. In 1980 the political forces on the left formed a guerilla force called the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) which began an insurrection leading to a lengthy and violent civil war. The assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero on March 24, 1980 was a shocking event which led to more killings and increased violence to be followed on December 2, 1980 with the rape and murder of four American Catholic church women. This violence would last about thirteen years until January 16, 1992 with the signing of the Chapultepec Peace Accords.

In the beginning stages of the violence, in 1979 or 1980, while Kelly was a fourth-grade student at the Colegio Bautista, the school was taken over by a group of the FMLN while classes were in session. After some initial shots or explosions, the teacher ordered the entire class to get down on the floor away from the windows. For several hours a standoff existed. In an amazing act of courage, Jason Cedarholm went out and met with leaders of the occupying force. According to oral remembrances, he told them, “What can we do to help you? We only have children here.” Whatever details occurred in the meeting, the FMLN left without harming anyone and a secretary told the students they could resume their seats. Jason Cedarholm had refused to leave the school as the situation worsened, but in 1980 the American Baptists forced him to leave, which he announced in the Baptist Church as he told them he did not want to leave, because “this was his home.” Esteban Rodríguez Jiménez (Don Esteban) took over the reins of the school for the next four years as the first Salvadoran to run the institution. The trauma of the war continued in the lives of the students and teachers. Kelly recalls a time when an over-inflated basketball in a classroom closet exploded, and the students dropped to the floor fearing a bomb of some type. It became an incident to laugh over later, but reflects the seriousness of the times. However, the story of Don Eugenio facing the guerillas and putting his life on the line for the students and teachers remains one of the defining stories of American Baptist missionaries in the minds of the Baptists in Santa Ana who lived through this period. His heroism is still remembered, while much of the work of the past missionaries is long forgotten.

The Colegio Bautista has continued over the years, and in recent periods a Baptist church has formed which uses the school auditorium on Sundays as a place of worship, the Iglesia Bautista En Familia. For a number

of years Marta del Refugio García de Godoy and her family worshipped there, in the same auditorium they remembered so fondly from their school days.

Lessons for a Balanced Approach to Mission History

How do we avoid writing a biased mission history? What are some the lessons we have learned by working to combine traditional historical research with oral history and personal memory? It is a common aphorism that “history is written by the victors,” but this is oversimplistic. The documented side of history is clearly controlled by the narrative of those with more political, economic, or social power—those who control the resources to write, publish, and preserve their stories while often excluding those without access to such power. This is especially true in the field of mission history, where the motivations and actions of the missionaries predominate the narrative and often the missionized are portrayed as lacking or in need of the missionary’s culture, education, and organization and not simply an open invitation to hear the untarnished message of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. This creates an environment ripe for hagiography, where the missionaries are portrayed (or rather portray themselves) as saintly figures who are suffering for the sake of the missionized. Occasionally, the documentation will show indications of how the missionaries really relied on the missionized for food, transportation, lodging, translation, and language training, but more often than not these stories are buried or conveniently overlooked in the reports written for popular religious consumption back in the United States or Great Britain. How can mission historians more effectively work to balance this story?

First, it is essential to find the voice of the missionized. While a traditional resource-based approach is a good starting place, there are inherent biases within the historical record. Missionaries were not necessarily interested in promoting local leaders or workers in the local church. Such reporting might lower the perceived importance of the missionaries themselves, and this could influence fund raising. Many of the articles and letters are designed to raise more funds for the field, and as such colonial and paternalistic images of the “heathen” in foreign lands tends to dominate the conversation. Therefore, it becomes the task of the mission historian to specifically seek out and elevate the story of the missionized whenever possible. While foreign missionaries do play a key role in the

success of a mission, they are not the only, or even the most important reason for mission success.

This is clear to see from the case study of the Santa Ana Baptist Church in El Salvador and the Colegio Bautista. Local colporteurs initially planted the Gospel message in El Salvador. While Francisco Penzotti did bring access to translated Bibles and literature in Spanish, and Samuel Purdie of CAM brought a printing press, the distribution of these materials was really through the hard work of local workers, who were also the first evangelists. Their stories do appear occasionally (although they are often unnamed) to detail the danger of the task and the animosity they often faced from Roman Catholic clergy. They were frequently beaten, robbed, and imprisoned for the Gospel, but their stories serve a function to relate to supporters back home the need for more funds and more people in the field. The accounts from CAM, especially Robert Bender are actually better than most. Local Salvadoran leaders are mentioned by name (sometimes even with additional information and photographs), and they are given credit for preaching and establishing churches in more remote areas. Often, they did this for little or no pay and had to hold secular jobs to perform their duties. They even led the larger churches when the foreign missionaries were on some extended tour or on furlough. We can see from some of the names that these leaders had to make key decisions about supporting either CAM or the American Baptists during the 1911 takeover of the church in Santa Ana, and then some were ordained. In the work of the Colegio Bautista, we see that Salvadorean women as well as men played key operational roles in overseeing the cooking, the upkeep of the buildings, and even the teaching itself. Ultimately, as the Salvadoran civil war began, Salvadoran leadership was essential to fill in the gap as the American Baptists called back their foreign missionaries for safety, while leaving local leaders to continue to work in an increasingly violent and unstable situation. We can also see how local pastors played key roles in inviting foreign missions into El Salvador, both with Emilio Morales inviting the American Baptists and in Francisco Ramírez Arbizú's difficult trek to the United States to convince the Assemblies of God to enter the country in 1927 (see footnote thirteen). All of this information can be found in a careful reading of the historical documents, but it needs to be specifically highlighted to stand in contrast to the heavily biased views of the missionary narrative.

Second, it is important to locate the women of the church. Given the time in which most mission reports were written, male leaders tend

to dominate the written accounts. Women leaders, even those from the missions themselves, such as the women who founded the Colegio Bautista are often missing or marginalized in mission literature. The local Salvadoran women are even more marginalized. The photo of Grace Hatler seated among the church people dressed in indigenous clothing is a great reminder of the truth behind a mission's success. Superficially, the missionary is the center of attention- the modern and "civilizing" influence, but she would have been unable to be successful without those around her who organized the cooks, ran the school store, and administered the school library. They are "hidden" beneath indigenous clothing and without the information of Salvadoran women such as Marta del Refugio García de Godoy their names and roles would most likely be unknown and unrecognized. As mission historians read the written accounts, it is important to note when women do appear (named or unnamed) in the accounts and be sure and bring them out in subsequent research.



The women's group of the Iglesia Bautista En Familia that meets in the Colegio Bautista. Photo taken about 2015.

Marta del Refugio García de Godoy sits third from the left on the back bench.

Third, spend time with the people of the local church and ask them to share their stories. Take these interviews seriously and record good notes allowing the conversations to cover the stories which have meaning to the people of that community. Do not expect them to know the historical record, but they will be experts on the local response to the mission work. They will know what stories were passed down and which missionaries were considered true people of faith and which were not. Just because something is written down does not make it any more or less reliable than any other historical source, including oral history. Paul Thompson supports this concept when he writes,

Social Statistics, in short, no more represent absolute facts than newspaper reports, private letters, or published biographies. Like recorded interview material, they all represent, either from individual standpoints or aggregated, the social perception of facts; and are all in addition subject to social pressures from context in which they are obtained. With these forms of evidence, what we receive is social meaning, and it is this which must be evaluated.⁵⁴

Therefore, we must think about oral history in a different way, as a type of social memory. In the same way that a modern historian must interpret the historical record in the light of everything that happened after the recorded event, so an individual or social group reevaluates and interprets events recorded in oral history. As Kirby notes,

Nevertheless, with the passage of time or with reflection, a person's view of his or her experience will change. Phenomenology, then, actually predicts that oral history informants should change their story with successive retellings; the very telling of the story could cause a reevaluation, so that a retelling the very next day could be different. Phenomenology also tells the historian to look for different perspectives in the view of the informant; in one sentence the informant could be trying to reconstruct his or her perspective at the time of the historical event, and the next sentence could be a present-day evaluation.⁵⁵

It is important that historians not use oral history in the same way they might use traditional historical records. The human memory is simply not designed to retain statistical facts in the same way as the written record. As Kirby again notes, "When the informant's memory seems vague or unreliable, the

interviewer keeps in mind that all of the ‘real facts’ cannot be known under even the best circumstances and looks rather for truths of understanding, of spirit, of cultural values, that tell the real story of the historical event or era...”⁵⁶ It seems most logical to bring traditional historiography alongside of oral history to help present a multilayered understanding of an event. This is especially true in mission history, which records the interaction of two very different cultural groups. Both sides help reveal the truth of a situation, both the factual events and the cultural understanding of those same events.

We should never assume that the oral history is somehow inferior to the written history. It is different because it has been reevaluated and reinterpreted through the lens of the local community and the individual who has reflected on their own experience. There are some areas in which it might be less reliable than traditional history (such as in the matters of distant dates and facts), but there are areas where it provides much needed correction. The view that Marta del Refugio García de Godoy had of the missionaries at the Colegio Bautista was much different than the way they viewed themselves in their historical narratives. This does not make one right and one wrong, rather it provides different lenses and interpretations on the same events. Missionary Grace Hatler becomes defined very differently by hearing the stories of Marta del Refugio García de Godoy than she does in her own account in her book *Land of the Lighthouse*. Mission history must make more of an effort to balance out the hagiography of popular material for home audiences and fund-raising, and the culturally biased field reports, with the oral history of the missionized if we really hope to record and understand the truth of the mission experience.

Conclusion

We are entering a period of mission studies where we need to be able to effectively understand and evaluate mission practices of the past. This needs to be done at the local level instead of through large scale overviews of mission in broad geographic strokes. But we cannot rely on balanced history emerging from narratives designed to raise funds or promote new projects. Such histories are unreliable because they ignore one of the most crucial parties in the mission enterprise- the missionized local people. To deal with this problem, we must develop new methodology which seeks to uncover and reveal the role of missionized leaders and their interactions

with foreign missionaries. If we hope to gather concrete information about the success and failures of various missions, we need to understand more than the social and religious forces involved, we need to have the added information and perspectives of the local people themselves. Since, they were not traditionally given access to the same resources as the missionaries for writing, publishing, and preserving their histories, we need to look to oral history to develop a more balanced view of mission history. Mission history is not just a statistical game of how many missionaries, how many converts, how many churches, and how many baptisms. It is a serious interaction between at least two cultural groups in an effort to communicate spiritual and religious truths that can transform people and communities. It is imperative for the task of mission history that we understand what local Christians thought and felt about foreign mission work and how they interpreted it in the light of their own narratives. We are likely to find that what we thought was important was not, and what we completely ignored was fundamental in local people's understanding of what it meant to be a Christian in their context. Yet, for the sake of future mission work, this information is important to adequately reflect on our common missionary past.

The Colegio Bautista in Santa Ana, El Salvador is a case study of a much larger issue. While education was an important need and many have prospered in life from access to this work, it was the life and service of the missionary which made the biggest impact. Robert Bender, Frederick Mebius, Ruth Carr, and Jason Cederholm all left positive aspects because of how they identified with and lived among the people of El Salvador. The mission work itself was secondary in the minds of the missionized. Others who were more focused on the work itself, have left barely an imprint on the people. Institutions, such as the Baptist Church in Santa Ana and the Colegio Bautista have long since passed into the hands of local Salvadorean leaders. These local leaders need to find their place in the history of the church in El Salvador, but to do that well they need to see the work and hear the voices of those who went before them, but were often hidden by the cultural, economic, and political power of the foreign missionaries. Mission history is needed to reclaim these voices and reestablish the forgotten men and women who did the real work to establish the Church in El Salvador. Only then will the work of mission history be done right.



The Authors with Ismael Mendoza Martinez (Colegio Bautista Principal, 2008-present) in 2013.

End Notes

¹ This article is lovingly dedicated to the memory of Marta del Refugio García de Godoy (Oct. 9, 1949 – Feb. 16, 2017), who lived out her Christian faith in her care and compassion for others in her everyday life. She, along with millions of other similar Christians are often passed over by history, but they are really the heart of the Christian movement and what continues to give it life and meaning.

² Cf. “Diputados de Santa Ana reconocen los 100 años del colegio Bautista” in *El País*. Published on June 28, 2019. Retrieved on July 21, 2021 from <http://elpais.com.sv/diputados-de-santa-ana-reconocen-los-100-anos-del-colegio-bautista/>

³ Presbyterian, John Clark Hill established a mission in Guatemala City in 1882 at the request of Guatemalan President General Justo Rufino Barrios during a liberal anti-clerical movement in the country, although it primarily worked with North American and British foreigners in the country and with some of the local business elite. A second small mission was opened by his successor, Edward M. Haymaker in Quetzaltenango in 1895. Cf. James W. Dow and Alan R. Sandstrom, eds. *Holy Saints and Fiery Preachers: The Anthropology of Protestantism in Mexico and Central America*. Westport, CT: Praeger (2001):180, and Gennet Maxon Emery. *Protestantism in Guatemala*. SONDESO no. 65. Cuernavaca, Mexico: Centro Intercultural de Documentación (1970).

⁴ Rev. Penzotti is one of the few missionaries from this period whose work is well documented. Cf.: Francisco Penzotti, “The Bible in Latin America.” *Missionary Review of the World* 37 (1914): 839-842;

Anonymous, "Life in the Spirit." *The Western Christian Advocate* 76 (July 13, 1910): 14; Henry Otis Dwight, *The Centennial History of the American Bible Society*. Vol 2. New York, NY: Macmillan Company (1916); Martin I. Klauber, et al, eds. *The Great Commission: Evangelicals and the History of World Missions*. Nashville, TN: B&H Publishing (2008), among others.

⁵ Penzotti went with Mr. Clarence Wilbur and Mr. and Mrs. H. C. Dillon of the Central American Mission, first through Nicaragua and then into El Salvador. Wilbur and his wife had come as missionaries to Costa Rica in 1893. Wilbur died of yellow fever in 1894 on the trip with Penzotti at Granada, Nicaragua at 26 years of age. The Dillon's were planning on establishing work in El Salvador, but Mrs. Dillon became ill with yellow fever contracted while caring for Wilbur and died in Acajutla, El Salvador, forcing H. C. Dillon to return to the U. S. He appears to have remarried and returned with a new Mrs. Dillon and started work in Guatemala and then went to help establish work in Honduras, where Mr. Dillon died of fever in 1897 at the age of 33. The second Mrs. Dillon continued work in El Paraiso, Honduras until her own death from illness in 1913. Penzotti also worked with Samuel Purdie in holding evangelistic meetings in December of 1896 in Santa Ana, El Salvador to establish the work there. Cf.: Mildred W. Spain, "And In Samaria": *The Story of More Than Sixty Years' Missionary Witness in Central America 1890-1954*. Dallas, TX: The Central American Mission (1954), Wilkins B. Winn. *Pioneer Protestant Missionaries in Honduras*. SONDESO no. 88. Cuernavaca, Mexico: Centro Intercultural de Documentación (1973), and Dorothy Martin, *100...And Counting: The Story of CAM's First Century*. Dallas, TX: CAM International (1990).

⁶ Robert Bender, "Letter from R. H. Bender." *Central American Bulletin* 12(1) (Jan. 15, 1906): 10.

⁷ R. H. Bender, "The Wonderful Growth of the Lord's Work in Salvador." *Central American Bulletin* 14(4) (October 15, 1906): 7-8. Here Bender introduces some of the native workers in one of the few cases where they are discussed in some detail. Roman Hernandez is a colporteur in Santa Ana, David Cardona is a colporteur from San Vicente, Juan Gonzalez who is a farmer but oversees three small congregations, Emilio Morales in Sonsonate who runs a shoe store and oversees seven small congregations, Santiago Ramirez who has a palm plantation but oversees six congregations, Claudio Anaya who is self-supporting and oversees two growing churches, and Salvador Portillo who is a shoe maker but oversees the church in San Salvador in Bender's absence. Bender also notes that there is a book and tract store in San Salvador and one in Santa Ana as well.

⁸ Much of the early history of the Evangelicals of El Salvador can be found in *Cien Año de Presencia Evangélica en El Salvador*, by the Comisión Nacional del Centenario of the Confraternidad Evangélica Salvadoreña (CONESAL). San Salvador, El Salvador (1996).

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⁹ One of the enduring mysteries of the life of Frederick Mebius is when he actually arrived in El Salvador. From official records, Mebius married Mary Faris in King County, Washington State on January 19, 1901. He is next listed in Los Angeles for the birth of his oldest son on February

11, 1902, and his is listed in the Los Angeles City Directory for 1902 as a student. He then disappears from the records until 1909 when he appears as "Mebbius" in the Worley's Directory of El Paso Texas, where he is listed as a missionary. The same record appears in the 1910 issue of the same directory. He next appears in a reference from a letter from Pentecostal missionary Amos Bradley written July 22, 1910 from Guatemala and published in *The Bridegroom's Messenger* 3(68) (August 15, 1910): 4, which notes, "A brother from Mexico has just arrived who received his Pentecost about one year ago. We are trusting the Lord will bless through his coming. His name is Mebius. He has been to South America as missionary under the Alliance work." This establishes a Pentecostal experience about 1909 when he was in El Paso. However, he had a working knowledge of Spanish from his time in Bolivia and it is possible he was doing mission work in Mexico from 1903-1909, and perhaps during that time he had gone down to El Salvador, and was returning to El Salvador in Bradley's letter. Some argue he came as early as 1904 and others as late as 1915. The major problem is a U.S. Census record which shows Mebius living in El Paso, Texas with his wife and children in 1910. According to this record and various other reports Mebius' second son, James Wilson Mebius was born in 1906, so Clifton L. Holland (<https://www.scribd.com/document/491144119/Frederick-Ernest-Mebius-1869-1945-Protestant-Missionary-to-Bolivia-1898-1900-and-El-Salvador-1910-1945>) argues Mebius might possibly have come in 1904-1905, but not 1906 in order to father the child. This problem is complicated by the fact that Mary Mebius, in the same record, is listed as having a daughter from before her marriage to Mebius and the couple separated very quickly after the 1910 census record. Mebius went on to have a second family in El Salvador. While it is impossible to tell, one could question if Mebius was really the father of the child, and if this was the cause of the split. The 1910 census record is problematic for many reasons (for example, it lists Mebius as being born in 1870 in Texas instead of 1869 in Canada, and all of the rest of the family is listed as being born in Texas, when in reality none of them appear to have been born there. Some kind of Pentecostals were clearly established in El Salvador by 1911 and they associated Mebius as their founder in oral history. It seems unlikely that a newly arrived missionary in late 1910 would have had enough time to establish mission work that came to the notice of the American Baptists in 1911. I believe (although there is no strong documentation to back this idea) that Mebius explored El Salvador for a possible mission around 1905-1907, returned to the United States where he experienced a Baptism in the Holy Spirit, was associated with a mission in El Paso, Texas, separated from his wife and returned to El Salvador in 1910. Holland argues that perhaps Mebius' encounter with Pentecostalism might be connected with Rev. M.T. Dye and a Pentecostal revival in San Marcial, New Mexico (a revival does appear to have begun there mentioned in *The Apostolic Faith* from Azusa 1(8) (May 1907): 2 and in *The Bridegroom's Messenger* 2(36) (April 15, 1909): 3 and M.T. Dye is announcing that they will purchase some property in El Paso and move the work from San Marcial to El Paso as a way to reach into Mexico. But M.T. Dye is not listed in the El Paso City Directory for 1909 or 1910, and so it is uncertain if this was accomplished. Given Mebius' connections with the Alliance work and the fact that their work in Los Angeles overlapped that of the Church of the Nazarene (they used the same space of the Peniel Mission for meetings and worship at this

time), and the fact that Mebius was listed as a missionary in the El Paso City Directory, it is also possible he was aligned with Santos Elizondo and her Mexican Mission. She is listed in the Directory and her work also dealt with crossing the border from El Paso into Mexico.

¹⁰ It is difficult to pin this down exactly from historical records. Bender notes in October of 1906 that “Recently fifteen have withdrawn at Santa Ana and organized an independent congregation, but still the church is in a prosperous condition... The faction is beginning to have some internal quarrels.” *The Central American Bulletin* 12 (4) (October 15, 1906): 16. It is unclear if this event is tied to the growing Pentecostal work of Mebius, but the timing is correct and in the right place. By January of 1907, Bender is reporting that the faction had broken up and some were seeking to return, but there is no information about the reason for the split or the reason others were not returning. He only comments that the faction “at Santa Ana is teaching terrible error.” *The Central American Bulletin* 13(1) (January 15, 1907): 16.

¹¹ Roberto Domínguez, *Pioneros de Pentecostes: Mexico y Centroamérica*. Vol. 2. Second edition. Barcelona, Spain: Editorial Clie (1990): 220. This account needs to be carefully considered. It does fit with the date, since it has Mebius arriving in 1906 in the region around Santa Ana. However, the author clearly gets some other information questionably wrong, such as Mebius coming from Bolivia through Panama, and coming with Robert Bender. It is possible he gathered this information from oral sources and some of it might be incorrect, however the timing also fits the faction Bender refers to as splitting from the Santa Ana church.

¹² Everett A. Wilson, “Sanguine Saints: Pentecostalism in El Salvador.” *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 52(2) (June 1983): 189.

¹³ The Assemblies of God entered El Salvador about 1927, when accounts initially appear of George E. Blaisell being sent by the Latin American Convention of the Assemblies of God to El Salvador (“Many Saved in El Salvador.” George Blaisdell, *The Pentecostal Evangel* (April 9, 1927): 11). The Assemblies of God entered at the request of Francisco Ramírez Arbizú, who became a major leader in the early work there. It notes that “For fifteen years or so this work has been going on, but owing to their lack of teaching and proper leadership it is natural that much has crept in that was not according to God’s Word.” It notes some 400 people gathered to organize into a district and five native preachers were licensed, and as of 1927 it was estimated at 1,000 members in 8 assemblies. By 1931 a letter from Ralph D. Williams is reporting a congregation in Santa Ana which is working on raising money to build a church (*The Latter Rain* 23 (10) (July 1931): 22). In an account of Williams’ work in El Salvador, he recognizes the work of Mebius, but seems to have only a little to do with him, since Mebius seems to have spent time working with the independent Free Apostolic churches (Lois Williams, *Hands That Dug the Well: Memoirs of Ralph Darby Williams*. Springfield, MO: RDM (1997): 72-73. In an interview conducted with Francisco Ramírez Arbizú while he was living, he confirms that Mebius (in this interview Arbizú dates Mebius’ arrival to about

1906-1907, (eleven years before he became a believer) encouraged him to travel to the U.S. to speak with Henry Ball who oversaw the Latin American work of the Assemblies of God. Arbizú notes he sold a shoe shop for the money to travel and left in 1926, travelled by banana boat from Guatemala to New Orleans and then to Texas by 1927. Blaisdell was appointed by Ball to explore the work in El Salvador. (Cf. Roberto Domínguez, *Pioneros de Pentecostes: Mexico y Centroamérica*. Vol. 2. Second edition. Barcelona, Spain: Editorial Clie (1990): 224-230, and also Enrique Barillas, *Frederico Ernesto Mebius... Su Historia*. No publishing data given (circa 1992).

¹⁴The Church of God (Cleveland) entered El Salvador in 1942 with J.H. Ingram who worked with Mebius, and was then followed by H. S. Syverson. Cf. J. H. Ingram, "Good News from El Salvador." *The Church of God Evangel* 32(48) (Feb. 7, 1942): 7; J. H. Ingram, "A Latin American Mission Retrospective." *The Church of God Evangel* 33(8) (Sept. 19, 1942): 8. They report a convention held Nov. 22-24 in El Congo, El Salvador with over 350 people in attendance. Ingram reports staying at the Missionary Home and School in Cojutepeque, which was being run by Rev. and Mrs. E. L. Humphrey who he notes are "ex Baptist missionaries."

¹⁵ Clifton L. Holland (*A Classification System of Religious Groups in the Americas by Major Traditions and Family Types*. Latin American Socio-Religious Studies Program (PROLADES):1993 (last modified 2021):142-145. Retrieved July 21, 2021 from https://www.academia.edu/11053182/A_Classification_System_of_Religious_Groups_in_the_Americas_by_Major_Traditions_and_Denominational_Families_revised_edition_January_2021) categorizes these Salvadoran Pentecostal Movements under the banner of Charles F. Parham's Apostolic Faith Movement. He suggests (mostly by reason of proximity) that Mebius might have been influenced by either Parham's school in Houston, Texas (which later led to the Azusa revival), or by way of a Rev. M. T. Dye who seemed to be leading a Pentecostal revival in San Marcial, New Mexico with plans to move to El Paso. In either case, Mebius became the leader of the Free Apostolic Movement (Movimiento Apostólico Libre) in El Salvador. The Apostles and Prophets Evangelical Church (Iglesia Evangélica Apóstoles y Profetas) formed in 1936 in El Congo, Santa Ana, El Salvador in 1936 under Pilar Calderón, while the Upper Room Apostolic Church (Iglesia Apostólica "El Aposento Alto") formed in 1938 in Cerro Verde, Santa Ana, El Salvador in 1938, led by Hilario Navarro Portillo, a son-in-law of Mebius married to his daughter, Juana. Other groups followed, leading to some 67 independent "Apostles and Prophets" groups and 10 "Apostles and Prophets Ephesians 2:20" groups by 2019.

¹⁶ Bender does note Rufino's passing on July 24, 1912 and the funeral. *The Central American Bulletin* 18(4) (October 15, 1912): 15.

¹⁷ Bender does note that Portillo was a shoe merchant and took charge at Cojutepeque. *The Central American Bulletin* 18(4) (October 15, 1912): 15.

¹⁸ Bender calls Anaya the "first fruit of our labor in Ilopango in 1898" and notes he was a drunkard and wasted \$5,000 he inherited from

his father before becoming a Christian. He records that now he is a good preacher and well respected and worked as a colporteur for many years. *The Central American Bulletin* 18(4) (October 15, 1912): 15. There is also a photo of Anaya on page three of this issue.

¹⁹ Bender does note Tobar is located at St Thomas and visits churches in Ilopango, El Paraiso, and La Esperanza. *The Central American Bulletin* 18(4) (October 15, 1912): 15. There is also a photo of Tobar on page three of this issue.

²⁰ Bender notes Corea is “very spiritual” and works in San Julian, Armenia, Azacualpa, and with other “scattered believers.” *The Central American Bulletin* 18(4) (October 15, 1912): 15-16. There is also a photo of Corea on page three of this issue.

²¹ Bender notes that Perez is a professor who does the preaching when Bender is away. He also plays the organ, teaches Sunday school and helps Bender with Spanish correspondence and correcting his translations. *The Central American Bulletin* 18(4) (October 15, 1912): 16. There is also a photo of Perez on page three of this issue.

²² L. C. Barnes, “A Neglected Neighbor.” *Missions: American Baptist International Magazine* 2 (1911): 228-235.

²³ Barnes, “A Neglected Neighbor,” 234.

²⁴ Barnes, “A Neglected Neighbor,” 235.

²⁵ The idea of comity was an informal and sometimes formal division of political territory among various religious organizations. The principle was to reduce the costs of Christian mission and to spread out resources without duplicating work. This idea seldom worked. Central America was formally divided by comity agreements at the Panama Congress of 1916, one of the first major ecumenical mission conferences held as an offshoot of the Edinburgh 1910 conference. CAM did not attend the Panama Congress because it was seen as being too friendly to Roman Catholicism. As a result, in the formal division, the American Baptists were assigned El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua as their territory. The Presbyterians were assigned Guatemala and The Methodists were assigned Costa Rica and Panama. CAM and Pentecostal groups ignored these divisions, but in this quote, which predates the Panama Congress, CAM seems to be laying claim to the territory of El Salvador by virtue of being the first major group in the country. Cf. Anne Motley Hallum, *Beyond Missionaries: Toward an Understanding of the Protestant Movement in Central America*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. (1996): 29-30.

²⁶ *The Central American Bulletin* 17(2) (April 15, 1911): 4.

²⁷ *The Central American Bulletin* 17(4) (October 15, 1911): 4.

²⁸ *The Central American Bulletin* 18(3) (July 15, 1912): 17.

²⁹ “Rejoicing at San Salvador: Letter to Field Secretary Barnes from Dr. George H. Brewer,” George H. Brewer. *Missions: A Baptist Monthly Magazine* 8(3) (March 1917): 194.

³⁰ <https://www.mca.org.sv/>

³¹ <https://www.bautistaselsalvador.com/>

³² “Our Baptist Work in Central America: Continuing the Interview with Dr. Brink: The Conditions and Prospects: A Program of Promise.” *Missions: A Baptist Monthly Magazine* 9(6) (June 1918): 479.

³³ Louise Carter, “The New School.” *Missions: A Baptist Monthly Magazine* 10(9) (October 1919): 730.

³⁴ Martha Howell, “Missions Under the Palms: Extracts from Letters of Miss Martha Howell, Santa Ana, Salvador.” *Missions: A Baptist Monthly Magazine* 11(11) (December 1920): 667-668.

³⁵ A copy of this manuscript is in Box 3 of the *Ruth M. Carr Papers* at the American Baptist Historical Society in Atlanta, Georgia.

³⁶ Grace Hatler’s own memories are recorded in this book, which often can be read from a very colonial lens: *Land of the Lighthouse*, by Grace Hatler as told to Dorothy Molan. Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press (1966).

³⁷ Jason Cedarholm and his wife Helen came to Colegio Bautista in 1950, originally to run a boy’s boarding program, which did not ultimately work out. Helen taught piano to the girls in the boarding school.

³⁸ Esteban Rodríguez Jiménez is rather important in the transition from missionary leadership. He graduated from the Colegio Bautista primary school in 1923 as one of their first students. He went on to do high school work in the Colegio Bautista in Managua, Nicaragua and then returned to Santa Ana as a teacher in 1934. In 1940 he was made the assistant principal. So, Don Esteban was both a product of the school and had training in leadership by the missionaries as well.

³⁹ Ruth M. Carr, “A Short History of Colegio Bautista, Santa Ana, El Salvador.” Unpublished manuscript. Box 3, *Ruth M. Carr Papers*, American Baptist Historical Society (Atlanta, GA): 2.

⁴⁰ It is possible she could be the daughter of Florinda González de Chávez who is mentioned much later in the manuscript on page 25 as the “mother of one of our nurses trained in Puebla, Mexico,” but this is not known for certain.

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⁴¹ Carr, “A Short History,” 8.

⁴² Harriet W. Palmer, *Colegio Bautista*. New York, NY: Woman’s American Baptist Home mission Society and the Council of Finance and Promotion of the Northern Baptist Convention, 1935.

⁴³ Carr, "A Short History," 13.

⁴⁴ Carr, "A Short History," 18.

⁴⁵ Hatler, *Land of the Lighthouse*, 44-45.

⁴⁶ Hatler, *Land of the Lighthouse*, 106.

⁴⁷ Doña Rutie taught at least through the early 1980s and was teacher to both Marta del Refugio García de Godoy and Kelly J. Godoy de Danielson.

⁴⁸ His first wife was María Otilia Hernández (1910-2006) and they had at least five children: Pablo Hernán (1928-1998), Pedro Guillermo (1932-1968), Mario David (1933-1985), and Hector Raul (1937-2017). Marta del Refugio García de Godoy recalled meeting Mario and Hector, but also recalled a daughter, Narcisa, who she knew as well.

⁴⁹ María Julia Avilés de Garcia was the daughter of Visitación Aguilar and Victoria Avilés. She also had a child previous to her marriage, Julio Antonio Interiano Avilés. Maria Julia also had a sister, Maria Esther Avilés, and their names seem to indicate that their parents were most likely Roman Catholic.

⁵⁰ The interview was conducted July 23, 2003 in Santa Ana, El Salvador with Marta del Refugio García de Godoy (Oct. 9, 1949 – Feb. 16, 2017).

⁵¹ A number of girls would go on to study in the United States, mostly due to the work of Grace Hatler. Ruth Carr notes several in her manuscript, but by first name only (Berta, Hilda, Dionely, Elvira at the Baptist Institute in Byn Mawr, Eglantina at B.M.T.S., Angela for nurses training, and Judy). Carr, "A Short History," 18. We believe the Angela referred to here is Angela Valladares, due to a post card in our possession from Grace Hatler to a Rev. R. N. Dutton in Washington, D.C. She is giving him Angela's address to connect them, and the address is for St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Clara Barton Hall, in Washington, D.C.

⁵² Marta noted this fact with considerable laughter and noted that she even bought feminine hygiene products without knowing what they were used for, which she used for curling her hair.

⁵³ This would be Nellie C. Tanner, who came in 1960 from Managua to work in the boarding school and try to reestablish the clinic work for the American Baptists, but this was unsuccessful.

⁵⁴ Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*. London: Oxford University Press (1978): 96.

⁵⁵ R. Kenneth Kirby, "Phenomenology and the Problems of Oral History." *The Oral History Review* 35(1) (2008): 22-38. This quote is from page 30.

⁵⁶ Kirby, "Phenomenology and the Problems of Oral History," 30.

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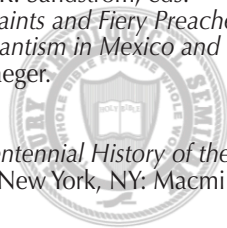
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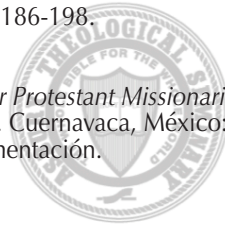
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Robert A. Danielson and Kelly J. Godoy de Danielson
Escuchando Otras Voces: Más Allá de las Historias de Misiones Tradicionales: Un Estudio de Caso de El Salvador

Resumen:

En su mayor parte, la historia de la misión se ha centrado en el trabajo y el esfuerzo de los misioneros y no tanto en los misionados, aquellas personas y comunidades a las que asistieron. Esta es una falla en el campo que debe corregirse, pero ¿cómo lo logramos? Este artículo propone un proceso de dos pasos. Primero, leyendo de cerca las historias tradicionales y los documentos primarios, podemos enfatizar y resaltar los roles y las voces de los misionados. En segundo lugar, mediante el uso de entrevistas de historia oral podemos capturar pensamientos y actitudes esenciales de personas y comunidades misionadas sobre su experiencia misionera. Este enfoque dual ayuda a equilibrar las perspectivas para brindar una lectura más profunda y compleja de la historia de la misión. En este artículo se utiliza un enfoque de estudio de caso, centrado en la misión del Colegio Bautista, una misión de los Bautistas Americanos en Santa Ana, El Salvador.

Palabras clave: El Salvador, Colegio Bautista, Santa Ana, historia misionera, historia oral.

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Introducción¹

Como autores de este artículo, tenemos un conjunto único de experiencias para traer a evaluación cómo se logra la historia de la misión. Uno de nosotros (Robert) es un misionólogo profesional e historiador de misiones que desciende de varias generaciones de pastores y misioneros en los Estados Unidos, que también tiene experiencia en investigación como bibliotecario profesional. La otra (Kelly) es una académica bíblica cuya familia ha estado involucrada en la Iglesia Bautista de Santa Ana, El Salvador durante tres generaciones como laicos de la nación de El Salvador. Además, su familia participó en uno de los esfuerzos misioneros clave de los Bautistas Americanos en El Salvador, una escuela misionera en Santa Ana. Cada uno de nosotros aporta una perspectiva única a la comprensión de la misión de la Iglesia Bautista Americana para el pueblo de Santa Ana, El Salvador, tanto desde el exterior (el punto de vista ético) como desde el interior (el punto de vista emic) ayudando a enriquecer la perspectiva general y comprender el esfuerzo de la misión de una manera más profunda en diferentes niveles.

Con demasiada frecuencia, el misionero ha escrito la historia de la misión y las voces de los misionados han sido ignoradas, superadas o simplemente ausentes de la conversación. En este artículo, intentaremos unir ambas perspectivas para obtener una comprensión más completa de la historia de las misiones bautistas americanas en Santa Ana. A través de la investigación de los registros misioneros y fuentes en inglés, y a través de un enfoque de historia oral, examinaremos la historia de la misión bautista de una manera más multifacética. Para los propósitos de este artículo, nos enfocaremos en la misión Bautista Americana de la ciudad de Santa Ana, El Salvador, como un estudio de caso para ilustrar esta metodología. Esto incluye tanto a la iglesia misma como a uno de sus principales alcances misioneros, una escuela conocida en el Colegio Bautista. La iglesia de Santa Ana es una de las iglesias bautistas más antiguas y mejor establecidas de El Salvador, y el Colegio Bautista en Santa Ana acaba de celebrar su centenario en 2019, que incluyó el reconocimiento del gobierno de El Salvador con un sello postal oficial y visitas de funcionarios gubernamentales.²

En este artículo, abordaremos la historia de la misión de este trabajo en un proceso de tres pasos. Primero, habrá una exploración más detallada de la historia temprana de las misiones protestantes en Santa Ana, El Salvador para demostrar cómo surgió el contexto actual y ubicar a los bautistas americanos en su escenario más temprano. Santa Ana es la

segunda ciudad más grande de El Salvador (y la capital del departamento que lleva el mismo nombre) y está ubicada en las montañas y el área cafetalera del noroeste de El Salvador, en la frontera con Guatemala y Honduras. Es la ubicación de algunos de los primeros trabajos misioneros protestantes en el país. En segundo lugar, se realizará un análisis más profundo de la historia del Colegio Bautista, que no es muy conocida, pero está bien documentada. En ambas etapas, hay una elección y una decisión consciente de resaltar los nombres y la participación de los salvadoreños locales en la historia, que a menudo se pasan por alto en la historia de la misión tradicional. Finalmente, se incluirá la historia oral de una familia salvadoreña, que incluye tres generaciones de historias para ayudar a enmarcar la historia misionera del Colegio Bautista en términos de cómo los misionados percibieron esta obra misionera.

Los misioneros de Santa Ana en la investigación histórica tradicional

Durante gran parte de su historia, la historia de las misiones latinoamericanas ha estado dominada por el control católico romano de la región, especialmente debido al control del área por parte del Imperio español. Este control se fue rompiendo gradualmente, desde los movimientos independentistas como el movimiento de 1821 donde Centroamérica se separó de España, y luego otros movimientos políticos como el de 1839 cuando El Salvador se convirtió en una república independiente. Las sociedades bíblicas comenzaron a enviar colportores a América Latina a fines del siglo XIX. Estos evangelistas itinerantes locales vendían Biblias y otra literatura religiosa como una forma temprana de evangelismo protestante. El Rev. Francisco G. Penzotti (1851-1925) fue un inmigrante italo-suizo en Uruguay cuando tenía 13 años. Fue convertido por un misionero metodista y se convirtió en un trabajador de la Sociedad Bíblica Americana de la Iglesia Metodista. Ganó prominencia internacional después del Asunto Penzotti cuando fue encarcelado por el gobierno peruano por predicar el protestantismo (1890-1891). En 1894, la Sociedad Bíblica Americana lo envió a explorar la posibilidad de abrir obra en América Central. Trabajó allí unos quince años y se notó que a excepción de una pequeña misión presbiteriana que encontró en Guatemala³, no conoció a otros protestantes en Centroamérica. Cuando se fue, había abierto oficinas de la Sociedad Bíblica Americana en todas las naciones de América Central y había organizado grupos de colportores que trabajaban en la región.⁴ La Guerra Hispanoamericana de 1898 condujo a un colapso total del dominio

español en la región, con Cuba y Puerto Rico convirtiéndose en colonias de los Estados Unidos. Los Bautistas Americanos se mudaron a Cuba y Puerto Rico casi inmediatamente en 1899 y para 1910 reportaron 44 iglesias con 2,218 miembros en Cuba y 38 iglesias con 1,923 miembros en Puerto Rico. La Misión Centroamericana (CAM), fundada en 1890, ingresó a El Salvador en 1896 con el Rev. Samuel A. Purdie como misionero inicial (aunque fue ayudado por Penzotti de la Sociedad Bíblica Americana, que había llevado a varios misioneros asociados con la Misión Centroamericana en su gira inicial por Centroamérica en 1894)⁵, a quien poco después siguió en 1897 el reverendo Robert H. Bender, a quien a veces se hace referencia como el “Amado Apóstol de El Salvador.”

El trabajo de la Misión Centroamericana se centró en San Salvador, la capital de El Salvador, pero ya en 1905 estaban expandiendo su trabajo a Santa Ana. Samuel Purdie, quien llegó en 1896 murió de tétanos por un corte en un dedo mientras trabajaba en su imprenta en 1897, dejando a cargo del trabajo de CAM en El Salvador bajo la guía del recién llegado, Robert Bender. Robert Bender escribe en el Boletín Centroamericano del 15 de enero de 1906 que un hermano Rufino estaba haciendo el trabajo en Santa Ana, pero que se necesitaba un misionero residente para ese trabajo.⁶ Para 1908, había 25 congregaciones en El Salvador con alrededor de 600 creyentes. En ese momento, Bender escribió: “El Señor se ha complacido en levantar seis ayudantes nacionales para ayudarnos. Uno de estos que está a cargo de la gran y creciente obra en Santa Ana es apoyado en parte por esa iglesia y en parte por amigos en los Estados Unidos, mientras que los otros cinco son autosuficientes y al mismo tiempo tienen la supervisión de una a siete congregaciones. Además, siete de nuestros hombres son empleados de las Sociedades Bíblicas Americana y Británica y dedican todo su tiempo a la venta de la Palabra de Dios.”⁷ En 1909, Percy T. Chapman llegó a Santa Ana para ayudar con el trabajo de la Misión Centroamericana allí, y su trabajo se centró en el trabajo en Santa Ana y Metapán y sus alrededores, liberando a Bender para que se ocupara de San Salvador y el trabajo en los alrededores de la ciudad capital.⁸

La Guerra Hispanoamericana de 1898, que llevó a Estados Unidos a convertirse en una potencia colonial, también condujo a la apertura de grandes partes de América Latina al cristianismo protestante, incluyendo otros grupos junto con los bautistas americanos que ingresaron a El Salvador. Quizás lo más interesante en El Salvador es la presencia de un grupo muy temprano de pentecostales, que fue plantado por un

canadiense, Frederick Ernest Mebius (1869-1945). La información sobre su trabajo no está claramente documentada, pero parece haber llegado a El Salvador alrededor de 1904-1907 después de ser misionero en Bolivia para la Alianza Cristiana y Misionera, una denominación de santidad.⁹ Después de convertir a algunos miembros de la Misión Centroamericana en Santa Ana, Mebius se centró en Cerro Verde en el departamento de Santa Ana e hizo la mayor parte de su predicación en esa área.¹⁰ Un relato traducido de las notas en Español

Cuando tres creyentes de la Misión Centroamericana que ya operaba en El Salvador, se enteraron de este valiente extranjero, que presento con valentía un evangelio vivo y distinto, lo visitaron. Uno de ellos, de apellido Leiva, conversó con él más detalladamente, y todos se sintieron inspirados por la forma entusiasta de Mebius. Mebius testificó luego que, aunque él desconocía el español, pudo comprender todo lo que los hermanos evangélicos le hablaron, y en la misma forma éstos últimos entendieron a Mebius.¹¹

Un relato separado sin notas de referencia claras, “Encargado de una congregación de la Misión Centroamericana en El Salvador durante la ausencia del misionero residente, Mebius predicó la doctrina del bautismo del Espíritu y reunió a un grupo de creyentes que recibieron la experiencia. Aunque estos conversos no fueron expulsados de su congregación, siguieron a Mebius a los pocos meses para vivir entre los trabajadores del café en el pueblo de Las Lomas de San Marcelino.”¹² Lamentablemente, este relato debe leerse con cautela ya que el autor también identifica que Mebius llegó en 1915 y está asociado con el Ejército de Salvación en Bolivia, y ambos hechos son claramente incorrectos. Es posible que las fuentes orales combinen fragmentos de la historia de Mebius con relatos de que Chapman llevó más tarde la iglesia de Santa Ana a los bautistas americanos en 1911.

Cualquiera que sea la verdad del origen, Mebius fundó un grupo de iglesias claramente pentecostales, algunas de las cuales luego se convertirían en parte de las Asambleas de Dios¹³ y en parte de la Iglesia de Dios (Cleveland).¹⁴ Otras congregaciones individuales mantendrían la independencia del control externo de denominaciones. A menudo, estos grupos se clasifican como las Iglesias Apostólicas Libres y a menudo llevan el nombre de “Iglesia Apostólica,” como La Iglesia Apostólica de

los Apóstoles y Profetas, La Iglesia Apostólica del Aposento Alto, La Iglesia Apostólica de Dios en Cristo y La Iglesia Apostólica de la Nueva Jerusalén.¹⁵

Mientras tanto, bajo una carga constante de trabajo y con su esposa en necesidad de cirugía, Robert Bender decidió tomar un permiso de regreso a los Estados Unidos el 6 de enero de 1910. Dejó el creciente trabajo de la Misión Centroamericana en las manos de Chapman en Santa Ana y de el Rev. William Keech, un trabajador de la Sociedad Bíblica Británica y Extranjera que había estado trabajando con CAM en San Salvador, así como varios pastores nativos, cuyos nombres solo se mencionan ocasionalmente en la literatura: Rufino Sandoval¹⁶, Salvador Portillo¹⁷, Claudio Anaya¹⁸, Abel Tobar¹⁹, Adán Corea²⁰, José María Pérez²¹ y Pedro Rodríguez son algunos de los nombres mencionados, pero poco se dice sobre ellos o su punto de vista sobre el trabajo evangelístico.

Mientras Bender estaba fuera del país, los bautistas americanos tomaron la decisión de mudarse a El Salvador en 1911. En un artículo publicado en 1911, el secretario de campo L. C. Barnes escribió un artículo exponiendo sus razones estratégicas para elegir El Salvador.²² En primer lugar, fue visto como central para un área grande sin una misión denominacional sistemática. En segundo lugar, la situación política en El Salvador parecía bastante abierta y relativamente estable. En tercer lugar, había un líder sólido para la obra en el reverendo William Keech, quien estaba dispuesto a unirse a la misión Bautista. Barnes también nota una preocupación por el creciente movimiento Pentecostal cuando escribió: "Una razón para la acción inmediata es que las ovejas sin pastor se esparcen y devoran fácilmente. Por ejemplo, representantes del nuevo culto de hablar en lenguas se han desplazado de los Estados Unidos a El Salvador y están devorando a algunos de los bebés en Cristo."²³

Al final de su artículo, Barnes incluye el texto completo de una carta de Emilio Morales, líder local de un pequeño grupo de Cristianos Evangélicos en Sonsonate, El Salvador, que fue escrita el 30 de noviembre de 1910. El registra la siguiente información:

Desde el año 1889 la obra ha estado bajo la dirección de la Misión Centroamericana, que sin embargo la Sociedad casi la ha abandonado. La República de El Salvador, con más o menos un millón y medio de habitantes, ha tenido un solo misionero activo, el señor Robert Bender, de dicha Sociedad; hace como dieciocho meses que llegó otro misionero, el Sr. Percy T. Chapman, sobre el cual el Sr. Bender se fue a los Estados Unidos, dejando

nuevamente un solo misionero. El señor Chapman está ubicado en Santa Ana, y el trabajo de ese lugar es aún más de lo que puede atender adecuadamente, dejando los departamentos de Sonsonate y Ahuachapán, donde existen cinco centros de importancia y actividad, cada uno con otras congregaciones más pequeñas de 15, 20, 30, 40 y 50 miembros, un número considerable de los cuales son comulgantes. Todo este trabajo es atendido por pobladores nativos (no pastores remunerados), el escritor, quien es zapatero, teniendo cargo en el carácter de pastor, bajo la dirección del misionero en Santa Ana.²⁴

Además de Keech, Percy T. Chapman cambió su lealtad a los Bautistas Americanos de la Misión Centroamericana y trajo consigo la iglesia CAM existente en Santa Ana para ayudar a impulsar el trabajo inicial de los Bautistas Americanos.

Este cambio de la Misión Centroamericana a los Bautistas Americanos mientras Robert Bender todavía estaba en licencia fue una sorpresa desagradable para la Misión Centroamericana. En un artículo redactado con brusquedad en abril de 1911, escribieron:

Los Bautistas del Norte han decidido comenzar a trabajar en Salvador. El paso se dio sin consultar con esta misión y por su falta de asesorarnos ya se han cometido algunos errores muy graves y se ha hecho un gran daño a la obra... Comenzarán a trabajar en la capital, donde hemos mantenido un testimonio desde hace aproximadamente. 15 años. El Rev. Sr. Keech de la Sociedad Bíblica B. y F., y su esposa, quien estuvo durante varios años antes de su matrimonio relacionada con nuestra misión en Salvador, estarán a cargo de la obra ... Si nos hubieran consultado, podríamos haber sugerido un campo donde podrían haber trabajado sin construir sobre los cimientos de otro, y sin la confusión aparentemente inevitable que sigue a la intrusión de las diferencias denominacionales. La razón dada para no observar los principios de cortesía²⁵ al consultarnos antes de entrar al campo fue que la misión había violado los principios de cortesía al solicitar fondos en los Estados. Pero habían visto nuestro Boletín exponiendo nuestros principios y dejando en claro que nunca hemos solicitado hombres o medios. Si bien esta excusa puede satisfacerlos, no minimiza los desastres en el campo derivados de la falta de reconocimiento de otras sociedades misioneras. De la correspondencia encontramos que las sociedades independientes son objeto de un ataque bastante decidido.²⁶

Robert Bender se apresuró a regresar a El Salvador, dejando a su esposa que se estaba recuperando de varias cirugías en California. Un George Peters recién casado también fue enviado con su esposa para reemplazar a Percy Chapman y su esposa. Sin embargo, la animosidad estaba lejos de terminar. A fines de 1911, Robert Bender había regresado a El Salvador y *The Central American Bulletin* señaló:

Hermano. R. H. Bender ha llegado a Salvador, donde pasó catorce años de arduo servicio al Maestro. Las iglesias visitadas hasta ahora le han dado una cálida bienvenida y el Señor está bendiciendo abundantemente su ministerio. Los Bautistas del Norte, que han entrado recientemente en Salvador a través de su Sociedad Misionera Hogar, se han rebautizado y se han hecho cargo de las iglesias organizadas por nuestro Hno. Bender en Santa Ana y Sonsonate, aunque algunos de los miembros de estos lugares aún no se han unido a los Bautistas. Deseamos elogiar el espíritu cristiano manifestado por el H. Bender, sometido a una gran prueba en su antiguo campo, e instamos a todos nuestros amigos a que continúen orando por él.²⁷

Si bien Bender parece haber luchado en el campo para encontrar un nuevo edificio, recaudar dinero para armar la obra de la misión CAM por segunda vez y encontrar más predicadores nativos, parece haber resuelto las cosas en el campo con los Bautistas. Para abril de 1912, Bender informa sobre una conferencia en San Salvador donde Keech y los Bautistas se unieron a CAM para adorar.²⁸

En 1916, el Reverendo J. B. Todd reemplazó a los Peters en la iglesia de Santa Ana. Llegó el 28 de diciembre y se consideró significativo que pudiera hablar español y dirigirse a la gente en su propio idioma. El informe señala que cuando llegó Chapman “todo lo que pudo hacer fue agitar la cabeza” ya que no sabía español.²⁹ Es importante destacar que este informe también revela una idea del funcionamiento local de la iglesia, y señala que se examinaron tres predicadores nativos: Adan Corea (que se convertirá en el pastor de la iglesia de San Salvador más adelante en el informe), David Cardona y Pedro Mariano Rodríguez. (los tres nombres se han encontrado previamente en los informes del Boletín de Misiones Centroamericanas). El informe señala que los tres habían sido predicadores activos durante varios años y su experiencia cristiana, su visión de las doctrinas y su llamado al ministerio fue aprobado por un grupo de 25 delegados designados de varias iglesias. La situación religiosa en Santa Ana

(y gran parte de El Salvador en general) ahora estaba bastante establecida. Incluso hoy en día, encontrará que las iglesias Protestantes en la ciudad están vinculadas con mayor frecuencia a CAM (ahora conocida como Iglesia Evangélica Misión Centroamericana³⁰), los Bautistas (Asociación Bautista de El Salvador³¹) o los diversos grupos Pentecostales.

El Colegio Bautista y el Ministerio de Educación

Para 1918, había tres misioneros Bautistas Americanos supervisando el trabajo en El Salvador: el Rev. William Keech en San Salvador, el Rev. J. B Todd en Santa Ana y el Rev. E. L Humphrey en San Miguel. En un artículo que expresa las necesidades del campo misionero, el Dr. Brink señala que las razones para establecer escuelas en el área incluyen tanto los bajos salarios y, por lo tanto, la baja calidad de la educación, así como la persecución de los niños Protestantes en el sistema educativo actual, el escribe, "Estas escuelas son necesarias debido a la absoluta insuficiencia de las escuelas públicas locales. Por ejemplo, en Santa Ana, una ciudad de 50.000 habitantes en El Salvador, el año pasado solo se gastaron \$ 3.000 para los salarios de los maestros de escuelas públicas. Otro motivo es la constante persecución a la que son sometidos los niños de hogares Protestantes en las escuelas públicas."³²



Louise B. Carter (Principal 1919-1926) ***Ruth M. Carr*** (Principal 1927-1961)

La escuela de la misión, el Colegio Bautista se estableció en 1919. La primera directora y fundadora del Colegio Bautista fue Louise B. Carter, quien fue misionera de los Bautistas Americanos desde diciembre de 1917 hasta 1926. Comenzó a trabajar como directora en 1919, junto con Martha Howell, quien había venido de trabajar con niños afroamericanos en la Escuela Nacional de Capacitación para Mujeres y Niñas en Washington, DC en 1918. Louise Carter, escribió sobre el primer día de clases:

A las ocho y veinticinco tocamos la campanilla y formamos a los niños en dos filas. En una línea colocamos a todos aquellos que sabíamos que podían leer; en el otro, todos aquellos en los que estábamos seguros serían nuestros "principiantes". La primera línea pasó al salón de clases de la señorita Howell y la segunda a mi salón de clases. Eran un pequeño grupo de niños muy felices, con edades comprendidas entre los seis y los quince años.

Después de los ejercicios iniciales de himnos, oración y lectura de la Biblia, inscribimos a todos y enviamos a nuestros niños más pequeños a casa, quedándonos con los mayores para un examen a fin de saber cómo organizarlos en clases. La señorita Howell había preparado aritmética y yo estaba lista con la lectura.

¡Se obtuvo tal mezcla de resultados! Muchos podían leer la página impresa con mucha fluidez, pero no podían leer una oración escrita. Algunos conocen las combinaciones en aritmética, pero no reconocen un número cuando se escribe en la pizarra, ni tampoco escriben uno. Algunos podían deletrear más rápidamente y con palabras perfectamente estructuradas en sílabas, pero no podían escribir la palabra. Puedes imaginar la situación en la que nos encontramos. Esta condición se produjo a través de la enseñanza desordenada de los niños en sus hogares. Hemos estado examinando y clasificando toda la semana, y el rompecabezas chino se va aclarando gradualmente.³³

En el artículo, Carter continúa relatando que el primer año tuvo cincuenta y nueve estudiantes entre las edades de seis y dieciséis años, que se reunieron en dos pequeñas habitaciones en una casa alquilada. La escuela cobraba lo que la gente podía pagar, lo que se informó a un peso por mes. Otros querían estar en la escuela, pero debido a la falta de mobiliario y espacio tuvieron que posponer a los demás hasta que se construyera un nuevo edificio escolar. El artículo incluye los planos de cómo se vería la primera escuela, y esta escuela abrió en octubre de 1920. Era algo pequeña

con tres aulas, un salón de actos, comedor, cocina y dos dormitorios, con un segundo piso más pequeño con cinco dormitorios que ayudaron a acomodar las viviendas de los misioneros. Martha Howell, una misionera Bautista Americana en ese momento, nota la brillante visión de los misioneros cuando terminó el primer año de la escuela,

El 6 de noviembre finalizó el primer año escolar del Colegio Bautista de Santa Ana. La presencia de un nutrido grupo de madres y padres manifestó su interés. Para los niños la escuela se ha convertido en una gran realidad verdadera, y ven con entusiasmo la finalización del gran edificio en el que volverán a empezar a trabajar en febrero. Cada niño tiene en su poder una tarjeta de registro que lo ubicará fácilmente en la reapertura, pero junto con esos niños vendrán muchos que durante meses han pedido la admisión -niños iletrados, sin formación- en sí mismos una gran tarea para los maestros. Los prejuicios se romperán cada vez más a medida que los salvadoreños aprendan que el Colegio Bautista de Santa Ana es una institución establecida y que su gran objetivo es el de levantar la vida humana poniéndola en contacto con el Salvador del mundo.³⁴

El trabajo de Carter y Howell fue seguido por Ruth M. Carr (1863-1974) quien vino como misionera en 1923 y dirigió la escuela desde 1927 hasta 1961, cuando se jubiló y también recibió el más alto honor de El Salvador, la Orden de José Matías Delgado. Los relatos importantes de vida en el Colegio Bautista durante el período de la misión provienen de dos fuentes. Ruth Carr escribió un manuscrito inédito en 1963, titulado *A Short History of Colegio Bautista, Santa Ana, El Salvador*³⁵ y Grace Hatler (1904-1970, quien comenzó en 1954 como directora de los estudiantes internos) publicó un libro en 1966 titulado *Land of the Lighthouse*.³⁶

Estos dos libros proporcionan la mayor parte de la información para la escuela desde la perspectiva misionera. A Ruth Carr le siguió Jason Eugene Cedarholm (Don Eugenio) (1916-1998)³⁷ quien dirigió la escuela de 1961 a 1980, cuando los misioneros abandonaron El Salvador debido a los crecientes problemas de la guerra civil salvadoreña (1979-1992). Su esposa, Helen (1909-1997) sirvió con él, mientras que sus dos hijos asistían a la escuela en los Estados Unidos. Después de 1980, la escuela pasó de las manos del liderazgo misionero al control local con Esteban Rodríguez Jiménez³⁸ quien se convirtió en el primer director salvadoreño de la escuela y la dirigió de 1980 a 1984. Luego, Gilberto Mendoza Olivares se

convirtió en director de 1984 a 1991. Tanto Jiménez como Olivares tenían experiencia administrativa bajo Cedarholm, uno supervisando la escuela primaria y el otro supervisando la secundaria mientras Cedarholm era director. Siguiéron directores adicionales: Melquis Mauricio Gómez (1991-1994), Samuel Alberto Godoy (1994-2006), Rosalinda Rendón de Valiente (2006-2008) e Ismael Mendoza Martínez (2008-presente).



Jason Eugene Cederholm
(Principal 1961-1980)



Esteban Rodríguez Jiménez
(Principal 1980-1984)

Volviendo a la historia del Colegio Bautista, Ruth Carr señaló que la primera escuela era demasiado pequeña y tenía varios problemas. Estaba al lado de una escuela Católica para niñas, lo que dificultaba la vida de los estudiantes “para evitar encuentros como cubos de agua caliente que apuntaban hábilmente desde su puerta o arengas de amenazas insultantes.”³⁹ También hubo desafíos de las autoridades Católicas en el espectro político. A pesar de esto, los Bautistas Americanos abrieron una clínica en la escuela en 1923 con ayuda local, incluida una enfermera (a la que se hace referencia solo como Victoria, cuya hermana Francisca era maestra en la escuela) que se había capacitado en un hospital Bautista en México.⁴⁰ El segundo piso del edificio original finalmente tuvo que ser eliminado ya que se volvió inestable en los terremotos. La iglesia Bautista se reunió en el edificio viejo de la escuela cuando vendió su primera capilla y

la planta baja original del primer edificio de la escuela se convirtió en parte de la nueva iglesia Bautista que se construyó en ese lugar.

Alrededor de 1930, los Bautistas Americanos decidieron comprar una propiedad para un nuevo edificio escolar. Se eligieron unos ocho acres en la cima de una colina, a las afueras de la ciudad en una carretera principal, y por \$15,000 se compró como un lote. La tierra contenía varios árboles viejos de mango, pero los vecinos locales parecían estar descontentos con la pérdida de acceso a la propiedad. Se quitaron los postes de las cercas, se cortaron los cables y se cavarón paredes debajo. Carr informa que las cosas se pusieron difíciles mientras se planeaba el edificio. Se produjo una revolución (cuando el presidente Arturo Araujo Fajardo fue derrocado por los militares en 1931, para ser reemplazado por el general Maximiliano Hernández Martínez), seguido de lo que ella llama un levantamiento “comunista” (el levantamiento campesino salvadoreño de 1932 liderado por Farabundo Martí). La respuesta del general Martínez, comúnmente llamada La Matanza provocó entre 10,000 y 40,000 muertos, en su mayoría indígenas y opositores políticos. Esto mantuvo a los misioneros al límite por temor a ataques en Santa Ana. Esta situación se complicó por una fuerte caída de ceniza volcánica de un volcán en Guatemala (muy probablemente la erupción del Volcán de Fuego de 1932 cerca de Antigua, que tuvo una cantidad de ceniza más pesada de lo habitual en la erupción que ocurrió ese año).

El primer edificio de la propiedad fue una pequeña clínica, que fue organizada por Maude McCarter, una enfermera de los Estados Unidos que sirvió desde 1929 hasta 1933. El gran edificio nuevo de dos pisos que se construyó cerca de la clínica se inauguró en febrero de 1932. La construcción aún estaba en marcha cuando abrió la escuela secundaria. Según Ruth Carr, el edificio “contenía viviendas para los maestros misioneros, una sección para unas treinta niñas en internado y aulas para la escuela secundaria.”⁴¹ Carr señala que fue difícil encontrar maestros, cuyo salario era de \$16 al mes para la escuela primaria y \$32 al mes para la secundaria. Una mujer salvadoreña local, Inés de Guzmán, enseñó desde 1930 hasta 1943 por \$10 al mes mientras criaba a sus seis hijos y mientras su esposo terminaba la escuela secundaria (cuando también el se convirtió en maestro). En 1936 se cerró el trabajo en la clínica y se convirtió en residencia misionera.

Un panfleto de 1935 cubre el trabajo del Colegio Bautista en cada una de sus tres áreas (San Salvador y Santa Ana, El Salvador y Managua,

Nicaragua).⁴² En este año, hubo 223 estudiantes matriculados en Santa Ana con 23 estudiantes de secundaria en el nuevo edificio, lo que deja a 200 estudiantes de primaria todavía estudiando en el edificio antiguo de la escuela. Esto se compara con 127 estudiantes de primaria matriculados en San Salvador, sin escuela secundaria y 432 estudiantes con 36 estudiantes de secundaria en Managua. A diferencia de la mayoría de la literatura sobre el Colegio Bautista, aquí se menciona un poco más a los estudiantes. Se refiere a dos hijas de un miembro de la Asamblea Nacional de El Salvador que asisten, pero también a una niña de 17 años en segundo grado porque es su primera oportunidad de ir a la escuela en su vida. Entonces, tanto los estudiantes de la élite como las familias más pobres se mezclaron dentro de la escuela. El panfleto también destaca a Miguel, quien barrió las aulas para pagar su matrícula, junto a Noé Arrazate, quien por la excelencia de su trabajo había recibido una beca del gobierno francés por ser uno de los mejores estudiantes de El Salvador. Otro estudiante, Ramón Villalta se destaca como un excelente estudiante que tuvo que terminar su trabajo de secundaria en una escuela Católica porque el Colegio Bautista no había sido aprobado para su curso de cuarto año en ese momento debido a los fondos necesarios. Sin embargo, el panfleto señala a los posibles donantes que el nombre de Ramón fue eliminado de la lista de los estudiantes que debían asistir a misa.

Hacia 1940 llegó el momento de abandonar la escuela antigua en el corazón de la ciudad, que había seguido sirviendo como escuela primaria. La esperanza había sido construir otro edificio cerca de la escuela secundaria, pero el costo era demasiado, por lo que el edificio de la escuela secundaria fue renovado y ampliado para que ambos grupos pudieran caber en el mismo edificio. En ese momento, Carr señala que hubo otro intento activo por parte de los Católicos Romanos en Santa Ana de impedir el trabajo en el Colegio amenazando con excomunicar a los padres de los estudiantes enviados a "una institución tan herética."⁴³ Sin embargo, la escuela continuó creciendo hasta que alcanzó su apogeo en 1953 con 543 estudiantes. Carr atribuye esto a los altos estándares morales, la educación de calidad, la matrícula y las tarifas de uniformes más baja, y el hecho de que la religión no era obligatoria.



Entrada del Edificio de Primaria Colegio Bautista en Santa Ana, El Salvador.

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La fecha de fundación de 1932 todavía se muestra debajo del nombre de la escuela.

El Colegio Bautista había proporcionado alojamiento a las niñas desde el principio. Cuando Louise Carter se fue en 1925 había 15 estudiantes internos. Los números siempre se mantuvieron bajos, a pesar de que las tarifas rondaban los \$7.50 al mes. La escuela comenzó a subsidiar a los estudiantes porque muchos provenían de familias de pastores o de niveles de ingresos más bajos. Como resultado, los números subieron a 108 bajo Estoy Turner Reddin (1941-1955), quien reorganizó el trabajo, pero después de que Grace Hatler llegó para supervisar esta área de la escuela, se tomó la decisión de mantener el número en 80 por cuestiones de espacio. En este período de tiempo la escuela floreció. Las niñas tenían un banca especial en el frente de la iglesia y Carr también señala un esfuerzo agrícola ampliado para que, "100 matas de guineos plantados en la propiedad de la escuela proporcionen un tercio de los guineos que las niñas necesitan, y una buena granja de pollos más que suministra los huevos para la gran familia."⁴⁴ Grace Hatler también fue fundamental para ayudar a las niñas de la escuela a encontrar educación superior en los Estados Unidos.

El libro de Grace Hatler es útil para retratar algunas de las ideas de los misioneros de esta época. Se centra en su trabajo con el internado, pero especialmente en proyectos orientados a la salud y la nutrición. Ella señala a algunas personas específicas con las que trabajó, pero a menudo son estudiantes que están trabajando para superar dificultades como la polio o la sordera. En algunos de sus trabajos enfocados a la salud de los estudiantes del internado, se refiere al Dr. Mauricio Cader Ramos (también menciona a un Dr. Carlos Peñate y a una Enfermera Chacón que ayudaron con este tipo de trabajo) quienes venían a revisar a las niñas. en el internado para descubrir que aproximadamente la mitad de ellas sufría algún tipo de desnutrición.⁴⁵ Entonces, trabajó con las familias de los estudiantes para enviar fruta fresca extra al Colegio para complementar su dieta. En línea con esto, también analiza la formación de la granja de pollos con cierto detalle, así como la formación de Clubes 4-H y proyectos con el Proyecto Heifer para construir proyectos agrícolas. Hatler también comenta un poco de su esfuerzo para proporcionar becas para que las niñas estudien tanto en el Colegio como más adelante en los Estados Unidos. También detalla el sentimiento de pérdida de la comunidad ante la muerte del pastor de la Iglesia Bautista, José Antonio Corea, quien desafió todo tipo de ambientes para ministrar usando solo los autobuses públicos y caminando con un salario limitado. Fue reemplazado temporalmente por un joven médico, que estudiaba en el seminario, Ovidio Amaya de León, pero cuando fue a

los Estados Unidos para continuar su educación en el Seminario Teológico Bautista de California, fue reemplazado por el Rev. Augusto Coto. El Rev. Coto junto con su esposa, Isabel Castenada de Coto, ayudaron a continuar con un trabajo limitado para una clínica de la Iglesia Bautista. Más allá de estas pocas menciones de líderes locales, Hatler solo agrega algunos nombres adicionales cerca del final de su libro como ejemplo de lo que el Colegio Bautista había logrado. Destaca a Esteban Rodríguez Jiménez, a quien hemos mencionado anteriormente, pero también agrega que también fue presidente de la Convención Bautista de El Salvador. Además, se refiere a Samuel Rodríguez, quien representó a El Salvador en una importante conferencia de Educación Cristiana en Brasil, y Hugo Sánchez, el primer graduado médico Protestante en El Salvador. Ella resume una actitud bastante colonial al comentar que sin el trabajo del Colegio Bautista,

Muchos de los pastores, médicos, enfermeras, maestros, trabajadores sociales, líderes de clubes, directores de educación cristiana, trabajadores del gobierno, estudiantes que ahora están estudiando en los Estados Unidos e innumerables otros líderes todavía estarían contados entre los muchos peones desfavorecidos en un mesón superpoblado o aldea primitiva. Nunca habría habido una misión con sus ministerios para el cuerpo, la mente y el espíritu; y nunca habría habido un testimonio del hecho de que Dios se preocupa por el hombre individual total.⁴⁶

Por supuesto, esto es una gran exageración de su parte, dada la historia detallada de la obra misionera presentada hasta ahora, sin embargo, sí ejemplifica cómo los misioneros buscaron retratarse a sí mismos y a la gente local y a los líderes como dependientes de la influencia “civilizadora” de las misiones Cristianas. Este esfuerzo está claramente diseñado para alentar más apoyo financiero de los lectores en los Estados Unidos, pero tiende a representar una narrativa falsa sobre la importancia de los cristianos locales para el éxito de la misión.

Se intentó crear un programa de internado para niños similar al que se usaba para las niñas estudiantes, e incluso se construyó un dormitorio, pero el programa nunca tuvo éxito, aunque algunos estudiantes varones se alojaron con Jason y Helen Cedarholm mientras asistían al Colegio. Se intentaron varios otros proyectos en varias ocasiones, incluyendo un seminario y un departamento de formación de maestros, con un éxito limitado. Ruth Carr enumera unos 33 trabajadores misioneros extranjeros

que pasaron tiempo en el Colegio por un tiempo limitado, pero solo menciona a ocho salvadoreños locales importantes. En su lista incluye: Esteban Rodríguez Jiménez e Ismael Guzmán e Inés de Guzmán (quienes fueron mencionados anteriormente), Florinda González de Chávez (1932-1936, una de las primeras madres de casa en el internado, maestra de primaria, poetisa y madre de una de las enfermeras), Rutilia Peñate de Torres (comenzó en 1938, era maestra que cursaba su escuela primaria y secundaria en el Colegio con una beca)⁴⁷, Rosa Navarrete de Alas Palacios (comenzó en 1938, era maestra que también estudió en el Colegio con beca), Juan Rodríguez Núñez (comenzó en 1955, fue uno de los primeros estudiantes de primaria y estudió el bachillerato por la noche, se desempeñó como predicador y maestro), y Dionely Alicia Lima (comenzó en 1949, estudió con una beca en el internado, fue secretaria actual de la escuela en 1963 e tomó una licencia de cuatro meses para estudiar en una escuela Bíblica en 1957 en los Estados Unidos).

Historia oral y visiones locales de la historia de la misión

En la historia oral que vamos a examinar en este artículo, debemos comenzar con Pedro Segundo García (1907 - 20 de mayo de 1969), quien fue diácono en la Iglesia Bautista de Santa Ana y originalmente fue albañil de Metapán en el departamento de Santa Ana. No sabemos mucho de su trabajo en la iglesia, pero puso las historias familiares que conocemos en el contexto de la misión Bautista Americana. Era hijo de David Rivera y Refugio García, pero nada sabemos de ellos más allá de sus nombres. Hasta donde sabemos, Pedro Segundo García fue el primer converso al Protestantismo a través de los Bautistas Americanos en la familia.

Su segunda esposa⁴⁸, María Julia Avilés de García (25 de febrero de 1922 - 5 de julio de 1992) fue diaconisa en la iglesia Bautista de Santa Ana, pero también trabajó en el Colegio Bautista con los misioneros. Ella estaba a cargo de las cinco o seis cocineras de la escuela e iba al mercado dos veces por semana con un trabajador de la misión que tiraba de un carretón grande para contener toda la comida comprada. Tendría tres hijos: Marta del Refugio, Samuel Eliseo y Cora Noemi.⁴⁹ Finalmente se iría a los Estados Unidos alrededor de 1974, junto con Santos, una sirvienta de uno de los misioneros (Helen Cedarholm, conocida como Doña Elena), donde trabajaría como enfermera privada para personas mayores en el sur de California. Samuel Eliseo y Cora Noemi también se mudarían a Estados Unidos, pero Marta se quedó en El Salvador.

Durante su tiempo de trabajo en el Colegio Bautista, María Julia Avilés de García pudo enviar a sus hijos a la escuela de la misión. Su hija Marta era principalmente una estudiante local y no residía como interna en la escuela, pero en 1962, después de mucho suplicar, sus padres le permitieron vivir como interna en el Colegio Bautista, aunque estaba cerca de su casa. Gran parte de la historia oral de este período proviene de una entrevista realizada por los autores a Marta, y de las notas extraídas de esa entrevista.⁵⁰



***María Julia Avilés de García (25 de febrero de 1922 - 5 de julio de 1992)
en la Iglesia Bautista de Santa Ana.***

***Estuvo a cargo de las cocinas del Colegio Bautista durante el período de
los misioneros en Santa Ana, El Salvador.***

La única imagen fotográfica de los misioneros preservada por Marta del Refugio García de Godoy (9 de octubre de 1949-16 de febrero de 2017) presenta una imagen interesante. Una de las misioneras (Grace Hatler) está sentada en la única silla en el centro de la fotografía, rodeada de miembros de la iglesia salvadoreña con vestimenta indígena. La foto es de aproximadamente 1965 y se cree que es después de un baile o actuación tradicional para el Primero de Mayo que se llevó a cabo en la iglesia de Santa Ana. Contrariamente a su apariencia, muchas de las personas que rodean a la misionera no son trabajadores indígenas, sino personas importantes en la vida de la iglesia y la escuela misionera. Gloria Judith Guevara, una de las mujeres de la iglesia, también dirigía la biblioteca del Colegio Bautista. Noemí Medina de Aguilar, otra mujer de la foto, también estaba activa en la iglesia y dirigía la tienda de la escuela. Ya hemos señalado a María Julia Avilés de García, que estuvo a cargo de las cocineras del Colegio Bautista. La imagen de la foto es de puro colonialismo, pero el conocimiento de las verdaderas identidades de las personas en la imagen habla de la verdad de que el trabajo de los misioneros hubiera sido imposible sin las redes de apoyo de los líderes locales en la iglesia y especialmente el papel de las mujeres en la iglesia. Como señaló Marta del Refugio García de Godoy en su entrevista, “los gringos no enseñaban, solo tenían el poder y daban las órdenes.”



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Tomando café después de un baile del Primero de Mayo en la iglesia de Santa Ana, El Salvador.

De pie (de izquierda a derecha): Gloria Judith Guevara, María Julia Avilés de García, Margot Pleitez.

Sentados (de izquierda a derecha): Alberto Ramírez, ¿Isabel?, Señora de Chacón, Grace Hatler, Rosa de Fuentes y Noemi Medina de Aguilar.
Foto tomada alrededor de 1965.

Marta del Refugio García de Godoy se alegró de hablar del año que pasó como interna en el colegio (1962). Ella solo vivía a cuatro cuerdas de la escuela, pero quería vivir en el dormitorio y su madre le dio permiso. Recordó que había mujeres que lavaban y planchaban la ropa, pero el sábado las niñas tenían que lavar la ropa interior. El domingo todas iban a la iglesia por la mañana y por la tarde con vestidos blancos idénticos, que se diferenciaban de su uniforme habitual de azul y blanco. Se sentaban en la primera fila de la iglesia y caminaban juntas en parejas. Había alrededor de ocho habitaciones en el dormitorio y cada habitación contenía suficientes literas para alojar a unos 20 estudiantes en una habitación. Cada habitación tenía una niña mayor que se encargaba de la habitación, y recordó que la niña a cargo de su habitación era Ángela Valladares⁵¹, que era del otro lado del país. Marta solo pasó un año en la escuela porque dijo que se divirtió demasiado, y también había una tienda de la escuela donde se podían comprar cosas a crédito, pero ella pensaba que los artículos eran gratis y su madre aparentemente terminó con una factura más grande que lo esperado.⁵²

Durante la mañana, las niñas se levantaban a las 5:00 am para el desayuno y las duchas, luego iban a los devocionales y desde allí se cambiaban a sus uniformes escolares. No se permitía televisión, radio o música. De 11:00 am a 2:00 pm ellas almorzaban y luego una siesta. Luego se volvieron a poner sus uniformes y fueron a clases hasta las 4:00 pm. La cena era a las 6:00 pm y las comidas solían consistir en frijoles, crema, pan (y leche para el desayuno) o frijoles y arroz. Las niñas se sentaban juntas en los mismos grupos que compartían dormitorio. Una vez a la semana cada niña se turnaba para lavar los platos y se lavaban en grupos de tres, una con agua caliente, una con agua y jabón y una tercera con agua fría para enjuagar. Como regla general, los estudiantes locales y los estudiantes internos no se mezclaban excepto en las clases. De 7: 00-9: 00pm las niñas iban a una habitación grande y estudiaban antes de irse a la cama. Solo habían unos cinco niños mayores que vivían en la escuela, estudiaban para ser maestros, y vivían en la casa del director.



Clase de segundo grado impartida por Doña Graciela de Corea en el Colegio Bautista, Santa Ana, El Salvador. Tomada en 1960.

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Marta del Refugio García de Godoy también recordó que los misioneros tenían una casa separada que compartían. Grace Hatler estaba a cargo de las internas, mientras que Ruth Carr estaba a cargo

de los estudiantes locales. Los recuerdos de Marta de Grace Hatler se centraron en un solo incidente en el que Hatler se enojó y agarró a Marta por el cuello, lo que definitivamente coloreaba sus percepciones de los misioneros Americanos. Marta describió a Ruth Carr como una persona muy mayor con el pelo blanco, alta y delgada, pero muy guapa con gafas y una mirada muy seria. Era soltera y usaba vestidos largos y tacones con el cabello recogido en un moño con una peineta. Una “señorita Nellie” era una enfermera que estuvo en la escuela por un corto tiempo.⁵³ Era muy querida, pero cuando se fue, la enfermería se cerró. De particular importancia fue Jason Cedarholm, conocido como “Don Eugenio”, quien fue el director después de Ruth Carr. Él y su esposa Helen (Elena) tenían dos hijos, Billy y Jacky, que iban a la escuela en los Estados Unidos, pero venían durante las vacaciones y asistían a clases con los estudiantes allí. Marta también recordó a un trabajador afroamericano que vivía en la escuela y hacía trabajos ocasionales en las instalaciones. Tenía una hija que era amiga suya y compañera de estudios, y ella y su padre vivían en una pequeña habitación detrás de la escuela y cerca del tanque de agua. La gente local también trabajaba en la escuela. Anteriormente mencionamos a algunos que trabajaban en la biblioteca y la tienda de la escuela. Marta también recordó a un guardia que trepaba a los árboles de mango y recogía mangos para los estudiantes. Marta también recordaba con especial alegría las lecciones de piano de Helen Cedarholm.



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Marta del Refugio García-Avilés (más tarde García de Godoy) tocando el piano en el auditorio del Colegio Bautista en Santa Ana, El Salvador. Fue alumna de Helen Cedarholm.

La familia continuó interactuando con el Colegio Bautista cuando Marta del Refugio García se casó y tuvo cuatro hijos, todos los cuales fueron a la escuela para su educación. Marta tenía un amor especial por la escuela y sus experiencias allí, por lo que insistió en que sus hijos también asistieran. Esto incluyó a uno de los autores de este artículo (Kelly) que era la hija mayor de la familia. Cuando Kelly comenzó a asistir al Colegio Bautista, todavía estaba bajo el liderazgo de los misioneros Bautistas Americanos, con Jason Cedarholm (Don Eugenio) como director. Kelly recuerda particularmente que Cedarholm jugaba voleibol con los niños mayores y ayudó a su madre con el apoyo de una beca para su hermano menor. Durante este período de tiempo, El Salvador se encontraba en medio de una tensa crisis política. El 15 de octubre de 1979 una junta revolucionaria depuso al presidente general Carlos Humberto Romero, y la junta se convirtió rápidamente en un gobierno militar de derecha, que declaró la ley marcial e instituyó la formación de “escuadrones de la muerte” secretos con fines de represión política. En 1980, las fuerzas políticas de izquierda formaron una fuerza guerrillera llamada Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN), que inició una insurrección que desembocó en una guerra civil prolongada y violenta. El asesinato del arzobispo Oscar Romero el 24 de marzo de 1980 fue un evento impactante que condujo a más asesinatos y aumento de la violencia, siguiendo el 2 de diciembre de 1980 con la

violación y asesinato de cuatro mujeres de la iglesia Católica Americana. Esta violencia duraría unos trece años hasta el 16 de enero de 1992 con la firma de los Acuerdos de Paz de Chapultepec.

En las etapas iniciales de la violencia, en 1979 o 1980, mientras Kelly era estudiante de cuarto grado en el Colegio Bautista, la escuela fue tomada por un grupo del FMLN mientras las clases estaban en sesión. Luego de algunos disparos o explosiones iniciales, la maestra ordenó a toda la clase que se tirara al piso lejos de las ventanas. Durante varias horas existió un enfrentamiento. En un asombroso acto de valentía, Jason Cedarholm salió y se reunió con los líderes de la fuerza de ocupación. Según los recuerdos orales, les dijo: “¿Qué podemos hacer para ayudarlos? Aquí solo tenemos niños.” Independientemente de los detalles ocurridos en la reunión, el FMLN se fue sin dañar a nadie y una secretaria les dijo a los estudiantes que podían volver a sus asientos. Jason Cedarholm se había negado a dejar la escuela cuando la situación empeoró, pero en 1980 los Bautistas Americanos lo obligaron a irse, lo que anunció en la Iglesia Bautista cuando les dijo que no quería irse, porque “esta era su casa.” Esteban Rodríguez Jiménez (Don Esteban) asumió las riendas de la escuela durante los siguientes cuatro años como el primer salvadoreño en dirigir la institución. El trauma de la guerra continuó en la vida de los estudiantes y profesores. Kelly recuerda un momento en que explotó una pelota de baloncesto sobreinflada en el armario de un aula y los estudiantes se tiraron al suelo temiendo una bomba de algún tipo. Se convirtió en un incidente del que se reírían más tarde, pero refleja la seriedad de la época. Sin embargo, la historia de Don Eugenio enfrentándose a la guerrilla y arriesgando su vida por los estudiantes y maestros sigue siendo una de las historias definitorias de los misioneros Bautistas Americanos en la mente de los Bautistas de Santa Ana que vivieron este período. Su heroísmo todavía se recuerda, mientras que gran parte del trabajo de los misioneros anteriores se ha olvidado hace mucho tiempo.

El Colegio Bautista ha continuado a lo largo de los años, y en períodos recientes se ha formado una iglesia Bautista que utiliza el auditorio de la escuela los domingos como lugar de culto, la Iglesia Bautista En Familia. Allí adoraron durante varios años Marta del Refugio García de Godoy y su familia, en el mismo auditorio que tanto recordaban de sus días escolares.

Lecciones para un enfoque equilibrado de la historia de la misión

¿Cómo evitamos escribir una historia misionera sesgada? ¿Cuáles son algunas de las lecciones que hemos aprendido trabajando para combinar la investigación histórica de la tradición con la historia oral y la memoria personal? Es un aforismo común que “la historia la escriben los vencedores”, pero esto es demasiado simplista. El lado documentado de la historia está claramente controlado por la narrativa de quienes tienen más poder político, económico o social, quienes controlan los recursos para escribir, publicar y preservar sus historias, mientras que a menudo excluyen a quienes no tienen acceso a ese poder. Esto es especialmente cierto en el campo de la historia de la misión, donde las motivaciones y acciones de los misioneros predominan en la narrativa y, a menudo, los misionados son retratados como carentes o necesitados de la cultura, educación y organización del misionero y no simplemente como una invitación abierta a escuchar el mensaje impecable del Evangelio de Jesucristo. Esto crea un ambiente propicio para la hagiografía, donde los misioneros son retratados (o más bien se retratan a sí mismos) como figuras santas que sufren por el bien de los misionados. De vez en cuando, la documentación mostrará indicios de cómo los misioneros realmente dependían de los misionados para la alimentación, el transporte, el alojamiento, la traducción y el aprendizaje del idioma, pero la mayoría de las veces estas historias se entierran o se pasan por alto convenientemente en los informes escritos para el consumo religioso popular en los Estados Unidos o Gran Bretaña. ¿Cómo pueden los historiadores de misiones trabajar de manera más eficaz para equilibrar esta historia?

Primero, es fundamental encontrar la voz de los misionados. Si bien un enfoque tradicional basado en recursos es un buen punto de partida, existen sesgos inherentes dentro del registro histórico. Los misioneros no estaban necesariamente interesados en promover líderes o trabajadores locales en la iglesia local. Tales informes podrían disminuir la importancia percibida de los misioneros mismos, y esto podría influir en la recaudación de fondos. Muchos de los artículos y cartas están diseñados para recaudar más fondos para el campo y, como tal, las imágenes coloniales y paternalistas de los “paganos” en tierras extranjeras tienden a dominar la conversación. Por lo tanto, es tarea del historiador de la misión buscar específicamente y elevar la historia del misionado siempre que sea posible. Si bien los misioneros extranjeros desempeñan un papel clave en

el éxito de una misión, no son la única razón, ni siquiera la más importante, del éxito de la misión.

Esto se ve claramente en el estudio de caso de la Iglesia Bautista de Santa Ana en El Salvador y el Colegio Bautista. Los colportores locales inicialmente plantaron el mensaje del Evangelio en El Salvador. Si bien Francisco Penzotti trajo acceso a Biblias y literatura traducidas en español, y Samuel Purdie de CAM. trajo una imprenta, la distribución de estos materiales fue realmente gracias al arduo trabajo de los trabajadores locales, quienes también fueron los primeros evangelistas. Sus historias aparecen ocasionalmente (aunque a menudo no tienen nombre) para detallar el peligro de la tarea y la animosidad que a menudo enfrentaban del clero Católico Romano. Con frecuencia fueron golpeados, robados y encarcelados por el Evangelio, pero sus historias cumplen una función para relacionar a los patrocinadores de vuelta a casa la necesidad de más fondos y más personas en el campo. Los reportes de CAM., especialmente los de Robert Bender, son mejores que la mayoría. Los líderes locales salvadoreños son mencionados por su nombre (a veces incluso con información adicional y fotografías), y se les da crédito por predicar y establecer iglesias en áreas más remotas. A menudo, hacían esto por poco o ningún pago y tenían que tener trabajos seculares para realizar sus funciones. Incluso dirigieron las iglesias más grandes cuando los misioneros extranjeros estaban en alguna gira prolongada o en licencia. Podemos ver en algunos de los nombres que estos líderes tuvieron que tomar decisiones clave sobre el apoyo a CAM. o los Bautistas Americanos durante la toma de posesión de la iglesia en Santa Ana en 1911, y luego algunos fueron ordenados. En el trabajo del Colegio Bautista, vemos que tanto las mujeres como los hombres salvadoreños jugaron roles operativos clave en la supervisión de la cocina, el mantenimiento de los edificios e incluso la enseñanza en sí. En última instancia, cuando comenzó la guerra civil salvadoreña, el liderazgo salvadoreño fue esencial para llenar el vacío ya que los Bautistas Americanos llamaron de regreso a sus misioneros extranjeros por seguridad, mientras dejaban que los líderes locales continuaran trabajando en una situación cada vez más violenta e inestable. También podemos ver cómo los pastores locales jugaron un papel clave al invitar a misiones extranjeras a El Salvador, tanto con Emilio Morales invitando a los Bautistas Americanos como en el difícil viaje de Francisco Ramírez Arbizú a los Estados Unidos para convencer a las Asambleas de Dios de ingresar al país en 1927 (ver nota a pie de página nueve). Toda esta información se puede encontrar en

una lectura cuidadosa de los documentos históricos, pero debe destacarse específicamente para contrastar con las opiniones fuertemente sesgadas de la narrativa misionera.

En segundo lugar, es importante ubicar a las mujeres de la iglesia. Dado el tiempo en el que se escribieron la mayoría de los informes de misión, los líderes masculinos tienden a dominar los relatos escritos. Las mujeres líderes, incluso las de las misiones mismas, como las mujeres que fundaron el Colegio Bautista, a menudo están ausentes o marginadas en la literatura misionera. Las mujeres salvadoreñas locales están aún más marginadas. La foto de Grace Hatler sentada entre la gente de la iglesia vestida con ropa indígena es un gran recordatorio de la verdad detrás del éxito de una misión. Superficialmente, el misionero es el centro de atención, la influencia moderna y “civilizadora,” pero ella no habría podido tener éxito sin los que la rodeaban, quienes organizaron a las cocineras, dirigieron la tienda de la escuela y administraron la biblioteca de la escuela. Están “escondidas” debajo de la ropa indígena y sin la información de mujeres salvadoreñas como Marta del Refugio García de Godoy, sus nombres y roles probablemente serían desconocidos y no reconocidos. A medida que los historiadores de la misión leen los relatos escritos, es importante tener en cuenta cuándo aparecen mujeres (con nombre o sin nombre) en los relatos y asegurarse de sacarlas a la luz en investigaciones posteriores.



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El grupo de mujeres de la Iglesia Bautista En Familia que se reúne en el Colegio Bautista. Foto tomada alrededor de 2015. Marta del Refugio García de Godoy sentada tercera por la izquierda en la banca de atrás.

En tercer lugar, pase tiempo con la gente de la iglesia local y pídale que compartan sus historias. Tome estas entrevistas en serio y grabe buenas notas que permitan que las conversaciones cubran las historias que tienen significado para las personas de esa comunidad. No espere que conozcan el registro histórico, pero serán expertos en la respuesta local al trabajo misionero. Sabrán qué historias se transmitieron y qué misioneros se consideraron verdaderas personas de fe y cuáles no. El hecho de que algo esté escrito no lo hace más o menos confiable que cualquier otra fuente histórica, incluyendo la historia oral. Paul Thompson apoya este concepto cuando escribe,

Las estadísticas sociales, en resumen, no representan más hechos absolutos que los informes de los periódicos, las cartas privadas, o las biografías publicadas. Como material de entrevistas grabado, todos representan, ya sea desde puntos de vista individuales o agregados, la percepción social de los hechos; y todos, además, están sujetos a presiones sociales del contexto en el que se obtienen. Con estas formas de evidencia, lo que

recibimos es significado social, y es esto lo que hay que evaluar.⁵⁴

Por tanto, debemos pensar sobre la historia oral de otra manera, como un tipo de memoria social. De la misma manera que un historiador moderno debe interpretar el registro histórico a la luz de todo lo que sucedió después del evento registrado, un individuo o grupo social revaloriza e interpreta los eventos registrados en la historia oral. Como señala Kirby,

Sin embargo, con el paso del tiempo o con la reflexión, la visión de una persona sobre su experiencia cambiará. La fenomenología, entonces, predice realmente que los informantes de la historia oral deberían cambiar su historia con sucesivos recuentos; la mera narración de la historia podría provocar una reevaluación, de modo que una narración al día siguiente podría ser diferente. La fenomenología también le dice al historiador que busque diferentes perspectivas en el punto de vista del informante; en una oración, el informante podría estar tratando de reconstruir su perspectiva en el momento del evento histórico, y la siguiente oración podría ser una evaluación actual.⁵⁵

Es importante que los historiadores no usen la historia oral de la misma manera que podrían usar los registros históricos tradicionales. La memoria humana simplemente no está diseñada para retener hechos estadísticos de la misma manera que el registro escrito. Como Kirby señala nuevamente, “Cuando la memoria del informante parece vaga o poco confiable, el entrevistador tiene en cuenta que todos los ‘hechos reales’ no pueden ser conocidos ni siquiera en las mejores circunstancias y busca más bien verdades de comprensión, de espíritu, de valores culturales., que cuentan la historia real del evento histórico o era ...”⁵⁶ Parece más lógico traer la historiografía tradicional junto con la historia oral para ayudar a presentar una comprensión de múltiples capas de un evento. Esto es especialmente cierto en la historia de la misión, que registra la interacción de dos grupos culturales muy diferentes. Ambas partes ayudan a revelar la verdad de una situación, tanto los hechos reales como la comprensión cultural de esos mismos hechos.

Nunca debemos asumir que la historia oral es de alguna manera inferior a la historia escrita. Es diferente porque ha sido reevaluado y reinterpretado a través del lente de la comunidad local y del individuo que ha reflexionado sobre su propia experiencia. Hay algunas áreas en las que

puede ser menos confiable que la historia tradicional (como en cuestiones de fechas y hechos lejanos), pero hay áreas en las que proporciona una corrección muy necesaria. La visión que Marta del Refugio García de Godoy tenía de los misioneros del Colegio Bautista era muy diferente a la forma en que se veían a sí mismos en sus narrativas históricas. Esto no hace que uno sea correcto y otro incorrecto, sino que proporciona diferentes lentes e interpretaciones sobre los mismos eventos. La misionera Grace Hatler es definida de manera muy diferente al escuchar las historias de Marta del Refugio García de Godoy que en su propio relato en su libro *La tierra del faro*. La historia de la misión debe hacer un mayor esfuerzo para equilibrar la hagiografía del material popular para las audiencias locales y la recaudación de fondos, y los informes de campo culturalmente sesgados, con la historia oral de los misionados si realmente esperamos registrar y comprender la verdad de la experiencia misionera.

Conclusión

Estamos entrando en un período de estudios misioneros en el que necesitamos poder comprender y evaluar eficazmente las prácticas misioneras del pasado. Esto debe hacerse a nivel local en lugar de a través de descripciones generales a gran escala de la misión en amplios trazos geográficos. Pero no podemos confiar en una historia equilibrada que surge de narrativas diseñadas para recaudar fondos o promover nuevos proyectos. Tales historias no son confiables porque ignoran a una de las partes más cruciales en la empresa misionera: la población local misionada. Para hacer frente a este problema, debemos desarrollar una nueva metodología que busque descubrir y revelar el papel de los líderes misionados y sus interacciones con los misioneros extranjeros. Si esperamos recopilar información concreta sobre el éxito y los fracasos de varias misiones, necesitamos comprender más que las fuerzas sociales y religiosas involucradas, necesitamos tener la información adicional y las perspectivas de la propia gente local. Dado que tradicionalmente no se les dio acceso a los mismos recursos que los misioneros para escribir, publicar y preservar sus historias, debemos mirar la historia oral para desarrollar una visión más equilibrada de la historia de la misión. La historia de la misión no es solo un juego estadístico de cuántos misioneros, cuántos conversos, cuántas iglesias y cuántos bautismos. Es una interacción seria entre al menos dos grupos culturales en un esfuerzo por comunicar verdades espirituales y religiosas que pueden transformar personas y comunidades.

Es imperativo para la tarea de la historia de la misión que entendamos lo que los cristianos locales pensaron y sintieron sobre el trabajo de la misión en el extranjero y cómo lo interpretaron a la luz de sus propias narrativas. Es probable que descubramos que lo que pensamos que era importante no lo era, y lo que ignoramos por completo fue fundamental para que la gente local comprenda lo que significa ser cristiano en su contexto. Sin embargo, por el bien del trabajo misionero futuro, esta información es importante para reflexionar adecuadamente sobre nuestro común pasado misionero.

El Colegio Bautista en Santa Ana, El Salvador es un estudio de caso de un tema mucho más amplio. Si bien la educación era una necesidad importante y muchos han prosperado en la vida gracias al acceso a este trabajo, fue la vida y el servicio del misionero lo que tuvo el mayor impacto. Robert Bender, Frederick Mebius, Ruth Carr y Jason Cedarholm dejaron aspectos positivos por cómo se identificaron y vivieron entre la gente de El Salvador. El trabajo misionero en sí mismo era secundario en la mente de los misionados. Otros que estaban más centrados en el trabajo en sí, apenas han dejado huella en la gente. Instituciones como la Iglesia Bautista en Santa Ana y el Colegio Bautista han pasado desde hace mucho tiempo a manos de líderes locales salvadoreños. Estos líderes locales necesitan encontrar su lugar en la historia de la iglesia en El Salvador, pero para hacerlo bien, necesitan ver el trabajo y escuchar las voces de aquellos que los precedieron, pero que a menudo estaban ocultos por el poder cultural, económico, y político de los misioneros extranjeros. Se necesita la historia de la misión para recuperar estas voces y restablecer a los hombres y mujeres olvidados que hicieron el trabajo real para establecer la Iglesia en El Salvador. Sólo entonces se hará bien el trabajo de la historia de la misión.



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Los Autores con Ismael Mendoza Martinez en 2013 (Director Principal del Colegio Bautista, 2008-presente)

Notas finales

¹ Este artículo está dedicado con amor a la memoria de Marta del Refugio García de Godoy (9 de octubre de 1949 - 16 de febrero de 2017), quien vivió su fe cristiana en su cuidado y compasión por los demás en su vida cotidiana. Ella, junto con millones de otros cristianos similares, a menudo son pasados por alto en la historia, pero son realmente el corazón del movimiento cristiano y lo que continúa dándole vida y significado.

² Cf. "Diputados de Santa Ana reconocen los 100 años del colegio Bautista" en *El País*. Publicado el 28 de Junio de 2019. Recuperado el 21 de Julio de 2021 de <http://elpais.com.sv/diputados-de-santa-ana-reconocen-los-100-anos-del-colegio-bautista/>

³ El presbiteriano John Clark Hill estableció una misión en la ciudad de Guatemala en 1882 a pedido del presidente guatemalteco, el general Justo Rufino Barrios, durante un movimiento anticlerical liberal en el país, aunque trabajó principalmente con extranjeros norteamericanos y británicos en el país y con algunos de la élite empresarial local. Una segunda pequeña misión fue inaugurada por su sucesor, Edward M. Haymaker en Quetzaltenango en 1895. Cf. James W. Dow and Alan R. Sandstrom, eds. *Holy Saints and Fiery Preachers: The Anthropology of Protestantism in Mexico and Central America*. Westport, CT: Praeger (2001):180, y Gennet Maxon Emery, *Protestantism in Guatemala*. SONDESO no. 65. Cuernavaca, Mexico: Centro Intercultural de Documentación (1970).

⁴ El Rev. Penzotti es uno de los pocos misioneros de este período cuyo trabajo está bien documentado. Cf.: Penzotti, "The Bible in Latin

America." *Missionary Review of the World* 37 (1914): 839-842; Anónimo, "Life in the Spirit." *The Western Christian Advocate* 76 (July 13, 1910): 14; Henry Otis Dwight, *The Centennial History of the American Bible Society*. Vol 2. New York, NY: Macmillan Company (1916); Martin I. Klauber, et al, eds., *The Great Commission: Evangelicals and the History of World Missions*. Nashville, TN: B&H Publishing, entre otros.

⁵ Penzotti fue con el Sr. Clarence Wilbur y el Sr. y la Sra. H. C. Dillon de la Misión Centroamericana, primero a través de Nicaragua y luego a El Salvador. Wilbur y su esposa habían llegado como misioneros a Costa Rica en 1893. Wilbur murió de fiebre amarilla en 1894 en el viaje con Penzotti a Granada, Nicaragua, a la edad de 26 años. Los Dillon estaban planeando establecer un trabajo en El Salvador, pero la Sra. Dillon se enfermó con la fiebre amarilla que contrajo mientras cuidaba a Wilbur y murió en Acajutla, El Salvador, lo que obligó a HC Dillon a regresar a los Estados Unidos. Parece ser que el se caso de nuevo y regreso con la nueva Sra. Dillon y comenzó a trabajar en Guatemala y luego fue a ayudar a establecer trabajo en Honduras, donde el Sr. Dillon murió de fiebre en 1897 a la edad de 33 años. La segunda Sra. Dillon continuó trabajando en El Paraíso, Honduras hasta su propia muerte de enfermedad en 1913. Penzotti también trabajó con Samuel Purdie en la celebración de reuniones de evangelización en diciembre de 1896 en Santa Ana, El Salvador para establecer la obra allí. Cf.: Mildred W. Spain, "*And In Samaria*": *The Story of More Than Sixty Years' Missionary Witness in Central America 1890-1954*, Dallas, TX: The Central American Mission (1954), Wilkins B. Winn. *Pioneer Protestant Missionaries in Honduras*. SONDESO no. 88. Cuernavaca, Mexico: Centro Intercultural de Documentación (1973), y Dorothy Martin. *100...And Counting: The Story of CAM's First Century*, Dallas, TX: CAM International (1990).

⁶ Robert Bender, "Letter from R. H. Bender." *Central American Bulletin* 12(1) (Jan. 15, 1906): 10.

⁷ "The Wonderful Growth of the Lord's Work in Salvador." R. H. Bender, *Central American Bulletin* 14(4) (October 15, 1906): 7-8. Aquí Bender presenta a algunos de los trabajadores nativos en uno de los pocos casos en los que se discuten con cierto detalle. Román Hernández es colporteur en Santa Ana, David Cardona es colporteur de San Vicente, Juan González, que es agricultor pero supervisa tres pequeñas congregaciones, Emilio Morales en Sonsonate, que dirige una zapatería y supervisa siete pequeñas congregaciones, Santiago Ramírez que tiene un plantación de palma pero supervisa seis congregaciones, Claudio Anaya, que es autosuficiente y supervisa dos iglesias en crecimiento, y Salvador Portillo, que es zapatero pero supervisa la iglesia en San Salvador en ausencia de Bender. Bender también señala que hay una tienda de libros y folletos en San Salvador y una en Santa Ana también.

⁸ Gran parte de la historia temprana de los evangélicos de El Salvador se puede encontrar en *Cien Año de Presencia Evangélica en El Salvador*, por la Comisión Nacional del Centenario de la Confraternidad Evangélica Salvadoreña (CONESAL), San Salvador, El Salvador (1996).

⁹ Uno de los misterios perdurables de la vida de Frederick Mebius es cuándo llegó realmente a El Salvador. Según los registros oficiales, Mebius se casó con Mary Faris en el condado de King, estado de Washington, el 19 de enero de 1901. A continuación, el esta registrado en Los Ángeles por el nacimiento de su hijo mayor el 11 de febrero de 1902, y el suyo esta registrado en el Directorio de la ciudad de Los Ángeles. para 1902-1903 como estudiante. Luego desaparece de los registros hasta 1909 cuando aparece como “Mebbius” en el Directorio de Worley de El Paso Texas, donde esta clasificado como misionero. El mismo registro aparece en la edición de 1910 del mismo directorio. Luego aparece en una referencia de una carta del misionero pentecostal Amos Bradley escrita el 22 de julio de 1910 desde Guatemala y publicada en *The Bridegroom’s Messenger* 3(68) (August 15, 1910): 4, que señala: “Acaba de llegar un hermano de México que recibió su Pentecostés hace aproximadamente un año. Confiamos en que el Señor bendecirá a través de su venida. Su nombre es Mebius. Ha estado en América del Sur como misionero bajo el trabajo de la Alianza.” Esto establece una experiencia pentecostal alrededor de 1909 cuando estaba en El Paso. Sin embargo, tenía un conocimiento práctico del español desde su tiempo en Bolivia y es posible que estuviera haciendo trabajo misionero en México desde 1903-1909, y tal vez durante ese tiempo había ido a El Salvador y estaba regresando a El Salvador en la carta de Bradley. Algunos argumentan que llegó desde 1904 y otros hasta 1915. El principal problema es un registro del censo de los Estados Unidos que muestra que Mebius vivía en El Paso, Texas con su esposa e hijos en 1910. Según este registro y varios otros informes, el segundo hijo de Mebius, James Wilson Mebius, nació en 1906, por lo que Clifton L. Holland (<https://www.scribd.com/document/491144119/Frederick-Ernest-Mebius-1869-1945-Protestant-Missionary-to-Bolivia-1898-1900-and-El-Salvador-1910-1945>) argumenta que posiblemente Mebius pudo haber venido en 1904-1905, pero no en 1906 para engendrar un hijo. Este problema se complica por el hecho de que Mary Mebius, en el mismo registro, tiene una hija antes de su matrimonio con Mebius y la pareja se separó muy rápidamente después del registro del censo de 1910. Mebius pasó a tener una segunda familia en El Salvador. Si bien es imposible saberlo, uno podría preguntarse si Mebius fue realmente el padre del niño y si esta fue la causa de la separación. El registro del censo de 1910 es problemático por muchas razones (por ejemplo, enumera a Mebius como nacido en 1870 en Texas en lugar de 1869 en Canadá, y todo el resto de la familia figura como nacido en Texas, cuando en realidad ninguno de ellos parecen haber nacido allí). Algunos tipos de pentecostales se establecieron claramente en El Salvador en 1911 y se asociaron a Mebius como su fundador en la historia oral. Parece poco probable que un misionero recién llegado a fines de 1910 hubiera tenido tiempo suficiente para establecer la obra misionera que llegó al conocimiento de los Bautistas Americanos en 1911. Creo (aunque no hay documentación sólida que respalde esta idea) que Mebius exploró El Salvador para una posible misión alrededor de 1905-1907, regresó a los Estados Unidos donde experimentó un bautismo en el Espíritu Santo, se asoció con una misión en El Paso, Texas, se separó de su esposa y regresó a El Salvador en 1910. Holland argumenta que quizás el encuentro de Mebius con el Pentecostalismo podría estar relacionado con el Rev. M.T. Dye y un avivamiento Pentecostal en San Marcial, Nuevo México (un avivamiento parece haber comenzado allí mencionado en *The Apostolic Faith* desde Azusa 1 (8) (May 1907): 2) y en *The Bridegroom’s Messenger*

2(36) (April 15, 1909): 3 M.T. Dye está anunciando que comprarán una propiedad en El Paso y trasladarán el trabajo de San Marcial a El Paso como una forma de llegar a México. Pero M.T. Dye no figura en el directorio de la ciudad de El Paso para 1909 o 1910, por lo que no se sabe si se logró. Dadas las conexiones de Mebius con el trabajo de la Alianza y el hecho de que su trabajo en Los Ángeles se superponía al de la Iglesia del Nazareno (usaban el mismo espacio de la Misión Peniel para reuniones y adoración en este tiempo), y el hecho de que Mebius era listado como misionero en el Directorio de la Ciudad de El Paso, también es posible que estuviera alineado con Santos Elizondo y su Misión Mexicana. Ella figura en el directorio y su trabajo también se ocupó del cruce de la frontera de El Paso a México.

¹⁰ Es difícil precisar esto exactamente a partir de registros históricos. Bender señala en octubre de 1906 que “Recientemente quince se han retirado en Santa Ana y han organizado una congregación independiente, pero aún la iglesia está en una condición próspera ... La facción está comenzando a tener algunas disputas internas.” *The Central American Bulletin* 12(4) (October 15, 1906): 16. No está claro si este evento está relacionado con la creciente obra pentecostal de Mebius, pero el momento es correcto y está en el lugar correcto. En enero de 1907, Bender informa que la facción se había dividido y algunos buscaban regresar, pero no hay información sobre el motivo de la división o el motivo por el que otros no regresaban. Solo comenta que la facción “en Santa Ana está enseñando un terrible terrible error”. *The Central American Bulletin* 13(1) (January 15, 1907): 16.

¹¹ Roberto Domínguez, *Pioneros de Pentecostes: Mexico y Centroamérica*. Vol. 2. Segunda edición. Barcelona, Spain: Editorial Clie (1990): 220. Esta cuenta debe considerarse detenidamente. Sí encaja con la fecha, ya que tiene a Mebius llegando en 1906 a la región de Santa Ana. Sin embargo, el autor claramente obtiene otra información cuestionablemente errónea, como que Mebius viene de Bolivia a través de Panamá y viene con Robert Bender. Es posible que recopilara esta información de fuentes orales y parte de ella podría ser incorrecta, sin embargo, el momento también se ajusta a la facción a la que Bender se refiere como separación de la iglesia de Santa Ana.

¹² Everett A. Wilson, “Sanguine Saints: Pentecostalism in El Salvador.” *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 52(2) (June 1983): 189.

¹³ Las Asambleas de Dios entraron a El Salvador alrededor de 1927, cuando inicialmente aparecen relatos de que George E. Blaisdell fue enviado por la Convención Latinoamericana de las Asambleas de Dios a El Salvador (George Blaisdell, “Many Saved in El Salvador.” *The Pentecostal Evangel* (April 9, 1927): 11). Las Asambleas de Dios entraron a pedido de Francisco Ramírez Arbizú, quien se convirtió en un líder importante en los primeros trabajos allí. Señala que “durante quince años más o menos este trabajo ha estado en marcha, pero debido a su falta de enseñanza y liderazgo adecuado, es natural que se hayan infiltrado muchas cosas que no estaban de acuerdo con la Palabra de Dios”. Señala que unas 400 personas se reunieron para organizarse en un distrito y cinco predicadores nativos

tenían licencia, y en 1927 se estimó en 1,000 miembros en 8 asambleas. Para 1931, una carta de Ralph D. Williams informa sobre una congregación en Santa Ana que está trabajando para recaudar dinero para construir una iglesia (*The Latter Rain* 23(10) (July 1931): 22). En un relato del trabajo de Williams en El Salvador, reconoce el trabajo de Mebius, pero parece tener poco que ver con él, ya que Mebius parece haber pasado tiempo trabajando con las iglesias Apostólicas Libres Independientes (Lois Williams, *Hands That Dug the Well: Memoirs of Ralph Darby Williams*. Springfield, MO: RDM (1997): 72-73. En una entrevista realizada a Francisco Ramírez Arbizú mientras vivía, confirma que Mebius (en esta entrevista Arbizú fecha la llegada de Mebius hacia 1906-1907, once años antes de convertirse en creyente) lo alentó a viajar a Estados Unidos para hablar con Henry Ball, quien supervisó el trabajo latinoamericano de las Asambleas de Dios. Arbizú señala que vendió una zapatería por el dinero para viajar y se fue en 1926, viajó en bote banana desde Guatemala a Nueva Orleans y luego a Texas en 1927. Blaisdell fue designado por Ball para explorar el trabajo en El Salvador. (Cf. Roberto Domínguez, *Pioneros de Pentecostes: Mexico y Centroamérica*. Vol. 2. Segunda edición. Barcelona, Spain: Editorial Clie (1990): 224-230, y Enrique Barillas, *Frederico Ernesto Mebius... Su Historia*. No se han proporcionado datos de publicación (circa 1992).

¹⁴ La Iglesia de Dios (Cleveland) ingresó a El Salvador en 1942 con J.H. Ingram, quien trabajó con Mebius, y luego fue seguido por H. S. Syverson. Cf. J. H. Ingram, "Good News from El Salvador." *The Church of God Evangel* 32(48) (Feb. 7, 1942): 7; J. H. Ingram, "A Latin American Mission Retrospective." *The Church of God Evangel* 33(8) (Sept. 19, 1942): 8. Informan de una convención celebrada del 22 al 24 de noviembre en El Congo, El Salvador, a la que asistieron más de 350 personas. Ingram informa que se quedó en la Casa y Escuela Misionera en Cojutepeque, que estaba a cargo del Rev. y la Sra. E. L. Humphrey, quienes, según él, son "ex misioneros Bautistas".

¹⁵ Clifton L. Holland (*A Classification System of Religious Groups in the Americas by Major Traditions and Family Types*. Latin American Socio-Religious Studies Program (PROLADES):1993 (última modificación 2021):142-145. Recuperado el 21 de Julio de 2021 de https://www.academia.edu/11053182/A_Classification_System_of_Religious_Groups_in_the_Americas_by_Major_Traditions_and_Denominational_Families_revised_edition_January_2021) categoriza estos Movimientos Pentecostales Salvadoreños bajo la bandera del Movimiento de Fe Apostólica de Charles F. Parham. Sugiere (principalmente por razones de proximidad) que Mebius podría haber sido influenciado por la escuela de Parham en Houston, Texas (que luego condujo al avivamiento de Azusa), o por medio de un reverendo M.T. Dye que parecía estar dirigiendo un avivamiento Pentecostal. en San Marcial, Nuevo México con planes de mudarse a El Paso. En cualquier caso, Mebius se convirtió en el líder del Movimiento Apostólico Libre en El Salvador. La Iglesia Evangélica Apóstoles y Profetas se formó en 1936 en El Congo, Santa Ana, El Salvador en 1936 bajo Pilar Calderón, mientras que la Iglesia Apostólica "El Aposento Alto" se formó en 1938 en Cerro Verde, Santa Ana, El Salvador en 1938, dirigido por Hilario Navarro Portillo, yerno de Mebius casado con su hija, Juana. Siguió otros grupos, lo que dio lugar a unos 67 grupos independientes de "Apóstoles y Profetas" y 10 grupos de "Apóstoles y Profetas Efesios 2:20" para 1919.

¹⁶ Bender nota el fallecimiento de Rufino el 24 de julio de 1912 y el funeral. *The Central American Bulletin* 18(4) (October 15, 1912): 15.

¹⁷ Bender señala que Portillo era un comerciante de zapatos y se hizo cargo de Cojutepeque. *The Central American Bulletin* 18(4) (October 15, 1912): 15.

¹⁸ Bender llama a Anaya el “primer fruto de nuestro trabajo en Ilopango en 1898” y señala que era un borracho y gastó \$ 5,000 que heredó de su padre antes de convertirse en cristiano. Él registra que ahora es un buen predicador y muy respetado y trabajó como colporteur durante muchos años. *The Central American Bulletin* 18(4) (October 15, 1912): 15. También hay una foto de Anaya en la página 3 de este número.

¹⁹ Bender señala que Tobar está ubicado en St Thomas y visita iglesias en Ilopango, El Paraíso y La Esperanza. *The Central American Bulletin* 18(4) (October 15, 1912): 15. También hay una foto de Tobar en la página 3 de este número.

²⁰ Bender señala que Corea es “muy espiritual” y trabaja en San Julián, Armenia, Azacualpa y con otros “creyentes dispersos.” *The Central American Bulletin* 18(4) (October 15, 1912): 15-16. También hay una foto de Corea en la página 3 de este número.

²¹ Bender señala que Pérez es un profesor que predica cuando Bender no está. También toca el órgano, enseña en la escuela dominical y ayuda a Bender con la correspondencia en español y corrigiendo sus traducciones. *The Central American Bulletin* 18(4) (October 15, 1912): 16. También hay una foto de Pérez en la página 3 de este número.

²² L. C. Barnes, “A Neglected Neighbor.” *Missions: American Baptist International Magazine* 2 (1911): 228-235.

²³ Barnes, “A Neglected Neighbor,” 234.

²⁴ Barnes, “A Neglected Neighbor,” 235.

²⁵ La idea de cortesía era una división informal y a veces formal del territorio político entre varias organizaciones religiosas. El principio era reducir los costos de la misión Cristiana y distribuir los recursos sin duplicar el trabajo. Esta idea rara vez funcionó. Centroamérica fue dividida formalmente por acuerdos de cortesía en el Congreso de Panamá de 1916, una de las primeras conferencias de misiones ecuménicas importantes que se celebró como una rama de la conferencia de Edimburgo de 1910. CAM no asistió al Congreso de Panamá porque se consideró que era demasiado amigable con el Catolicismo Romano. Como resultado, en la división formal, a los Bautistas Americanos se les asignó El Salvador, Honduras y Nicaragua como su territorio. Los Presbiterianos fueron asignados a Guatemala y los Metodistas fueron asignados a Costa Rica y Panamá. La CAM y los grupos Pentecostales ignoraron estas divisiones, pero en esta cita, que es anterior al Congreso de Panamá, CAM parece estar reclamando el territorio de El Salvador en virtud de ser el primer grupo importante

en el país. Cf. Anne Motley Hallum, *Beyond Missionaries: Toward an Understanding of the Protestant Movement in Central America*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. (1996): 29-30.

²⁶ *The Central American Bulletin* 17(2) (April 15, 1911): 4.

²⁷ *The Central American Bulletin* 17(4) (October 15, 1911): 4.

²⁸ *The Central American Bulletin* 18 (3) (July 15, 1912): 17.

²⁹ George H. Brewer, "Rejoicing at San Salvador: Letter to Field Secretary Barnes from Dr. George H. Brewer." *Missions: A Baptist Monthly Magazine* 8(3) (March) 1917: 194.

³⁰ <https://www.mca.org.sv/>

³¹ <https://www.bautistaselsalvador.com/>

³² Anónimo, "Our Baptist Work in Central America: Continuing the Interview with Dr. Brink: The Conditions and Prospects: A Program of Promise." *Missions: A Baptist Monthly Magazine* 9(6) (June 1918): 479.

³³ Louise Carter, "The New School." *Missions: A Baptist Monthly Magazine* 10(9) (October 1919): 730.

³⁴ Martha Howell, "Missions Under the Palms: Extracts from Letters of Miss Martha Howell, Santa Ana, Salvador." *Missions: A Baptist Monthly Magazine* 11(11) (December 1920): 667-668.

³⁵ Una copia de este manuscrito se encuentra en la Caja 3 de los *Documentos de Ruth M. Carr* en la Sociedad Histórica Bautista Americana en Atlanta, Georgia.

³⁶ Los propios recuerdos de Grace Hatler están registrados en este libro, que a menudo se puede leer desde una lente muy colonial: *Land of the Lighthouse*, Grace Hatler como se lo dijo a Dorothy Molan, Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press (1966).

³⁷ Jason Cedarholm y su esposa Helen llegaron al Colegio Bautista en 1950, originalmente para ejecutar un programa de internado para niños, que finalmente no funcionó. Helen enseñó piano a las niñas en el internado.

³⁸ Esteban Rodríguez Jiménez es bastante importante en la transición del liderazgo misionero. Se graduó de la escuela primaria del Colegio Bautista en 1923 como uno de sus primeros alumnos. Luego pasó a hacer trabajos de secundaria en el Colegio Bautista en Managua, Nicaragua y luego regresó a Santa Ana como maestro en 1934. En 1940 fue nombrado subdirector. Así que, Don Esteban era un producto de la escuela y también recibió entrenamiento en liderazgo por parte de los misioneros.

³⁹ Ruth M. Carr, "A Short History of Colegio Bautista, Santa Ana, El Salvador." Manuscrito inédito. Caja 3, *Documentos de Ruth M. Carr*, Sociedad Histórica Bautista Americana (Atlanta, GA): 2.

⁴⁰ Es posible que ella sea la hija de Florinda González de Chávez, quien se menciona mucho más adelante en el manuscrito en la página 25 como la "madre de una de nuestras enfermeras capacitadas en Puebla, México," pero esto no se sabe con certeza.

⁴¹ Carr, "A Short History," 8.

⁴² Harriet W. Palmer, *Colegio Bautista*. New York, NY: Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society and the Council of Finance and Promotion of the Northern Baptist Convention (1935).

⁴³ Carr, "A Short History," 13.

⁴⁴ Carr, "A Short History," 18.

⁴⁵ Hatler, *Land of the Lighthouse*, 44-45.

⁴⁶ Hatler, *Land of the Lighthouse*, 106.

⁴⁷ Doña Rutie enseñó al menos hasta principios de la década de 1980 y fue maestra tanto de Marta del Refugio García de Godoy como de Kelly J. Godoy de Danielson.

⁴⁸ Su primera esposa fue María Otilia Hernández (1910-2006) y tuvieron al menos cinco hijos: Pablo Hernán (1928-1998), Pedro Guillermo (1932-1968), Mario David (1933-1985) y Héctor Raúl (1937- 2017). Marta del Refugio García de Godoy recordó haber conocido a Mario y Héctor, pero también recordó a una hija, Narcisa, a quien también conocía.

⁴⁹ María Julia Avilés de García era hija de Visitación Aguilar y Victoria Avilés. También tuvo un hijo previo a su matrimonio, Julio Antonio Interiano Avilés. María Julia también tenía una hermana, María Esther Avilés, y sus nombres parecen indicar que sus padres probablemente eran católicos romanos.

⁵⁰ La entrevista se realizó el 23 de julio de 2003 en Santa Ana, El Salvador con Marta del Refugio García de Godoy (9 de octubre de 1949-16 de febrero de 2017).

⁵¹ Varias niñas continuarían sus estudios en los Estados Unidos, principalmente gracias al trabajo de Grace Hatler. Ruth Carr anota a varias en su manuscrito, pero solo por su primer nombre (Berta, Hilda, Dionely, Elvira en el Baptist Institute en Byn Mawr, Eglantina en B.M.T.S., Angela para la formación de enfermeras y Judy). Carr, "A Short History," 18. Creemos que la Ángela a la que se hace referencia aquí es Ángela Valladares, debido a una tarjeta postal que tenemos de Grace Hatler a un reverendo RN Dutton en Washington, DC. Ella le está dando la dirección de Ángela para conectarlos, y la dirección es del St. Hospital, Clara Barton Hall, en Washington, DC.

⁵² Marta notó este hecho con una risa considerable y señaló que incluso compró productos de higiene femenina sin saber para qué se usaban, los cuales uso para rizar su cabello.

⁵³ Esta sería Nellie C. Tanner, quien llegó en 1960 desde Managua para trabajar en el internado y tratar de restablecer el trabajo de la clínica para los Bautistas Americanos, pero no tuvo éxito.

⁵⁴ Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*. London: Oxford University Press (1978): 96.

⁵⁵ R. Kenneth Kirby, "Phenomenology and the Problems of Oral History." *The Oral History Review* 2008, 35(1): 22-38. Esta cita es de la página 30.

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From the Archives: Phebe Ward Goes to the Mukti Revival- The Papers of Ernest F. Ward

I want to add to a story I shared with you in an earlier *From the Archives*- the story of Ernest and Phebe Ward.¹ In the Spring issue of 2015 (Vol. 70 No. 1, pages 172-180), I shared the obscure story of the first Free Methodist missionaries to India, Ernest Ward and his wife Phebe (<https://place.asburyseminary.edu/asburyjournal/vol70/iss1/11/>). As I shared the interesting account of Phebe's description of Pandita Ramabai's Mukti Mission from her diary, I did not realize how many of the intervening years of my academic research would become involved with this material. That account made me seek to understand why the Wards were near the Mukti Mission, and also to understand the nature of Holiness missions in that area of India. The Mukti Revival of 1905 is one of the founding narratives of modern Pentecostalism, as speaking in tongues seems to have occurred at Mukti before the Azusa Street Revival in Los Angeles in 1907. So, I ended up exploring the early years of their mission in a longer article in Spring of 2020 (Vol. 75 No. 1, pages 88-106) <https://place.asburyseminary.edu/asburyjournal/vol75/iss1/7/>. I also explored people close to them and involved in their story, such as Albert Norton (in *Pneuma* Vol. 42 (2020), pages 5-24) and the Pentecost Bands (*Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* Vol 23 No. 22 (2020), pages 147-168). Along the way, a doctoral student at Asbury Theological Seminary took up the task of doing a dissertation on the Wards and has recently come out with a subsequent book (Shivraj K. Mahendra, *Lived Missiology: The Legacy of Ernest and Phebe Ward*, 2021). I never set out to invest so much time in promoting a small, almost "hidden" collection in the archives, but I have learned so much in the process about mission history and the Holiness Movement, and also its early connections with Pentecostalism. I thought with all of this work, I would be done with

the Wards, but recently I came across an additional addendum to their story with the Mukti Revival, and thought this might be a good place to include it, since it was a journey which started *From the Archives!*

For a quick overview of the Ward's work, they left the United States in 1880 and arrived in Bombay (Mumbai) in January of 1881. They went completely by faith without any support, but prayer support and the official recognition of the Free Methodist Church. They set up a mission (Pilgrim Faith Mission) in Ellichpur (Achalpur) and worked closely with Albert Norton in what would become the Kurku and Indian Hill Mission. Primarily they did evangelistic preaching in the local bazaars and sold tracts in an early Holiness effort to convert the people of Central India. In 1892, the Wards sold their house and left the mission field to return to the U.S on furlough, which is the first known time they reference visiting Pandita Ramabai. As they left, they also met two young women from the Pentecost Bands, one of whom was Bessie Sherman (later Ashton), who would be important in the story. By 1894, the Wards are listed among the Pentecost Bands in their work.



An Early Image of the Ward Family Including their Daughters: Ethel, Bessie, and Louisa

After the Wards returned to India, they started a new work in Raj Nandgaon doing similar work in evangelistic preaching and selling tracts. But a major famine in 1897 forced them in a different direction, helping to bury the dead, caring for orphans and helping to feed starving people. They were incredibly overwhelmed, and this same famine also moved Pandita Ramabai to start her Mukti Mission bringing Albert Norton back to the field with her from Rochester, New York. The Pentecost Bands sent a group of workers out to start a work in India, and this group ended up joining the Wards and taking over their mission work. In September 1898, the Wards returned to the United States on a furlough as part of the Pentecost Bands. Conflict with the new leader, Frank Hotle, led the Wards to break from the Pentecost Bands in 1901, and as a result they were forced to leave the successful mission and orphanage they had created.

From December of 1901 to April of 1902 the Wards stayed with their friends Albert and Mary Norton at the Dhond (Daund) boy's orphanage which was close to Pandita Ramabai's Mukti Mission and partnered with her in numerous ways. It was at this time that Phebe Ward gave her in depth description of Ramabai's mission work quoted at length in the *From the Archives* essay in 2015. From May of 1902 until May of 1904 the Wards worked with the Vanguard Mission in Sanjan, which was part of the work of C.W. Sherman, another holiness leader (and the father of Bessie Sherman Ashton who had also broken from the Pentecost Bands by this time). In June of 1904, the Wards formally rejoined the Free Methodists and their work in Yeotmal. Their daughter Ethel, also finally broke from the Pentecost Bands at his time and joined with the Free Methodist work as well. The Wards began work in an outstation of the Free Methodist work in Wun Berar. The larger more informative diary of Phebe Ward ends at the end of 1904.

The Mukti Revival at Pandita Ramabai's Mukti Mission began in late June of 1905, and rapidly spread to other parts of India including Norton's Boy's Christian Home in Dhond and the Free Methodist Missions in Yeotmal and Wun Berar by August of 1905. It was while contemplating all of this, that another check of the archives found a small book (maybe two by three inches, which turned out to be Phebe's diary from 1905. While it lacks the detail of her earlier diary, which was much larger and had more space to write, it does cover a crucial trip she made to visit the Mukti Revival while it was in progress in its earliest days, and as such it also helps us think through the timeline of the Wards, and the possible influence of their work on the Mukti Revival.

From this diary, we can see some important information. Phebe notes her correspondence both received and sent throughout the entire year at the front and back of the diary. While most of her letters are to family, especially her daughters in school near Bombay (Bessie and Louise) and also Ethel, who sailed July 8, 1905 to go to school in America, Phebe also wrote to Mary Norton, Bessie Ashton, and other friends and connections from her time in the Pentecost Bands (Sister Tucker, Sister Whittle, Brother and Sister McCready, Brother and Sister Taylor) and Free Methodist supporters in the United States (Brother Chesbro). Importantly, she notes on March 20, 1905 that Albert Norton had sailed for the United States, so he was not present for the outbreak of the Mukti Revival, even though he was the one to introduce to Mukti Revival as an outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the speaking of tongues in volume one, number seven of *The Apostolic Faith* in 1907, the major paper of the Azusa Street Revival. When he returned from his trip to the U.S. is uncertain, but Phebe's visit precedes any experience Norton would have had of the revival. On July 4, 1905, Phebe first mentions hearing descriptions of the Welsh Revival (which began September 22, 1904) and the revival in the Khassia Hills in Northern India (which occurred in March 1904), which are often credited for influencing the following Mukti Revival. On September 4, 1905 Phebe writes, "Revival news from Shillong Presbytery is thrilling." This refers to a continuation of the Khassia Hills Revival that occurred on April 1, 1905. Wun Berar was definitely off the beaten track, so it is unclear if these were the first reports she heard or not, but they are the first time they appear in her diary. Phebe notes the next day on September 5, 1905 that, "The revival at Yeotmal is gathering momentum in its onward progress. Souls getting saved and baptized with the Holy Ghost." And again, on September 13, 1905, "Revival- good news pouring in from Yeotmal." This clearly supports the idea that the Mukti Revival of late June 1905 reached Yeotmal by August, and it was underway when Phebe heard about it in Wun Berar in early September.

Phebe Ward was a committed Holiness missionary, and she had been involved in seeking for revival in India since her earliest work in the country. Now with no children to tend and Ernest often away on preaching missions in different parts of the region, she must have been eager to see what was going on for herself. She had planned a trip to visit her younger daughters in their boarding school in Poona (Pune) and do some other errands in Bombay (Mumbai) for a while, but in her diary, she suddenly

notes on October 9, 1905, "Louisa's letter decided my starting towards Poona sooner than I had anticipated." While we don't know the contents of that letter, it encouraged Phebe to take almost a month-long trip, and she clearly made a visit to the Mukti Revival a key part of this trip. Her journal describes some of the difficulties of the journey, but also some of the people she connected with along the way.



The Ward's First Mission Compound at Ellichpur

Oct. 10, 1905

"Was helped in getting started so I decided to take the night passenger instead of mail so I saved 2-11-0 to Bombay. God helped to get a tonga across the Wardha river. The bullocks pulled it through though the water went over the seat. I went across on the boat."

Oct. 11, 1905

"Travelling all day. Had for a companion a native Christian whose father was formerly a Sikh and converted under Dr. Wilson.² They formerly lived in Indore and Lakshman Parshad had once wanted to marry her, but she was then too young. She had lost 4 children and her husband, 2 children died of plague. I tried to comfort her, 'Every heart knoweth its own bitterness.'"

Oct. 12, 1905

"The train reached Bombay rather late. I stayed at Mr. Cutler's and later in the day Mrs. Cutler went shopping with me."

Oct. 13, 1905

"Went shopping morn- after having a precious season of prayer together. I gave them a short Bible reading on Ezek. 16:1-22. Made a mistake and purchased a ticket to Sanjan but afterward bot one to Pardi from Sanjan. Spent the night with Sister Ashton³ and Reginal. My mistake was fortunate as I left my box at Sanjan and did not have to carry it in the rain to Pardi Mission. Rained hard."

Oct. 14, 1905

"Bro. Ashton's have a neat place at Pardi.⁴ Kalyo has been very ill but was saved from death in answer to prayer. The boys had begun to dig his grave! When he came to when they were praying for him. Came to Sanjan by afternoon train. Rejoiced to see the children. Mulji and Ganga have a fine baby."

Oct. 15, 1905

"Talked to the 3 workers. Luema⁵, Srs. Rodabaugh and Friesen⁶ on Ezek. 16 at 10 AM. Also led the eve service in Hindustani on the beautiful inner temple of Solomon dwelling on the need of a golden heart for Jesus to dwell in. God blessed me all day."

Oct. 16, 1905

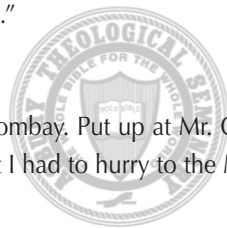
"Have a headache. Think my new glasses may have affected me. Resting quietly and writing letters."

Oct. 17, 1905

"Left on the 11 AM for Bombay. Put up at Mr. Cutler's. As there was some trouble about Ernest's suit I had to hurry to the Market to see about getting it made."

Oct. 18, 1905

"Shopping. Changed Bessie's gold watch for two good silver watches worth Rs. 35 apiece. Had our initials put on them. Had a good time at prayers



and at secret prayer. God encourages one by his presence in the rush of shopping."

Oct. 19, 1905

"Left Byculla at 10 AM and reached Poona at 4:30 PM A young ex-soldier rode with me that played the banjo well. He also had a violin but had no salvation. A bride and groom got on at Lanouli. God helped me to let His light shine through me. B & L (*Bessie and Louise Ward, Phebe's daughters*) glad to see me. Others seemed so too. Had a good talk with Mrs. Eddy⁷ on divine things."



Photo of Taylor High School in Poona, Where Bessie and Louisa Attended High School.

This is from a Scrapbook from the Ward's Collection

Oct. 20, 1905

"Saw the children go through several drills. B & L's classes went through the wand drill. I led the prayer service AM. Fasted PM dinner and tea."

Oct. 21, 1905

"Wrote letters. Bot a few things for Bessie. Mended a little on Louisa's clothes. Heard Bessie and Minnie Smith play their duet in eve. They expect to play it at the Distribution."



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Oct. 22, 1905

"Bro. Cutler preached in M.E. Church 8 AM from Neh. 1:4 a good sermon. I taught a class in S.S. also led prayers at no. 7 Phayre Road. Talking to the girls on Luke 10:38-42. Bro. Cutler again preached in eve from Luke 15:11-21. To my mind the morn. Sermon was the best. Also attended Marathi prayers at noon."

Oct. 23, 1905

"Led prayers at Mrs. Hutchings 8 AM Went to Soonderbai Powars⁸ at 5 PM Attended prayers with a few of the girls. Some acted quite strange. They prayed with power and a few told me of the wonderful way God had saved. Shining eyes and shining faces."

Oct. 24, 1905

"Sewed some. Have interesting talks with Mrs. Eddy. God is greatly helping her."

Oct. 25, 1905

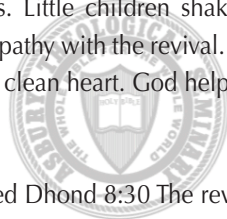
"Sewing for the girls. Held a service in the M.E. Church. Ezek. 16:6-14. Had some liberty but did not feel much inspiration from the congregation. Poor souls!"

Oct. 26, 1905

"Left Poona and arrived in Kedgaon at 8:6 Met by Mr. Gadre. The Revival has struck Mukti. Someone praying all the time. R.J. Ward⁹ gave us a good talk at 9:30 just to the workers. I got a chance to testify twice. The evening meeting exceeded anything I ever saw in the way of demonstrations. I shall never forget the shakings. Little children shaking for hours. The English workers are in hearty sympathy with the revival. Prayer with Miss Cole until 12:30 who was seeking a clean heart. God helped her."

Oct 27, 1905

"Left Kedgaon and reached Dhond 8:30 The revival is in progress here but not as extensive as at Mukti. Led a woman's meeting at 1 and spoke in the eve. Prayer meeting."



Oct. 28, 1905

"Did not get up in time for the early prayer meeting. At 8 AM talked to the leaders and teachers in the revival of holding still under trial. Led the women's meeting at 1 PM and testified in the evening prayer meeting. The boys ask forgiveness so much for what they have done and ask the boys to (say?) they forgive them by holding up their hands. Had a burden of prayer for Pro. Luttrell who is ill."

Oct. 29, 1905

"Talked in S.S. on the lesson. Led the 3 PM service speaking from Isa. 40:3-4 and Isa 35:8 a little. Had considerable freedom. Ernest prayer at first delayed the meeting but did not hinder. Gave my Ezek 16 at family prayer at noon and was much blessed. In eve I spoke on it in Hindustani. I was free but not so blessed as in afternoon. Sr. Norton is impressed over some things. Led the children's service at 1 about Mary and Martha."

Oct. 30, 1905

"As I went to the 5 ocl. Prayer meeting Vihila was praying about the roots of sin in his heart so I knew yesterday talks was not a failure. God bless that boy! He is the leader here. After prayer Sr. N. and I went to Eben's grave. Rested. Talked to the children before leaving about sitting at Jesus feet. Left at 8:20 PM."

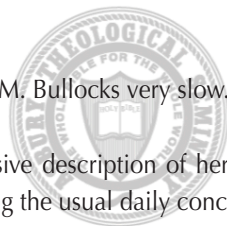
Oct. 31, 1905

"Changed at Mannar and reached Bhorawal 8 AM and Warora 11:5. Ernest met me and read me Ethel's letter from Seattle. She has reached there at last. Thank God! She saw Frank in Chicago."

Nov. 1, 1905

"Reached Wun about 4 PM. Bullocks very slow. Sarjibai is not well."

After this extensive description of her trip to the Mukti Revival, Phebe reverts to discussing the usual daily concerns of work in the mission field. It is significant that in her discussion of the Mukti Revival, Phebe does not mention any "speaking in tongues" or *glossolalia*. She does note that it exceeded any of her previous experiences in terms of "demonstrations" but her main focus seems to be on the shaking experiences of the children.



Given her past experiences with Radical Holiness revival experiences, she seems rather surprised by her encounters with the Mukti Revival. Her year ends with the arrival of another Holiness figure, William Godbey, who was on an extended world tour and who came with Bishop W. A. Sellow, one of the leaders of the Free Methodist Church. Phebe makes two references to his presence.

Dec. 25, 1905

Bro. Sellow preached AM text Luke 2:11. Vermadabai translated. Dr. Godbey came. He preached PM from the great commission, "Go ye into all the world." Bro. Sellow preached in eve from "Let this mind be in you that was also in Christ Jesus."

Dec. 26, 1905

Fasted PM. The Spirit fell on the meeting and it was turned into a prayer meeting followed by a testimony meeting instead of a preaching service by Dr. Godbey who said some good things after. He also gave us a talk on Scripture before he left on the tonga. In the eve Bro. Sellow preached from 1 Thes. 5:23.



Later Photo of the Ward Family Shortly Before Phebe's Death

What is also interesting is that William Godbey had also visited the Mukti Mission along with others missions connected with the Holiness Movement. He notes that he spent three months in India visiting various mission stations. In particular, he wrote about his experience of the Mukti Revival in a book he published in 1907.¹⁰ According to his account, Ramabai asked Godbey to preach on entire sanctification. He also notes that he went to visit Ramabai with a certain degree of skepticism,

When I was preaching in India, before I had gone to Ramabai's great work which I had heard so much about, I feared they had gone into fanaticism, and that I would realize on arrival my painful duty to put my foot on some things, but the help of God endeavoring to separate the vile from the pure. When I got there and diagnosed the situation, recognized my environments, and inhaled copiously the spiritual atmosphere, asking the Holy Spirit to put me in perfect harmony with His work in that place, soon the critic's cap fell off, or rather got burnt up by the fires of the Holy Ghost. When I found my eyes flowing like rivers and my spirit melted by the celestial flame, I got like a man whose fine horse was running away with him, when, having done his utmost to check him by pulling on the bit, and seeing he was not availing anything, throwing down the lines he shouted, "Go ahead; I am going that way, too!"¹¹

At this same time, Godbey visited Soonderbai Powar, along with a Mrs. Eddy from Ohio and Mrs. Werthein of Denver also in Poona. After leaving Poona, Godbey visited Albert and Bessie Ashton and visited their work in Sanjan and Pardi, in the same pattern as Phebe Ward.

Godbey does not date his journey in his book, which was published in 1907, but Phebe Ward's journal gives a solid date for Godbey's arrival in Yeotmal on December 25, 1905. Since Godbey notes that he spent three months in India and he still had travels to do in northern India following his visit, we can roughly place Godbey's visit to the Mukti Revival around late November or early December in 1905. This is a significant dating of one of the earliest Holiness eyewitness accounts of the Mukti Revival. However, Phebe Ward's short account places her earlier by at least a month. Albert Norton (who was absent from India during the start of the revival) first reports accounts of *glossolalia* at the Mukti Revival in a letter published in 1907.¹² William Godbey gives no indication of encountering "speaking in tongues," although his account clearly indicates that prior

reports made him skeptical of “fanaticism” (which he ultimately found unwarranted). However, Godbey was a temporary traveler to India and did not know the language or culture of the people spoken at the revival, so his account does not necessarily indicate the presence or absence of *glossolalia*. The same cannot be said for Phebe Ward’s account. Phebe had arrived in 1881 and spent most of her time in the same region of India. With 24 years’ experience, including time spent in the Mukti Mission before the revival and at Norton’s boy’s home in Dhond, and adding her time spent learning the local languages, it is significant that Phebe is most struck by the “shaking” of the children. She does not add *glossolalia* to the “demonstrations” she notes. It is important to remember that Phebe was a strong advocate of Holiness revivals, and sought them in her own work throughout her time in India. It is quite possible that *glossolalia* became a prominent aspect of the revival in 1906 before Norton returned from his travels, but evidence from both Phebe Ward and William Godbey seem to indicate that “speaking in tongues” was at least not a prominent part of the early outbreak of the revival.

The archives of the B.L. Fisher library are open to researchers and works to promote research in the history of Methodism and the Wesleyan-Holiness movement. Images, such as these, provide one vital way to bring history to life. Preservation of such material is often time consuming and costly, but are essential to helping fulfill Asbury Theological Seminary’s mission. If you are interested in donating items of historic significance to the archives of the B.L. Fisher Library, or in donating funds to help purchase or process significant collections, please contact the archivist at archives@asburyseminary.edu.

End Notes

¹ All images used courtesy of the Archives of the B.L Fisher Library of Asbury Theological Seminary who own all copyrights to these digital images, unless otherwise noted. Please contact them directly if interested in obtaining permission to reuse these images.

² Most likely this is a reference to Rev. Dr. John Wilson (1804-1875), a Scottish Christian missionary and teacher in Bombay. He was involved in the establishment of Wilson College and Bombay University and wrote books on the Parsi religion and other cultural issues in India.

³ This is Bessie Sherman Ashton, the daughter of C.W. Sherman of the Vanguard Mission, and an early and long friend of Phebe’s from the

Pentecost Band days. Cf. Ashton, Albert E. and Bessie Sherman Ashton. *From Famine to Famine: An Account of Famine Experience and Mission Work in India*. St. Louis, MO: Vanguard Mission, ca 1908.

⁴ Albert E. Ashton, who married Bessie Sherman had opened a boy's training department in Pardi to accompany the girl's orphanage in Sanjan, about 90 miles north of Bombay.

⁵ Miss Luema Angel was one of the first workers at the Vanguard Orphanage in Sanjan, where she worked about six years until her death in 1907 or 1908 in Missouri, where she was visiting an aunt. She was also a major correspondent with Phebe Ward in her diary list.

⁶ Mary Friesen was another worker at the Vanguard Mission girl's orphanage in Sanjan.

⁷ Mrs. Eddy is referred to in other works by the Wards as the principal of Taylor High School where Bessie and Louisa attended school in India. It was located in Poona (Pune), not too far from the Mukti Mission. She may be the same Eddy visited by Godbey during his visit.

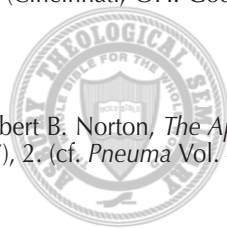
⁸ Soonderbai Powar (1856-1921) was an Indian Christian philanthropist who worked closely with Pandita Ramabai while she ran a teacher training school in Pune and later in Kedgaon. Like Ramabai, she was a major advocate for the rights of women in India, and she also opposed the opium trade with the support of the *Bombay Guardian*. The Mukti Revival spread to her training school around the end of July or early August, before reaching Yeotmal.

⁹ Robert John Ward was a missionary of the London Missionary Society and pastor of the Davidson Street Congregational Church in Madras. He was influenced by the Moody/Sankey revivals in England and also the Keswick branch of the Holiness Movement. His wife had also been a missionary with the Church of Scotland Mission in Madras and was interested in work to benefit Indian women.

¹⁰ William Godbey, *Around the World, Garden of Eden, Latter Day Prophecies and Missions*, (Cincinnati, OH: God's Revivalist Office, 1907), 432-478.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 453.

¹² Letter from Albert B. Norton, *The Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles, Cal.), 1, no. 7 (April 1907), 2. (cf. *Pneuma* Vol. 42 (2020), pages 5-24)



Book Reviews

A Multitude of All Peoples: Engaging Ancient Christianity's Global Identity

Vince L. Bantu

Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Academic

2020, 256 pp., paperback, \$35.00

ISBN: 978-0-8308-5107-2

Reviewed by Susangeline Patrick

In *A Multitude of All Peoples*, Vince Bantu argues that early Christianity was a global religion. To counter the narrative of a Eurocentric vision of church history, Bantu reveals an impressive and extensive focus on early development of Christianity in North Africa, the Middle East, and the ancient Silk Road. The book concentrates on the beginning of the third century until the twelfth century.

The book is well structured with four chapters. Chapter one lays out the foundational framework and overarching thesis. Bantu analyzes the formation of how Christianity came to be associated and perceived as a Hellenized/Romanized Western religion. He first identifies early Christianity in Asia and Africa and the Romanization of Christianity. He then traces the theologians and theological formulation of Chalcedonian, Miaphysite, and anti-Chalcedonian debates, interactions, developments, and their influences in early Christianity between the fourth century and the early seventh century. He attributes the Chalcedonian schism as being the most significant ecclesiastical divide that established the dominance of the Roman church and marginalized non-Western Christian traditions in Egypt, Nubia, Ethiopia, Syria, Arabia, and Palestine. Bantu then turns to the seventh century and provides an overview of the Arab Muslim conquest of the eastern Roman provinces and North Africa. He particularly focuses on how the Christian communities in Egypt had understood and interacted

with cultural shifts while living under Islamic rule from the seventh to the tenth century. Bantu reveals western Christendom and its imperial and religious dominance considering the Islamic rivalry between the eighth and eleventh centuries. Chapter two highlights prominent historical figures and theologians, events, and Christian movements in Egypt, Nubia, Ethiopia, and other parts of North Africa from the New Testament period till Medieval time. Like other historians such as Thomas Oden, Bantu also argues how profoundly early North African Christianity has shaped Christian history and contributed to theology. Chapter three focuses on the significant developments of Christianity in Syria, Lebanon, Arabia, and Armenia. Chapter four emphasizes Syriac Christian figures and their thought in Persia, India, Central Asia, China.

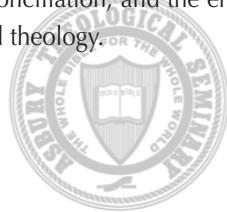
Bantu's historical lenses equip readers to recognize the diverse expressions and rich heritage in early and Medieval Christianity. The book also enables readers to discern what Bantu repeatedly labels as the western cultural captivity and militarization of Christianity.

Reading Bantu's book has also prompted three sets of questions. The first set of questions concerns the perceptions and actions of early Christian communities in western Asia and North Africa. How did Christian communities in western Asia and North Africa perceive and position themselves? Did they view themselves as being marginalized by Roman Christianity? In the process of the Romanization of Christianity, did Christianity also conversely reshape Roman culture? I may add that Celtic Christianity also rejected some elements of the Roman formulation of Christianity and developed their own distinctive theology and indigenized expression of Christianity. The second set of questions regards Christianity's encounters with different religions, including Medieval Islam and Buddhism. Since the crusades ended with the fall of Constantinople and Muslims won the wars, why would the loss of the crusades contribute to later justification of colonialism? The third set of questions centers on attributing Romanization of Christianity as the root cause of later calamities of western colonialism, the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and various other practices against indigenous peoples in Africa, Asia, the Americas, and Australia. Are there other root causes for European colonialism such as economic exploitation and political expansion? Was Christianity misused by Medieval European rulers or did Christian principles warrant or command political and religious dominance? Bantu's book would add some clarification if he could address these three sets of questions for readers to see the connection

between Romanized Christianity and the marginalization of Christianity in the majority world.

Additionally, a few comments may require more clarification. For example, Bantu views Augustine as “the victim of Romanocentric racist attitudes” (114). Christian theology was enriched because of Augustine’s works, in what ways did Augustine suffer racism? Did early Christian communities in Kerala, India defy the hierarchical *jati* (caste) system (187)? Four minor corrections are also needed. The first one is that Portuguese Jesuits arrived in India in the late sixteenth century, not late fifteenth century (189) because the Society of Jesus was not officially formed until 1540. Perhaps Bantu meant that Portuguese Catholics arrived in India in the late fifteenth century. The second one concerns Xinjiang’s technical classification as an autonomous region (*zizhi qu*), not a province (191). The third clarification is that the Dunhuang manuscripts written in Old Uyghur is distinct from the modern Uyghur language, thus not communicable with the modern ethnic Uyghur spoken language (192). If Bantu is referring to the Old Turkic language found in the manuscripts, it is also a linguistic system different from modern Uyghur. The fourth clarification is regarding the second character of the illustrious religion *jingjiao*. *Jiao* means teaching or religion. It is different from *dao*, “way.” These two words are to be distinguished (204).

From the complex and rich resources of the book, Bantu provides readers a better picture of Christianity’s contextual and multi-directional nature in its transmission both geographically and historically. The book contributes to the post-colonial conversations from a historical and intercultural perspective. In interacting with the political identity of Christianity, Bantu moves beyond a resistance-dominance binary vision and calls for healing, reconciliation, and the empowerment of indigenous leadership and contextual theology.



Imagining Theology: Encounters with God in Scripture, Interpretation, and Aesthetics

Garrett Green

Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic

2020, 288 pp., hardcover, \$36.00

ISBN: 978-1-5409-6192-1

Reviewed by Scott Donahue-Martens

Imagining Theology navigates aspects of postmodern skepticism, especially concerning God and theology. Green argues for a return to normative theology rooted in a normative inspired view of scripture. Because such a return should not ignore the gains of modernity and postmodernity, the theological imagination needs to be employed. Since the theological imagination is prone to misuse and misinterpretation, Green argues that a robust orthodox Christology is needed to navigate the hermeneutical task of imagining God from scripture. The theological and hermeneutical implications of this argument are developed in connections with the works of Barth and Frei. *Imagining Theology* is a hopeful theological argument for how to do theology as a person of faith in the 21st century.

Chapter one is an excellent overview of issues surrounding science and religion. It also lays the foundation for the theological imagination referenced throughout the work. Green provides a brief intellectual history of relevant material before unpacking how science and religion each depend on a type of imaginative thinking. Science has largely operated out of an empirical paradigm that focuses on causes and not teleology. Recognition of the limitations of this scientific paradigm should free religion from attempting to prove itself under impossible paradigms. “The task of the scientist is to imagine the natural world, but the task of imagining God is something altogether different” (10). Green’s use of imagination here is a realistic imagination rooted in a normative reading of scripture. While science and religion utilize the realistic imagination toward different ends, each is understood as a hermeneutical enterprise.

Chapter two explores Barth’s concepts of saga and imagination. The proper way of understanding scripture as saga is through scripture’s imagining the world rightly in connection to God. Green maintains that postmodern readers of scripture need to read from a place of trust in the application of the use of scripture. Readers need to recognize that biblical

writers were able to imagine the world rightly. Chapter two takes up the theme of modern suspicion through the work of Feuerbach. Barthian Christology provides a response, and Christology in general is developed further in chapter three to underscore deficiencies in liberal theology. Without this normative orthodox Christology, the theological imagination is in grave danger of mis-imagining God and the world rightly. The fifth chapter outlines a possible way of embracing Ricoeur's concept of the second naïveté with Frei and a postliberal reading of Barth.

Moving beyond the Romantic hermeneutics' choice between the mirror and the lamp, Green argues for imagination as a lens in chapter six, which is employed to resist idolizing understandings of God in chapter seven. Green exposes his perceived limitations of metaphorical theology in chapter eight. He employs this to argue that "[t]he theology of the genderless God is doubly flawed" (125) and argues for "the kenotic masculinity of God" (136). Chapters nine through twelve explore facets of eschatology, especially through Kant and Moltmann. The eschatological imagination provides part of the needed teleological vision for the theological imagination because it is a core part of the grammar of theology. The final few chapters grapple with faith in increasingly pluralistic and secular settings. Green describes the paradigms of pluralism and secularism, as well as how normative Christianity should resist these trajectories.

Imagining Theology is a complex collection of chapters revolving around faithful Christian being and interpretation in light of postmodernity. While some of the chapters were more convincing than others, the work as a whole makes valuable steps toward an imaginative hermeneutical theology from a Barthian perspective. Green's desire to afford scripture the normative voice and role in theology is maintained throughout the entire work. This corrective to theologies that often abandon scripture for other sources of authority will be welcomed by many. It does give the work an apologetic quality for the type of theology Green purposes. While there are connections between chapters and sections, any individual chapter or section could also be read on its own. The work contains unifying themes, as the title suggests, but the individual chapters are predominantly self-contained arguments.

The book is written with an expert audience in mind. In places, Green leaves original languages untranslated and makes highly nuanced arguments across languages that escape translatability. He also presumes a high level of theological and philosophical literacy. To my mind, a

benefit of these choices is the complex development of Green's arguments. It allows him to explore important theological figures and loci deeply. However, it means that the work is best suited for graduate students and those in the academy. Green grapples with philosophical theologians, especially continental philosophers for the sake of theological faithfulness to a normative reading of scripture. This contribution to theology in general, and imaginative theology in particular, makes the work well worth the read for those interested in these subjects.

Reading the Bible Missionally

Edited by Michael W. Goheen

Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans

2016, 343 pp., paper, \$22.36

ISBN: 978-0-8028-7225-8

Reviewed by Reinaldo I. Gracia Figueroa

Reading the Bible Missionally, is an edited volume by Michael W. Goheen and contains fifteen essays authored by scholars such as Richard Bauckham, Christopher J. H. Wright, N. T. Wright, and Darrell L. Guder, among others. This work is a landmark in missional hermeneutics and fills an existing gap in the literature of missiology and biblical studies. The aim of the book is to recover mission as a central category for reading and interpreting the Bible, for preaching and for theological education. The book is divided in five major sections: I. A Missional Hermeneutic, II. A Missional Reading of the Old Testament, III. A Missional Reading of the New Testament, IV. A Missional Reading of Scripture and Preaching, and V. A Missional Reading of Scripture and Theological Education. It is important to highlight that this book is part of the "The Gospel and our Culture Series," a series whose main objective is to cultivate a missional mentality in North American culture.

The heart of the book it is to explain what is a missional hermeneutic and how it can be integrated into other theological disciplines. The volume tries to connect mission and theology. For the discipline of missiology, the concept of *Missio Dei* is central because it emphasizes the missional nature of God and therefore of the entire church. This means that if mission is the "mother of theology," then, there is a need for engaging

missionally with the theological disciplines and theological education. The first section of the book functions as the foundation of the book because it is where missional hermeneutics is explained in depth. Two of these chapters will be briefly discussed here in order to highlight their contribution to the discussion of missional hermeneutics.

In chapter one, "A History and Introduction to a Missional Reading of the Bible," Michael Goheen, explores from a historical perspective the development of missional hermeneutics in biblical and missional scholarship. There are three dimensions that are important to build a missional hermeneutic. The first dimension is that *mission is central to the biblical story*. This means that "missional hermeneutics begins with the triune God and his mission to restore the world and a people from all nations" (15). The second dimension is *reading scripture to understand what mission really is*. Goheen points out, "missional hermeneutics help us to understand what the church's mission in the world really is" (21). The third dimension is *reading scripture to equip the church for missional praxis*. It is the "scriptures that inspire and inform the church for its missionary praxis" (25). This chapter provides three key components of missional hermeneutics.

In chapter five, "Intercultural Hermeneutics and the Shape of Missional Theology," John R. Franke turns the discussion toward intercultural hermeneutics. For Franke, to read the Bible missionally is to read it with others. Franke argues, "the task of reading the Bible with others and developing an intercultural approach to hermeneutics emerges from one of the most basic assumptions of Christian faith: that the gospel of Jesus Christ is good news for all people" (87). The chapter suggests that missional theology emerges from the interactions among intercultural hermeneutics, missiology, and postmodern thought. Therefore, missional theology needs to develop three aspects. The first aspect is it needs to be open and committed to others. The second aspect is that a missional theology beyond its foundations seeks to respond positively and appropriately to the situatedness of all humans (98). The third aspect of missional theology is to stand in opposition to claims that any particular theology is universal for all times and places (99). Franke's chapter demonstrates that intercultural hermeneutics and missional theology is pluralistic and committed to all cultures.

The chapters that were highlighted here are a snapshot of what the book offered. It provides a good range of discussion of what is means

to read the Bible missionally. The scholars in this volume engaged with the topic from different perspectives, such as, hermeneutics, the Old and New Testaments, history, theology, and homiletics. At end of the book the authors explain the implications of this discussion for theological education. In other words, the book provides the theoretical and practical applicability of the concept of missional hermeneutics. It does not leave the reader wondering about how to apply this concept to ministry or to theological education. The book makes clear that missional hermeneutics is being explored from different theological disciplines and angles.

Overall, the book is recommended for those who want to be introduced to the discussion of missional hermeneutics from a multidisciplinary perspective. A major strength of the book is the quality of the contributors and their writing. This book provides a serious and profound academical discussion on the topic. A weakness of the book is that the voices of the majority world were not included as contributors of the volume. Despite this, it is a volume that contributes to the missional discussion not only in the North American context, but also, there is applicability to the majority world contexts as well.

Reading Mark's Gospel as a Text from Collective Memory

Sandra Huebenthal

Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans

2020, 656 pp., hardcover, \$74.99

ISBN: 978-0-8028-7540-2

Reviewed by William B. Bowes

Originally published in 2014 as *Das Markusevangelium als kollektives Gedächtnis*, this English translation makes available for a wider audience Sandra Huebenthal's meticulous and intriguing work on the application of cultural-scientific/memory-theoretic studies to biblical studies. Huebenthal holds the position of professor for exegesis and biblical theology at the University of Passau, and has distinguished herself through various publications on both intertextuality and social identity within the New Testament.

Broadly, the book addresses the creation and use of Mark's Gospel through the lens of collective memory (a field which has recently enjoyed

growing scholarly attention), rather than through the lens of history, literature, or theology. Through an investigation of how groups remember events and how this memory is structured and represented, Huebenthal explores the image of Jesus constructed in Mark and what the narrative reveals about communal practice and the formation of identity. In her effort to bridge the gap between otherwise largely independent disciplines, she paints a picture of Mark's Gospel that is highly constructivist, in that she assumes that the events and persons Mark depicts are to be classified as "memories" which are conditioned by social forces and constructed by the narrator and are thus not accessible as accurate depictions or actual lived experiences of the characters. Huebenthal's view of memory is highly influenced by Assmann, Halbwachs, and Kelber, who do not understand memories to be linguistically or semantically fixed, but variable and socially rooted ideas of the past based on the present circumstances of the community of commemoration.

In the first chapter, Huebenthal begins by situating her approach within the broader approaches of Gospel criticism. She characterizes her own views in alignment with those who, for example, view the evangelists more as creative theologians than collectors or redactors, and view texts as created within a community rather than for a community. Her review of the work of earlier scholars like Bultmann and Käsemann in this chapter is helpful for grounding her own framework, which understands the memories in Mark's Gospel to be "fluid and convertible" meaning that "an unbiased look through the text is therefore not possible, neither as regards the events that lie behind it nor as regards the process of its growth" (76). Rather, in her view, Mark's transformation of his material reflects "the efforts of a group to draft a group identity based on that group's memories" (81). This perspective differentiates her approach from that of others like Bauckham or Hengel, who grant historical validity to Mark and a basic coherence between the text and its sources.

Chapter two has an in-depth discussion of the various forms of memory and the ways in which it has been understood, with Huebenthal laboring to show that memories are "always tied to specific sociocultural context, shaped and molded by them" (96). Assuming this, she can assert that the past exists only as a cultural construct, not actually preserved or recalled but rather past episodes are selectively reconstructed "from a perspective according to its assumed relevance within a given social frame" (100). The collective aspect of this idea of memory comes from the idea

that the community needs a shared point of reference in the past that brings meaning to present experience in order to construct a stable identity.

Chapter three begins to apply this perspective directly to Mark, suggesting that Mark's interpretation of the past altered previous material, resulting in socially accepted forms that were determinative for his community's understanding of their present place and future trajectory. She thus rejects the long-held view that there was a linear, evolutionary synoptic growth that began with oral tradition and written collections into a narrative framework. This view, she argues, must be abandoned in favor of the view that the episodes in the Gospels are "socially and culturally shaped constructions" (184) not corresponding to real events they remember. From this perspective, Mark's narrative is "functional and oriented to the needs of the community of commemoration...in the form of an identity-constitutive founding story" (185), likely necessitated, she asserts, by the crisis of the Jewish War and its aftermath.

In chapters four through six, Huebenthal focuses on analyzing the narrative structure of Mark 6:7-8:26, noting first the complex intertextual web presented by this section and then various possible reasons why Mark may have included certain passages. For example, she proposes that many of Jesus's miracles "are semanticized as indicators for the time of salvation that has just begun" (346). Occasionally this leads to some over-interpretation, as in her analysis of Mark 7:34 where she suggests that Jesus's statement "be opened" should be read as a demand for the readers to "be opened for the new reality of the βασιλεία that has arrived" (445). She then argues that Mark should be divided into three parts, first the constitution of the community (1:16-8:30), the organization of the community (8:31-11:10) and the Jerusalem episodes which focus on crisis and how to overcome it (11:11-15:39). In her analysis she refers frequently to the "theory of multiperspectival narration" and "possible worlds theory", ideas which focus on the perspectives of the characters and how these relate to the broader world of the text and interact with the world of the narrator. Finally, she examines individual pericopes, showing how Mark's audience could interact with each as they constructed their identity within their own context. In the final chapter and epilogue, Huebenthal reiterates her findings and engages with some of the critiques that have been made of her approach.

Huebenthal's work is strong in that it is well-written and meticulously researched (there are more than 1,600 footnotes). It also creates

interesting possibilities for future research about the connection between the fields of memory and biblical studies, forming a bridge between them in a manner unattested in much available literature. Her discussion of the intertextual elements in Mark 6:7-8:26 was also exceptional, providing many valuable insights. From a critical perspective, the repeated dismissal of any historical value to Mark's Gospel will surely prove troubling and doubtless unacceptable to many readers. She consistently assumes that writers like Mark were unconcerned with the accurate, historical representation of real events or of the person of Jesus but deliberately created fictions for the sake of the community's needs. This assumption severs the connection between the text and the actual events and renders Mark rather irrelevant to the contemporary reader. While this clearly makes the book controversial, it nonetheless deserves to be read and evaluated by serious students of Mark's Gospel.

2084: Artificial Intelligence, the Future of Humanity, and the God Question

John C. Lennox

Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan

2020, 208 pp., paper, \$19.99

ISBN: 978-0-310-10956-3

Reviewed by Matthew Haugen

While ethical and legal cases involving modern technology continue to increase, John C. Lennox in *2084* advocates for serious evaluations of the benefits, liabilities, and limitations surrounding data-driven markets and governments as well as artificial intelligence. Despite the title having strong Orwellian allusions, Lennox is broader and slightly more balanced in evaluating AI than the title suggests.

2084 can be organized into two sections explaining two competing worldviews respectively: atheism (i.e., technological-optimism) and Christianity. Lennox attempts to give a fair presentation of each worldview, but ultimately argues for the supremacy of Christ. Lennox's conversation partner in *2084* is Yuval Harari, author of *Homo deus: A Brief History of Tomorrow*.

Chapters 1 through 3 map out the atheistic technological-optimist worldview (i.e., origin and *telos*). Chapters 4 through 6 explore the benefits,

drawbacks, and concerns surrounding Artificial *General* Intelligence. Although the benefits of AI tend to be more commonplace today, some drawbacks and concerns that Lennox explores are worth noting: threats of job loss, “surveillance capitalism” contra “surveillance communism”, and transhumanism as a means to achieving *Homo deus*.

Chapter 7 transitions the book to the second section: the Christian worldview. Chapters 8 and 9 develop a theological anthropology using Genesis 1-2 and Genesis 3 respectively. Lennox distinguishes between intelligence and consciousness, in which AI has not achieved the latter. Lennox also connects the Genesis 3 account to ethics and technology. What ethical frameworks should be applied to AI and who are the arbiters of these decisions?

Chapters 10 and 11 explore Christology. The transhumanist pursuit of AI and the *Homo deus* acts as a parody of Christian teaching surrounding the true *Homo deus*, Jesus Christ. Furthermore, not only has Christ overcome the primary problem to be solved in the atheistic technological-optimist worldview (i.e., death), but the promise of a physical resurrection with Christ is extended to all who follow him. Chapters 12 and 13 explore eschatology as it relates to the true *Homo deus*.

There are three primary strengths in *2084*. First, Lennox’s critiques of AI as being *artificial*. The intelligence of AI is often overstated. Second, there are many unexplored sociological, economic, and ethical questions about AI that have dire consequences for society. Third, power is being centralized via data and technology in such a way that companies or governments might become totalitarian.

There are two primary weaknesses of *2084*. First is Lennox’s anthropomorphization of AI in chapter 12 when he describes people’s willingness to “worship” AI systems despite his repeated attempts to argue AI as being truly artificial. Second is Lennox’s deductive treatment of the book of Revelation. For instance, he conflates those who receive the beast’s mark in Revelation 13:11-18 with an implanted chip, Tegmark’s bracelet, or the partial realization of AGI.

2084 contributes to the interdisciplinary study of religion and science, theological anthropology, and Christian apologetics. I recommend this book to those in ministry, academia, data science, and machine learning or those interested in apologetics involving science, technology, and faith.

New Faces of God in Latin America: Emerging Forms of Vernacular Christianity

Virginia Garrard

New York, NY: Oxford University Press

2020, 300 pp., hardcover, \$99.00

ISBN: 9780197529270

Reviewed by Zachariah S. Motts

“Latin America” is an ambiguous, debated term that, like many terms, conceals a massive amount of diversity. A three-hundred-page book by one author cannot hope to be comprehensive when recent religious developments in Latin America are in view. However, while not comprehensive, Virginia Garrard succeeds at representing the detail of that diversity well and carefully. She guides the reader through a series of ethnographic studies which look closely at the history, artefacts, group practices, and individual self-expressions of religious actors in specific regions like the Guatemala or Haiti. Throughout, her storytelling and interpretations of religious phenomena are respectful of the people involved and of their self-interpretations while being sufficiently critical. She continuously returns to the question of what these religious expressions mean to the person who weaves them into her or his life.

The studies in *New Faces* are balanced toward the northern part of Latin America: Central America and the Caribbean. Explorations of Guatemala, Mexico, and Haiti are followed by a foray into the global forms of neopentecostalism arising out of and linked to Brazil. The historical setting of these religious expressions is richly illustrated by stories of local communities. The human details keep the descriptions from becoming abstractions, the cold observations of a detached scholar. In Guatemala, Garrard takes the reader on a tour of a strongly Pentecostal community, Almolonga. At the end of the chapter, Garrard writes a postscript which returns to Almolonga after a tropical storm wreaked havoc on the area. For the reader, the obvious question is how a town that had associated so much of its prosperity with the blessings of God would respond to this disaster. It is the voices of individuals telling of their response to the tragedy that is powerful in this section, and, whether or not the reader shares the worldview of these speakers, they are treated with dignity and given the

chance to describe their situation. The ethnography here is well done in its respect for the human beings in the study.

Personally, I spent some time in Central America during college. I worked for a summer in Tijuana, Mexico and attended a Pentecostal church near the border every Sunday. After that, I studied in Guatemala for a brief time. While there I spent a Sunday in a Ki'che' church and went to the shrine of San Simón (Maximón) that Garrard analyzes. As I read, those memories came alive and were given context that I did not have as a student. She places those religious expressions in a network of relationships that fleshes out the world and the meanings of the people involved. At the time, what I saw was a series of disjointed experiences, but, as I read, I was taken back to those places and shown how they fit in the larger vista of the Latin American landscape.

This is a book that I wish I had read years ago when I was exploring Central America. It is a careful, scholarly book with plenty of illustration and human interest. Although there are many of countries in Latin America where Garrard does not shine the full light of her scholarship, what *New Faces* lacks in comprehensiveness, it more than makes up for in depth and detail. It is a great resource for the student of religion, Latin America, or sociology.

Basics of Latin: A Grammar with Readings and Exercises from the Christian Tradition

Derek Cooper

Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Academic

2020, 432 pp., paper, \$59.99

ISBN: 978-0310538998



Reviewed by William B. Bowes

Although it was the official language of the church for centuries and the *lingua franca* in the imperial era during which early Christianity formed, Latin is typically subordinated to Greek and Hebrew in theological studies. Indeed, the market is saturated with introductory Greek grammars,

and there are few contenders to the “big two” in Latin pedagogy, *Wheelock’s Latin* (Collins, 7th ed., 2011) and Hans Ørberg’s *Lingua Latina per se illustrata* (Focus, 2nd ed., 2011). In this addition to the Zondervan *Language Basics* series, Derek Cooper has introduced a new, unique and thorough grammar of Latin most suitable for Christian college and seminary students. Given its focus on examining and translating exclusively Christian Latin texts, Cooper’s work is likely to become a new standard in the study of this neglected language, particularly in Christian contexts with students preparing for further studies in classics or Church history.

Cooper’s grammar is made up of twenty-seven chapters divided into eight parts, structured in such a way as to cover a two-semester introductory course, and an appendix which includes numerous exercises for each chapter. In terms of chapters and pages, the first part is the longest in the grammar, dealing with initial elements of the language (such as the alphabet and accents) and moving into the various noun declensions. Cooper structures the grammar to be accessible to those who may have little familiarity with grammatical concepts of language study, and takes time to explain features of grammar and syntax in English and how these compare to Latin. Following other grammars in the *Language Basics* series (such as Mounce’s *Basics of Biblical Greek*), each chapter begins with an introductory note dealing with a theological topic (which he calls *opusculum theologicum*) and each chapter ends with a list of vocabulary to memorize. Cooper also includes a section with a Latin prayer at the end of each chapter (which he calls *oratio popularis*).

Although the equative verb “to be” (*sum, esse*) is covered in the first part, Cooper waits until the second part of the grammar to introduce verbs, beginning in chapter eight. In this way he follows the tendency of other grammars in Zondervan’s series, but makes a clean break with other Latin grammars such as *Wheelock’s*, which introduces verbs from the first chapter. Chapter 8 serves as a helpful introduction into the characteristics, structure, and principal parts of verbs, with chapters nine, ten and eleven covering present, imperfect, and future active and passive, respectively. Chapter twelve begins the third part of the grammar, which deals with irregular or “nonconforming” verbs, beginning with a return to the equative and progressing to more complex verbs such as *ferre*, which occurs frequently in ancient texts and often compounds with other words. The third part concludes with an introduction of deponent verbs (that is, those with passive forms and active meanings) and semi-deponent verbs (those

with mostly active and passive forms, but only passive forms in the perfect tense). In a two-semester structure, the completion of this part would likely be a good stopping point for the initial course.

Part four more thoroughly examines pronouns and adjectives, beginning first with personal pronouns and demonstratives and helpfully elaborating grammatical terminology for those not as well-versed in the jargon common to traditional grammars. Cooper then moves through reflexive, possessive and intensive pronouns in chapter fifteen and then into relative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns in chapter sixteen. Although such separations create more chapters, dealing with small groups of these elements at this stage in the learning process is helpful.

Parts five and six are somewhat of a turning point in the grammar, as they begin to introduce more complex aspects of verbs. Chapter seventeen addresses the perfect tense and its place in the grammatical system, and chapter eighteen introduces the pluperfect and future perfect. Chapter nineteen is one of the longest chapters in the grammar, dealing with the subjunctive mood (which frequently trips up and discourages Latin students). Cooper is careful to present the subjunctive in a way that is accessible for readers only familiar with English, which can be rather clumsy and imprecise in its expressions of subjunctive ideas. Cooper then turns in the subsequent chapters to the imperfect, perfect and pluperfect subjunctives, all representing comparatively longer chapters, given the ambiguous and difficult ways that various verbs are rendered with the subjunctive.

Part seven deals with participles, passives and infinitives, following the structure of most other Latin (and Greek) grammars in leaving these elements to the very end. Chapter twenty-two is another quite lengthy chapter on the nature of participles, and may leave some readers wondering whether it should have been split into two chapters. Chapters twenty-three and twenty-four expand to more complex participial expressions, such as those involving future, perfect, and periphrastic formulations. Cooper also returns in more detail to the ablative case here, which is welcome, since at times it felt as though the ablative (which is rather peculiar to Latin, and absent from Biblical Greek) was overlooked. Chapters twenty-five and twenty-six close this part, dealing primarily with infinitives and the complexities of indirect speech.

The eighth and final part has only two chapters. Chapter twenty-seven deals with imperatives, introducing their basic form. Chapter twenty-

eight is an unusually brief conclusion section, which seemed rather unnecessary. This final section presents a point of critique, since it seems as though chapters twenty-seven and twenty-eight could have simply been combined with another part, rather than separated into an eighth section. Or, perhaps, given the fact that Cooper spreads the concept of indirect speech over two chapters otherwise dealing with infinitives (twenty-five and twenty-six), part eight could have been expanded and other sections shortened.

Even with this small point of contention, Cooper's grammar is excellent, and serves as a helpful, unthreatening option for those seeking an alternative to the available introductory texts. It is highly recommended for its accessibility and lack of jargon, its relatively short chapters, its detailed and thorough explanations, its manageable length, and its useful and illuminating examples from Christian writers.

Slaves, Women and Homosexuals: Exploring the Hermeneutics of Cultural Analysis

By William J. Webb.

Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2001,

301 pp., paper, \$30.00

ISBN 0-8308-1561-9.

Reviewed by Matthew K. Robinson

In this widely and influential study in hermeneutics, William J. Webb sets out to construct a set of criteria for determining whether particular passages from scripture, especially commands, are culturally bound or transcultural. Webb first gives attention to the nature of his task, the shape of scholarship in evangelical circles around hermeneutics generally, and the particular hermeneutical aim of his own study. He then moves on to develop and exemplify this hermeneutic via 18 criteria with which he analyzes key verses in regard to their implications on current issues in the west: the role of women in church and society and homosexuality. Webb ends his study with a chapter entitled "What if I Am Wrong" wherein he discusses the solidity of some arguments made previously in the book and considers what is at stake if he is indeed wrong. Ultimately, Webb concludes that scripture suggests an egalitarian ethic, the logical end of

its “redemptive movement hermeneutic.” However, the condemnation of homosexuality found in both the New and Old Testaments is transcultural and determines that homosexuality is indeed a sin for all time.

Chapter one, entitled “The Christian & Culture” briefly introduces the problem of assessing scripture and ethical issues via the two cultural horizons of any subject: the subject’s culture and the culture in which the text was produced and which the text initially reflects. Our “quest”, writes Webb, “is to determine whether the church should move with our culture or against our culture” on ethical issues, particularly that of the role of women in society and homosexual practice (29). In chapter two, Webb introduces his notion of the “redemptive-movement hermeneutic.” Webb argues that one must “engage the redemptive spirit of the text in a way that moves the contemporary appropriation of the text beyond its original-application framing” (30). That is to say, one must assess the text to determine whether there is an ethical/theological trajectory that brings further implications to bear upon cultures incommensurate with the culture which the text reflects. Webb contrasts this hermeneutic with the static reading- where a text is understood to be universally applicable ‘as is,’ with no regard for cultural particularities suggested in the text- and a radical feminist or reader-response hermeneutic, which negates the texts original and perennial meaning. For Webb, “a static hermeneutic lacks power and relevance, while a secular or radical hermeneutic lacks direction” (51).

At this stage in the book, one must agree with Webb, at least in his primary concerns. Surely some texts reflect ethics and concerns which are so laden with the cultural trappings of the world of its historical origin that one could not abide by those ethics and concerns by fulfilling them in the way prescribed by the biblical texts. One example that Webb addresses later in his book is that of Rom 16:16’s charge “greet one another with a holy kiss.” Although familial love, kindness, and comradery are certainly at the heart of the command, one would surely miss the mark of expressing “familial love, kindness, and comradery” by kissing his/her fellow believers in the 21st century west. Moreover, the radical postmodern readings which see the text as only a receptacle for current cultural norms mutilate the text by refusing to consider the counter-cultural aspects of scripture. This amounts to a form of idolatry.

However, Webb’s argument here is lacking in sophistication and nuance. First, Webb never really unpacks his nomenclature. “Redemptive” is used at every turn in this chapter and shows up often in the rest of

Webb's study. However, we are never given a satisfactory reason for this title. We are only told that there is a "redemptive spirit" within the text which often portends later development. Furthermore, the theological foundation for Webb's hermeneutic is severely lacking in development. He provides a short section wherein he states that "the theological basis for a redemptive-movement hermeneutic is rooted in two crucial considerations: the authority of scripture and the wisdom of God" (56). Yet his explanations of these two bases are unsatisfactory. One would expect that Webb's call for a "redemptive hermeneutic" would attempt to construct some theologically grounded criteria. That is, one would expect Webb to demonstrate an overarching theological truth, character, or metanarrative which would act as a plum line for tracing the progression of the latent ethical/theological power in problematic texts. He provides nothing of the sort.

Another problem at the outset of Webb's book is the lack of nuance in notions like "culture." Webb assumes a western culture as the present receiving end of the text. He thus assesses texts through a lens of contemporary western mores. However, Webb does little to trace the emergence of these present western convictions. Moreover, Webb all-but-ignores the rest of the world and appears to assume the ethical superiority of the present west. This, at times, results in circular arguments. For example, Webb writes that "by initiating some basic improvements to the right-hand column [problematic passages], it would not be difficult to forge a social ethic that far exceeds scripture" (45). However, Webb's argument does little here to lay a foundation of determining "better." Moreover, especially when it comes to egalitarianism, Webb does almost nothing to engage many cultures around the world which are strongly patriarchal and would find nothing problematic about scriptures like 1 Tim 2. This is not to say that the egalitarian view is mistaken, of course. However, to make his argument cogent, Webb must address these gaps in his methodology.

Finally, Webb's theoretical foundations are weakened by his lack of canonical theology at the outset of his book. Webb does little to lay out the relationship between the Old and New Testaments. At one point, for example, Webb reads Jesus' declarations in Matt 5 as an example of good, redemptive hermeneutics (61). However, Webb does not broach the question of Jesus coming to πληρῶσαι the law (Matt. 5:17). May current believers do with the New Testament what Jesus did with the Old Testament? Unfortunately, Webb never asks this question. Yet, the continuity

or discontinuity between the testaments, the matter of Jesus' particular authority to announce the New Covenant, etc. should be central to this discussion.

The bulk of Webb's book is concerned with demonstrating his redemptive-movement hermeneutic through the application of 18 different criteria via two major categories: "intra-scriptural evidence" and "extra-scriptural evidence." In what follows, I will briefly survey these criteria.

The first 16 criteria that Webb offers fall within the "intra-scriptural evidence" category, which is further broken down into three sub-categories organized via persuasiveness regarding the argument of egalitarianism: persuasive criteria, moderately persuasive criteria, and inconclusive criteria. The first criterion is "preliminary movement" which seeks to determine if a text "modifies the original cultural norms in such a way that suggests further movement is possible and even advantageous in a subsequent culture" (73). Next, Webb analyzes "seed ideas" which are instances in scripture wherein a theoretically powerful notion is introduced without immediate application. The third criterion, "breakouts" looks to texts which outright contradict any enduring application of another text. One good example Webb uses is the leadership role of women in the Church (99). However, Webb does use poor examples as well, like 1 Sam 11:1 as a "breakout" which contradicts Paul's charge against men having long hair (1 Cor 11:14).

Criterion 4, "purpose/intent statements" correctly surmises that "a component of a text may be culturally bound, if by practicing the text one no longer fulfills the text's original intent or purpose" (105). "Basis in Fall or Curse" determines whether or not a feature in the text has transcultural relevance in light of its tie to the fall/curse. Likewise, criterion 6 looks to creational intentions to determine the cultural or transcultural value of a text. Criterion 7 looks particularly at primogeniture and limits Webb's discussion to women in society. Here, Webb's logical and hermeneutical missteps are glaring. Webb first connects Paul's affirmation of gender hierarchy via creation in 1 Tim 2:13 to primogeniture. Next, Webb demonstrates that primogeniture is often undermined by other texts in scripture and is usually tied to cultural-specific concerns. He then transfers these factors back to Paul's reading in 1 Tim 2:13. However, nothing explicitly connects 1 Tim 2:13 to primogeniture (Paul's use of the LXX's *ἐπιτάσθη* indicates more about creative order). Moreover, applying everything that may be said of one

societal fixture to a notion that simply parallels that notion in some ways is logically fallacious. Again, this is not to say that the egalitarian view is wrong, but that Webb's argument is untenable on this particular point.

Criterion 8, "Basis in New Creation" seeks to determine how a component in the text aligns or is modified in light of New Creation. Criterion 9, "Competing Options" states that "a component of text is more likely to be transcultural if presented in a time and setting when other competing options existed in the broader cultures" (152). Criterion 10 argues that a text's opposition to its original culture indicates a greater likelihood of transcultural application. Criterion 11 argues that a text may be culturally bound if related issues are culturally bound. Criterion 12 holds that a command may be culturally bound if the punishment for breaking that command is light or not mentioned (104). Criterion 14 compares specific instructions to general principles which may be in tension. Criterion 15 analyzes the context of a text to determine whether or not the command/component functions within a "specialized context" (15). Criterion 16 states that discontinuity with the OT in the NT necessitates transcultural value.

The final two criteria- "Pragmatic Basis Between Two Cultures" and "Scientific and Social-Scientific Evidence"- assess extrabiblical evidence. The former holds that "A component of a biblical imperative may be culturally relative if the pragmatic basis for the instruction cannot be sustained from one culture to another" (209). The latter states that "A component of a text may be culturally confined if it is contrary to present-day scientific evidence" (221).

Webb's study provides many helpful and important points; both his central concern and approach are to be commended. The ethical/theological trajectory within texts must always be considered and Webb has done well to construct 18 criteria for determining this trajectory (or lack thereof) within the biblical texts. However, Webb often lacks nuance and fails to carefully exegete passages, instead bringing assumptions to bear upon the text without explanation. His lack of theological foundations at the outset weakens his study. Yet, despite this, Webb's call for a hermeneutic that is more methodologically attentive to the text is well taken.

Books Received

The following books were received by the editor's office since the last issue of *The Asbury Journal*. The editor is seeking people interested in writing book reviews on these or other relevant books for publication in future issues of *The Asbury Journal*. Please contact the editor (Robert.danielson@asburyseminary.edu) if you are interested in reviewing a particular title. Reviews will be assigned on a first come basis.

Allen, Michael and R. David Nelson, eds.

2021 *A Companion to the Theology of John Webster*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans. ISBN: 978-0-8028-7674-4. Price: \$50.00.

Arterbury, Andrew E., W. H. Bellinger, Jr., and Derek S. Dodson

2021 *Engaging the Christian Scriptures: An Introduction to the Bible*. Second Edition. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic. ISBN: 978-1-5409-6225-6. Price: \$32.99.

Bauer, David R.

2021 *The Book of Acts as Story: A Narrative-Critical Study*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic. ISBN: 978-0-8010-9832-1. Price: \$32.99.

Beilby, James

2021 *Postmortem Opportunity: A Biblical and Theological Assessment of Salvation After Death*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press Academic. ISBN: 978-0-8308-5376-2. Price: \$40.00.

Bilbro, Jeffrey

2021 *Reading the Times: A Literary and Theological Inquiry into the News*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press Academic. ISBN: 978-0-8308-4185-1. Price: \$24.00.

Brown, Christopher Boyd, ed.

2021 *John 13-2*. Reformation Commentary on Scripture, New Testament, vol. 5. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press Academic. ISBN: 978-0-8308-2968-2. Price: \$60.00.

Crowe, Brandon D.

2021 *The Path of Faith: A Biblical Theology of Covenant and Law*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press Academic. ISBN: 978-0-8308-5537-7. Price: \$22.00.

DeSilva, David A.

2021 *Discovering Revelation: Content, Interpretation, Reception*. *Discovering Biblical Texts*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans. ISBN: 978-0-8028-7242-5. Price: \$22.00.

Erickson, Amy

2021 *Jonah: Introduction and Commentary*. *Illuminations*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans. ISBN: 978-0-8028-6831-2. Price: \$70.00.

Fulkerson, Geoffrey H. and Joel Thomas Chopp

2021 *Science and the Doctrine of Creation: The Approach of Ten Modern Theologians*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press Academic. ISBN: 978-0-8308-5280-2. Price: \$28.00.

Greidanus, Sidney

2021 *Preaching Christ from Leviticus*. *Foundations for Expository Sermons*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans. ISBN: 978-0-8028-7602-7. Price: \$35.00.

Hastings, W. Ross

2021 *Theological Ethics: The Moral Life of the Gospel in Contemporary Context*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Academic. ISBN: 978-0-310-11195-5. Price: \$29.99.

Hawkins, Ralph K.

2021 *Discovering Exodus: Content, Interpretation, Reception*. *Discovering Biblical Texts*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans. ISBN: 978-0-8028-7262-3. Price: \$22.00.

Howard, Cameron B. R.

2021 *The Old Testament for a Complex World: How the Bible's Dynamic Testimony Points to New Life for the Church*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic. ISBN: 978-1-5409-6372-7. Price: \$21.99.

Johnson, Luke Timothy

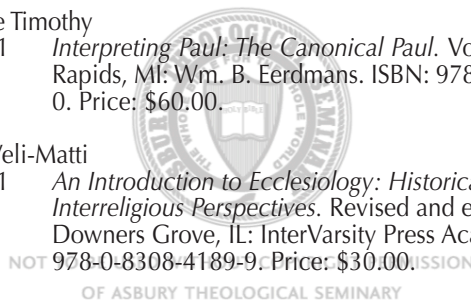
2021 *Interpreting Paul: The Canonical Paul*. Volume 2. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans. ISBN: 978-0-8028-2466-0. Price: \$60.00.

Kärkkäinen, Veli-Matti

2021 *An Introduction to Ecclesiology: Historical, Global, and Interreligious Perspectives*. Revised and expanded. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press Academic. ISBN: 978-0-8308-4189-9. Price: \$30.00.

Lenton, John, Clive Murray Norris, and Linda A. Ryan, eds.

2020 *Women, Preachers, Methodists*. Oxford, UK: Oxford Centre for Methodism and Church History. ISBN: 979-8-5563-3998-9. Price: \$20.00.



- Lockett, Darian R.
2021 *Letters for the Church: Reading James, 1-2 Peter, 1-3 John, and Jude as Canon*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press Academic. ISBN: 978-0-8308-5089-1. Price: \$30.00.
- Marshall, I. Howard, Stephen Travis, and Ian Paul
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