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Comment

*Hauna Ondrey, assistant professor of church history,
North Park Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois*

This issue of the *Quarterly* offers case studies of Christian witness, both individual and corporate, past and present, from twentieth-century Chicago to contemporary South Africa to medieval Mongolia.

Stephen R. Spencer, theological and cataloging librarian at North Park University, surveys the lives and legacies of Carl F. H. Henry (1913–2003), prolific author and founding editor of *Christianity Today*, and Kenneth S. Kantzer (1917–2002), under whose leadership as dean Trinity Seminary became Trinity Evangelical Divinity School. Spencer offers these overlapping but distinct legacies as examples of evangelical activism and, ultimately, of the choices every academic must make between scholarship and activism, with corollary sacrifices: “Given the limits of human finitude, Christian academics are compelled to choose how to invest their time, energy, and expertise. In those choices, Carl F. H. Henry and Kenneth S. Kantzer illustrate alternative paths forward.”

Audrey Mukwavi Matimelo, executive director of Zimele Wethu Foundation in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa—a Covenant World Relief partner—shares the central insights of her doctoral research in “Disconnects between Benefactors and Beneficiaries as a Cause of Perpetual Poverty.” Based on ethnographic research on organizations promoting savings and credit groups in rural South Africa, Matimelo argues that participatory community development is essential to successful poverty alleviation strategies. Her research demonstrates the importance of benefactors understanding the multiple causes and dimensions of poverty and contextualizing poverty alleviation programs within traditional survival strategies and religious practices. Drawing from her research and extensive

experience, Matimelo offers theological reflection regarding the church's call to join God's incarnational mission, promoting the abundant life for which Christ came (John 10:10).

In "The Importance of Doing History for Effective Ministry in the Twenty-first Century," Steve Cochrane, director of graduate studies for University of the Nations/YWAM, makes a case for the importance of effective remembering—and the particular importance of remembering Christianity's *global* history within increasingly cross-cultural ministry contexts. As a single example, he offers a thirteenth-century exchange between Rabban Sauma, a Mongolian priest of the Church of the East, and Edward I, king of England. Cochrane describes this medieval East-West exchange—which included the celebration of the Eucharist and had as its hoped-for outcome the renewal of a Mongol-European Christian alliance—and discusses its significance for contemporary "discourses of the 'other.'" This, Cochrane emphasizes, is only one of many such narratives from our Christian past that can resource our present interactions with various "others" and expand our imaginations for alternate futures.

Please note that beginning with the next volume we will reduce our production to two annual issues while retaining our title for the sake of both continuity and the possibility of future expansion.

Activist Scholar and Entrepreneurial Administrator: The Contributions of Carl F. H. Henry and Kenneth S. Kantzer to Evangelical Theological Education

*Stephen R. Spencer, theological and cataloging librarian,
North Park University, Chicago, Illinois*

Carl F. H. Henry (1913–2003) and Kenneth S. Kantzer (1917–2002) rank among the most prominent American evangelical theological educators of the second half of the twentieth century.¹ In one respect, the two men share significant similarities: both were doctoral students in Boston in the 1940s, Henry at Boston University and Kantzer at Harvard; both taught at Wheaton College, even sharing office space at one point; and both served as editors of the evangelical magazine *Christianity Today*.² However, in their primary contributions, Henry and Kantzer differ significantly. Henry was a professor and prolific journalist and author who gratefully records being “divinely diverted from administrative work” in the 1940s, despite several close calls.³ Kantzer,

¹ An earlier version of this paper was presented at a meeting of the Chicago Area Theological Library Association on April 24, 2015, examining the history of theological education in the greater Chicago area, where both Henry and Kantzer invested years of service.

² Henry was founding editor from 1956 to 1968; Kantzer was the third editor, from 1978 to 1982. See “Message from the Publisher,” *Christianity Today*, April 7, 1978, 3; “Editor’s Note,” *Christianity Today*, October 22, 1982, 4.

³ See Carl F. H. Henry, *Confessions of a Theologian: An Autobiography* (Waco, TX: Word, 1986), 110, for his “divinely diverted” comment. The specific offices and institutions (all Baptist) were academic dean of Gordon Divinity School in Boston (*Confessions*, 107) and president of both Sioux Falls College in South Dakota and Western Baptist Theological Seminary in Portland, Oregon (Henry, *Confessions*, 109–10). In 1963 Bethel Seminary

on the other hand, already chair of a ten-person department at Wheaton College, passed up a year-long sabbatical to assume the deanship of a small, struggling ethnic denominational school.⁴ He would transform Trinity Seminary into Trinity Evangelical Divinity School (TEDS), one of the largest and most influential evangelical seminaries. Kantzer's scholarly publications were limited to journal articles and book chapters, but his visionary academic leadership enabled many other scholars to write scores of volumes. The two evangelical educational activists, then, represent two different versions of productive theological scholarship-activism.

Evangelical Activism

David Bebbington's well-known quadrilateral identified activism as one of the defining elements of Evangelicalism, along with conversionism, biblicism, and crucicentrism.⁵ Mark Noll has acknowledged that evangelical activism has accomplished much in missions, evangelism, and church planting, while lamenting its short-sighted emphasis on immediate action as an impediment to long-term projects of greater depth.⁶ "The tendency of American evangelicals, when confronted with a problem, is to act."⁷ When evangelicals identify a need—whether unconverted persons, substance abuse, or the effects of natural disasters—activism inclines them to undertake solutions that eliminate or ameliorate the effects in the short-term. Incalculable good has been done by evangelical work in evangelism, church planting, rescue missions, disaster relief, and many more such activities. On the other hand, evangelicals' activism makes them impatient with investing time and money in research, for instance, into the socio-economic structural factors involved in substance abuse or

(MN), also Baptist, inquired about his interest in serving as a vice-president and dean (Henry, *Confessions*, 217).

⁴ Paul Bechtel, *Wheaton College: A Heritage Remembered* (Wheaton, IL: Harold Shaw, 1984), 260; "Biography of Kenneth S. Kantzer," in *Doing Theology in Today's World: Essays in Honor of Kenneth S. Kantzer*, ed. John D. Woodbridge and Thomas Edward McComiskey (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1991), 496; see also Scott Manetsch, *Trinity Evangelical Divinity School: The Early Years* (Deerfield, IL: Trinity International University, 2014), 7, hereafter cited as Manetsch, *The Early Years*. I am indebted to this excellent brief history for information, analysis, and direction to sources.

⁵ David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992), 2–17.

⁶ Mark A. Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), e.g., 8, 29, 141, 243.

⁷ Noll, *Scandal*, 243.

homelessness. Urgent needs demand immediate solutions, to the typical evangelical way of thinking. Noll's assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of evangelicals' restless activism helpfully illuminates the work of both Henry and Kantzer.

Henry once confessed, "In some ways, I'm my own worst enemy, torn constantly between the academic and the activist."⁸ Kantzer himself described Henry as a "scholar" and "theological strategist."⁹ Speaking often of "striking a blow" for the faith, of "advances" and "penetrating the secular world," Henry was always concerned about consequences, about accomplishing something with his teaching, writing, and promoting.

Embodying Chicago architect Daniel Burnham's famous motto, Henry made no small plans; indeed, sometimes his plans bordered on the grandiose. The lead editorial in the first issue of *Christianity Today*, with Henry serving as editor, stated that the magazine's goals included "national stability and survival," "national problems," and "the contemporary social crisis."¹⁰ According to George Marsden, Henry was "a dreamer of big dreams."¹¹ In this, Henry was not alone, for other evangelicals such as Harold John Ockenga and Wilbur Smith likewise conceived grand plans for publications, organizations, and events.¹² Henry and his associates Ockenga, Smith, and Edward John Carnell hoped that their newly founded Fuller Theological Seminary would lead a new Reformation that would preserve and renew the church and Western culture, "rebuilding Western civilization."¹³

⁸ Carl F. H. Henry to Gordon H. Clark, June 13, 1970. Carl F. H. Henry Papers, Roling Library Archives, Trinity International University, Deerfield, Illinois.

⁹ Kenneth S. Kantzer, "Carl Ferdinand Howard Henry," in *God and Culture: Essays in Honor of Carl F. H. Henry*, ed. D. A. Carson and John D. Woodbridge (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993): 374.

¹⁰ *Christianity Today*, October 15, 1956, 20–21.

¹¹ George M. Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 26; see also chapter 3.

¹² *Ibid.*, 26. Owen Strachan likewise observed that "the neo-evangelicals, led by Carl Henry, dreamed big." Strachan, "Carl Henry's University Crusade: The Spectacular Promise and Ultimate Failure of Crusade University," *Trinity Journal* 35 NS, no. 2 (2014): 92.

¹³ Henry, *Confessions*, 117; Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism*, 25–26, 60–63. Marsden entitles chapter 3, on the opening year of Fuller Seminary, "Rebuilding Western Civilization." Cf. Rudolph L. Nelson, "Fundamentalism at Harvard: The Case of Edward John Carnell," *Quarterly Review* 2, no. 2 (1982): 94, who refers to "the grand scope of Carnell's purpose" in *An Introduction to Christian Apologetics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1948); Rudolph Nelson, *The Making and Unmaking of an Evangelical Mind: The Case of Edward Carnell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 216.

Kenneth Kantzer's life and work do not display the same type of promotional activity,¹⁴ yet his greatest contribution to Evangelicalism is likely his innovative leadership in transforming Trinity Seminary into Trinity Evangelical Divinity School (TEDS) as dean (1963–1978). Kantzer's vision for what TEDS could be, and for what American Evangelicalism needed, exemplifies the entrepreneurial spirit of evangelical activism. The drive to build and enlarge, to transform, to reach more people and extend farther geographically has characterized evangelicals since Whitefield and the Wesleys.¹⁵

In the remainder of this article, I examine Henry and Kantzer through the lens of the complex, restless evangelical activism that Noll both salutes and bemoans. Their scholarly activism illustrates evangelical scholarship and the range and pitfalls of evangelical activism.

Carl F. H. Henry (1913–2003)

Often called the leading evangelical theologian of the later twentieth century,¹⁶ Carl Henry was one of four founding professors of Fuller Theological Seminary¹⁷ and the founding editor of *Christianity Today*, the evangelical magazine launched in 1956 to counter the *Christian Century*.¹⁸ Henry formatively shaped evangelical theological education, teaching throughout the United States and abroad, with a prolific writing and editing output: thirty-three books authored and ten edited, in

¹⁴ Kantzer, along with Carl Henry, was co-convenor and co-chair of Evangelical Affirmations (1978) and was a member of the board of the International Council on Biblical Inerrancy (1978–1988), but such positions are notably few compared to others, including Henry.

¹⁵ See Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield, and the Wesleys* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003); D.W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005) and Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*.

¹⁶ According to Kantzer, Henry “is reckoned *the* theologian *par excellence* of the second half of this century.” Kantzer, “The Carl Henry Who Might Have Been,” *Christianity Today*, April 5, 1993, 15, emphasis original. *Time Magazine* (February 14, 1977) stated that the “publication of the two volumes [of *God, Revelation, and Authority*] establishes Baptist Henry, 64, as the leading theologian of the nation’s growing evangelical flank.”

¹⁷ See Henry, *Confessions*, chapter 8, “Fuller and Its Fortunes,” 114–43; Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism*, 26. Henry taught at Fuller 1947–1956.

¹⁸ Henry, *Confessions*, 144. Henry edited the magazine from 1956 to 1968. Henry’s major work is *God, Revelation, and Authority: The God Who Stoops, Stands, and Stays* (6 vols.; Waco: Word, 1976–1983; reprinted, Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 1999).

addition to scores of magazine and journal articles.¹⁹

Karl Ferdinand Howard Heinrich was born to German immigrants Karl and Johanna Heinrich, in New York City on January 22, 1913.²⁰ Young Karl spoke German exclusively until entering public school, but when the United States entered World War I, the family anglicized their name and ceased speaking German, even in private.²¹ Despite his late start with English, Carl eventually skipped three grades, graduating from high school at sixteen.²² He resumed this accelerated pace upon entering Wheaton College six years later, completing his BA in three years (1938). He then pursued simultaneously an MA in theology from Wheaton in Chicago's far western suburbs and a BD from Northern Baptist Seminary in Chicago, completing both in the spring of 1941.²³ He later completed a ThD from Northern Baptist in 1942 and a PhD in philosophy from Boston University in 1949, having also taken courses in philosophy at Loyola University in Chicago and later at Indiana University during the summer of 1944.²⁴

Prior to serving at Fuller Seminary and *Christianity Today*, Henry taught at Wheaton College (part-time, 1935–1947) and Northern Baptist (part-time, 1938–1942; full-time, 1942–1947). For five summers, while taking summer courses at Boston University toward his PhD, Henry also taught at Gordon College.²⁵ He would later teach at Eastern Baptist Seminary (1969–1974) and in 1971 became visiting professor of theology at TEDS.²⁶

Journalism fundamentally shaped Henry's life and ministry, beginning in high school when he reported (simultaneously) on sports for rival newspapers in Islip, Long Island.²⁷ He eventually served as a news reporter or stringer for Long Island papers and several major papers in

¹⁹ A comprehensive, but not exhaustive, bibliography of Henry's writings exceeds one hundred pages.

²⁰ Henry, *Confessions*, 15.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 16.

²² *Ibid.*, 16, 30.

²³ Northern was at that time located in the near West Side of Chicago on Washington Boulevard. See Warren Cameron Young, *Commit What You Have Heard: A History of Northern Baptist Seminary, 1913–1988* (Wheaton, IL: Harold Shaw, 1988), 49–53.

²⁴ Henry, *Confessions*, 107, 109, 120–23.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 107.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 332, 339, 353.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 30. "Since the editors were not on speaking terms and seldom used bylines, neither one knew that I was also reporting for the other."

New York City and was appointed editor of a weekly paper at nineteen.²⁸ Entering Wheaton College at age twenty-two as an experienced journalist, Henry reported news for Chicago and suburban papers and taught at the college, first typing courses, then journalism.²⁹ When Henry entered Northern Baptist, he also taught journalism courses, including religious journalism, in the undergraduate school, as well as English and American literature, continuing to teach graduate courses in religious journalism after he became professor of theology.³⁰ Throughout these years, Henry “regularly churned out newspaper and magazine features from 1942 onward, increasingly for evangelical publications.”³¹ These feature articles eventually numbered more than forty, primarily in evangelical publications such as *The Sunday School Times*, *Sunday School Promoter*, *Power*, *Good News*, *HIS*, and *Moody Monthly*.

Publicity work provided another outlet for Henry’s journalism well into the 1950s, locally (in Chicago and Pasadena),³² nationally,³³ and internationally.³⁴ Notably, Henry wrote his Northern Baptist ThD dissertation on “Successful Church Publicity.”³⁵ This is a striking choice for a doctoral dissertation in theology, even though the title page of the published book identifies Henry as “Instructor in Religious Journalism, Northern Baptist Seminary” and “Instructor of Journalism, Wheaton Col-

²⁸ Ibid., 33–41.

²⁹ Ibid., 60–64.

³⁰ Ibid., 103.

³¹ Ibid., 111.

³² In Chicago, among others, the annual Soldier Field Easter Sunrise Service (Henry, *Confessions*, 100, 102); Life Begins Campaign, April–June 1946 (Henry, *Confessions*, 111); Christian Worker’s Foundation (see <http://www2.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/memorial/carlhenry/henry16.html>); and the Finney Sesquicentennial Memorial Conference (Chicago, June 21–28, 1942). In Pasadena, the Rose Bowl Easter Sunrise Service, whose committee Henry “spearheaded” (Henry, *Confessions*, 100). Institutional publicity for Fuller was also involved. Henry’s semester sabbatical in fall 1953 compensated “for research and writing time preempted by development drives duty” (Henry, *Confessions*, 132; cf. 128).

³³ E.g., the early annual meetings of the National Association of Evangelicals (Henry, *Confessions*, 106).

³⁴ With Billy Graham, Henry co-convoked and promoted the World Congress of Evangelism in Berlin in 1966 (Henry, *Confessions*, 252–62). Conference papers were published as *One Race, One Gospel, One Task: Official Reference Volumes: Papers and Reports*, ed. Carl F.H. Henry and W. Stanley Mooneyham (Minneapolis: World Wide Publications, 1967).

³⁵ Published as *Successful Church Publicity: A Guidebook for Christian Publicists* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1943); it went through at least two editions.

lege.” The dissertation reflected his earlier profession, current teaching, and continuing role in evangelical publicity. Henry describes *Successful Church Publicity* as an “appraisal of religious journalism,” which is not self-evidently equivalent to “church publicity.” Henry then identifies the goal of such publicity or journalism as “the propagation and defense of the faith.”³⁶ The relationship of “journalism as publicity” and “journalism as proclamation and apologetics” is fundamental to Henry’s contribution to Evangelicalism, though unduly neglected.³⁷ Henry’s activist-scholar dilemma is, more precisely, a journalist/publicist-scholar dilemma.³⁸

Perhaps Henry’s most notable choice of activism over scholarship was his leaving Fuller Seminary to edit *Christianity Today*, despite a lengthy list of future scholarly projects he regularly complained was not being accomplished.³⁹ We might understand Henry’s assumption of the editorship as a sacrificial act on behalf of the larger evangelical movement, though it is not clear that this was Henry’s motivation.⁴⁰ In Henry’s words, “the hours of opportunity had struck for a new evangelical magazine.”⁴¹ This was a strategic opportunity he could not neglect.

The decision to locate *Christianity Today* in Washington DC reflected Henry’s desire for the magazine to be close to the center of political action. When the magazine board chose in 1977 to relocate to Carol Stream, Illinois, Henry told *Newsweek* that the decision “seems to reverse the ideal

³⁶ Henry, *Successful Church Publicity*, “Preface to the First Edition” (unpaginated).

³⁷ Note the description of Henry as “an aggressive and crusading journalist,” “Carl Henry the Journalist,” *Evangelical Thrust* 4, no. 5 (May 1978): 8. *Successful Church Publicity* deserves a careful analysis for insights into journalism’s contribution to Henry’s theology.

³⁸ Henry’s rather distinctive style reflects his journalism background, including headline writing, in which nouns are made into verbs (e.g., his references to “foregrounding” a subject to make it more prominent). The memoir of the noted newspaper journalist and war historian S.L.A. Marshall (*Bringing Up the Rear: A Memoir* [San Rafael, CA: Presidio Press, 1979]), an older contemporary of Henry’s who began his journalism career a decade earlier, shows notable similarities.

³⁹ See his comments at the time in correspondence and his later editorial comments, both found throughout his *Confessions*.

⁴⁰ See *Confessions*, 144–74, for Henry’s account of the planning and inauguration of the magazine. For more on the journalistic activism of *Christianity Today*, see Phyllis E. Alsdurf, “The Founding of *Christianity Today* Magazine and the Construction of an American Evangelical Identity,” *Journal of Religious and Theological Information* 9, nos. 1–2 (2010): 20–43; Daryl Alan Porter, “*Christianity Today*: Its History and Development, 1956–1978” (ThM thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1978).

⁴¹ Henry, *Confessions*, 148.

of evangelical penetration of secular society that motivated the founders of *Christianity Today*.⁴²

By 1956 Henry had published twelve books, including three of his four academic theses and dissertations, and had edited three more. Henry's output during this period has no evangelical rival for size or for the complex mixture of journalism and theology. Before he wrote his dissertation-turned-book on church publicity, he had published his Northern BD thesis on *The Missionary and the Press*.⁴³ Between 1939 and 1946, he edited a volume of Wheaton chapel talks, edited an evangelistic college pictorial entitled *Youth Looks at Life*,⁴⁴ co-edited a book of evangelical sermons,⁴⁵ and wrote books on his father-in-law's mission work in the Cameroon,⁴⁶ stewardship,⁴⁷ and Chicago's Pacific Garden Mission.⁴⁸ He later wrote a combination travelogue-news report on his sabbatical tour of Palestine, the Mediterranean, and Africa.⁴⁹

His more theological publications in this period are even more impressive, including *Remaking the Modern Mind* (1946), the widely influential *The Uneasy Conscience of Modern Fundamentalism* (1947), and seven more books in quick succession.⁵⁰ The lengthy *Christian Personal Ethics* (1957) was largely written during this time.⁵¹ Henry's early theological writings

⁴² *Ibid.*, 364; see also Douglas A. Sweeney, "Christianity Today" in *Popular Religious Magazines of the United States*, ed. P. Mark Fackler and Charles H. Lippy (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1995), 147.

⁴³ *The Missionary and the Press* (Chicago: Good News, 1941).

⁴⁴ Privately printed, March 1939.

⁴⁵ *Not by Bread Alone: Wheaton Chapel Talks* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1940).

⁴⁶ *Bender in the Camerouns: The Story of Missionary Triumph in a Dark Region of the World's Darkest Continent* (Cleveland: Roger Williams, 1940).

⁴⁷ *Such as I Have: The Stewardship of Talent* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1946). This is notable as a rare Henry publication with a mainline Christian publisher.

⁴⁸ *The Pacific Garden Mission: A Doorway to Heaven* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1942). This book enjoyed at least twelve printings and at least four lightly revised editions.

⁴⁹ *Glimpses of a Sacred Land* (Boston: Wilde, 1953). See Henry, *Confessions*, 131.

⁵⁰ *Remaking the Modern Mind* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1946; rev. ed., 1948); *The Uneasy Conscience of Modern Fundamentalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1947); *Notes on the Doctrine of God* (Boston: Wilde, 1948); *The Protestant Dilemma: An Analysis of the Current Impasse in Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1948); *Giving a Reason for Our Hope* (Boston: Wilde, 1949); *Fifty Years of Protestant Theology* (Boston: Wilde, 1950); *The Drift of Western Thought* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1951); *Personal Idealism and Strong's Theology* (Wheaton, IL: Van Kampen, 1951).

⁵¹ *Christian Personal Ethics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957). See Henry, *Confessions*, 140.

introduced and interpreted the latest American and European theological works for evangelical readers. He read more widely than most evangelicals, aided no doubt by his facility with German,⁵² and served as editor, literary editor, or book review editor for several evangelical periodicals.⁵³

Leading by example, Henry also called evangelicals to address the wider world of ideas and thinkers, including social and political issues, as they published evangelical scholarly literature. Henry decried the Fundamentalist separatism that dismissed thoughts and thinkers outside their own ecclesial circles and ignored the broader culture.⁵⁴ He insisted that evangelical scholars should read the leading contemporary writings from non-evangelicals. This was a novel, sometimes even alarming, suggestion for an ecclesial community too often inclined to read only its own literature. Carl Henry's theological writings reflected his reading patterns. Few other fundamentalists, evangelicals, or conservative confessional theologians wrote books that engaged thinkers and issues outside of their own ecclesial communities.⁵⁵ Most conservative theological books were doctrinal expositions, focused on Scripture or a confessional heritage.⁵⁶

⁵² Even as a native German speaker, however, Henry needed help reading Swedish. Henry met for several Saturdays with a Swedish Covenant pastor in Los Angeles for assistance in reading Anders Nygren's untranslated doctoral dissertation, *Religiöst apriori* (*Confessions*, 245).

⁵³ *Good Books Digest* (associate editor, January–March 1946); *Christian Life and Times* (contributing editor, May 1946–April 1947); *Religious Digest*, which merged with *Christian Life and Times* (contributing editor, January 1947–December 1947); *Gideon* (author of monthly column, “Book Lover’s Rendezvous,” November 1948–December 1949); *United Evangelical Action* (various editorial positions, August 1, 1945–December 15, 1955).

⁵⁴ See, e.g., Henry, *Uneasy Conscience*, chapters 6–7, and Henry, *Confessions*, 94, where he faults Wheaton College’s graduate school in the late 1930s and early 1940s for “its lack of touch with contemporary European trends.” This commitment also led to Henry’s call for a Christian university and, later, the formation of the Institute for Advanced Christian Studies (IFACS). For IFACS, see Henry, *Confessions*, 341–44.

⁵⁵ Louis Berkhof published the forty-seven-page *Recent Trends in Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1944), a lecture originally presented at Moody Bible Institute. Cornelius Van Til wrote at greater length (384 pages) about Karl Barth and Emil Brunner in *The New Modernism* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1946).

⁵⁶ E.g., Louis Berkhof (Christian Reformed), *Reformed Dogmatics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1932), later revised as *Systematic Theology* (1941); *Vicarious Atonement through Christ* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1936); *Principles of Biblical Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1950); *The Kingdom of God* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1951); *The Second Coming of Christ* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953); J. Theodore Mueller (Missouri Synod), *Christian Dogmatics* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1934); *Faith of Our Fathers: A Review*

The juxtaposition of these formidable journalistic and theological publication efforts is striking. Henry had much to say about contemporary theological developments and the way forward. He also had a considerable interest in organizing and promoting the (primarily) evangelistic efforts of other evangelicals. Henry's journalistic output decreased over time, but he would publish at least eight essays on journalism or religious journalism after leaving *Christianity Today* in 1968. When local organizers neglected local events, he could, on the spur of the moment, write a feature article, publicizing his own speaking engagements in the process.⁵⁷ Carl F. H. Henry was compelled to announce and promote, to explain and clarify Christianity. He was an activist-theologian, continually torn between scholarship and leading and promoting evangelical causes, often combining both activities.

Kenneth S. Kantzer

Born March 29, 1917, in Detroit, Michigan, Kenneth S. Kantzer received catechetical training in his family's Lutheran church.⁵⁸ By his own admission, he lost whatever faith he had gained there and by high school considered himself an atheist.⁵⁹ Kantzer experienced an evangelical conversion at Ashland College in Ohio, where he completed his BA degree in 1938, going on to earn an MA in modern history at Ohio State (1939) and a BD (1942) and STM (1943) from Faith Theological Semi-

of Our Holy Christian Faith as Set Forth in the Apostles' Creed (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1939); *Thy Kingdom Come* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1935), *My Church and Others: A Summary of the Teachings of the Evangelical Lutheran Church as Distinguished from Those of Other Denominations* (3rd ed., 1945); Lewis Sperry Chafer (dispensational), *Systematic Theology* (8 vols.; Dallas: Dallas Seminary Press, 1947); John F. Walvoord (dispensational), *The Holy Spirit* (Dallas: Dallas Theological Seminary, 1943); and H. Orton Wiley (Nazarene), *Christian Theology* (3 vols.; Kansas City, MO: Nazarene, 1940–1943). Henry also contributed a doctrinal volume, *Notes on the Doctrine of God* (1948), but this is the exception. Some of his books also have chapters on doctrinal loci, but these treatments survey the contemporary viewpoints at considerable length. See, e.g., *The Protestant Dilemma*, in which chapters 2–4 present the “mid-century view” of revelation, sin, and Christ, respectively.

⁵⁷ See, e.g., “Carl Henry the Journalist,” 7–8.

⁵⁸ Carl F. H. Henry and Kenneth Kantzer, “Standing on the Promises,” *Christianity Today*, September 16, 1996, 28.

⁵⁹ Kenneth S. Kantzer, “Why I Chose the Ev. [sic] Free Church,” *Evangelical Beacon*, July 7, 1964, 6; “Standing on the Promises,” 29.

nary in Wilmington, Delaware.⁶⁰ After his seminary graduation, Kantzer moved to Boston to pastor a church in Rockport, Massachusetts, while teaching Hebrew part-time at Gordon College and Divinity School. He received a PhD from Harvard in the history of philosophy and religion in 1950, writing on “John Calvin’s Theory of the Knowledge of God and the Word of God.”⁶¹ In 1946 Kantzer joined the faculty of Wheaton College, eventually becoming department chair of Bible, Philosophy, and Religious Education.⁶² At this time, he moved his ordination to the Norwegian and Danish Free Church Association ministerial association, later the Evangelical Free Church of America (EFCA).⁶³

In the early 1960s, the EFCA’s Trinity Seminary, newly moved from Chicago to Deerfield, Illinois, faced increasing enrollment and financial challenges. Enrollment dropped from fifty-eight students in the 1959–1960 academic year⁶⁴ to only thirty-five students by fall 1961,⁶⁵ and the seminary suffered significant deficits.⁶⁶ When Trinity’s president H. Wilbert Norton approached Kantzer about becoming dean, he initially “turned the invitation down flatly,” in part because of Trinity’s “low academic standards.”⁶⁷ Yet Kantzer was deeply interested in initiatives for improving evangelical theological education. Wheaton, however, would not attempt a first-rate seminary, increasingly focused on under-

⁶⁰ “Standing on the Promises,” 29; “Kenneth Sealer Kantzer,” 182. Kantzer wrote the 195-page “God and Magog,” likely as a thesis for his STM degree at Faith Seminary. The library catalog at Covenant Theological Seminary dates it between 1942 and 1950 (see the OCLC record #61282947, available in the WorldCat catalog).

⁶¹ This was likely supervised by J.A.C.F. Auer, who specialized in the “philosophy of the Reformation” and taught courses expounding “the thought of the great men of the sixteenth century, especially John Calvin.” Levering Reynolds Jr., “The Later Years (1880–1953),” in *The Harvard Divinity School: Its Place in Harvard University and in American Culture*, ed. George Hunston Williams (Boston: Beacon, 1954), 215–16; cf. 220–21. See also Kenneth S. Kantzer, “Calvin and the Holy Scriptures,” pages 115–55 in *Inspiration and Interpretation*, ed. John F. Walvoord (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957). Kantzer stated that this chapter contained the heart of the dissertation. Conversation with author, Spring 1990, St. Paul, Minnesota.

⁶² Bechtel, *Wheaton College*, 260; “Biography of Kenneth S. Kantzer,” 495.

⁶³ Kantzer, “Why I Chose the Ev. Free,” 6; Manetsch, *The Early Years*, 7.

⁶⁴ Manetsch, *The Early Years*, 36, n. 16.

⁶⁵ *Evangelical Beacon*, October 10, 1961, 10.

⁶⁶ Manetsch, *The Early Years*, 3.

⁶⁷ “An Interview with Kenneth S. Kantzer” in David V. Martin, *Entrusted with the Gospel: Trinity International University, 1897–1997* (Deerfield, IL: Trinity International University, 1998), 142, 144; Manetsch, *The Early Years*, 7.

graduate liberal arts education. If Trinity would commit to the changes required for an academically demanding seminary, Kantzer would accept the deanship.⁶⁸

Kantzer became dean, passing up a year-long sabbatical in which he had planned to write a book on Karl Barth's theology. Kantzer had attended Barth's lectures and seminars in Basel during a previous sabbatical and had already published an article on Barth's Christology.⁶⁹ When Kantzer accepted the deanship at Trinity, he returned the money raised by Wheaton College's senior class to fund his sabbatical.⁷⁰ Already shouldering administrative duties as departmental chair, Kantzer sacrificed a career of teaching, research, and writing in taking up the dean's responsibilities at Trinity. He never entirely left teaching, but the amount of teaching allowed in an academic dean's schedule was minimal.

To the EFCA constituency, Kantzer spoke of "a great vacuum" in evangelical seminary education of "a high order."⁷¹ Evangelicals required faithful, fervent seminary education that also maintained "high standards of Christian scholarship."⁷² "True scholarship" is "one of God's prize gifts," and evangelicals, Kantzer insisted, need not fear it.⁷³ Accordingly, the EFCA would be financially responsible for the school, faculty would not be pressured to join the EFCA, and the seminary would provide a high level of scholarship and instruction for ministerial training.⁷⁴ TEDS was to be "a love gift from the EFCA to the entire church of Jesus Christ."⁷⁵

Kantzer acknowledged that these mutual commitments "involved some radical applications that were difficult for some [board] members to swallow."⁷⁶ In particular, faculty received leeway on church polity and

⁶⁸ Kantzer, "Why I Chose the Ev. Free," 6–7; David V. Martin, *Entrusted with the Gospel: Trinity International University, 1897–1997* (Deerfield, IL: Trinity International University, 1998), 73–74; "An Interview with Kenneth S. Kantzer," 141–46.

⁶⁹ Kenneth S. Kantzer, "The Christology of Karl Barth," *Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society* 1, no. 2 (1958): 25–28.

⁷⁰ Todd Herz, "Kantzer, Kenneth S., 1917–2002," *Christianity Today*, August 5, 2002, 20; Manetsch, *The Early Years*, 7.

⁷¹ Kantzer, "Why I Chose the Ev. Free," 6–7. Published in July 1964, these remarks were earlier delivered as an address to the denominational general conference in summer 1963.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 7.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ "An Interview with Kenneth S. Kantzer," 144–45.

⁷⁵ Manetsch, *The Early Years*, 9.

⁷⁶ "An Interview with Kenneth S. Kantzer," 145.

eschatology not extended to EFCA ordained ministers. Kantzer's commitment to raising the level of scholarship at Trinity entailed additional financial commitments. He insisted on immediately adding at least "three outstanding scholars,"⁷⁷ with salaries matching "the best evangelical seminaries."⁷⁸ This salary policy resulted in a two-tier structure, with current faculty at lower levels and new hires at a significantly higher rate. This was a temporary arrangement, as additional new hires were paid at the higher rate and the current faculty soon departed.⁷⁹

By 1965 Kantzer boasted of the academic pedigree of his faculty.⁸⁰ In 1967 he announced that competition for entrance had increased sharply, with less than half of applicants accepted.⁸¹ In Kantzer's first year (1963–1964), TEDS added MA degrees in every theological department, emblematic of its new goals of preparing students for university doctoral programs.⁸² Two professional doctorates, the doctor in missiology (later intercultural studies) and the doctor of ministry, were introduced by the late 1970s, and an EdD, later revised to a PhD, in education was launched. However, funding constraints delayed until 1986 the PhD program in theological studies, one of Kantzer's longstanding desires. The library, only fifteen thousand volumes when Kantzer became dean, surpassed fifty thousand volumes by 1973 (in part because of a donation from Carl Henry's library).⁸³ The growth and development of TEDS as

⁷⁷ Ibid. The first three faculty added were Wilbur Smith (English Bible), Walter Liefeld (New Testament), and Lloyd Perry (practical theology). The next year added Robert D. Culver (systematic theology), who had taught at Trinity Seminary for several years in the 1950s, John Warwick Montgomery (librarian, church history), Richard Troup (Christian education), Richard Longenecker (New Testament), and Walter Kaiser (Old Testament). The following year Gleason Archer (OT) and David Hesselgrave (missions) joined the faculty, with further significant additions, such as Clark Pinnock (systematic theology), Herbert Kane (missions), Gary Collins (pastoral counseling), Thomas McComiskey (OT), and David Wells (church history), before the decade ended. Visiting professors and lecturers included Paul Little (evangelism), John Gerstner (church history), and Carl Henry (systematic theology). Manetsch, *The Early Years*, 11.

⁷⁸ "An Interview with Kenneth S. Kantzer," 145–46.

⁷⁹ Manetsch, *The Early Years*, 12.

⁸⁰ Including Harvard, Columbia, Strassbourg, Chicago, Northwestern, and Brandeis, with Cambridge, St. Andrews, Aberdeen, London, Manchester, Syracuse, and Loyola (Chicago), among others, represented in the next decade. See Kenneth S. Kantzer, "Trinity Evangelical Divinity School," *Evangelical Beacon*, January 19, 1965, 4.

⁸¹ Ibid., 11.

⁸² Manetsch, *The Early Years*, 10.

⁸³ John Warwick Montgomery, "Don't Worry about the Seminary Library?," *Evangelical Beacon*, January 19, 1965, 9; Manetsch, *The Early Years*, 18.

a center for evangelical theological study mirrored the broader evangelical intellectual resurgence, challenging the stereotype of evangelicals as narrow and uneducated and easing the evangelical inferiority complex.⁸⁴

Kantzer was “innovative down to his toenails,” according to one TEDS faculty member.⁸⁵ Under his leadership, TEDS offered an “Evening School” with courses for laity, summer courses at Camp-of-the-Woods in the Adirondacks in upstate New York, and an Alumni Institute.⁸⁶ These and other formats for instruction increased the visibility of TEDS among potential students and supporters and expanded its contribution to the membership of the EFCA, both ministers and laity, and beyond to the broader evangelical world.

Kantzer’s administrative activism at Trinity was sustained and multifaceted. For fifteen years he was academic dean of TEDS (1963–1978). After returning from his editorship of *Christianity Today*, he served for nearly a decade as president, then chancellor, of Trinity College (1982–1983, 1983–1991), navigating the college through complex and difficult challenges that imperiled the school’s existence. In the latter portion of this period, Kantzer also served, fittingly, as director of the newly launched PhD program in theological studies (1986–1990), as TEDS finally realized his long-cherished dream of a scholarly evangelical doctoral program in theology.

Academic Activists: A Study in Contrasts

For Henry and Kantzer, in common with many evangelical academics, mainline denominational and university academics remained a constant point of reference. Both earned PhD degrees from such schools, though they had remained within fundamentalist (Kantzer, at Faith Seminary) or evangelical (Henry, at Wheaton and Northern Baptist) boundaries for their master’s degrees in theology. Both men aspired to match the academic standards for scholars, instruction, and resources while seeking with equal vigilance to avoid the doctrinal “drift” they identified in liberalism and modernism. Other traditions, such as confessional Lutherans and Reformed as well as Pietists, do not appear to have been as focused on measuring themselves over against the mainline schools and universities.

⁸⁴ Manetsch, *The Early Years*, 11–12.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

The fundamentalist heritage of Henry, Kantzer, and many evangelicals may explain this. Those whose heritage had left, ignored, or avoided the establishment schools for a time seemed most concerned to re-enter and measure themselves in terms of those schools.⁸⁷

Henry was a member of the Northern Baptist Convention (later the American Baptist Churches in the USA). He taught first at Northern Baptist Seminary, a denominational school that clearly identified with the conservative wing, having been founded in 1913 as a counterpart or “protest school” to the modernist University of Chicago Divinity School.⁸⁸ Henry primarily worked with evangelical schools, projects, and publications, even if his writings addressed the broader theological world. Similarly, along with other evangelical scholars such as Edward John Carnell and George Eldon Ladd, Henry sought to publish with mainstream academic publishers, though he met with even less success than Carnell and Ladd.⁸⁹ Kantzer, by contrast, joined the Scandinavian Pietist heritage EFCA in 1947, which more fully aligned with American Evangelicalism over time, shedding some of its Pietist characteristics. Kantzer and Henry thus represent two forms of twentieth-century Evangelicalism, some in mainline denominations and some in evangelical denominations.

For many years, Henry campaigned for a Christian research university that would embrace all of Evangelicalism and embody the highest level of

⁸⁷ Contrast, for example, North Park Theological Seminary’s faculty credentials in the early and mid-twentieth century, which included degrees from Harvard (Nils Lund, Peter Person, Algoth Ohlson, Frederic E. Pamp), Yale (Ohlson), University of Chicago (Lund, Karl A. Olsson, Eric Hawkinson, Donald Frisk), and Union Theological Seminary in New York City (Frisk) among others.

⁸⁸ See Henry’s account of how ordination councils in the Chicago Baptist Association reflected the theological divisions among the Northern Baptists (*Confessions*, 105). The Northern Seminary website states that the school began as a “protest school” (<http://www.seminary.edu/about/history-of-northern>; accessed July 12, 2018). See Young, *Commit What You Have Heard*, 10–15. For Henry’s alignment with Baptists, see his “Twenty Years a Baptist,” *Foundations: A Baptist Journal of History and Theology* 1, no. 1 (1958): 46–54.

⁸⁹ See Nelson, *The Making and Unmaking of an Evangelical Mind*, e.g., 103; John A. D’Elia, *A Place at the Table: George Eldon Ladd and the Rehabilitation of Evangelical Scholarship in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), esp. 121–48. Throughout the manuscript review process, Henry carried on a lengthy correspondence with Oxford University Press (New York), seeking to publish his *Christian Personal Ethics* with them. When Oxford eventually declined, Henry published the book with Eerdmans. See “McCauley, Leon (Oxford University Press)—Correspondence” in the Special Correspondence, Henry Archives, Trinity International University.

research and scholarship, but the vision never came to fruition.⁹⁰ Kantzer's vision for TEDS was achieved more slowly than he anticipated, but he saw much of it realized. Kantzer began from an extant denominational school, however small and struggling, and greatly enlarged and diversified its faculty and student body without losing its EFCA roots. Henry's vision for a pan-evangelical university could not resolve the incommensurability of evangelicals' diverse conceptions of Christian freedom and behavior, among other hurdles. Kantzer's more modest vision proved more feasible and was accomplished gradually over several decades.

Though Henry called for an evangelical research university for decades, he never interrupted his teaching, traveling, and writing long enough to establish such a school. Henry's vision for addressing the worldwide church, in print and in person, clashed with what could be accomplished within a single institution. Henry neither devoted himself to his research and writing as he wanted (despite his impressive publications list) nor did he step away from his writing projects to launch the university he envisioned. Instead, he remained torn between the callings of the activist and the scholar. Kantzer, on the other hand, sacrificed his scholarly writing plans, contenting himself with reduced teaching and publishing, and embraced administration. His vision for evangelical theological education, in contrast to its state in the early 1960s, was crucial. Kantzer was not the only evangelical theological educator who saw the contrast between what was and what should be. He was, however, distinctive in doing something about it on the scale of his transformation of TEDS.

Kantzer and Henry thus represent alternative versions of activist theologians. Henry avoided administrative responsibilities while continuing his promotional work and leadership for events and organizations, all the while planning a multitude of writing projects. He lived with the persistent tension of writing projects that would never be written because he instead chose opportunities for action for the cultural outreach of the gospel. Kantzer's choice to envision and build the institution and programs he was convinced Evangelicalism needed involved the sacrifice of his own scholarly productivity but enabled the productivity of several generations of faculty scholars.

Kantzer's and Henry's scholarly activism contrasted in another signifi-

⁹⁰ See Strachan, "Carl Henry's University Crusade"; Owen Strachan, *Awakening the Evangelical Mind: An Intellectual History of the Neo-Evangelical Movement* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2015), 127–58.

cant way. Henry's dilemma, "torn constantly between the academic and the activist," frustrated him for many years, as witnessed in his autobiography and correspondence. He seemed unable to resolve the dilemma in a personally satisfying way and lived with conflicting forces pulling him in opposite directions. Kantzer, on the other hand, resolved his dilemma early and apparently remained content with that resolution throughout his career. Rather than attempt to accomplish both activism and scholarship himself, he sacrificed his own scholarly aspirations for the sake of an institution that would foster scholarship in its faculty and students.

Facing a choice between activism and academics, Henry attempted to accomplish both. Some will give thanks for his choice to promote and lead in so many ways, despite the cost to his scholarship; others will lament the loss of scholarship. Faced with a choice between administration and his own scholarship, Kantzer chose a life of innovative, entrepreneurial administration. Evangelicalism lost Kantzer's lifetime of scholarly publications but received TEDS in its place.

Given the limits of human finitude, Christian academics are compelled to choose how to invest their time, energy, and expertise. In those choices, Carl F. H. Henry and Kenneth S. Kantzer illustrate alternative paths forward.

Disconnects between Benefactors and Beneficiaries as a Cause of Perpetual Poverty

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The term “poverty alleviation” persists in the lexicons of most Christian and non-Christian agencies involved in community development work, especially those working in developing countries. The 2018 World Bank report *Poverty and Shared Prosperity* shows evidence of a reduction of world poverty by 68 million people between 2013 and 2015.¹ And yet 736 million people continue to live in poverty worldwide.² Sub-Saharan Africa continues to be the most severely affected, with 41 percent of its population—413 million people—living in poverty.³ Initiatives to address poverty, such as the United Nations’ Millennium Development Goals, indicate that immense human and financial resources are being invested to alleviate global poverty.⁴ Yet despite these measures, millions are still threatened by extreme hunger, disease, and homelessness.

Poverty remains a major problem in South Africa.⁵ The apartheid system (1948–1994) led to the majority black population suffering social

1. Based on purchasing power parity, currently \$1.90 US dollars per day. World Bank, *Poverty and Shared Prosperity 2018: Piecing Together the Poverty Puzzle* (Washington, DC: World Bank Group, 2018), 15.

2. *Ibid.*, 1.

3. *Ibid.*, 15.

4. United Nations, *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2015* (New York: United Nations, 2015).

5. In 2015, more than 30,400,000 people lived in poverty out of a population of about 57,900,000. Statistics South Africa, *Poverty on the Rise in South Africa*, www.statssa.gov.za, accessed February 4, 2018.

and economic exclusion to benefit the minority white population,⁶ who enjoyed privileges of key development assets such as owning land and access to good education and health systems.⁷ Since the end of apartheid, the South African government has sought to implement various policies designed to reverse ever-growing unemployment, extreme poverty, and the widening gap between the rich and the poor.⁸ However, despite all such efforts and financial investments, poverty continues to dehumanize and devastate most communities, especially in rural areas. Women are disproportionately affected, as they continue to have less control of and less access to social and economic assets such as land, employment, and financial capital.⁹ Traditional patriarchal practices further disempower South African women by limiting their decision making in matters directly affecting their well-being.

Why does poverty persist despite much human effort and massive financial investments by Christian and non-Christian agencies? In this article I argue that poverty persists because most poverty alleviation strategies are non-participatory and, thus, are less effective. Non-participatory approaches deprive communities of their ability to think, plan, and act against poverty based on their development aspirations. Based on desk research or textbook knowledge, these approaches create a disconnect between benefactors' understanding of the community's actual needs and the beneficiaries' desired goals for their social and economic development.

Poverty alleviation is complex. It requires a nuanced understanding of causes and dimensions, engagement with contextual development frameworks, and effective implementation processes. This article contributes to this effort, drawing on my doctoral research¹⁰ and thirteen years of experience in participatory community development in rural KwaZulu-

6. Ismail Davids, "Development Theories: Past to Present," in *Development, the State, and Civil Society in South Africa*, 3rd edn., ed. Ismail Davids and Francois Theron (Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers, 2014), 16.

7. *Ibid.*, 17.

8. *Ibid.*

9. See Constantina Safilio-Rothschild, "Agriculture Policies and Women Producers," in *Gender, Work, and Population in Sub-Saharan Africa*, ed. Aderanti Adepoju and Christine Oppong (London: James Currey, 1994), 56. These policies include, for example, Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (1996); Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (2005); New Growth Plan (2010); and National Development Plan (2012).

10. Audrey Matimelo, "Mobilizing Community Assets to Alleviate Poverty among Women: A Case Study of Zimele Developing Community Self-Reliance in Rural KwaZulu-Natal" (PhD diss., University of KwaZulu Natal, South Africa, 2016).

Natal, South Africa. I begin with theoretical foundations, delineating the various dimensions of poverty and identifying sources of disconnects between benefactors and beneficiaries through the seminal work of Paulo Freire. I then summarize the findings of my doctoral research regarding four benefactor/beneficiary disconnects that cause poverty to persist. My article concludes with theological reflection on the spirituality of poverty alleviation.

Foundations

Poverty is complex; therefore, effective intervention against poverty requires an understanding of its multiple dimensions.

- “Income poverty” refers to an individual’s inability to have the requisite income to purchase a basic food basket that “provide[s] sufficient nutrition for an active, productive life.”¹¹ South Africa has one of the highest income inequalities, with 63 percent of households living below the poverty line.¹²

- “Social poverty” results from social exclusion, usually because of gender, age, race, or disability promoted in socio-economic networks that are male dominated.¹³ The most important asset in any community is its people, and no genuine community change can occur without the initiative and full participation of that community’s people.¹⁴ The legacy of apartheid is one of the major causes of ongoing social poverty in South Africa.¹⁵

- “Capability deprivation poverty” occurs when people’s capabilities are not enhanced through opportunities of economic activity, enjoyment of good health, and good education. Economist Amartya Sen explains that “poverty must be seen as the deprivation of basic capabilities rather

11. John Gershman and Alec Irwin, “Getting a Grip on the Global Economy,” in *Dying for Growth: Global Inequality and the Health of the Poor*, ed. Jim Yong Kim, Joyce Millen, Alec Irwin, John Gershman (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 2000), 15.

12. United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development World Report* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 19. See also Annie Leatt, “Income Poverty in South Africa, South African Child Gauge,” 24; available at http://www.ci.org.za/depts/ci/pubs/pdf/general/gauge2006/gauge2006_income_poverty.pdf.

13. Bill Jordan, *A Theory of Poverty and Social Exclusion* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1996), 4.

14. Patricia Watkins Murphy and James V. Cunningham, *Organizing Community Controlled Development: Renewing Civil Society* (London: SAGE Publications, 2003), 107.

15. Mavis Mhlauli, End Salani, and Rosinah Mokotedi, “Understanding Apartheid in South Africa through the Racial Contract,” *International Journal of Asian Social Science* 5, no. 4 (2015): 204.

than merely as lowness of income, which is the standard criterion of identification of poverty.”¹⁶ For this reason, Deryke Belshaw and Ian Livingstone argue that the Human Development Index is the best indicator for well-being, in that it combines indicators of income, health, and access to knowledge.¹⁷

- The process of democratization empowers the poor to participate in development activities. “Disempowerment poverty” results when people are hindered from participating in economic and political processes. In South Africa disempowerment poverty is especially problematic for women due to patriarchal practices.¹⁸

- “Physical poverty” refers to a lack in infrastructure such as road networks, mass communication facilities, railway lines, housing, water and sanitation, and energy.¹⁹ Research conducted by the University of Johannesburg found that some of the main reasons for frequent protests in South Africa are lack of housing, water and sanitation, political representation, electricity, municipal administration, roads, employment, land, and medical facilities.²⁰

- “Psychological poverty” occurs when people live with low self-esteem as they compare themselves to those with better incomes and food intake.²¹ This in turn diminishes their active participation in seeking a better life.²²

Effective poverty alleviation requires Christian and non-Christian agencies to understand the many dimensions of poverty through contextual and participatory processes. Brazilian educator Paulo Freire’s dialogi-

16. Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (New York: Knopf, 1999), 87.

17. Deryke Belshaw and Ian Livingstone, “Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress and Problems,” *Renewing Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policy, Performance, and Prospectus* (London: Routledge, 2002), 10.

18. Thandika Mkandawire, “Programme Paper on Democracy, Governance, and Human Rights” (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, unpublished, 2006), 4.

19. International Fund for Agricultural Development, *The State of World Rural Poverty: An Inquiry into Its Causes and Consequences* (London: IT Publication, 1992), 3; Peter Townsend, “Ending World Poverty in the Twenty-first Century,” in *Tackling Inequalities: Where Are We Now and What Can Be Done?*, ed. Christina Pantazis and David Gordon (Bristol: Policy Press, 2000), 216.

20. Laura Grant, “The Reasons behind Service Delivery Protests in South Africa,” *South African Mail* and the *Guardian*, February 12, 2014.

21. Bryant J. Myers, *Walking with the Poor: Principles and Practices of Transformational Development*, rev. and updated ed. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2011), 15.

22. Ibid.; Johannes Haushofer, “The Price of Poverty: Psychology and the Cycle of Need,” *Foreign Affairs* (July 15, 2014): 21.

cal action and social development framework provides a useful theoretical tool for this work. In his seminal text, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire theorizes on the process of humanization as a vocation of those who are dehumanized by injustice, exploitation, or oppression.²³ He argues for closing the gap between benefactors (or educators) and beneficiaries (or educated). Instead of positioning benefactors as depositors and beneficiaries as receivers of knowledge, benefactors should stand in solidarity with beneficiaries by entering their reality and not perpetuating their dependence.²⁴ Freire observes a need for dialogue between benefactors and beneficiaries. He argues that without a critical, liberating, and respectful dialogue, benefactors work to deposit their views in beneficiaries, tantamount to treating people as objects rather than the subjects of their own development.²⁵ By contrast, when benefactors engage in reflective, respectful, and participatory dialogue with beneficiaries, they demonstrate trust in beneficiaries' ability to think independently.²⁶

Freire states the need for the conscientization of beneficiaries so that they understand their social reality. It is through the process of conscientization that "the peasant begins to get courage to overcome his dependence when he realizes that he is dependent. Until then, he goes along with the boss and says 'What can I do? I'm only a peasant.'"²⁷ In other words, people take action to change their social reality only when they are conscience of it. Freire argues for a shift from prescriptive actions to informed action on the part of benefactors. Non-prescriptive interventions are liberating because they are based on beneficiaries' participation rather than imposed by the benefactor.²⁸

Freire's landmark text offers analytical tools to recognize that poverty alleviation efforts and financial investments often fail to achieve desired change because most benefactors make assumptions based on their wrong prescriptions of beneficiaries' realities.

23. Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 30th anniversary ed., trans. Myra Bergman Ramos (New York: Continuum, 2000), 44.

24. *Ibid.*, 74, 49.

25. *Ibid.*, 62.

26. *Ibid.*, 62.

27. *Ibid.*, 61.

28. *Ibid.*, 66.

Participatory Inquiry Research Findings

As part of my doctoral research I conducted qualitative research using a mix of participatory inquiry methods with benefactors and beneficiaries from one faith-based organization (Organization A) and one non-faith-based organization (Organization B), gathering additional data from marketing brochures and reports. Both organizations work with poor women in rural communities of KwaZulu-Natal, promoting savings and credit models as poverty alleviation strategies. Organization A offers Self Help Groups made up of ten to twenty people, usually women, who use participatory methods to foster the socio-economic well-being of participants, their households, and their wider community. Members save uniform amounts, which accumulate across the time of their membership, and gain access to low interest loans. Organization B offers Savings and Credit Groups made up of ten to twenty-five community members who save varying amounts as shares, which are given out at the end of the year, and the members gain access to low-interest loans for personal needs. I conducted staff interviews with the directors and other senior managers of the two organizations. The purpose of these interviews was to capture staff perceptions of the context of poverty and the impact of the services they are providing, as workers involved in the formation and direct serving of the women in rural KwaZulu-Natal. My interviews with beneficiaries sought to develop an understanding of their perceptions of the impact of the organizations' poverty alleviation strategies. My findings revealed four primary disconnects between benefactors and beneficiaries that contribute to the persistence of poverty.

The first benefactor/beneficiary disconnect concerns the *causes* of poverty. It can be observed that in addition to the tendency to favor desk research over dialogue, benefactors frequently operate by a "law of general applicability," whereby poverty alleviation strategies that work among one group of beneficiaries are assumed to work in another. Yet the causes of poverty are complex, and alleviation strategies must be tailored to address a particular context.

Interview responses and organization reports from Organizations A and B demonstrated staff ignorance of the causes of poverty in rural KwaZulu-Natal. Staff presented beneficiaries as mostly widows, impacted by HIV and AIDS, unemployed, pensioners, with little education or skills and opportunities. What the organizations described were the beneficiaries' demographics rather than the causes of their poverty. When asked to identify the primary causes of their struggle with poverty, focus

group participants named their history of tribal wars, natural disasters, exclusion from economic activities, the burden of HIV and AIDS, and deep-rooted practices of a patriarchal system that denies women land ownership. Benefactors have to engage in reflective and respectful dialogue with beneficiaries and understand the complex causes of poverty in order to effectively alleviate poverty.

A second disconnect concerns the *dimensions* of poverty affecting women in rural KwaZulu-Natal. Both organizations' programs seek to alleviate *income* poverty. My research revealed that prior to their participation in the programs, several of the women already had income sources, for example, from child grants, pension grants, and husbands. Research data showed a small increase of women who identified agriculture as a new means of earning income because of their participation in the poverty-alleviation programs of Organizations A and B. The lower number of women involved in farming is best explained by traditional patriarchal practices that deny women rights to land ownership and the disorientation suffered during land displacement through tribal wars and apartheid. In my work in rural KwaZulu-Natal, I have observed that most widowed or single women struggle to own land to enable farming and are unlikely to engage in agriculture because of past economic exclusion and land displacements suffered.

The struggles the participants expressed in focus group discussions revealed that the dimensions of poverty limiting these women were disempowerment poverty and physical poverty rather than income poverty. They lacked opportunities to participate in decision-making processes that affected their economic growth and infrastructure to facilitate participation in economic networks, such as land distribution, labor, information, education, water, markets, health, roads, transport network, and electricity.²⁹ Focus on income poverty while paying little attention to disempowerment poverty and physical poverty minimized the effectiveness of both organizations' efforts toward economic empowerment.³⁰ As Freire observes, the attempt to liberate a person without inviting them into respectful participation in their own liberation is tantamount to treating poor people as objects needing only free services.

29. Matimelo, "Mobilizing Community Assets," 136–37.

30. A similar disconnect has occurred between the South African government and people in some rural communities who are selling or renting out houses built for them by the government, then getting involved in violent protests.

A third disconnect concerns the *role of religion* in poverty alleviation strategies. Religion is ubiquitous to the quest for a good life in almost all African communities.³¹ People in most African communities see their faith in God as foundational to, and inseparable from, their development aspirations, including in rural KwaZulu-Natal, where religious practices are imbedded in people's quest for a better life. I observed beneficiaries of both organizations beginning and ending their meetings with prayers and singing religious songs, and religious faith was frequently raised in focus group discussions. Program beneficiaries identified the church as a physical asset that contributes to their livelihood strategies by being a support structure, a foundation for faith and morals, and a market for income generating activities.³² Participants also identified the church as a place where they were known for their gifts of care and skills for sewing, as contributors of tithes and offerings and active participants.

Organization A staff pointed out that they support and encourage prayers and Bible studies among program beneficiaries, while B's staff stated that they are not a faith-based organization and do not encourage prayers or any other religious activities because of the problematic nature of religion. It is evident that there is a disconnect between Organization B and its beneficiaries regarding the role of religion in social development. Though it is undeniable that religion has contributed to poverty in some communities historically, this does not justify the call for its absence in social and economic development work. If benefactors fail to understand the religious worldview of their beneficiaries, they fail to be relevant in their work. People's faith in God is inseparable from their day-to-day lives.

The fourth disconnect stems from benefactors' failing to *contextualize* their poverty alleviation strategies, seeking to replace traditional survival strategies rather than building on them. Program participants in both organizations were, to a large extent, already involved in traditional survival strategies—such as broom-making, farming and selling vegetables, and raising and selling indigenous chickens—before they began participating in the organizations' savings and credit programs.³³ The women

31. Religion and religious disciplines are ubiquitous to the quest for a good life in Africa. African Religious Health Assets Programme, "Appreciating Assets: The Contribution of Religion to Universal Access in Africa," *Report for the World Health Organization* (Cape Town: African Religious Health Assets Programme, 2006), 3.

32. Matimelo, "Mobilizing Community Assets," 125 (Table 5.18).

33. *Ibid.*, 120 (Table 5.8), 125–26 (Tables 5.9, 5.10, 5.11, and 5.12). Due to wars, land displacements, and natural disasters, they had lost some traditional income-generating opportunities, livestock, fields, and agricultural skills.

were not idle but were busy working to survive. After adopting savings activities as a supplemental source of income, Organization A participants' income sources were enhanced by 12 percent while those of Organization B participants were reduced by 20.5 percent.³⁴ Only a third of all participants diversified their livelihoods through sewing, selling airtime, tourism, tuck-shop, selling soap, baking, and selling electricity.³⁵ Others remained dependent on child grants, pension grants, or other traditional livelihood strategies. A failure to understand and appreciate the need to enhance traditional livelihood strategies rather than replace them led to benefactors promoting livelihood strategies that were new to the people, such as tourism, rentals, and baking.³⁶

The Spirituality of Poverty Alleviation

The first key theological insight that emerges from this research concerns the *missio Dei*. David Bosch, one of South Africa's leading missiologists, states that "it is not so much that God has a mission for his church in the world, but that God has a church for his mission in the world."³⁷ The *missio Dei* is God's own missionary cause seen across the history of salvation, from creation through the incarnate mission of God's Son to its continuation in the mission of the church.³⁸ The Triune God has invited the church to participate in that mission for the well-being of God's people, not only through evangelism but also through justice for the weak, dignity for the poor, and healing for the hurting (Luke 4:18). In efforts to alleviate poverty, it is important to recognize that God has been at work in promoting well-being among people who suffer all forms of poverty.

God has given and sustained human life since creation. Through the Mosaic law, God structured the communal life of his people to promote

34. Ibid., 115 (Table 5.4). The 43 participants in Organization A reported 59 income opportunities before joining the organization and 75 income opportunities after; the 47 participants in Organization B reported 82 income opportunities before joining the organization and 54 income opportunities after.

35. Ibid., 120 (Table 5.8). 60 percent of Organization A participants and 21 percent of Organization B participants engaged in new business opportunities.

36. Ibid., 115 (Table 5.4), 120 (Table 5.8).

37. David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), 81.

38. Thomas Schirrmacher, *Missio Dei: God's Missional Nature*, World of Theology Series 10 (Bonn: Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft, 2017), 12.

love, peace, and justice, prohibiting activities that put life at risk. When God's people lived in accordance to the laws and commandments they received, they experienced well-being and protected themselves from dehumanizing conditions that put their lives at risk. In his incarnate life and ministry, Jesus advanced the *missio Dei*, promoting human dignity, life, and well-being: "I have come that they might have life and have it to the full" (John 10:10). Jesus enacted this statement by freeing people from dehumanizing conditions through restoration, deliverance, and healing (Luke 4:18–19). Christ's redemptive death on the cross restored human dignity, which had been lost through sin and broken relationship. Jesus's life and death indicate clearly that God is present and among those who are suffering and oppressed.

The *missio Dei* as the work of well-being is a challenge to the work and ministry of the church, which is called to be God's agent to those suffering from and dehumanized by poverty. The work of redemption is God's action of grace and mercy to his people, and men and women in the church and in Christian organizations are his envoys.³⁹ The purpose of the church on earth is that it fully participate in bringing about well-being as it continues to advance the *missio Dei*,⁴⁰ bringing peace, justice, and abundant life to people. As the church gets involved in social ministries such as economic empowerment programs, care ministries, and the like, it is involved in the *missio Dei* in which "the Church has been privileged to participate."⁴¹

My research demonstrates that many people turn to Christian disciplines in their search for well-being, identifying Christian values and practices as sources of well-being. This is clearly seen in activities of prayer, singing Christian songs, and reading the Bible during meetings. People are desperately in need of the church's ministry of well-being. This presents the church and its leaders with a great opportunity to work with those living in poverty to fulfill the commandment of the Lord Jesus that his people be the salt and the light of the earth (Matthew 5:13–14). When the church engages in ministries of social and economic empowerment or care ministries, it participates in the *missio Dei*.

The second theological insight of my research is that, following Christ's

39. Ibid., 20.

40. Steve De Gruchy, "Integrating Mission and Development: Ten Theological Themes," *International Congregational Journal* 5, no. 1 (2005): 27.

41. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 393.

incarnate ministry among the poor, the church and Christian agencies should embrace the work of *diakonia* (ministries of relief or support) while promoting *koinonia* (fellowship or belonging in community). Most poverty alleviation strategies seeking to address dehumanization and social injustice engage the poor as clients rather than agents of their own change. Such churches and Christian organizations are committed to promoting human well-being by meeting the immediate needs in communities affected by poverty. This is the diaconal work of the church⁴² and is the most common response of churches and Christian agencies to the needs of poor communities. The diaconal ministry was part of the early Christian *koinonia*, as the church met the immediate practical needs of the poor (Acts 6:1). Such quick responses are a clear demonstration of Christian love and service as the church seeks to promote people's dignity, which is often robbed by calamities and poverty.

However, if not well executed, the diaconal ministry can cause dependency of the poor on those providing relief and welfare. The poor look to service providers for help and neglect to use their God-given skills and abilities to achieve their own well-being. The biblical model of the Christian *koinonia* committing to *diakonia* recognizes those suffering in poverty as agents of their own change and seeks to mobilize local systems and people to help relieve the prevailing needs in their communities. The rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem clearly demonstrates the community that is built when people work together to achieve their development goals and alleviate poverty and suffering: "You see the trouble we are in: Jerusalem lies in ruins, and its gates have been burned with fire. Come let us rebuild the walls of Jerusalem and we will be no longer in disgrace....The people replied, 'Let us start rebuilding.' So they began this good work" (Nehemiah 2:18–20, NIV). In this account, local people are empowered to solve their community's problems as they work together with community leaders in *koinonia*.

Finally, well-being cannot be divorced from a wider framework of God's shalom. Perry Yoder argues persuasively that the message of shalom preached by prophets in the Old Testament is God's vision for the world.⁴³ God's desire is that people live in well-being and at peace with one other and with God. This message of socio-political peace is central

42. De Gruchy, "Integrating Mission and Development," 27; David Coghlan and Teresa Brannick, *Doing Research in Your Own Organization* (London: SAGA Publication Limited, 2010), 22.

to God's message of shalom, which also refers to God working toward the transformation of the social structures to promote "peace and equality for all of God's people."⁴⁴ Therefore, the message of shalom encourages people to live in unity and peace with themselves, with one another, with the environment, and with God.⁴⁵ This the full biblical vision of well-being and should also provide the vision of poverty alleviation work of the church and Christian agencies.

Among the dimensions of poverty, disempowerment poverty is closely related to the socio-political context of South Africa; the suffering of the people is a result of poverty, low income, lack of infrastructure, a history of social isolation, and lower capabilities (education, skills, and health). In addition to the church and Christian agencies contributing to alleviating poverty, churches and Christian agencies also need to engage in works that seek to bring about the transformation of socio-political realities. Rather than limiting their ministry of well-being within the buildings of their congregations or organizations, churches and Christian agencies need to engage in prophetic ministries, openly condemning poor socio-political conditions caused mainly by bad governance and political decisions. When churches and Christian agencies engage in prophetic ministry, political leadership, and dialogue programs that seek to alleviate suffering and poverty, they participate more fully in God's vision of shalom.

Conclusion

Disconnects between benefactors and beneficiaries provide some insight into why poverty persists despite enormous human and financial investments to alleviate it. My research on benefactors and beneficiaries in rural KwaZulu-Natal has revealed disconnects in understanding (1) the causes of poverty among beneficiaries, (2) the dimension of poverty affecting rural KwaZulu-Natal, (3) the role of religion in poverty alleviation strategies, and (4) the necessity of contextual poverty alleviation strategies that build on traditional survival livelihoods rather than replacing them. This ethnographic research gives rise to theological reflection that contributes to building a contextual theology on poverty, suffering, and well-being to help guide the church and Christian agencies as they

43. Perry Yoder, *Shalom* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1987), 2.

44. Ibid.

45. Nicholas Wolterstorff, *Until Justice and Peace Embrace: The Kuyper Lectures for 1981 Delivered at the Free University of Amsterdam* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 72.

participate in poverty alleviation. These include the *missio Dei* as God's mission in which the church is privileged to participate; Jesus's incarnation; joining *diakonia* and *koinonia* in poverty alleviation; and pursuing God's shalom on earth.

As we engage in poverty alleviation work, it is inspiring to be reminded that we are part of the bigger work God is doing among his people on earth. It is a privilege to be stewards of his creation. May he give us grace and strength to serve him.

The Importance of Doing History for Effective Ministry in the Twenty-first Century

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Seeing where we are going by examining where we have been is not a profound concept. Indeed, it is one we live by tacitly every day. The act of remembering, whether something that transpired in our lives long ago or in the last moment, is such a habit that we often do it unreflectively. Yet the habit of remembering is what “doing history”¹ is all about and is integral to the historian’s calling. Remembering is embedded in the very drama of history, and this act of remembering can greatly impact our attitudes to the present and the future.

Memory and Ministry

Anglican historian Frederica Harris Thompsett writes, “With the clarity of historical perspective, we can also temper the arrogance of our present-mindedness, shedding new light on problems we had thought were ours alone. Looking backward widens our vision, displaying the achievements, struggles, failures, and wisdom of other ages.”²

The historian’s vocation is to remember and to bring the treasures of the past into the present to better understand potential futures. As Thompsett writes, “Historical knowledge can free us to face the future with fresh perspectives and renewed hope.”³ For the pastor, communicat-

1. The phrase “doing history” speaks of the calling to not only remember and record but also to allow that process to inform the present and perhaps even the future.

2. Frederica Harris Thompsett, *Living with History* (Cambridge: Cowley Publication, 1999), 2.

3. *Ibid.*, 6.

ing “fresh perspectives” and giving “renewed hope” for the future through remembering the past is also important. Pastors who are not concerned with the histories of their flock, not cognizant of the particulars of their individual or family stories, will quickly find their ministry severely limited. People expect a pastor to care, to remember, to let their ministry be shaped by that remembering in a specific context. Why is it, then, that the calling of academic historians and the calling of pastors often run on parallel tracks, perhaps never intersecting? Fostering the awareness and study of history in our churches—not only for those called to be professional historians but for every pastor—is something that warrants greater consideration. Of course, not all in the ministry are called to be trained in the exacting methods of historians, but all are called to learn to remember more effectively.

There is a broader context as well, and that is global. The world continues to change by the day, bringing people from many nations to other nations not their own. Ministry in churches is increasingly cross-cultural, with people having stories and backgrounds very different than our own. What we may have learned in school about history, even the history of our own nations, is now more and more inadequate in the twenty-first century world. The stories are expanding, becoming more complete. But many pastors simply do not know the histories of the people they serve. There is an acute need for vocational historians to come alongside pastors to help form learning communities that can bring greater understanding. Not every pastor needs to be a historian of global Christianity, but all should know who they can call on for help in understanding our increasingly changing context. That person may already be in their congregation or place of learning, simply waiting to be called on to serve in a local church or school. Or they may be nearby in another place of service and can be brought in to give classes or personal tutoring.

A person who exemplifies this service from the academy to churches is Mark Noll, longtime educator at Wheaton College and more recently at the University of Notre Dame. An esteemed church historian, Noll has been on a journey of broadening, which he describes in his book *From Every Tribe and Nation*:

Consequently, it was necessary to push back against the instinct to treat my own Christianity as simply normative Christianity. Yet once coming to realize that the Christianity I embraced was also a local cultural expression made it

easier, at least conceptually, to appreciate the development of Christianity in shapes very different than my own.⁴

Appreciating the broad and diverse history of this global story can change how we look at our lives and our nations. In my own journey, I have seen how the calling of a historian and the calling of a full-time Christian worker can go hand in hand. I have been a missionary in Asia for the past thirty-seven years, having grown up in the Evangelical Covenant Church and still deeply connected to that denomination. My involvement among Muslims in South Asia for most of those years increasingly led me to look at models of ministry from the past. More recently it led me to complete a PhD in the history of Christian-Muslim relations while continuing to be involved in field work in Asia.

In this way, historical research has become a vital part of my ongoing ministry in Asia, and, while not always easy to reconcile the two callings of historian and missionary, my study of history has brought increased depth to my ministry. It can do the same for pastors, teachers, and Christian laypeople, whether or not one is led to do a higher degree in history. A critical factor is the desire to learn the stories of the past and the tools needed to find and engage those stories relevant to a particular ministry context. Another critical factor is the need to ask questions of history, whether the media being asked is a book or the living history represented by a person in a church or school.

In December 2018 I spent three weeks in Rwanda, a nation that just twenty-six years ago was convulsed in a horrible genocide, with more than 800,000 of its citizens murdered. As part of a team from our mission leading a leadership training seminar, I was deeply drawn to this nation and its people. While there, I visited a 101-year-old genocide survivor, who had twice been left for dead in a pile of bodies during the horrors of 1994. As we spent time in his home listening to his stories, I was impacted again by the importance of “living history” as personified by this man. Sadly, there are few opportunities for his story to be shared with a younger generation and in the churches so prevalent in that nation. But, thankfully, there are several excellent museums and memorials of the genocide in Kigali and the countryside, fostering the memory of

4. Mark Noll, *From Every Tribe and Nation: A Historian's Discovery of the Global Christian Story* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014), 166.

what happened and presenting the challenge to prevent it from being repeated.

Traveling much further back in time, an example of a little-known encounter from the history of Christianity comes from thirteenth-century Asia. This brief but important encounter of an Asian church leader and the king of England in September 1287 in the Gascony region of France brings out issues of liturgical practice and power dynamics between East and West.⁵ Moreover, it offers a poignant glimpse of two very different perspectives of the “other.”⁶ In our own twenty-first century context, accelerated global migration makes this example of hospitality to the stranger or the “other” increasingly important.

In the following section I explore the dynamics of this thirteenth-century encounter between two Christian leaders, particularly the celebration of the Eucharist meal between them. We will see that in the giving of communion by the Eastern leader to the Western, or from Asian to European, two different yet interconnected kinds of discourse or relational dynamic were taking place. The first discourse was at the level of the symbolic image of the “other”—in this case the Asian prelate, Rabban Sauma, engaging in an act representing the power of a sacrament of the church toward the king of England, representing secular power. The second kind of discourse centered in the actual roles, identities, and intentions of each, with Rabban Sauma having come to Europe with a primarily diplomatic agenda. Both kinds of discourse are exemplary of the possibilities for East-West power dynamics to be upended and indeed reversed by seeing the “strange and unfamiliar” with new eyes and meaning. This certainly is an important way that a story from the past can speak to situations we face in ministry today.

There are many stories like this from Asian history, or the one above from contemporary Africa, to be discovered from all over the world, stories that can enhance a ministry of pastoring in cross-cultural contexts.

5. For many in the modern church, whether East or West, even the idea of there being an important Asian church leader in the thirteenth century may be a new and surprising thought.

6. The “other” refers to those who are different, whether religiously, ethnically, or politically. It was not of course used in the same way in the thirteenth century but is used here intentionally to relate to contemporary contexts.

Encountering the Other: A Thirteenth-Century East-West Christian Exchange

Historical Context. Since the emergence of Genghis Khan in Mongolia in the early years of the thirteenth century, the Mongolian Empire had spread across parts of China, Central Asia, and Russia, as well as briefly into Central Europe. In 1258 Genghis's grandson, Hulega, sacked Baghdad, ending Abbasid Muslim dominance. A potential alliance between the Mongols and European Christendom against the Muslim world was invoked more frequently, yet with more potentiality than reality. Hopes for a common victory against the Muslims were dashed by the defeat of a joint Mongol-European force by Egyptian Mamluk armies in 1260 at Ain Jalut near Nazareth. Over the next three decades, however, the hope for a continued alliance and final victory persisted.

By 1278 the desired Mongol-European Christian alliance was a fading hope, but it was important enough that ilkhan Arghun (literally subordinate Khan, one of four) sent a Mongolian Turk (possibly an Ongut) Church of the East priest named Rabban Sauma to Europe, with Kublai Khan's consent.⁷ The purpose of the journey was to meet with religious and secular leaders to further explore whether the alliance could still be a reality. His trip to Europe was not his first journey, as he had traveled extensively in Asia nine years before in 1278 with Rabban Markus, a Uighur who became the patriarch of the entire Church of the East in 1281 and was renamed Mar Yaballah III. That journey had lasted more than two years and included visits to Baghdad, Arbela, Nineveh (Mosul), and Church of the East monasteries in Iraq after taking the southern branch of the Silk Road across China.⁸

The second primary party in this East-West encounter was Edward I (1239–1307), king of England. Known as the “Hammer of the Scots” for his brutality in suppressing rebellions in the north and “Longshanks” for his tall height, Edward joined the Ninth Crusade in 1268, arriving in 1271 in Acre after a series of delays.⁹ Edward's forces joined the Mongols

7. “Rabban” means priest or prelate in Syriac.

8. The two monks' journey is described in a Syriac document from the thirteenth century titled *History of the Life and Travels of Rabban Sawma, Envoy of the Mongol Khan to the Kings of Europe, and Markos, Patriarch of the Nestorian Church in Asia*. It was translated into English by E.A.W. Budge in 1928 with the title *The Monks of Kublai Khan* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1928).

9. This is the same English king who defeated and brutally executed William Wallace, as depicted in the movie *Braveheart*.

under ilkhan Abaqa to attack Aleppo, blunting an offensive of Muslim armies led by Baibars, who had defeated the previous Mongol-European alliance in 1262. Edward was nearly killed by a Muslim assassin in June 1272. He returned to Europe to news of his father's death and an unstable England and was officially crowned king August 1274. His Gascony meeting with Rabban Sauma would take place thirteen years later. As historian Marc Morris writes, "The rise of the Mongols had been, without question, the single most astonishing event of Edward's age; it still remains one of the most remarkable occurrences in the whole of human history."¹⁰ Edward would spend the rest of his life with the backdrop of potential alliances with the Mongols against the Muslims; his interest in retaking the holy places of the Middle East was seemingly unflagging.

A Eucharistic Encounter. The Asian journeys of Rabban Sauma and Rabban Markos and the later European trip of Rabban Sauma are recounted in the Syriac *History*, "one of the most important Syriac works known to us, for it contains a mass of historical information which is found nowhere else,"¹¹ according to its translator E.A.W. Budge. After Rabban Sauma's visit to Paris in 1287 and his favorable reception there by King Philip IV, the monk-diplomat took a twenty-day journey from Paris to the region of Gascony, to a city that might have been modern Bordeaux. According to the *History*, the people of the city came out to meet the delegation from the East, wondering who they were. Rabban Sauma and his companions replied, "We are ambassadors, and we have come from beyond the Eastern seas, and we are envoys of the King, and of the Patriarch, and the King of the Mongols."¹²

The local people then informed Edward I of Rabban Sauma's arrival, and a letter of authorization from ilkhan Arghun (called a Pukdana) was presented along with gifts. The king "rejoiced greatly, and he was especially glad when Rabban Sauma talked about the matter of Jerusalem." Edward responded, "We the kings of these cities bear upon our bodies the sign of the Cross, and we have no subject of thought except this matter. And my mind is relieved on the subject about which I have been thinking,

10. Marc Morris, *A Great and Terrible King: Edward I and the Forging of Britain* (London: Windmill Books, 2008), 97.

11. Budge, *The Monks of Kublai Khan*, 8. Budge credits Chabot as the first scholar to make the history of these two monks' journeys more widely accessible in Europe, after its first copying in 1887 in Urmiah (modern Iran).

12. *Ibid.*, 8.

when I hear that King Arghun thinketh as I think.”¹³ The anonymous chronicler recounts that then “the King commanded Rabban Sauma to celebrate the Eucharist, and he performed the Glorious Mysteries; and the King partook of the Sacrament, and made a great feast that day.”¹⁴

The narration of this encounter ends with Rabban Sauma asking Edward to “show us whatever churches and shrines there are in this country,” so that the delegation can bring descriptions of them to the “Children of the East.” King Edward sends the Asian visitors home via Rome with gifts, money to cover the expenses of their journey, and a message to the Mongol ruler and his subjects that “there is nothing more wonderful” than that there are not two different confessions of faith but only one that “confesseth Jesus Christ; and all the Christians confess it.”¹⁵

It must be recognized that this account was written by a chronicler of the East, perhaps emphasizing the favorable reception of Rabban Sauma’s group by the king of England for his own purposes and audience. The reception included both King Edward receiving communion at Rabban Sauma’s hands as well as a confession that the Nestorian version of the faith was “one” with Edward’s own. This would have most likely brought a greater sense of legitimacy and sense of equal standing to those in the East who would read the document. It may have also been thought to increase the possibilities of King Edward and his French counterpart allying with the Mongol Empire against the Mamluks, the central purpose of the envoy’s journey to Europe.

But even this possibility of Eastern bias in the *History’s* narration of the account does not negate the very real difference of perspectives involved. From the writer’s perspective and Rabban Sauma’s, King Edward was the “other,” a leader of European Christendom with whom the Mongolian Christian was negotiating for specific help against a common enemy. From this perspective, the administration of the Eucharist by an Eastern Christian was an act of legitimization of that faith and mission as not lesser than the European “other.” It is perhaps noteworthy that there is no extant account of the encounter from Edward’s perspective.¹⁶ If such

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Though biographers do mention the meeting if not the communion celebration, e.g., Morris, *A Great and Terrible King*, 211.

an account were available, would it corroborate the king's receiving communion from the Eastern prelate, thereby confirming an equality? Or would it be limited to the king's giving gifts to the delegation, confirming an expected protocol?

Discourses of the "Other." Two very different perspectives are involved in this encounter, each part perhaps seeing their counterpart as the "other." Each was not completely seen as "strange and unfamiliar," as Rabban Sauma had been on a journey west nine years before with Markos. King Edward, while not having been as far east as China, had been in the western end of Asia only thirteen years prior. Each individual brought his unique perspective to this meeting in France, and these contributed to two possible kinds of discourse.

At the symbolic level, the celebration of the Eucharist from the hands of Rabban Sauma to King Edward represents a reversal of power from West to East. In some ways, this was arguably a reality in the geopolitics of this period, as the strength of the Mongol Empire, though beginning to wane, was still cumulatively stronger than the kingdoms of Europe taken together. The strength and reach of the Mongol ruler Arghun, and above him Kublai Khan, were evidenced in this Church of the East priest-diplomat being sent to the kings and religious leaders of Europe. It was realized symbolically in this giving of the sacrament. Was King Edward's receiving of communion at Rabban Sauma's hands a symbolic acknowledgment and acceptance of Arghun's desire for an alliance? Another potential symbolic representation of these power dynamics was theological. As quoted above, the Syriac historian describes King Edward affirming that there are not "different confessions of the faith, but only one that confesseth Jesus Christ, and all the Christians confess it." If Edward really did say these words, his act of receiving the Eucharist from a Nestorian priest would have symbolically and decisively confirmed his words.

For some, the idea that the ancient Church of the East was a heretical version of Christianity, often termed "Nestorian" in the West, had been confirmed by visits to the Mongol court by Europeans such as John of Plano Carpini in 1245–1247 and William of Rubruck to Karakorum in 1254 among others. Their tales and descriptions of Asian Christianity, at times lurid and often strange to European ears, echoed a fascination in the thirteenth century with the question of whether a great and powerful Christian ruler named Prester John lived in Asia, perhaps in the Mongol

Empire itself.¹⁷ This idea was encouraged by Marco Polo's accounts of his own journeys in 1275 to the Mongol court as well as other parts of Asia. Christopher Dawson, referring to encounters like that of Rabban Sauma, writes, "In the first place it shows that the ancient theological antagonisms which had divided Eastern and Western Christendom had now become half-forgotten."¹⁸ But does an English king receiving communion from a supposedly heretical Asian Christian mean these divisions were gone? This is unlikely, as the *History* recounts that just weeks before Rabban Sauma had been questioned intensely by the religious leaders in Rome regarding his faith.

In the account, after answering a series of detailed questions on Nestorian Christology, Rabban Sauma states clearly the objectives of his journey: "I have come from remote countries neither to discuss, nor to instruct men in matters of the Faith, but I came that I might receive a blessing from Mar Papa (the Pope), and from the shrines of the saints and to make known the words of King Arghun and the Catholicus."¹⁹ There were still many questions in the minds of European Christians, then, about the version of the faith practiced to the farther East. Travelers' descriptions only a generation before could only have served to reenergize a sense that Nestorian Christianity was not only "other" and "strange" but even outside the True Faith.

A second possible level of discourse lies in the actual roles and identities of each participant in this encounter and what intentions and goals arose from those roles. Edward I was in the position of power in the encounter, hosting Rabban Sauma and his delegation as well as issuing a "command" for Rabban to serve him communion. His role as king gave him secular dominance over his counterpart, but Edward was also a diplomat by experience, having learned at least some negotiating skills both in Europe, in preparation for the Ninth Crusade, as well as in the last Crusader stronghold of Acre in Western Asia. What intentions or goals did the English ruler bring to this meeting in Gascony? We do not

17. The legend of Prester John persisted for centuries. It was never resolved whether it referred to a Christian ruler in Asia, or perhaps East Africa, or was simply a fantastical account perpetuated by travelers like Polo.

18. Christopher Dawson, *Mission to Asia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), xxix.

19. Budge, *The Monks of Kublai Khan*, 63.

know, but certainly some kind of alliance with the Mongol Empire was not contrary to his long-term interests.

For Rabban Sauma, the agenda was much clearer due to his being sent as an envoy by Arghun. The goal of his journey was to achieve some kind of agreement from the European powers, both secular and religious, to join forces again and wage war on the Mamluks especially. The stunning defeat to this power perhaps still rankled in both East and West. Twenty-five years later, the collective energy for revenge was still seemingly present for Arghun and the Mongols and presumably for European Christendom as well.

Rabban Sauma had a variety of roles and experiences that he deployed in his European journey. Colleen Ho of the University of Maryland argues that he embodied eight different roles or identities: monk, teacher, pilgrim, traveler, Nestorian Christian, Ongut, diplomat, and subject of the Mongol Empire.²⁰ Though Ho's focus here is Rabban Sauma's earlier trip with Rabban Markus, she suggests the primary identity he employed in his 1287 journey was as a "humble Christian pilgrim," perhaps combining this with the role of diplomat to achieve his purposes. Could this have been to disarm the king of England and achieve an alliance? A few weeks before the Gascony encounter, Rabban Sauma had received communion from the pope in Rome. Did he expect to receive it again in Bordeaux but from an English religious leader? Did it surprise him when the king commanded him to serve the Eucharist instead? We do not know the answers to these questions, of course, but they are interesting to ponder nonetheless.

What were the outcomes of this meeting in 1287? The Mongol ruler seems to have been happy with Rabban Sauma's journey and efforts, as he appointed him personal chaplain upon his return to the capital and built him a chapel not far from the royal court. In an interesting letter from 1288, the pope reminds ilkhan Arghun that he had promised to receive baptism at Jerusalem the following year when the proposed Mongol-European alliance won the city back from the Muslims.²¹ In 1289, Arghun wrote again to the Western leaders, proposing a joint

20. Colleen Ho, "Rabban Sauma: A Medieval Eurasian Traveler and Diplomat of Many Identities," unpublished paper given at the 2016 conference at University of California, Santa Barbara, "Shape Shifters in History."

21. Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, xxx.

campaign in Palestine for 1291. In this letter, written two years after Rabban Sauma's European journey, the Mongol ruler writes, "By the power of the Eternal God under the auspices of the Supreme Khan, this is our word: King of France! By the envoy Mar Rabban Sauma you have announced 'when the troops of ilkhan open the campaign against Egypt, then we will set forth to join him.'"²²

But these great intentions for a grand alliance would never materialize. In the end, offers from Arghun met with little to no response. Western powers had become embroiled in Sicily, in a dispute between the pope and Charles of Anjou. Interestingly, the only European leader to take any interest in the Mongol alliance in these final years of the century was Edward I, who in 1289, just two years after his meeting with Rabban Sauma, "took the cross" and continued to attempt to unite Western Christendom for another crusade.²³ But it was all too late, as the last Crusader stronghold at Acre fell to the Egyptians May 18, 1291. By this time the Mongol ruler was dead. His son Oljaitu had assumed rule and would convert to Islam within a few years. The great Khan himself, Kublai, died in 1294, the same year as Rabban Sauma, effectively bringing to an end a period of Mongol dominance descending from Genghis Khan. According to Samuel Moffett, Arghun's death in 1291 was "the last high plateau in the history of the Nestorians in Asia."²⁴ Rabban Sauma's life spanned much of that thirteenth century, a life lived within the influence of the Mongol Empire to which he belonged.

Learning from History: Encountering the "Other" Today

This thirteenth-century encounter shows us that power struggles between East and West are not new. In fact, learning that the church in Asia was extremely widespread until the late thirteenth century gives us new appreciation for the diversity of the body of Christ throughout history, a diversity too often overlooked. Countless other stories could be unearthed, shedding new light on how the church has negotiated power between different parts of the world. There are records of many encounters in history between diplomats of different empires meeting to negotiate alliances. Less common is such an encounter between a

22. Ibid.

23. See Morris, *A Great and Terrible King*, 262–65.

24. Samuel H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia: Beginnings to 1500, Vol. 1* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1998), 435.

sovereign king and a religious envoy, particularly across the frontiers of East and West. Even more unusual is one centered on the celebration of a sacrament of the church in the Eucharist meal.

This little-known encounter from the thirteenth century, so filled with issues of power dynamics and ministry across contexts, is an example of how history can be learned and reflected on for our contemporary contexts and future engagement. Resources from the past provide a wealth of materials that aid our engagement not only with the “other” around us but also with those who are like us in ethnic or social background. Helping those most like us to understand those who are different is a crucial need in ministry today. Historical lessons, when used with sensitivity and clear evidence, can help build new bridges of engagement in our churches.

As we seek to bring the historical calling alongside the pastoral calling, several important encouragements can be adapted from Thompsett’s book *Living with History*. Thompsett offers these as tools for “discussing controversial matters”²⁵ related to history in her own Anglican tradition, for example the role of the Anglican Church during the United States Civil War and the silence of Anglican slaveholders. I am broadening these points as more general encouragements as we work to integrate history and effective pastoral ministry.

First, historians and pastors need to seek similar ground through their distinct callings. It is important that we do not leave historians and their professional labors in separate enclaves with no connection to local church ministry. We need to identify common ministry challenges and find stories that bring history to bear in providing hope, warning, and alternative possibilities for the future. In my example above, I explored various power dynamics that open (perhaps surprising) common ground for discussing power shifts happening in our world today, sometimes right in our churches or denominations.

Second, we need to initiate and continue conversations across diverse ministry settings. History is not boring, not in the least, but rather presents exciting opportunities for valuable conversations and learning opportunities. The case of Edward I asking to receive communion from an Asian Christian leader in the late thirteenth century is potentially paradigm changing. These stories can lead to fruitful conversations across very different ethnic and cultural divides.

25. Thompsett, *Living with History*, 173.

As a third encouragement, we need to allow our understanding to broaden. As seen in Mark Noll's journey, the commitment to grow beyond his cultural context broadened his scholarship to a global Christian story. Our changing world today—not to mention the often-changing demographics in local churches and places of learning—demand this commitment to continually broaden our perspectives. Learning the stories of history helps in a broadening of outlook and attitude and can lead to practical changes in how we see various “others.”

Fourth, we should recognize that even within the historical evidence an event can be viewed from different perspectives. As we engage with different callings and perspectives, at times we will come to different conclusions, even when looking at the same evidence. While this can be frustrating, it is very common in our diverse world, and we must cultivate patience. We do need well-researched evidence as we study history, but we must always recognize that there are different interpretations of that evidence.

Fifth, we need to allow our imaginations to be engaged by alternate futures. As Thompsett has rightly stated, “part of thinking through a difficult issue is imagining other possibilities for the future.”²⁶ Doing history allows us to imagine and embrace different ways things can happen in the future, based in a past that may have been unknown to us before. The surprising encounter between the two leaders described above demonstrates that power dynamics in the thirteenth century were not always what we might have imagined. Recognizing other pasts opens space to imagine other futures as well.

Finally, as mentioned at the beginning of this article, we need to continually ask questions. Doing history, whether as a professional calling or as an act of remembering to which all of us are called, is the art of asking questions. This is arguably the heart of historical research, asking questions of the material that leads to further questions. But isn't that also a key to effective ministry?

Doing history as an act of remembering can and should go side by side with our pastoral ministries. In our changing contemporary contexts in the United States and globally, we need to bring these ministries together more than ever before.

26. *Ibid.*, 176.

Book Reviews

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Dominique DuBois Gilliard, *Rethinking Incarceration: Advocating for a Justice that Restores* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Books, 2018), 230 pages, \$18.

Dominique Gilliard's book came to my attention through the *Covenant Companion* when I was searching for books to assign in my Christian Theology course. Later, a colleague and I, who had both assigned this book, invited Gilliard to campus to speak to our students. Many were from Christian backgrounds (Catholics, Lutherans, and evangelicals), but there were also unaffiliated students, atheists, and Hindus. The students' reception of this book was overwhelmingly positive. Though certain theological concepts were perplexing for some (particularly penal substitutionary atonement theory), most students expressed that they had never considered how extensive the mass incarceration crisis was.

Given this book's intended practical application, it is worth foregrounding this review by observing its successful reception in the classroom. Its hybrid character of societal critique, applied theology, and personal reflection was a good fit for a diverse group of students. In terms of the book's engagement with the Bible, students resonated most with Gilliard's

highlighting how so many of the disciples, the authors of the books of the Bible, and Jesus himself were at one point incarcerated unjustly. This was among the author's most clearly received messages: "The great irony in that is that Christianity revolves around Jesus, a falsely convicted criminal who was falsely charged, punitively convicted, mercilessly tortured, and unjustly sentenced to death. Given this, I would think the church would understand the necessity of thinking more restoratively about criminal justice" (p. 148). This helped some students engage with the Bible for the first time in their lives. The book worked for our purposes on this and other points precisely because of its interdisciplinary character: it is part academic research, part sermon, part personal testimony, and part engagement in a relevant issue.

The book has two sections. The first recounts the history of mass incarceration and its current state. The second addresses the historical relationship between the Christian church and the justice system, the theology behind it, and the potential of Christians to work toward reform.

Chapter 1 identifies the "war on drugs" as having played a role in accelerating the rate of incarceration, beginning in 1971. Several vignettes are included, such as the story of ninety-two-year-old Kathryn Johnson who was murdered in a botched drug raid. (Gilliard shared with our students that this tragedy was a turning point for his becoming involved in this issue.) Chapter 2 gives a longer historical perspective, drawing a straight line from the end of slavery, through the black codes and Jim Crow laws, to contemporary incarceration. This framework establishes mass incarceration as a continuation of slavery. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 identify the ways in which the justice system obfuscates and exacerbates the crisis, as well as four systemic "pipelines" that feed the ballooning prison population: the mental health system, private prisons, immigration law, and the school-to-prison pipeline.

In the second part of the book, Chapters 6 and 7 give a historical theological perspective on how Christian pastors have preached about justice and served as prison chaplains. This is a mixed legacy, with some examples of activism and reform, but more often complicit support of the system. On balance, it appears prison chaplains have seen prison's role in transforming and redeeming incarcerated persons as a necessary "furnace of affliction," with only few advocating restorative justice as an alternative (p. 106). Chapters 8 and 9 identify penal substitution theory as a problematic default position of American Christianity, and the chief culprit in fostering a theological worldview that disproportionately empha-

sizes God's wrath. "...[P]enal substitution is most problematic because it makes God's response to sin too much like our own... Restorative justice must be the aim of God's people. God's intent to restore all things and all people must inform and transform our understanding and pursuit of justice" (p. 160). Chapters 10 and 11 point toward restorative justice as the solution to the crisis and call Christians to move from a complicit posture to engagement in dismantling the system. The book ends by highlighting some Christian educational programs engaged in incarceration reform; the work of North Park Theological Seminary and Michelle Clifton-Soderstrom are among these examples (p. 193).

Evangelicals are Gilliard's primary audience. This is his ministry context but also the group identified as the most urgent to reach with his message: in polls, white evangelicals are among the most likely to advocate the harshest sentencing as well as the death penalty (p. 58). The approach the author takes to correct this view is to make a case that "our theology must be historically rooted" (p. 198). An issue like mass incarceration must be seen across the various historical contexts in which theology has been formed and must reckon with the influence of sexism, racism, and classicism.

While Gilliard makes a convincing case that penal substitution theory has contributed to a "warped" understanding of justice among American Christians, he acknowledges that this does not establish a causal connection, merely a congruent one (p. 158). For instance, the book identifies the British origins of both the American justice system and of Anglo-American Christian theology, yet it does not account for why the British justice system evolved in a different direction and is not experiencing the same incarceration crisis as the US. (One might speculate that decreased spirituality overall in Britain is related, but this is not explored; that would also raise problematic implications for contemporary Christianity.)

A notable omission is that while penal substitution and satisfaction theories are identified as problematic and explained at length, alternatives to those views among American Christian groups are not as fully explained. Intriguingly absent are references to the Mission Covenant tradition, which has traditionally discouraged penal substitution theory throughout its history, dating back to the 1870s as propounded in the theology of one of its founders, Paul Peter Waldenström. This is Gilliard's own denominational affiliation. Similarly absent is engagement with the "third function" of the law in Lutheran theology or Catholic views of the atonement. While the Evangelical Covenant Church represents a

minority Pietist theological tradition, this was as good an opportunity as any to name and define its continued relevance to American Christianity. Perhaps the author will consider doing this in a future *Covenant Quarterly* article? It would serve a valuable need.

For Covenanters, the theology of John Calvin is of only indirect significance in the formation of its ideas about the atonement and punishment in the justice system; rather, the church's specific theological heritage is from the Lutheran side of Christian history, not the Reformed. While general American Christianity has had this influence in heavy doses, Covenant theology has been shaped by this secondarily through its exposure and participation in mainstream American Christianity, particularly evangelicalism. All this is to say that the project of discarding the warped views on the atonement that Gilliard hopes readers will do should theoretically be easier for Covenanters than perhaps for other evangelical groups. Or at least interrogating Calvin's views would be less relevant than responding to Luther, Spener, Francke, Zinzendorf, Rosenius, or Waldenström's views. This would take time but would be well worth the author's effort in the future.

This is a convicting and heavy book. Yet, it is ultimately about inspiring Christians to ask tough questions about some common and fundamental assumptions that many people have about theology and justice. This is hard work, but one rises from the reading of this book convinced it is essential. As Gilliard writes, "The church has misused theology to legitimate racial violence (genocide, slavery, internment, segregation, and mass incarceration). But within every race a remnant has understood that Scripture consistently speaks of God's people actively participating in the ministry of reconciliation" (p. 164).

MARK SAFSTROM

Boaz Johnson, *The Marys of the Bible: The Original #MeToo Movement* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2018), 182 pages, \$23.

The #MeToo movement emerged three years ago after renowned movie producer Harvey Weinstein was accused of sexually abusing multiple women. It is a movement that decries the atrocity of sexual violence and seeks justice for the millions of women around the world who have experienced such brutality. The #MeToo movement also includes boys and men who have been abused. However, research indicates that sexual violence tends to happen to the most vulnerable and marginal-

ized: girls and women. Hence the movement's focus is on this particular population.

In *The Marys of the Bible: The Original #MeToo Movement*, Boaz Johnson explains that the #MeToo movement is not a recent phenomenon; the abuse of women has occurred throughout the centuries, including against women of the Bible, and there has always been resistance to this violence, particularly from women (p. 11). Although Johnson's book is brief in length, there is depth to each chapter, as he peels back layer after layer to grasp the deeper meaning of the biblical text. Johnson examines Hebrew and Greek terms and the social contexts of biblical women to challenge the reader to engage the text deeply.

While the name Mary may be common to us, Johnson explains that parents in the Old Testament world did not blithely give it to their daughters. Naming one's daughter Mary was intentional because Mary, "Marah" in Hebrew, means "bitter" (p. 15). Why would parents choose such a name for their child? Johnson illuminates us:

...[T]he Egyptians during the time of Moses, and Romans during the time of Jesus, employed the raping of girls as a tool of war and subjugation. So, little girls were called Mary or bitter. The parents mourned when a little baby girl was born, and they said, "I am so sorry you were born a girl." (p. 15)

This is the main premise on which Johnson builds his argument. The lives of girls and women were bitter because of violence perpetrated against them.

The first half of Johnson's book is dedicated to Old Testament women whose lives were made bitter by abuse. They are Hagar, Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and Bathsheba, just to name a few. At a glance these women and their stories are familiar. However, Johnson provides a rich context that illustrates how other religions and the chosen people of God contributed to these women's vulnerability. The second half the book is devoted to the Marys of the New Testament: Jesus's mother, Mary Magdalene, Mary of Bethany, and the Mary at the cross. These women are familiar to readers, but on closer analysis Johnson reveals the depth of their abuse and marginalization in their communities. He compares women of both Testaments to the women suffering today and persuasively argues that the answer to this suffering is still the same—Yeshua, Jesus.

It becomes clear the Marys and the Hannahs of the world have deep faith in the God of the Bible. They see all the injustices in the world against the weak and marginalized. However, in a profound attitude of defiance, they look to God, and know that he is salvation, Yeshua... these women are able to do this knowing that the God of the Bible will remember them... Those people who have endured much hardship and enslavement will experience the Yeshua, the salvation. This was the hope and faith of the Hannahs, Tamars, Rahabs, Bathshebas, and Marys of that time. This will be the hope and faith of the Hannahs, Tamars, Bathshebas, and Marys of today. (p. 123)

This little but powerful book should be in every pastor's library. The abuse of women and children continues to be an issue rarely addressed, despite the awareness raised by the #MeToo movement. Johnson's book succinctly captures why this can no longer be the case, especially for followers of Christ. *The Marys of the Bible* serves as an important resource to pastors for preaching, pastoral care, and, bearing witness to God's heart for the healing, justice, and flourishing of the Marys in their congregation and throughout the world.

ELIZABETH PIERRE

Bryce Nelson and Bonnie Nelson, *Cascades Camp and Conference Center: A Century of Covenant Camps in the Pacific Northwest* (Yelm, WA: Cascades Camp and Conference Center, 2018), 197 pages, \$30.

This is an attractive and engaging book—well researched, elegantly written, creatively designed, and beautifully illustrated. Its topic, over the span of a century, is compelling on local, regional, and national levels in the life and ministry of the Evangelical Covenant Church. While a particular institutional narrative of three camps becoming one, it is illustrative as well of the larger experience of Covenant camping ministries in each conference, spanning the eras of large Bible conference grounds and privately owned cabins; gatherings for young people into their early thirties; post-WWII programs focused on children and youth; and eventually physical and programmatic expansion to year-round family camps and retreat conference centers, replete with professional management and staff. This is the fascinating story of congregational and conference lead-

ers guiding—often with great difficulty—the establishment of separate, independently owned camps, beginning in 1919, finally to be sold in the mid-1980s to purchase and develop the North Pacific Conference’s (now Pacific Northwest Conference) singular Cascades Camp and Conference Center in Yelm, Washington. Each era also represents a window into American evangelical culture and generational change among Swedish Americans and their descendants.

The first generation of Covenant Bible camps was represented by Swedish immigrants and their children, rooted in the pietistic Mission Friend threefold emphases on conversion as the experience of new life in Christ, Christian nurture through scriptural study and personal relationships with peers and guides, and a resulting support and commitment to Covenant institutions of mission, education, and benevolence. Lake Sammamish Bible Camp was purchased in 1919 by leaders in the Seattle Swedish Tabernacle as a location for summer Bible conferences away from the city and post-WWI challenges, and as an opportunity for some to own and build cottages. While not having a direct Swedish parallel with their firsthand experience of outdoor mission meetings, in continuity it represented a reflection of contemporary American revivalism and biblical prophecy conferences to which they had been exposed—and for some immersed—since the 1870s. Those patterns of Fundamentalism became stronger when camp support shifted to the more independent Emmanuel Tabernacle in Seattle.

Camping became a critical component in the 1920s and 1930s as a means to retain the second generation, who were more Americanized and pressed for English-language transition and greater cultural openness. Covenant Beach Bible Camp came about in 1931 through joint leadership of the tabernacles in Seattle and Tacoma, in response to the changes and growing independency at Lake Sammamish, purchasing property near Des Moines (which included an old dancehall!) on Puget Sound. It garnered the loyalty of many congregations and people, which connected organically to the mission of the conference and the larger Mission Covenant; it strengthened even as Swedishness declined markedly before and after the Second World War. Its long-term challenge would encompass financial support and location, where it increasingly became enveloped by urban sprawl and marked by periodic vandalism. It was not a camp that enfolded nature, solitude, and wilderness values so essential to American camping in general.

To meet those needs, the Circle C Ranch was established in 1966

through the initiative of the North Pacific Covenant Men (formed in 1956), who raised money to purchase land in the foothills of the Cascades. Its focus would be more directly on summer youth experiences, especially involving horses, trails, and the outdoors. It too had deep connections and loyalties, and competition with Covenant Beach became inevitable. It represented the further decentralization of conference camps. There was too little money for two camps when Circle C Ranch was plagued by water shortages and a mortgage, and Covenant Beach (whose land was paid for and valuable) was burdened by demographics, maintenance, and pressures from the surrounding community. Both camps also accepted the need to extend beyond children and youth to year-round facilities for retreats and family camps as well. These challenges were exacerbated further when in 1979 Driftwood Point, fifty-five acres southwest of Tacoma, was purchased as undeveloped land for a future camp. It also had passionate supporters, including the conference superintendent, and with three camps the conference was “land rich and cash poor.” Moreover, the conference fully embraced the denomination’s initiatives in church growth and planting, and with the financial constraints of multiple camps and the starting of new churches and paying developer pastors, this naturally aroused serious tension.

Following studies, reports, and competing recommendations, a “Task Force of Camping Ministries” met in 1985–1986 and recommended to the conference annual meeting selling the three camps and purchasing property for development from the Weyerhaeuser Real Estate Company at Elbow Lake in Yelm, Washington. This was approved after much discussion. Over time, the new venture has rallied significant support and enthusiasm as the Pacific Northwest Conference’s only camp, incorporating children, youth, families, retreats, and conferences, as well as horses, trails, and waterfront. The challenges continue to involve the wide geographic spread of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana, and distance coupled with congregational and cultural independency, often supporting camps closer to home.

A brief book review, of course, cannot do justice to the layers and complexities of this story, so ably told by Bonnie Nelson and Bryce Nelson, veterans themselves the nurture of Covenant camps in the Northwest (Bonnie from Salem Covenant in northeast Minneapolis) and Pacific Northwest (Bryce from First Covenant, Seattle) Conferences. Together as a family they represent decades of experience in North Pacific camping ministries. One must instead “take up and read” and delight in the book’s

crafting and production, beautifully designed with quality by Sandy Nelson. The volume is arranged in ten chronological chapters tracing the three-camps-into-one, with extended coverage of Cascades Camp and Conference Center, followed by another ten appendices, including a glossary, property acquisitions, map, list of staff and speakers, and a helpful delineation of the dual focus of conversion and nurture, which Covenant camp leaders have thoughtfully addressed for some years. Cascades is faithful to the threefold emphases of its Covenant forebears. Covenanters are justifiably proud of their camps, and there are more stories that await telling. The Nelsons have set the bar high indeed.

PHILIP J. ANDERSON

A PUBLICATION OF
NORTH PARK THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
