



CHANGING FORCES OF THE GLOBAL MISSION

In the 21st century, the missionary movement has become a "mission to all countries from all countries of the world." It is true that the sending of missionaries by western churches is declining, while the number of non-western churches sending missionaries is constantly growing. Non-western churches in Brazil, South Korea, India, South Africa, the Philippines, Mexico, and Nigeria send missionaries not only to non-western countries, but also to western countries. Churches in non-western countries have already become new forces of the world mission. It was forecasted as early as the 1980s that the non-western churches would emerge as missionary churches.

Lawrence Keyes, in his article "The New Age of Missions: Third World Missions" said, "The beginning of a new dimension in missionary involvement has come. The focus of world evangelization is turning towards the Third World." Harvie M. Conn also acknowledged the shift in the Christian axis from Europe and North America to Asia, Africa and Latin America. He said, "Our gravity center moves from Pasadena and Wheaton and Grand Rapids to Mexico, to Seoul, to Madras, and Nairobi. By the end of the 20th century, the population strength of the world church will have moved from the northern to the southern regions of the world. . . This existing shift already is appearing in the area of world missions." Larry D. Pate, too, in his book "From Every People" predicted the shift of mission currents by reporting that the number of Two-Thirds World missionaries is growing faster than the number of western missionaries. Pate noted that the rate of growth of the Two-Thirds World missions is five times faster than the western missionary movement."

This 46th issue primarily addresses the missionary movement of non-western churches. The article of Rev. Elben M. Lenz Cesar, Founding Director of ULTIMATO introduces us to the history of the evangelization of Brazil and it shows us the background of the Brazilian church who has emerged as the largest non-western missionary force. Dr. David S. Lim, who served as the National Director of PMA, introduces a paradigm of mission in his article on "Effective Disciple-making Made Simple." He shows us the practical "how to" of disciple-making.

As the Editor of this Asian Missions Advance, I introduce a new mission model in my article "The Influence of Korea Missions on World Missionary Movement: A New Mission Model." Dr. J. Nelson Jennings, emphasizes that engaging public affairs is part of the Church's mission in his article "An American Kairos: St. Louis Area Churches and the Dred Scott Court Case of 1846-1857." Dr. Marvin Newell, the Senior Vice-President of Missio Nexus, tells us about cultural diversity in his article "When Did Cultural Diversity Begin?" In his short articles, he helps us clearly understand the language and cultural diversities. Finally, Rev. Vitaly Maksimjuk, the Bishop of Covenant Church of Novosibirsk, tells us the story of how he carried on his disciple-making in Russia in his article on "Discipleship in the 21st Century in the Context of Post-Soviet Reality."

These articles are written by both Western and non-western missions leaders to broaden our perspective on mission and give us insights for our global mission. May the Lord help us to better understand the global mission and better serve Him for the dynamic coming of His kingdom!

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HISTORY OF THE EVANGELIZATION OF BRAZIL

Elben M. Lenz César

Translated by Enedina Sacramento

America is as old as Asia, Europe and Africa. In order to "discover" this new continent, a European would just need to cross the Atlantic ocean, and an Asian, the Pacific Ocean. Nevertheless, this only happened in 1492, 25 years before the Protestant Reformation, by means of sea voyages undertaken by Portuguese and Spanish navigators.

Suddenly, the world learned that there was a huge portion of land between Europe and Asia, covering 128 degrees of latitude, with an area ten times greater than Europe and a little smaller than the Asian continent.

The biggest surprise, however, was the discovery that this part of the world was also inhabited from north to south, from east to west. Christians of the Reformation and Counter-reformation were suddenly challenged by a huge, distant and difficult mission field. The first impression that Native Americans were innocent creatures soon waned. They were sons of Adam, sinners and in need of salvation, just like the Europeans. A large part of the new mission field was "discovered" in April 1500 by the Portuguese navigator Pedro Álvares Cabral and became an overseas province of Portugal, called Brazil.

Clearly, the history of Brazil's evangelization can be divided into three distinct periods: in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, the Catholic missionaries christianized the country; in the 19th century, the Protestant missionaries evangelized the country; and, in the 20th century, the Pentecostal missionaries pentecostalized the country (with the help of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal followers). First, there was a pre-evangelization, followed by evangelization itself; and finally, post-evangelization. Worldwide, the 16th century was marked by the Catholic missionary movement; the 19th century, for the outstanding Protestant missionary effort; and the 20th century, for the great Pentecostal advance.

CHRISTIANIZATION (16TH- 18TH CENTURIES)

At the time of the "discovery" of Brazil, the Portuguese people were very religious. On the eve of the departure of Cabral's fleet, a religious ceremony was held, with the presence of the royalty, the bankers who funded the project and the captains of the fleet. Nine priests were among the crew members. As they encountered the Brazilian coast, the sailors saw a small mountain from the ship and called it "Monte Pascal". The name was appropriate, since there would be a Passover celebration a few days later. Following a liturgical calendar, they started giving religious names to all coastal landforms. The first name given to the newly found land was Vera Cruz Island. The first Mass celebrated under the Equator took place three days after their arrival and the second, on Good

Friday. Over a thousand Portuguese people and about 150 indigenous people attended the ceremony.

Portuguese piety of that time included a widespread and well-entrenched missionary concern, which was also linked to territorial expansion (the same was true for the Protestant nations). According to Charles Boxer, this was the alliance between "the cross and the crown, the throne and the altar, the faith and the empire".

The first missionary call for Brazil is as old as the country itself. It was written by a layman rather than the Franciscan priest who celebrated both masses and was sent not to a bishop, but to the king of Portugal. The appeal is dramatic: he says that the king should take care of the salvation of the indigenous people and send a priest as soon as possible to baptize them.

All Christian missionaries who came to Brazil in the first three centuries of its history were Catholic and Europeans. They managed to christianize the country and establish a Christian culture. Almost all Brazilians are Christians, even though most of them are nominal and lack religious lifestyle, doctrine and possibly salvation.

Interestingly, the missionary call was not taken seriously. The first Catholic missionaries arrived only in 1549, half a century later. They were sent by the Society of Jesus, founded by the Spanish Ignatius Loyola, which had been made official by the Pope nine years earlier. Filled with courage, the six Jesuits had to face a number of challenges: the new mission field had a huge territory (almost as large as Europe); the indigenous people belonged to more than a thousand different ethnicities and were scattered on the coast and inland; communication was an almost insurmountable problem due to the diversity of languages; the trip from Europe to Brazil was subject to attacks by pirates and shipwrecks (in a single event, 43 Jesuit missionaries were thrown overboard, along with other sailors, by pirates); chastity was very difficult to maintain due to the nudity of the indigenous women; uncomfortable environment (excessive heating, tropical diseases, wild animal attacks and the inconvenience caused by a multitude of insects). Besides, the mission field was composed not only of natives, but also of a large number of

Portuguese colonizers (many with very low moral standards) and African slaves (Brazil imported more than one third of all enslaved black people from the African continent who came to the America).

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EVANGELIZATION (19TH CENTURY)

The 16th century was marked by Catholic missionary effort, while the Protestant missionary work stood out in the 19th century, thanks to an eighty seven-page booklet published in 1792, with an imponent title: *Research on the Obligation of Christians Employing Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*, written by the English Baptist preacher William Carey, a sort of Protestant Ignatius Loyola. Thereafter, various Protestant missionary societies were created and started to send missionaries to the whole world. Even so, it was not until more than sixty years later that Brazil received the first non-Catholic Christian missionary, three centuries after the arrival of the Jesuits.

All mainline Protestant denominations entered the country in the second half of the 19th century, 160 years ago: the Congregationalists in 1855; Presbyterians, in 1855; Methodists, in 1867; Baptists, in 1882; and the Episcopalians, in 1889. The Lutherans were already in Brazil since 1822, not as a result of a missionary effort, but due to German immigration.

However, the Bible arrived in the country forty years before the evangelical missionaries came and paved the way for them. It was brought by vessels leaving Lisbon and the English ports to Brazil, depending on the good will and missionary vision of the ship captains, merchants and diplomatic and military personnel who traveled to Rio de Janeiro.

The Protestant effort was not welcomed by the 300-year-old Brazilian Catholic Church, which considered the vast mission field as its property. The Catholic newspaper *O Apóstolo* (The Apostle) stated that "a Protestant Brazilian sounds as bad as the name of the traitor to his country and his emperor." The Bible was not offered to the people because they were discouraged to read it. The separation between church and state only took place in 1891, one year after the republican system was established in the country.

If Catholics took 49 years to meet the missionary desperate need described by the Portuguese Pero Vaz de Caminha, Protestants took exactly fifty years to meet the missionary clamor written by the English missionary Henry Martyn. On his trip to India, in 1805, this young missionary (24 years of age) passed by Brazil and wrote in his diary: "What missionary will be sent to bring the name of Christ to these western regions? When will this beautiful land be set free from idolatry and spurious Christianity? There are crosses in abundance, but when will the doctrine

of the cross be raised? "

The historical record of Martyn is a veiled criticism to Brazilian Christianity of that time. At the same time, it is a vehement missionary challenge. The country had been Christianized rather than evangelized and the church was better known as an institution, and people were unaware of the atoning sacrifice of Jesus Christ. After all, the original meaning of the verb to evangelize is "advertise", "proclaim" or "to bring good news." The preaching of the gospel, in the words of Leighton Ford, "is addressed to anyone who has not accepted Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior; either a Muslim, a Roman Catholic or even an enthusiastic Southern Baptist American believer". Warren May, from Westminster Abbey, declares the same thing: "Evangelizing is presenting Jesus Christ in the power of the Holy Spirit, so that men might know Him as Savior and serve Him as Lord, in the fellowship of the church and in the calling of ordinary life".

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This may have been the failure of the Catholic mission and the Protestant "evangelization", since they sometimes are more concerned about preaching history and the characteristics of their denominations than the salvation in Christ. The emphasis has been on the material blessings resulting from salvation rather than salvation itself from sin and death (this is the case of the prosperity gospel).

The Protestant missionaries who came to Brazil in the second half of the 19th century were Anglo-Americans, mainly German and Dutch people. They had to learn the language and understand the Brazilian culture. Many were successful. Among them, there may have been some tourists disguised as missionaries. Others certainly thought that evangelism meant the American way of life and preached both things at the same time. Some of these misbehaviors were unintended and resulted from excessive nationalism and lack of missiological training, particularly regarding contextualization, which is a missionary anthropological concept. Their theological knowledge was generally good. Many of them were missionaries who had been called, with passion for Jesus, godly men and women, people of prayer, with impeccable witness, willing to make any sacrifice. They founded the first churches, schools, seminaries,

Bible colleges, universities, clinics, hospitals, newspapers and publishers. They made the Bible available to the people, worked for religious freedom and helped the Catholic Church recognize and respect religious diversity. They presented salvation by grace, through faith and, at the same time, preached that faith without works is dead. They promoted a radical change in many families, by presenting alternative lifestyles, more suitable for those who desire to follow Jesus. Many Brazilians gave up lying, stealing, anger, revenge, hatred, prostitution, alcohol, trickery, illiteracy and other maladies because of the fear of the Lord. And they were taught to raise their children in the same way.

The most recent religious statistical survey in Brazil showed that Catholics are 57% of the population and Protestants, 28%.

It is true that they have made mistakes, by excessively highlighting some areas and missing to address others. Some brought strong denomination bias along with the gospel, which remains until now, to a lesser extent. They spoke very little about social justice and perhaps too much about sexual conduct. Protestants in Brazil, like in other countries, like to sing, thanks to these pioneers, mainly the first two (Sarah and Robert Kalley). They brought the Sunday Bible School. In the early days, many missionaries died at an early age in Brazil, when the yellow fever had not yet been controlled.

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PENTECOSTALIZATION (20TH CENTURY)

The modern Pentecostal movement began timidly at Bethel Bible Institute in Topeka, in the American state of Kansas, in 1901, at the dawn of the 20th century. It became more noticeable and striking five years later, with the preaching of William Seymour, a former Bethel student, in a warehouse located in Azusa Street, Los Angeles (1906), from which it expanded to various parts of the country and the world. Soon afterwards, the movement was brought to Brazil by Louis Francescon, who would have received the baptism of the Spirit and the gift of speaking in tongues in Chicago. He founded the first Pentecostal denomination, the *Congregação Cristã no Brasil* (Christian Congregation of Brazil), in the city of São Paulo. Over a period of 45 years (1952-1996), more than 2.3 million people were baptized in this denomination. Although being extremely closed and seemingly pretentious, for considering that God's work was their denomination alone, they seem to have adopted a more discrete type of leadership.

About the same time, the founders of the Assembly of God came to Brazil. This is now by far Brazil's largest evangelical denomination. Unlike all other

denominations, the Assemblies of God started in Belém do Pará, in the far north of the country. The first congregation was inaugurated in June 1911, just six months after the arrival of Daniel Berg and Gunnar Vingren, two Swedish men who had lived in Chicago, United States. No other evangelical denomination has experienced such rapid growth as the Assemblies of God. Its publishing house, in Rio de Janeiro, is the largest publisher of evangelical Christian books in Brazil.

It took little more than forty years for three big Pentecostal groups to appear in the country: the Foursquare Gospel Church (1951), The Pentecostal Church "Brazil Para Cristo" (Brazil for Christ) (1955) and the Pentecostal Church "Deus é Amor" (God is Love) (1961). That was an unexpected and astonishing event. Only the first came from abroad. The others originated in Brazil, under the leadership of the Brazilians Manuel de Mello and David Miranda. The Foursquare Gospel Church was also created as a result of the so-called Azusa Street revival, in Los Angeles, where Aimee McPherson, a 17-year-old woman had a Pentecostal experience. Harold Williams, western movies actor converted by the preaching of McPherson, brought this denomination to Brazil.

Manoel de Mello, founder of The Pentecostal Church Brasil para Cristo, was very popular and could attract crowds. In one of his conferences, he said that, in the mid-1520, Father Martin Luther heard the voice of God, fell to the ground, was baptized with the Holy Spirit. Then, he arose, and performed the "holiest robbery of the universe": "he entered the chambers of the Pope and stole the Holy Bible, had it printed and began covering Germany with the Word of God"... Sometimes, Manoel de Mello made very triumphalist statements: "Rome gave idolatry to the world; Russia, the terrors of communism; the United States, the demon of capitalism; we, from Brazil, a poor nation, will give the world the gospel".

The conversion of David Miranda, shortly after turning 22, was something remarkable. In 1962, four years later, without money, wife, assistants or pastoral ordination, he rented a large room in São Paulo and organized the Pentecostal Church "Deus é Amor". Pompously called "the greatest preacher of divine healings" at the time, David Miranda gave much importance to radio preaching (in the early 1990s, he reached 581 daily hours).

The Brazilian Pentecostalizing was promoted not only by Protestants. In 1970, three years after the Pentecostal experience in the Catholic Diocese of Pittsburgh, in southeastern Pennsylvania, United States, two American Jesuit missionaries, Harold J. Rahm, 51, and Edward J. Dougherty, 29, brought the Catholic Charismatic Renewal movement to Brazil. The following year, Father Jonas Abib, who worked with young people in a city near São Paulo, embraced the movement and founded the *Comunidade Canção Nova* (New Song Community) aiming to evangelize nominal Catholics through the mainstream media.

A particular Pentecostal movement, which appeared around 1960, within the historic churches, caused

many schisms and originated new denominations, including Igreja Metodista Wesleyana (Wesleyan Methodist Church), Igreja Presbiteriana Renovada (Renewed Presbyterian Church), Convenção Batista Nacional (National Baptist Convention), Igreja Cristã Evangélica Renovada (Evangelical Renewed Christian Church), etc. In spite of certain radicalism in the early years, the renewal movement in these new denominations was legitimate and revived the holiness of believers and their missionary vision.

Today, there are hundreds of big and small Pentecostal denominations, sometimes providing a great contribution to the cause of the gospel, and sometimes doing the opposite.

Both in the historical and pentecostal WHEAT, you can find joy, enthusiasm, passion for souls, continuous self-denial, humility, orthodox prayer, watchfulness, abundant life, sporadic miracles and even occasional strange manifestations performed by God himself, according to his sovereignty.

Both in the historical and pentecostal CHAFF, you can find envy, jealousy, vanity, lust for power, exploration, man-centered attitudes, deification of leaders, lies, induced visions and revelations, biased exegesis, sex and money scandals, counterfeit tongues, abuse of authority, religious dictatorships, arrogant sectarianism.

Many spurious and outrageous things have put Pentecostal century on trial. The gifts of the Spirit - the gift of tongues, the gift of prophecy, the gift of healing - can be more easily detected than the fruit of the Spirit - love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, self-control (Galatians 6.22-23). The first ones are more visible than the latter, as evidence of the outpouring of the Spirit. The big problem is that authentic and non-authentic religions are intermingled. Authentic religion comes from God, while the non-authentic comes from the sinful nature of human beings or even from the Devil himself, who has the ability and is allowed to become an angel of light to deceive the servants of God (2Co 11:14). Truth and lie are actually present in the kingdom of God. Wheat and chaff go together in church history, in all branches of Christianity, since the ascension of Jesus until his return in power and great glory.

Both in the historical and pentecostal wheat, you can

find joy, enthusiasm, passion for souls, continuous self-denial, humility, orthodox prayer, watchfulness, abundant life, sporadic miracles and even occasional strange manifestations performed by God himself, according to his sovereignty.

Both in the historical and pentecostal chaff, you can find envy, jealousy, vanity, lust for power, exploration, man-centered attitudes, deification of leaders, lies, induced visions and revelations, biased exegesis, sex and money scandals, counterfeit tongues, abuse of authority, religious dictatorships, arrogant sectarianism.

Shortly before the end of the Brazilian church Pentecostal century, new Pentecostal churches emerged. They were so strange that, for the good of the gospel and the historical and Pentecostal denominations (such as the Assembly of God), they are called neo-Pentecostals, rather than Pentecostals. They are pervaded by the so-called prosperity gospel. The three best known are the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus (Universal Church of the Kingdom of God), Igreja Internacional da Graça de Deus (International Church of the Grace of God) and the Igreja Mundial do Poder de Deus (World Church of God's Power). These three are structured on their founders and leaders: Edir Macedo, RR Soares and Valdemiro Santiago. The Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus is present in over one hundred countries on all continents and has huge and sumptuous temples, especially in the capital of nearly every state in Brazil. Edir Macedo has just opened, in the city of São Paulo, the largest religious building in the country, the so-called Temple of Solomon, which cost \$ 264,330.00. It is a replica of the temple in Jerusalem, built in 1009 before Christ. The Igreja Universal has become one of the most remarkable religious phenomena in the world.

Ultimately, there is a peculiar aspect related to religion in Brazil: it is the country with the highest number of believers of three religions: Catholic, spiritist and pentecostal.

* Source: *História da Evangelização do Brasil*, Editora Ultimato, 2000



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EFFECTIVE DISCIPLE-MAKING MADE SIMPLE

(Luke 10:1-9)

David S. Lim

We all know that God desires to save all peoples of the world (2 Pet.3:9; 1 Tim.2:3-4). If this is so, we can assume that His mission strategy to win the world and disciple the nations must not be complex, but simple. It must be so simple so that the good news can spread and multiply rapidly through ordinary people, even without need for much training.

This is confirmed in the New Testament (NT) in the mission strategies of Jesus Christ and the early Christians, especially Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles (all non-Jews). Jesus Christ trained 12 disciples and within 40 years they've evangelized as far east as India (by Thomas), as far north as Moscow (by Andrew), as far south as Ethiopia (by Matthew), as Paul and his apostolic team (including Priscilla and Aquila, Timothy, Titus, Epaphras, etc) had covered in eight years, the Roman Empire "from Jerusalem to Illyricum" (Rom.15:18-20, cf. Ac.19:1-10).

How did they do it? What was this simple yet effective mission strategy? Let us see how Jesus trained the disciples to do it, in Luke 10:1-9. He trained them to do "disciple-making" to reach Galileans, and after the resurrection He commissioned them to do the same to all peoples: "make disciples of all nations..." (Mt.28:18-20).

In Luke 10, the "72 others" (not including the original 12) were trained to do *pioneering* ministry: "where he was about to go" (v.1). They were told that the harvest was *plentiful* (v.2) or ripe for reaping (Jn.4:35; cf. 2 Cor.6:2), and indeed they returned with joy, "Mission successful" (v.17). They cast out demons even if they were not instructed nor trained to do so! And also they were told that it was a *perilous* mission. They were sent "as lambs among wolves" (v.3)!

Yet they were able to effectively make disciples for Jesus, without having to go back and do follow-up. Even in a cross-cultural situation, Jesus discipled Sychar city in two days without having to go back or leave any disciple to do further follow-up (Jn.4)! To do effective disciple-making, Jesus gave them only three main instructions: Go simply, go strategically and go servantly!

Go simply. "Do not take a purse or bag or sandals" (v.4a). The disciple-makers needed to just bring their bare necessities without having to bring extra luggage. God can (and often does) use ordinary people to make disciples in ordinary and simple ways. No need to be sophisticated or "high tech" which often complicates one's lifestyle, hereby making one look affluent thus unapproachable. What's required in disciple-making is hi-touch, and often hi-tech diverts time from forming relationships and making friends. Today's tentmakers (cross-cultural disciple makers) just need to bring their Bibles, without having to bring Bible dictionaries and commentaries!

Go strategically. "Do not greet anyone on the road. When you enter a house, first say, 'Peace to this house.' If a man of peace is there, your peace will rest on him... Stay in that house; eating and drinking whatever they give you..." (vv.4b-7).

The disciples were told to focus and not be delayed or diverted from the master plan: just find a "person of peace," and live with him/her and disciple him and through him, his family and friends! Enjoy his hospitality and share your "walk with Jesus" with him/her. In Jewish culture, visiting Jews are hosted by someone whose house has an upper room - for free for the first two days and on the third day, (s)he must help the host in his livelihood - let him who does not work, not eat! For natural entry and support in Jewish and Gentile communities Apostle Paul and his team had a tentmaking micro-business to share Jesus among them. Paul intentionally had a "secular" livelihood, in order to be model "work ethic" to his converts and disciples (2 Th.3:7-10). That's why historically, the best missionaries (including "the father of modern missions" William Carey) were tentmakers!

Go servantly. "When you enter a town and are welcomed, eat whatever is set before you. Heal the sick... and tell them, 'The kingdom of God is near you'" (vv.8-9). They were to serve their host family and the community with the talents and gifts that they had. Today, we can do friendship (or lifestyle or relational) evangelism while doing holistic ministry. Serve the people in their physical needs (esp. healing), psychological needs (esp. counseling), social needs (esp. community organizing) and spiritual needs (through prayer and Bible reflection in small groups).

Again, note that they did not have to bring outside resources which is often used unwisely and often turns the provider into an unwitting patron-dictator and the recipients into perennial dependents (beggars!). Unless done with much care and wisdom/expertise, outsiders and their resources often disempower rather than empower! In fact the community (and even rural tribals) had survived and thrived even for centuries without outside help! The fact that a community exists show they have local resources to sustain them!

There is almost a 100% guarantee of success because if one can't find a "person of peace" in a specific context, the disciple-maker can just move on to the next one (vv.10-15)! But if one finds a "man of peace" as will happen 95% of the time, following the disciple-making strategy as closely as possible will catalyze a spontaneous expansion of the Kingdom of God -- an insider movement facilitated by a local leader to disciple his/her people!

Thus, the outsider just needs to disciple a local "person of peace"! To disciple is to Model, Assist, Watch, and Leave (M.A.W.L.). Disciple-makers just need to

model three skills that should form their disciples' DNA like Jesus did (Mark 3:13-15). (1) Gather a small group (maximum of 12) to share life as fellow members of God's global family. (2) Reflect together prayerfully on what it means to obey Jesus through Bible meditation - thereby teaching one another how to handle God's Word individually; in short, how to have personal devotions to experience God "day and night." And (3) Go to their relatives and/or friends to share Jesus and His powerful presence with them; in short, do friendship evangelism and discipling.

Once the discipler sees that his disciple can facilitate prayerful and practical Bible sharing with fellow believers, meditate regularly on God's Word and obey what (s)he learns and share his/her faith with non-believers, (s)he can leave and go to make disciples in another people/context. (S)He must leave to prove that his/her disciple has truly been empowered - authorized to make their own disciples, as Paul instructed: "And the things you heard me say in the presence of many witnesses entrust to reliable men who will also be qualified to teach others" (2 Tim.2:2).

This is quality discipleship, in contrast to the dominant "church growth" strategy that implants "church-goer" DNA in new believers who become "church officers/ministers" at best and nominal "Sunday Christians" at worst. Disciple-making strategy expects each new convert to quickly learn how to self-feed (self-theologize) from God's Word, self-grow with other believers and self-reproduce in nonbelievers. The aim is to produce mature believers whose Christ-like character is to love and serve others (Col.1:28-29; Lk.14:25-33) quickly demonstrated and tested under the guidance of the discipler. Each disciple is expected to multiply like each cell in our body, and like each part of a starfish that can grow into another starfish!

Simple, isn't it? But most of us have to unlearn the "traditions of the elders" of our local church and denomination. Let's just go back to the simple mission strategy of Jesus - to multiply quality Christians effectively by simply multiplying disciple-makers. May each of us become an effective disciple-maker for the rest of our life - till we see all our neighbors worldwide become our brothers and sisters in Christ!



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EAST-WEST CENTER FOR MISSIONS

Research & Development

<http://www.ewcmrd.org>

The East-West Center for Missionary Research and Development (EWCmrd) was created under the auspices of Asia Missions Association (AMA) in order to train missionary candidates from Asian countries. The mission leadership in Asian countries have been confronted with two contradictory phenomena in contemporary mission theory: (1) a strong missionary impulse among the evangelical churches of the Third World; and (2) a wide spread ambiguity in the theology of mission. This ambiguity has caused a confusion of missionary concept for the younger churches, as well as between them and sister Western churches. Unless this confusion can be clarified, it becomes more difficult for Third World churches to multiply missionary mobilization on a scale sufficient to reach the whole world for Christ.

The first confusion has to do with the missionary role of the local church: Is it just a secondary job to be performed out of the surplus resources of large and mature churches, or is it an integral part of the life of all churches, even small and younger churches? AMA believes that, from the very beginning of its existence, the local church must be encouraged to practice both near-neighbor evangelism, and world-wide, cross-cultural mission. Thus, the evangelistic structure and the missionary structure must co-exist simultaneously. Establishing a mission-minded church must take preference over a focus on the local or denominational church alone.

Secondly, there is a confusion caused by the assumption that traditional theological education alone is sufficient for missionary endeavor. Cross-cultural missionaries must be trained in terms of ethno-cultural and linguistic realities. We suggest that missiological training for all missionary personnel is absolutely essential. Furthermore, local church pastors must also be equipped with a modern philosophy of mission, its strategy and cross-cultural nature, in order that these pastors can be good supporters of missions.

Thirdly, there is confusion which results from the generalization of the term "Mission" as if whatever a church does is mission work. Local churches must not neglect or avoid their responsibility to send out missionaries.

Lastly, a very dangerous confusion is caused by the antagonism against Western mission agencies and also by the concept of "Moratorium". Many Third World churches are often emotionally involved in this pattern of thinking. We must be humbled in the face of the Great Commission of our Lord, because that commission is global. Third World churches must expect to learn from the experience of Western mission agencies, from both their successes and failures. We must examine these in order to develop an effective Third World missionary matrix. We need to select that which is the best, that which has been proven effective.

It is essential that East and West stand together as mature partners in a joint effort to go into all the world to proclaim the Gospel to every creature.

THE INFLUENCE OF KOREAN MISSION ON WORLD MISSIONARY MOVEMENT: A NEW MISSION MODEL

Timothy K. Park

The Korean church has been a missionary church from the beginning. The church's missionary movement was unique and became a model of non-Western church mission. In order to understand the influence of the Korean mission on world missionary movement, I am taking a historical approach that looks into the early Korean missionary movement during the modern period. I will describe the influence of the Korean Church on world missionary movement, the unique assets the Korean church has for world mission, and the problems the Korean church now faces. I will also make suggestions for the Korean church, which has emerged as a major missionary force, to make unique contributions to the world missionary movement.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE KOREAN CHURCH MISSION ON WORLD MISSIONARY MOVEMENT,

Although the first Korean Protestant church was born at the end of the 19th century, it started its cross-cultural mission in the early 20th century-- showing churches around the world that even a young church can get involved in missionary work. The Korean Church reconfirmed the biblical principles that even a destitute church suffering under persecution can carry missionary responsibility, and that the work of lay people is important in world evangelization. The church showed that spontaneous ministry of the gospel by lay people, translation of the Bible into native languages, practice of indigenous church planting, thorough teaching of the Bible, right selection and on-the-job training of workers, revival and spiritual renewal, and mission from a position of weakness are essential.

A. Spontaneous Preaching of the Gospel by Lay People

Few people know that the first churches in Korea were planted by native Koreans, not by foreign missionaries. The gospel was introduced to the Korean peninsula when the young people of Euiju who heard the gospel in Manchuria were baptized and began preaching the gospel in their hometown. Through their evangelism, the native faith community was formed in Sorai, Whanghae Province. The gospel was also preached to Korean students in Japan by Lee Soo-Jung, a layman. These are examples of spontaneous evangelism by native lay people that proved more effective than evangelism by foreign missionaries, who were unable to communicate the gospel as effectively, due to language and cultural differences.

Spontaneous evangelism by local lay people made quite an impression on western missionaries in other fields who were seeing the downsides of hiring local people to help mission work. Lee Soo-Jung appealed to American churches to send missionaries to Korea

and Yoon Chi-Ho influenced the Southern Methodist Church to start missions in Korea. Yoon Chi-Ho attended the Edinburgh Conference in 1910 and appealed to the Western churches to be concerned about missions in Korea.

B. Translation of the Scriptures into Korea's Vernacular Language

The Bible was already translated into the Korean language in Manchuria, Korea and Japan before the foreign missionaries entered the Korean peninsula. Under the consultation of Scottish missionary John Ross, the Bible was translated into the Korean language in Manchuria by visiting merchants to Euiju. Upon the advice of Henry Loomis (1839-1920), the General Secretary of the Japan branch of the American Bible Society in Japan, Lee Soo-Jung, who converted to Christianity during his studies in Japan, also translated the Bible into Korean. In effect, Koreans were able to read the Bible in their own language early on. Moreover, the Korean Bible became a great help to the missionary work of western missionaries who resided in Korea.

C. Initiation of Missionary Work Even as a Young Church

The mission to Jeju Island, the first Korean cross-cultural mission, began on September 17, 1907, when the independent presbytery of the Presbyterian Church of Korea was organized in Pyongyang. This was 23 years after the Korean Church first received the missionaries. The Presbyterian Church of Korea ordained seven graduates of Pyeongyang Theological Seminary and sent Lee Ki-Poong, one of the seven, to Jeju Island. The Presbyterian Church of Korea ordained eight graduates of the second batch of the Pyeongyang Theological Seminary and sent Choe-Kwan-Heul to Siberia, a Russian territory. In 1912, when the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea was organized, the church made a resolution to send missionaries to Shantung, China. Park Tai-Ro, Kim Young-Hoon, and Sa Pyung-Soon were set aside and sent with their families. This was 28 years after the first foreign mission came to reside in Korea. Churches around the world were greatly surprised when the Korean Church started its missionary movement at such an early stage, and some held curious concerns as to whether it would be successful. The missionary activity drew the attention of the Western Christian world, because Christian missions were previously considered a monopoly of Western Christianity.

D. Contributions to Asian Mission Development

The Korean church sent missionaries to China in 1912 and continued its missionary work there until

the middle of the 20th century during the Japanese colonial rule. They became models to western missionaries who worked in China through their lifestyle and missionary methods, which were deemed appropriate to Chinese culture. Despite the political and economic turmoil during Korea's liberation from Japan (1950-53), as church buildings were destroyed and church leaders killed, the Korean Church did not stop its missionary work.

Chan Young Choi, the first Korean missionary sent to Thailand after the independence of Korea, served as General Secretary of the United Bible Society of Asia-Pacific region until he retired in 1991. He was involved in the ministry of Bible translation, publication and distribution. His most notable contribution is setting up a printing press (Emity Foundation) in Nanking, China, where he published the Chinese Bible for people to purchase and use. Fifty million copies of the Chinese Bible were published by the end of 2008. It is remarkable that a Communist country such as China became the largest Bible-selling country in the world.

Bong Rin Ro, who served as a missionary under OMF, also made a great impact on the development of Asian theology through the Asia Theological Association. He also made a great contribution to the theological education of Asians in Asia by founding the Asia Graduate School of Theology. AGST which offers degree programs such as Master of Arts, Master of Theology, Doctor of Missiology, and Doctor of Philosophy.

Chae-Ok Chun, a former missionary to Pakistan, was a notable model of evangelism to Muslims. She was the most fluent in the Urdu language out of roughly 200 foreign missionaries. Wonsuk Ma, a former missionary to the Philippines, became the Executive Director of the Oxford Center for Mission Studies to educate mission leaders. I also founded the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in the Philippines to educate ministerial candidates from the Philippines and other Asian and African countries. Currently, I endeavor to promote the development of Asian mission through research, publication, consultation and education as professor of Asian Mission at Fuller Theological Seminary, and as Director of the Institute for Asian Mission, and founding President of Asian Society of Missiology. I, as Head Chairman of Asia Missions Association, work with Asian church and mission leaders for cooperative and partnership ministry.

E. Promotion of Non-Western Missionary Movement

The Korean church also endeavored to influence the missionary movement of other Asian, African churches, and Latin-American churches. Today, the number of Korean missionaries who evangelize, educate, train, and commission natives as missionaries is increasing. Dr. David J. Cho, a forerunner of non-western mission, is noted for his commitment to plant churches in the unchurched areas of Korea. He first went to Mt. Jiri in the Jeolla Province to start a pastoral ministry. Dr. Cho went to the United States to study missions at Asbury Theological Seminary

in 1956. Although professors at Asbury Theological Seminary advised him to take practical theology courses because Korea at the time was only receiving foreign missionaries, he studied mission-related courses. After his studies in the U.S. A., Cho started teaching missiology at several seminaries in Korea. He is credited for initiating the Korean missionary movement by founding the Korea International Mission, organizing the Asia Missions Association, founding the Third World Missions Association, and serving as executive secretary by facilitating Asian missions leaders, Latin-American church leaders and African missions leaders.

Dr. Cho devoted himself to missionary work in his mid-50s after his resignation from Hoo-Am Presbyterian Church of Seoul, one of the few leading churches for international missions in Korea. He founded the East-West Center for Missions & Development, which I am serving as president since 2003, to conduct research and develop mission partnerships with Western and Asian Churches. World class mission scholars including Fuller Theological Seminary School of Intercultural Studies Professors Donald A. McGavran, Allan Tippet, Ralph D. Winter, Charles H. Kraft, Arthur F. Glasser, and C. Peter Wagner; Dallas Theological Seminary Professor George Peters; Wheaton College Professors James Engel and Wilbert Norton; and Peter Beyerhaus of Tubinggen University, visited the center to teach around 800 missionaries who are now working in over 40 countries around the world. The World-Link University in Portland, Oregon is also a result of Dr. Cho's efforts. He advised the North Korean government to invite Dr. Billy Graham to preach the gospel at the North Korean Church and he himself taught religion at Kim Il-Sung University and Kim Hyung-Jik Graduate School.

F. Power Evangelism

When Lee Ki-Poong arrived in Jeju Island in 1908, he faced various forms of opposition. In addition to the language barrier, he was persecuted by locals who fiercely opposed the introduction of the Christian religion because it was considered a Western influence. It is even reported that the locals would not lease him a house due to their dislike of Christianity. However, the Holy Spirit was with him as with Philip (Acts 8:4-8) through the manifestation of signs and wonders and marvelous church growth. An 11 year-old lame boy who could not be healed by doctors was able to walk through the prayer of Rev. Lee Ki-Poong. An insane person who could not be controlled by iron chains was healed by Rev. Lee's fasting and prayer, and another insane person who was healed by Rev. and Mrs. Lee's prayer later helped his ministry as an evangelist. Jeju islanders who saw the work of the Holy Spirit began to crowd the church. The manifestation of the Holy Spirit's power became a major factor in witnessing for the living God. The mission to Jeju demonstrated the importance of prayer, equipped by the word of God and the Holy Spirit, for spiritual victory in leading people from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God. Westerners who did not experience such manifestation of power realized that the acts of

God which occurred in the Book of Acts were possible in the present day, through 'The Korea Mission Field.'

G. Presentation of a Model for Mission from the Position of Weakness.

During Japan's colonial rule of Korea, the Church carried on its missionary responsibility from a position of weakness. As an effect of war and colonialism, the country was destitute and politically torn. One contribution the Korean church has made on the world missionary movement is the demonstration that even a weak church in a devastating situation could be active agents in fulfilling the Great Commission. By doing so, the Korean church communicated a strong message that all people-- free and slaves, rich and the poor-- have a duty and responsibility to obey the missionary calling by God.

The western church was faced with a challenge to both western and non-western churches when it became apparent that poverty and weakness were not reasons for avoiding missionary responsibility. Non-Western churches saw that it is not practical to replicate the Western Church's mission methods, which were based on a position of strong political, military, and economic power. Like the church in Thessalonica, the Korean Church learned to trust and serve the Lord in the midst of poverty, tribulation and persecution. Without a reliable source of power or finances, Korean Christians sent out missionaries by solely trusting in the Holy Spirit. The Korean Church's first official cross-cultural mission, from one Asian country to another, was to Shantung, China. It can be likened to missions in the first century by the Jews under Roman rule.

H. Sending forth Missionary Bands

We must note that the Korean church did not send missionaries individually, but rather in teams. In the mission to Jeju Island, the Korean church sent a missionary band comprising an ordained minister, helper, colporteur, and Bible woman with Rev. and Mrs. Lee Ki-Poong. When the church sent missionaries to Shantung, China, a female missionary named Kim Soon-Ho was also commissioned to minister to women, based on what was culturally appropriate in the northeast Asia at the time. Sending a band of missionaries is a good model to follow.

I. Congregational and Mission Structure Working Together

Like many historical missionary movements, the mission to Jeju Island followed a joint congregational and mission structure. The Women's Missionary Society of Pyeongyang Presbytery sent Lee Kwan-Sun, a Bible woman, to Jeju Island to collaborate with Rev. and Mrs. Lee Ki-Poong and provided her full financial support. Pyeongyang Boy's School and University Students' Missionary Organization also sent Kim Hyung-Chul, a student worker, to Jeju Island and fully supported him financially. The Korean church became a model by sending missionary bands composed of ordained ministers and non-ordained workers as a team. When denominations planned

to recall missionaries due to economic reasons, the Women's Evangelistic Association took responsibility for the missionaries' living expenses in order to help them continue their ministries. Young students also contributed by selling their hair and fasting to finally support field missionaries.

J. Sending Missionaries in Consultation with Local Churches and Western Missions in the Fields

Rev. Kil Sun-Joo, chairman of the Evangelism Committee from the time the Independent Presbytery was organized to the conception of the General Assembly (1907-1912), believed that "a church without mission is not church." Rev. Kil influenced the missionary spirit of the church by communicating with the American mission headquarters and the Chinese Church in China. He proposed making the existence of the Korean church known to the world by sending missionaries to China and by becoming a missionary-sending nation to implement the evangelistic mandate. The first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea officially adopted his agenda to send missionaries to China. From its early days, the Korean church displayed universal catholicity in carrying on missionary responsibilities.

When the Korean church sent missionaries in 1912 to Shantung, China, the church consulted with foreign mission organizations and the Chinese church. William Hunt of the Presbyterian Church of America personally visited Shantung, China to communicate the intentions of the Korean church to American Presbyterian Missions in order to rally their support. Park Tai-Ro was selected as the first missionary and visited Shantung with Kim Chan-Sung to consult with western missionaries and the Chinese church. There they decided on Laiyang Province and their mission field upon their approval. At the time, American missionaries were having difficulty in the Laiyang area, so Korean missionaries were pleased to take over the area.

ASSETS OF THE KOREAN MISSION FOR WORLD MISSION

What are the assets of the Korean church for world mission? They are: Bible-centered faith, evangelical theology, practical knowledge of church planting principles, planting indigenous churches, continual revival and church renewal, appropriate missionary selection and training, discipleship, economic growth, advanced education level, immigration growth, diplomatic growth, and long mission experience.

A. Bible-Centered Faith and Evangelical Theology.

Some of the greatest assets that the Korean church has for world mission are its Bible-centered faith and evangelical theology. The Korean church believes the Bible is the Word of the living God and has a zeal for learning it with an attitude described by the following statements, "Lord, to whom shall we go? You have the words of eternal life." (John 6:68). During the early days of the Korean church, foreign missionaries and Korean pastors traveled in each province, teaching new converts the Bible systematically. Since then,

the Korean church has maintained its tradition of holding revival meetings or Bible conferences every spring and fall of each year. The goal of being a God-centered and Bible-centered church was firmly established in the Korean church, whose members loved to listen to exegetical and expository preaching and refused to listen to sermons that were not Bible-centered. The Korean church's practice of reading the Bible daily and the settlement of the Bible Study system contributed greatly to its growth. The church's roots are laid firmly through Bible-centered education and teaching, testifying to the importance of regarding the Bible as the authoritative words of the living God. Even though the global church today is becoming increasingly liberalized, syncretistic and pluralist, the Korean church has held to its evangelical and Bible-centered faith. Such characteristics have been assets to Korean church for world mission.

B. Practice of the Principles of Indigenous Church Planting

One of the characteristics of the Korean church is that, from its inception, the church was truly indigenous in that it was self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating. When the gospel was first preached in Korea, the nation was in a very difficult situation politically, economically, and socially. One-third of the Korean population was scattered to other countries in order to find a way of living. In the midst of this difficult situation, however, Korean Christians did not depend on the financial support of other nations, but instead used their own resources to build their own sanctuaries and provide for their pastors' needs. For example, members were known to offer grains and day offerings during times when they did not have any cash to give. The self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating practices of the Korean church originated from the Bible rather than from the self-supporting principles that emerged as a solution for the financial crisis faced by western missions, and these practices became the foundation for Korean Church planting and mission. During the construction of their respective sanctuaries, for example, Sorai Church and Jangdaehyun Church refused to receive financial support from missionaries and instead used their own resources to build their sanctuaries. Although the Korean Church's self-supporting spirit is partially attributable to the mission policies of American Presbyterian missionaries who were influenced by John L. Nevius, believers of the Korean Church have maintained a self-supporting spirit from the beginning. In Shantung, China, where Nevius worked, principles of indigenous church planting were not thoroughly practiced, but Korean missionaries to this region practiced the principles of indigenous church planting. Today, in various places in the world, churches that do not have this self-supporting spirit remain weak due to their dependency on mission subsidies.

C. Experience of Revival and Spiritual Renewal

As the Early Church in Jerusalem experienced the coming of the Holy Spirit, the Korean church also experienced a Great Revival that exploded in

Pyeongyang in 1907. When people heard the message from the Apostle Peter, they were cut to the heart and said, "Brothers, what shall we do?" Peter replied, "Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins. And you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit." (Acts 2:38). Just as the Early Church experienced revival and the redemptive work of the Holy Spirit when the people deeply repented upon hearing the Apostles' teaching, the public confessions that began from leaders of the Korean church who were sensitive to the voice of the Holy Spirit became the driving force of its spiritual awakening and Great Revival. The spiritual awakening and the Great Revival that started in Wonsan in 1903 and exploded in Pyeongyang in 1907 continued since then, being strengthened through regular Bible conferences and revival meetings. The prayer movement, Bible study, and repentance movement that were evident in the early days transformed the Korean church and provided dynamic power for its growth through evangelism and overseas mission. The spiritual awakening and revival of the Korean church resulting from the thorough repentance of sins renewed the Korean church and became the fire that swept through all parts of Korea. As water springing from fountain flows through rivers and waters the land, making fruitful harvest possible, spiritual revival and renewal of the Korean church made true mission possible. As the Early Church in Antioch listened to the voice of the Holy Spirit and sent Barnabas and Paul as missionaries in obedience, the Korean church also sent men and women that were set aside for world mission following its Great Revival.

D. Raising Pastors through Right Selection and On-the-job Training

Although there are perceivable problems in the Korean church's current methods of selecting and training its missionaries, the methods used by the early Korean church were biblically-grounded in its early stages. For example, theological education was not purely theory-oriented, but rather ministry-oriented. The Korean church focused on the development of godly and honest leaders who would take the word of God as authoritative and would serve the church faithfully, as well as those who were willing to give their lives for the cause of the kingdom of God. Additionally, the early Korean church did not select ministerial candidates through newspaper advertisements and entrance examinations, but rather through careful observation, theoretical training, and practical, on-the-job training. For example, missionaries observed ministerial candidates by training them in their homes or by selecting prospective elders or elders of the church who ruled and served the church. This way, candidates going through this process were able to demonstrate their character, and only those who were proven were then trained for pastoral ministry. Candidates often received on-the-job training under the supervision of missionaries for a period of nine months, and then received theological training at a seminary for a period of three months. The Korean church today would benefit from practicing such selection and training methods, as they contributed

to the development of deeply spiritual and proven pastors who became examples in word, deed, love and faith. The example of these pastors is one that should be followed by Korean church missionaries today.

E. Life- Risking Faith for the Cause

During Japan's colonial rule over Korea from 1910 to 1945, Korean believers faced much persecution and many even became martyrs. In the wake of the Korean War (1950-53), persecutions by the Communist North and oppression by military dictators grew fierce. Through these difficulties, the believers were trained to keep their faith despite hardships. This has become an underlying force in enduring tribulation in the course of carrying out missionary work. Korean missionaries are known to enter the hardest-to-evangelize areas of world, risking their lives in dangerous war zones such as Iraq and Afghanistan even when other missionaries have departed.

F. Economic Growth

Many Korean resources were destroyed during the Japanese colonial rule. The nation, however, made economic progress from the ruins of ashes, coined the "Miracle of Han River." The church interpreted the miraculous economic growth as the grace of God. Immediately after the Korean War -when Korean missionaries were sent out- the country's GNP was about \$60. Missionaries were unable to raise support for language acquisition, housing and living expenses due to the dire economic situation. The Korean economy since then has experienced enormous growth, with the country's GNP exceeding \$20,000 at the end of 2008. Korea's economic growth has become a valuable asset of the Korean church for the purpose of missions, and is now the second largest missionary-sending church among all nations.

G. Growth through Immigration

Biblical history tells us the Jewish Diaspora played an important role in the expansion of the kingdom of God on earth. The message of salvation was effectively preached to Gentiles though the ministries of patriarchs including Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and believers such as Daniel and his three friends, Nehemiah, Esther, Barnabas, Paul, Timothy, Titus, and Luke. (Act 11:19-21). As of 2007, over seven million (7,044,716) Koreans are reportedly spread throughout the world. The wide breadth and reach of Korean immigration are powerful forces for world mission.

H. Diplomatic Growth

Together with church growth, economic growth, and immigration growth, diplomatic growth has played an important role in Korean mission. Since the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, diplomatic ties with almost all countries, including Communist and socialist countries once hostile to Korea, have been established. Today, there are almost no nations that Korean passport holders cannot enter. Spheres of service for Korean missionaries have opened wide and it has become much more convenient for Koreans to enter foreign countries due to improved diplomatic

relationships.

I. Advancement of Educational Level

In order to establish international partnerships and develop native leadership, missionaries must have the educational capacity. Under the influence of Confucius culture, Koreans have traditionally exhibited extraordinary zeal for education. In the present day, Korea has the largest number of college students in proportion to its population. The number of Korean college students today, including those in two-year system colleges, is 3,262,135, which is roughly 6.5% of the total population. In Japan, there are 3,202, 377 college students, which is about 2.5% of the total population (130 million). This is about 50,000 less than the number of Korean college students. In the United States (as of 2003), there are about 13 million college students, or 4.3 % of the total population of 300 million, not including graduate students. The number of Korean students who study abroad has increased greatly in the waves of globalization and as entrance to Korean colleges has become tougher. Many of these students have taken on missionary responsibilities during their foreign studies.

J. Long Mission Experience

From its early stages, the Korean church distinguished itself as a missionary church. The Church's zeal, together with the nation's economic and diplomatic growth, is what fueled the churches' missionary movement. Denominational missions and para-church missions have emerged, and mission experiences are being shared with newly emerging missionary-sending nations. The church's mission activity has also worked to bridge the East and West. If strategically invested, the church's abundant resources have the potential to cultivate high-level mission leadership training and development.

These elements are invaluable assets for world mission. However, these assets can become obstacles if the church's missionaries depend on them more than the power and wisdom of God. The church must remain humble, following the guidance of the Word and the Holy Spirit and trusting God whole-heartedly.

PROBLEMS OF THE KOREAN CHURCH MISSION

The Korean church today has become the second largest missionary-sending church in the world. However, there are several problems that have emerged from the church's recent position of strength, due to nation's rapid economic growth and increasing influence of secularization and materialism. In his dissertation for the Doctor of Missiology degree, Rev. Park Jong-Koo pointed out the following problems in Korean church missions: (1) A tendency is arising in the Korean church to focus on personnel and material resources; and to exaggerate or show off its influence and power. (2) There is a "mission fever" where churches that have not yet been transformed to missional churches are sending out missionaries. (3) The Korean church misuses the mobilization of mass movement in foreign missions, and the motives, methods, and purpose of the Korean mission

are getting off track. (4) Local church-missions relationships are in danger because missionary candidates are not reared in local churches, but outside of the local church. (5) Denominational missions and mission organizations are not capable of controlling and developing their missionaries and do not effectively control mission funds. (6) Drainage of mission funds and mission think tanks due to weak management in maintaining personnel and material resource. (7) In spite of the accumulated knowledge and experience of Korean cross-cultural mission, there are few mission think tanks within the Korean church, and a successful mission operation system has not been formulated. (8) Replicating western mission methods without consideration of the uniqueness of non-western mission fields have resulted in negative side effects. (9) Missionaries are paired to mission fields without deep thought about the conflicts that may occur because of sensitive international relationships. (10) More thorough preparation by mission administrators for cross-cultural missions is required. Leaders must have a proper understanding of cross-cultural mission in order to avoid conflict with field missionaries. (11) Better preparation and training are necessary. Missionaries need to be goal oriented from the moment they are selected, and must have a spirit of cooperation. (12) The need for policy development and strategy. Korean missions have seen repetitive examples of the same trials and errors, partially due to an over-investment of resources and missionaries' selfish ambitions.

There are also other areas of weakness in the Korean church. They include: an unbalanced theology of mission, mono-cultural perspective, lack of understanding of mission fields, unwise deployment of missionaries, inappropriate selection and training of missionaries, competitive individualism, missionary education, mission administration and training by non-professionals, and lack of cooperation between sending, receiving, and supporting bodies. Today, the Korean church has been faithful in preaching and teaching the Word of God, but has neglected the social responsibility of the church. The church must preach the gospel in both word and deed. While the church is incredibly church-oriented, it has faltered in being kingdom-oriented. Many Korean missionaries are pushed to plant denominational churches and seminaries in their fields. They should instead be devoting their energy and resources to furthering the kingdom of God, not the extension of their denominations. Since theology produces methodology, the church needs to have a balanced theology of mission. Missionaries with mono-cultural backgrounds tend to transplant their culture in the local churches of their fields. There must be an understanding of the culture of the people they serve, and preach the gospel in a way local people can accept. Moreover, Korean missionaries are often working without accurate information and strategy of their mission fields. Missionaries are inappropriately selected, trained and deployed without consultation with the native churches and foreign missionaries who are already there. There has been a tendency for competition with other missionaries. In fact, many of the people in charge of mission education and

administration do not have actual field experience. The reality of the Korean mission today is that local church pastors without the proper knowledge and experience have control over many missionaries and their field work.

In order to make progress, the church must address and correct these weaknesses thorough self renewal and transformation. As with the western church, the Korean church is also showing signs of secularization by being transformed from the position of weakness to a position of strength.

LESSONS FROM KOREAN MISSION HISTORY FOR WORLD MISSION MOVEMENT

There are many lessons we can and should glean from the Korean mission movement in light of the present situation of the major change of gravity from the West to the Global South. Most importantly we can observe that God has used a new paradigm which is different from the typical mission practice of the superior position of the West. The history of the early Korean mission movement demonstrates that they shared much of the characteristics of the apostolic mission. The early Korean mission movement proves to us that the apostolic mission should be the foundation of the present mission of the Church. It also teaches that the Korean church should avoid and repent from the temptation of doing mission from a superior position.

a. Urgent need for the Renewal of the Paradigm of Apostolic Mission.

According to David Cho, the apostolic mission was started by the scattered diaspora from the severe persecution in the Book of Acts. The Apostolic mission is the mission from the weaker and the oppressed to the affluent and the strong conquerors. But unfortunately, Christian mission was expanded by the Western world which was associated with Western colonial power. The Apostolic mission was mainly making disciples of Jesus, not doing projects to establish powerful organizations. The goal of the apostolic mission was to establish the church as a community of the eschatological faith. The Apostolic mission experienced martyrdom, but conquered the Roman Empire spiritually and gained the final victory.

These are the principles of the apostolic mission:

- The foundation for the power of the apostolic mission should come from the Holy Spirit who gives the witnesses for Christ the eschatological faith that expects the coming of the Kingdom of God.
- The first principle of the apostolic mission is love. "We know love by this, that he laid down His life for us; and we ought to lay down our life for the brethren" (1Jn. 3:16).
- The second principle of the Apostolic mission is to "be faithful until death" (Rev. 2:10).
- The third principle of the apostolic mission is perseverance in keeping His Word (Rev. 3:10). It is to have an attitude of participating

in persecution and perseverance of Jesus for the Word of God and the witness of Jesus.

- The fourth principle of the Apostolic mission is the “hope of eternal life” and the Lord’s promise to give “the crown of righteousness” (2 Tim 4:8).
- The fifth principle of the Apostolic mission is the vision to see that God would open the heavens and bring his people up in rapture, which John described as “a great multitude, which no one could count from every nation and all tribes and peoples and tongues standing before the throne and before the Lamb, clothed in white robes and crying out with a loud voice” (Rev. 7:9). This is the final objective of the apostolic mission.

b. Lessons from the apostolic mission for the mission today.

The Apostolic mission only comes from the attitude of incarnation, from the weaker position, and is evident in the ministry and life of Christ who emptied himself to be a servant (Phil 2:8). The Western paradigm of mission under colonial power resulted in a type of Christianity which was not rooted deeply in the soil of the colonized people, thus they considered Christianity as a Western religion. Today the Korean church that has experienced national economic growth and explosive church growth has tendencies which show the mission of the superior instead of the weaker, although it is not the same as the Western colonial attitude. We can summarize the tendencies of the Korean mission, comparing these to the apostolic mission as follows.

- Today’s missionaries tend to preach their own doctrines or church traditions while the Apostles preached Jesus crucified, resurrected, ascended and coming again (Acts 3:11-26).
- Today’s missionaries tend to concentrate either on soul-winning or relief and development work, but the Apostles proclaimed the kingdom of God (Acts 19:8; 20:35; 28:23, 31).
- Today’s missionaries tend to seek an easy going lifestyle, and a good reputation and glory, while the Apostles denied themselves, took up their crosses and followed Christ (Luke 9:23; Acts 20:22-24). Not even hardship or life-threatening circumstances prevented them from pursuing their missionary calling (2 Cor 4:8-10).
- Today’s missionaries engage in setting up facilities and operating programs instead of leading people to Christ and building them up in faith, while the Apostles were concerned about the people and not with physical structures, and programs (Acts 19:9-10).
- Today’s missionaries tend to direct local people, while the Apostles set examples for their followers (Acts 20:33-35; 1 The 1:5-6). The Apostles lived by example to manifest the validity of their message and to confirm the transforming power of the gospel (Acts 20:33-35; 1Cor 11:1).

- Today’s missionaries tend to rely on their knowledge, wisdom, and material resources as their power base, while the Apostles worked under the guidance and power of the Holy Spirit (Acts 1:8, 13:1-2, 19:11-12).
- Today’s missionaries tend to overstay in a particular mission field, while the Apostles did not stay in one city more than it was necessary (Acts 20:31). The Apostles moved to new frontiers to reach the unreached people groups. Though they left their mission fields, they kept on visiting them, sending co-workers to them, praying for them, and writing letters to them to follow up.
- Today’s missionaries tend to lose direct contact with local people, become lazy, and set a negative example to local people that Christian ministries must receive financial support from congregations or a mission, while the Apostles did not depend on missionary support from sending bodies, but worked for themselves (Acts 20:33-35).
- Today’s missionaries tend to do pastoral works directly, while the Apostles did not try to pastor a church, but committed churches to local leaders (Acts 20:32). The Apostles moved to new frontiers where there were no or few witnesses for Jesus Christ (Rom 15:20).
- Today’s missionaries tend to exercise influence by power or human strength, while the Apostles worked from the point of weakness (2 Cor 11:23-27).
- Today’s missionaries in general are powerless, but the Apostles performed signs and wonders in the name of Jesus (Acts 4:5-16).
- Today’s missionaries tend to preach and teach what they learned in the past from others, but the Apostles proclaimed what they had heard and seen for themselves (Acts 4:20, 22-15; 1 Jn 1:3).
- Today’s missionaries tend to lose balance in ministry, but the Apostles’ word and mercy ministries were in balance (Acts 6:1-7).

The healthy church has the qualities of its leaders, the clarity of vision, the singleness of purpose, and the willingness to pursue God’s great commission at all costs. Today, the Korean church faces challenges to renew the principles of the apostolic mission. It requires our acknowledgement of mistakes and humble attitudes to learn the apostolic mission principles. The Apostolic mission principles that the early Korean mission practiced show that they are relevant to today’s mission and are the right approaches in our time.

CONCLUSION

The global mission movement of the Korean church manifests that the gravity of world mission has been changing. We can see in the mission history of the Korean church that the biblical principles of mission in the Book of Acts are still relevant and effective. The

mission model associated with the colonial powers cannot achieve the purposes or the essence of the kingdom of God. Only with the presence of the Spirit empowering our missionaries and the church, and equipping them with the essence of Biblical mission, can we bear the fruits that God intended. The history of Korean mission shows that it is important for the missionaries and the sending churches to have full understanding of the essence of the apostolic mission.

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The history of the Korean church that accepted the gospel under the colonial power shows that the weaker, the younger, the disdained church, and the ministry of the volunteering laity are essential for the mission of the kingdom of God. Equally, history shows us that such people are fully capable of missions, which confirms the principles of the early Church.

With this in view, we can see the possibility of churches in poor countries participating in the plan of God to save the world as they take the colonial mentality off and become the self-governing, self-propagating and self-supporting church that God intends. For this, it is necessary that the Korean church should avoid temptations of doing mission in the stronger position and repent from doing mission from a superior position. The Korean church should challenge itself to consider whether we have a pure spiritual attitude that is prepared and dedicated to the vision of taking responsibility for world mission as a member of the universal church. The Apostolic way of Korean mission is still effective for the global church and is being used by God. The Korean church has a history of succeeding in the apostolic way of mission. At the same time, the Korean church is experiencing the swamp of glory and pride after success. Although there is no perfect church, the Korean church should be a channel of blessings in the position of the weaker, with humility, and as they are striving for carrying out the call of God in history, humbly.

As we examine the mission movement of the Korean church, I would like to suggest the following specific things to carry out the mission in the 21st century more effectively:

1. The Korean church and the mission organizations should develop a theology that is biblically sound and contextually relevant in light of the

changing world.

2. The Korean denominations and the mission organizations should pursue partnerships with other Korean missionaries as a team, and with the foreign missionaries and local churches as the early Korean missionaries did.
3. The Korean church and the mission organizations should avoid paternalistic attitudes which produce many paid local workers, but as the early missionaries in Korea and the Korean missionaries in Shantung, China, they have to develop the self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating indigenous church.
4. The Korean church and the mission organizations should be more faithful to preach and teach the word and be dependent on the Spirit.
5. The Korean church and the mission organizations should conduct area studies thoroughly for making proper assignments of the missionaries according to their gifts.
6. The Korean church and the mission organizations should recognize the importance of the laity and the women and use them to maximize the effectiveness of mission as the church help them to develop their potential. The laity was the first missionaries to bring the gospel to Korea.
7. The Korean church has one hundred years of mission history. The mission organizations should learn from history and evaluate what they have done and carry the effective mission in the 21st century.
8. The Korean church should develop leadership for missionaries for a more effective ministry. As an officer who graduates from the military academy is promoted from a second lieutenant to a major rank and to a general ranking, the Korean church should help the missionaries be developed to doing better and effective ministries.



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AN AMERICAN KAIROS: ST. LOUIS AREA CHURCHES AND THE DRED SCOTT COURT CASE OF 1846-1857

J. Nelson Jennings

Engaging public affairs is part of the Church's mission. Recently in the United States, the issue of systemic racism has drawn intense public scrutiny through a series of killings and corresponding legal decisions. The current groundswell of protest is in some ways reminiscent of the Civil Rights Movement during the pivotal 1950s and 1960s. As part of their mission responsibility, churches in the United States must somehow engage such recent, racially charged court cases as those following the 2012 shooting of Trayvon Martin by George Zimmerman in Sanford, Florida, the 2014 shooting of Michael Brown by a police officer, Darren Wilson, in Ferguson (St. Louis), Missouri, and the 2014 choking death of Eric Garner in New York City at the hands of a police officer. In all of these cases and others, the fatalities were black.

As a historical aid to bearing the current responsibility toward systemic racism as one aspect of Christian mission, this study explores the question of how churches in St. Louis reacted to the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in the Dred Scott case,¹ which was handed down in 1857. The Court's decision is vilified today as both a regressive, racist declaration of non-citizenship for Black Americans as well as a blatant dismissal of hard-fought legal precedent. The case contributed to the hardening of pro- and anti-slavery sentiments in the United States, which led to the 1861-1865 Civil War. The complicated legal progression of the case began eleven years earlier, largely transpiring in St. Louis, Missouri. Surely St. Louis churches were not oblivious to this landmark case. In the aftermath of the infamous Supreme Court rendering, did Christians in St. Louis express outrage, support, or indifference?

To answer that primary question, two accompanying questions have guided this research. First, what do the contemporary documents, such as newspapers, church records, and other archived materials, reveal? Second, what do subsequent studies tell us? The answers to this set of questions may shed light on questions being asked today in the United States about how Christians should respond to systemic racism.

WAS THERE MUCH REACTION?

There is very little contemporary or subsequent mention of Christians' (or other religious people's, e.g., Jews') reactions to the case. Practically none of the few extant church records and ministerial discourses touches on the matter. Only two of the numerous commemorative histories of St. Louis congregations that existed in 1857 give any indication of a relationship to the case.² St. Louis daily newspapers

are devoid of any indication of the views of religious leaders about the case. Moreover, no studies devoted to the Dred Scott case or to St. Louis religious groups have considered the relationship between the two.³ The answer to this study's primary question, therefore, must come mainly from inference and conjecture.

One reason for the scarcity of evidence of how St. Louis Christians reacted to the monumental Dred Scott decision is the fact that few sermons from the day have been preserved, and church records have been lost or destroyed.⁴ Another line of explanation regarding the apparent lack of explicit reactions cites the wise, circumspect discretion of church leaders in not speaking to the slavery issue in general.⁵

In order to fill in the picture of how St. Louis churches might have reacted, we must consider the complex historical context of St. Louis in 1857. First we will look at what happened after the fact, then we will backtrack and examine developments leading up to 1857. We will then draw our final, if necessarily tentative, conclusions.

WARTIME CHALLENGES

No situation calls forth people's deepest sentiments and commitments more than war. Loyalties to humanity, nation, family, community, and neighbor are stretched. For religious adherents, the relationship between religious and political institutions can become confused and strained. All of these challenges presented themselves to St. Louisans throughout the Civil War of 1861-65.

Oath of Loyalty

"To the victor go the spoils,"⁶ and those Missourians

Marilyn McCarthy, *Stones of Remembrance: A History of Central Presbyterian Church, 1844-1994*. (Clayton, Missouri: Central Presbyterian Church, 1994), 17-18.

3. Missouri: Central Presbyterian Church, 1994), 17-18. While researching, my inquiries at libraries and churches were met with, "No one has ever asked us that before." Some sources mention Harriet Scott's (Dred's wife) church membership, but most often those sources do not explore the wider implications of that basic fact (except for what it might have meant for the Scotts' initial lawyer when they filed suit, as we shall mention again later). See, for example, the online "Central Baptist Church Legacy" available at http://www.cbcstl.org/legacy/legacy_setup.htm (accessed June 21, 2007).

4. For example, according to an early June, 2007, phone conversation with the church Executive Assistant, Ethel M. Miller, all of the tantalizing pre-1971 records of the aforementioned Central Baptist Church (and its antecedents) were destroyed in a church fire.

5. Galusha Anderson, *The Story of a Border City During the Civil War*. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1908), 120. Cf. William E. Parrish, *History of Missouri, Volume III 1860 to 1875*. (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1973), 62.

6. An idiom that originated in the United States in the 1830's, according to "The Phrase Finder," available online at http://www.phrases.org.uk/bulletin_board/32/messages/793.html (accessed March 11, 2008).

1. The correct legal citation for the case is *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 393 (1856). I am indebted to Kristen Sagar for alerting me to this important information.

2. George E. Stevens, *History of Central Baptist Church, 1846-1926*. (St. Louis: The King Publishing Co., 1927).

who were on the winning military-political side spoiled at least one immediate opportunity for healing. By all accounts, the "Loyalty Oath," sometimes referred to as the "Ironclad Oath," was a "draconian,"⁷ "extreme and vindictive attempt to exclude any but the staunchest Unionist from public life in Missouri after the war."⁸ In effect, all Southern Confederate sympathizers were declared to be disenfranchised and barred from "holding, in this State, any office of honor, trust, or profit, under its authority," including clergy. An oath of loyalty to the United States and disavowal of any Confederate sympathies was prescribed.

Perhaps the most prominent religious leader in St. Louis who had to deal with the Loyalty Oath was the Roman Catholic Archbishop, Peter Kenrick. During the war years, Kenrick "maintained a prudent silence, refraining entirely from preaching during the first two years of the war."⁹ A small-scale slave owner himself, Kenrick personally favored a gradual emancipation program rather than an abolitionist immediate emancipation. As Archbishop, Kenrick's position was that both slavery and secession were inherently neither moral nor religious, but rather social and political. He issued regular appeals for unity and peace, adding special prayers in the liturgy after South Carolina's secession, as well as urging calm after Union troops occupied Camp Jackson, a Confederate stronghold, in St. Louis on May 10, 1861.¹⁰

Kenrick sought to keep the church free from political-military control and entanglements. When he caught wind of a scheme in January, 1861 to have church bells rung throughout the city to assemble the largely pro-secessionist Irish Catholics as troops, Kenrick refused permission for the bells to be rung for such a purpose. Furthermore, the Archbishop stood firm when pressed by the Union military, following their May takeover of Camp Jackson, to fly the Union flag over St. Louis churches, which many northern bishops had agreed to do in their dioceses.¹¹ And when the government challenged the liberty of the church through the 1865 Loyalty Oath, Kenrick circulated a letter to the clergy offering his counsel and advice to carry on as usual. The unified Catholic clergy hence "continued to perform their priestly duties as if they had never heard of the oath, and not one of them prescribed to it."¹² Clearly, church liberty was paramount for Kenrick.

Not all groups were as firm and unified in their defiance of the Oath of Loyalty as the St. Louis Archdiocese. The Episcopal bishop Cicero Hawks "took a somewhat less confrontational position," instructing priests "to take the oath if they could do

7. James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri*. Vol. III, The Western Urban History Series. (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company, 1981), 276-277.

8. This and all subsequent quotations in this paragraph are taken from G. E. Rule, "The Missouri Oath of Loyalty of 1865 by Galusha Anderson", part of "Civil War St. Louis" website (2001), available at <http://www.civilwarstlouis.com/History/Oathofloyalty.htm> (accessed June 21, 2007).

9. Sister Mary Emmanuel White, "Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick and the Civil War." (Saint Louis University unpublished MA Thesis, 1948), 103.

10. *Ibid.*, 56-64, 72-73.

11. *Ibid.*, 64, 74-75.

12. *Ibid.*, 90-91.

so in good conscience."¹³ The Methodist bishop Henry Kavanaugh spoke against the oath, as did the Missouri Baptist Association in a commissioned essay by its elder statesman A. P. Williams. That essay rebuts the position of the Baptist Galusha Anderson, who had just written in the *Baptist Quarterly* that the oath was necessary to establish "the new order of things."¹⁴ Presbyterian elder Edward Bates, Abraham Lincoln's Attorney General from 1861-1864, "Advised all voters to swear without qualms, since this ex post facto requirement was unconstitutional."¹⁵ Presbyterian minister James H. Brookes railed against the oath's ambiguity, anti-biblical requirements of cruelty against southern friends and relatives, and civil intervention in the church.¹⁶ One may safely assume that Unitarian pastor William G. Eliot (founder of Washington University in the 1850's) gladly signed the oath, since he led in a prayer of thanks at the Missouri constitutional convention, which was meeting in St. Louis on January 11, 1865, after the adoption of an ordinance abolishing slavery throughout the state.¹⁷

What various African-American ministers would have done is a moot question, since they had no vote or standing that would require them to do take the oath. The leading Lutheran clergyman of the day, the "Lutheran Pope of the West"¹⁸ C. W. F. Walther, struggled mightily over whether or not to take the oath. After much soul-searching and advice from trusted colleagues, Walther managed – to his great relief – to have accepted a signed oath with a notarized protest of reservations written on the reverse side.¹⁹

One analyst summarized the circumstances surrounding the Ironclad Oath as follows: "The reaction to the test oath, among the clergy in Missouri, ran the gamut from enthusiastic approval to cries of persecution.... In actual fact, the test oath was not enforced in St. Louis County (which then included the city of St. Louis) or any area in which public feeling

13. Louis S. Gerteis, *Civil War St. Louis*. Modern War Studies Series, gen. ed., Theodore A. Wilson. (University Press of Kansas, 2001), 317-318.

14. A. P. Williams, "An Essay of the Missouri Test Oath. "Position of the Baptist Denomination of Missouri on said oath." (186-?). Primm (1981), 278-279. Anderson had pastored the Second Baptist Church in St. Louis for eight years, 1858-1866. Having written his 1867 *Baptist Quarterly* essay after leaving St. Louis, Anderson 40 years later wrote critically of the oath. Anderson (1908), 358. See as well Rule (2001).

15. Primm (1981), 278. Bates addressed the oath in several letters, as well as in widely read essays published in May and June, 1865, in the St. Louis dailies *Missouri Republican* and *Missouri Democrat*.

16. Joseph H. Hall, *Presbyterian Conflict and Resolution on the Missouri Frontier*. Studies in American Religion, Vol. 26. (Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1987), 133.

17. Benjamin Merkel, "The Antislavery Movement in Missouri, 1819-1865." (Washington University unpublished PhD dissertation, 1939), 1.

18. C. F. Wattke, *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant*. (New York: Prentice-Hallo, Inc., 1939), p. 225, cited in Paul M. Kavasch, "The Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod During the Early Years of the Civil War," in *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI, Number 3 (October, 1958), 67.

19. August R. Suelflow, "Walther the American," in Arthur H. Drevlow, John J. Drickamer, and Glenn E. Reichwald, eds., *C. F. W. Walther: The American Luther: Essays in Commemoration of the 100th Anniversary of Carl Walther's Death*. (Mankato, MN: Walther Press, 1987), 28-31. The quotation is from page 29 and is cited from a July 7 letter to a pastor in Cleveland, Ohio.

ran strongly against the Radical oath.”²⁰ So goes the messiness of history, especially when a modern empire is working out its identity, as was the case with the United States in the mid-nineteenth century.

Martial Law

Acting on a series of loyalty oaths (the coup de grâce being the 1865 Ironclad Oath), federal, state, and Joseph H. Hall, Presbyterian Conflict and Resolution on the Missouri Frontier. *Studies in American Religion*, Vol. 26. (Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1987), 133. local governments, as well as the Union military, kept close tabs on congregants and ministers of all denominations throughout the war years. Martial law in St. Louis “was generally popular. Despite the inconveniences of the pass system, most citizens liked the security it provided. But southern sympathizers, especially those of wealth and prominence, found the regime harsh indeed.”²¹ The Union General Frémont first invoked martial law in St. Louis County in August, 1861.²² The close watch that was kept on the lives of St. Louis citizens had noteworthy results in the cases of two Presbyterian ministers.

Samuel J. P. Anderson²³ was pastor of Central Presbyterian Church.²⁴ In the summer of 1863, he was arrested and tried in military court for disloyalty. A native Virginian, Anderson had navigated the challenge of pastoring congregants on either side of the political divide by emphasizing the spirituality of the church and its separation from the state. When the newspapers reported that Anderson’s son had joined the Confederate army, however, and when Anderson assumed such stances as refusing to pray for the Union Army’s success on the national day of prayer and fasting that President Lincoln established after the defeat at Bull Run, the military authorities procured Anderson’s arrest and trial.

The case of Samuel McPheeters, pastor of Pine Street Presbyterian Church, has been even more widely documented.²⁵ Born in the South, McPheeters was called as pastor by the newly-merged Pine Street Church in 1853. His failing health took him to New Mexico for one year (mid-1860 to mid-1861) to serve as a chaplain, after which he returned to Pine Street Church and resumed his pastoral responsibilities. Upon his return, McPheeters wrote a pastoral letter to

his congregation, declaring his non-committal stance about what was happening politically and pledging to preach and teach about matters concerned with Christ’s spiritual kingdom.

McPheeters’ non-committal posture came into question from two contiguous angles. First, the Old School²⁶ General Assembly of 1861 adopted resolutions requiring ecclesiastical loyalty to the federal government. Among those personally charged with disloyalty at the 1862 Assembly, McPheeters returned to St. Louis to find a letter of opposition to him from an elder and 29 others. An even more antagonistic and open letter criticizing McPheeters, composed by the same elder and two others, appeared in the December *Missouri Democrat*.²⁷

Like Rev. Anderson of Central Presbyterian and many others, McPheeters had taken his prescribed loyalty oath. Even so, the Missouri Provost Marshal General soon sent a military order, based on charges of intent, directing McPheeters to sever his pastoral relations with the Pine Street Church and to move within ten days to a free state north of Indianapolis. Newspapers in New York and elsewhere roundly criticized this military intervention.

With the assistance of U.S. Attorney General Edward Bates, a Presbyterian elder from St. Louis, McPheeters appealed to President Lincoln for help. Despite Lincoln’s intervention, miscommunications and the opposing elder’s maneuverings succeeded in severing the pastoral relationship as of the May, 1864 Assembly.

Public Positions at the War’s Outset

Most testimonies and subsequent analyses attest to the attempts by many pastors and priests to be politically neutral, or at least non-committal, and to guide their flocks in unity as the Civil War began in early 1861. We have already noted that the Roman Catholic Archbishop Kenrick did not preach for two years in an effort to avoid any chance of being seen as promoting any political view. Surprisingly, however, several Catholic priests showed less discretion than their archbishop, and a number were relocated.²⁸

Unitarian pastor William G. Eliot made his stance clear. Describing his position during the Civil War, one historian notes that “he had been the city’s only open abolitionist for many years [and] had spoken and written early and often for the Union.”²⁹ As for the other Protestants, Galusha Anderson reflected more than 40 years later that “During the winter of 1860-61 there was but one clergyman in the city, who

20. Donald Rau, “Three Cheers for Father Cummings,” *Supreme Court Historical Society 1977 Yearbook, Digitized Volumes from the Society’s Collection*. (Supreme Court Historical Society, 1976), available online at http://www.supremecourthistory.org/04_library/subs_volumes/04_c02_d.html (accessed June 21, 2007). An earlier commentator noted, “In conservative strongholds, the oath of loyalty for ministers continued to be systematically ignored. The completeness with which the oath was disregarded was known to all.” Thomas S. Barclay, “The Test Oath for the Clergy in Missouri,” *The Missouri Historical Review*, Volume XVIII. No. 3 (1924): 371.

21. Primm (1981), 260.

22. Parrish (1973), 64.

23. Not to be confused with either of the aforementioned Galusha Anderson or J. Richard Anderson.

24. I am relying in this section about Anderson on McCarthy (1994), 13-23.

25. Many general historical surveys include this incident. Here I will rely on two more focused studies: William Witherspoon, *The History of Westminster Presbyterian Church, 1853 – 1978*. (St. Louis, Missouri: Westminster Presbyterian Church, n.d.), 4-10; and – especially – Hall (1987), Chapter VII, 151-170.

26. The national Presbyterian Church divided into Old School and New School organizations in 1937. Differences arising out of an 1801 Plan of Union with the Congregationalists, all fleshed out in connection with westward expansion, caused the split. See the concise summary in Hall (1987), 102-103.

27. A examination of this December incident, including McPheeters’ response to it, is in John S. Grasty, *Memoir of Rev. Samuel B. McPheeters, D.D.* (Saint Louis: Southwestern Book and Publishing Company, 1871), 141-148.

28. White (1948), 77; *The Archdiocese of St. Louis, Archdiocese of St. Louis: Three Centuries of Catholicism, 1700-2000*. (Strasbourg, France: Éditions du Signe, 2001), 63 (also available online at <http://www.archstl.org/history/chap3.html>; accessed June 23, 2007).

29. Primm (1981), 265.

publicly spoke upon the great national issue...."³⁰

Two prominent African-American church leaders who spoke and acted boldly against slavery were John Richard Anderson and Moses Dickson. Anderson was the pastor of the Second Colored Baptist Church (present-day Central Baptist Church) from 1847 to 1863, during which time Harriet Scott was a member.³¹ Prior to the outbreak of war, Anderson "spoke out against slavery and drew crowds of whites to hear him preach." He was shaped by his experience working as a type-setter for the abolitionist Elijah Lovejoy. Lovejoy was later killed before Anderson's eyes by a pro-slave mob in Alton, Illinois (just across the Mississippi River from St. Louis) in 1837.³²

Moses Dickson became an ordained minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Church after returning to St. Louis following the war. Before the war, Dickson and others organized the Knights of Liberty, a secret society whose goal was to enlist and arm southern slaves to end slavery by insurrection. When the Civil War began, the group dispersed and the members joined the ranks of the Union army.³³

The colorful makeup of St. Louis in the late 1850's and early 1860's created a challenging context in which pastors, priests, and other religious leaders had to lead their congregations.³⁴ While the majority of those leaders maintained neutrality in the face of war, most were nonetheless willing to act, when the government intervened in religious life. Why do we have no records of any actions in relation to the Dred Scott decision? We need to look at the historical development of St. Louis and its citizenry in order better to appreciate the situation in March, 1857.

LEADING UP TO 1857

French explorers first came to the area of present-day St. Louis in the 1670's, but what became the modern city of "St. Louis," named after the French King Louis XIV, was begun in 1764.³⁵ Once the Europeans and their African slaves started to increase in number, the area's Native American population played a decreasing role in the development of St. Louis (mainly as traders, merchants, raiders, and targets of missionary activity).

The Louisiana Purchase of 1803, which nearly doubled the territory of the United States, had major implications for the city of St. Louis as well as for what became in 1821 the state of Missouri (St. Louis was incorporated soon thereafter). Settlers, which included farmers, merchants, clerks, and others, increasingly traveled west from the more populated areas in the eastern United States and from European nations such as Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, with a fresh surge after the War of 1812.³⁶

30. Anderson (1908), 121.

31. See note 4.

32. John A. Wright, Sr., *American Americans in Downtown St. Louis*. Black America Series. (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2003), 17

33. *Ibid.*, 23.

34. How the two St. Louis Jewish congregations of the day positioned themselves to the issues surrounding the war is an interesting question. Contact the author for further information.

35. Primm (1981), 1-9.

36. *Ibid.*, 86-87, 107.

Slavery in Missouri

Soon after the American Revolution, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 established policies for settling the frontier over the Appalachian Mountains. The Ordinance set population thresholds that territories would be required to meet in order to be allowed to establish their governments and apply for statehood. Moreover, the Ordinance's sixth and final article began, "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory."³⁷

In reality, however, settlers often took slaves to new territories, or bought and sold them once they arrived. During the debate in the U.S. Congress over Missouri's petition for statehood, which took place from 1819-1820, slavery was not widespread in Missouri. Slaves comprised 15 percent of the total Missouri population (18 percent in St. Louis County), and fewer than ten percent of the territory's white families owned slaves. In addition, most slave-owning Missourians had no more than four or five household slaves, as opposed to the much larger numbers on southern plantations.³⁸

Accompanying the fact that many settlers had come from southern, slaveholding areas such as Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee,³⁹ the primary reason for the dominant pro-slavery sentiment in Missouri was that "the leaders to whom the majority deferred, the well-to-do merchants, traders, professional men, and politicians, were slaveowners almost without exception."⁴⁰ In the end, the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was adopted, and Missouri was admitted to the Union as a slave state. The terms of the Compromise, which were aimed at maintaining a balance between slave and free states, held until the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 allowed settlers in those states to settle the slavery question themselves. Violent clashes erupted between the two camps vying for control in the new states, and the slavery issue became increasingly politically charged in Missouri.

Economically, Missouri developed as a central state rather than as a southern one. Unlike the southern states' dependence on the production of cotton and tobacco, Missouri had no staple crop that would require a large amount of slave labor.⁴¹ During the 1840's, New York and Boston merchants saw St. Louis as their major western outpost, fueling an influx of immigration and capital. In the 1850's, railroad traffic with eastern markets grew, increasing the city's population of wealthy slaveowners, and leading businessmen began to see the folly of secession, since the economic future of St. Louis lay in the cultivation of market relations with the east.⁴² Even so, St. Louis

37. "The Northwest Ordinance (1787)," taken from F. N. Thorpe, ed., *Federal and State Constitutions*, vol. 2 (1909), 957, available online at <http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/facts/democrac/5.htm> (accessed June 23, 2007).

38. Mary Lioba Hoey, CSJ, AB, "The Sisters of the St. Joseph in St. Louis, 1836-1896." (Saint Louis University unpublished MA Thesis, 1935) 65; Blum (1945), 49.

39. W. Sherman Savage, "The Contest Over Slavery Between Illinois and Missouri," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXVIII, No.3 (July, 1943): 311.

40. Primm (1981), 119.

41. Savage (1943), 311.

42. Virgil Clarence Blum, "The German Element in Saint Louis, 1859-1861." (Saint Louis University unpublished MA Thesis, 1945), 45-47.

remained slave territory until the Civil War, driving much of the vital northeastern investment to Chicago in the late 1850's.⁴³ Thus, economically speaking, slavery continued to the end mainly for the benefit of the slave traders in Missouri and Illinois.⁴⁴

Wherever the influential, prominent St. Louisans stood on the issue, the political fight over Missouri's slavery question always included theoretical arguments for maintaining the system at all costs.⁴⁵ In the 1830's, many Missourians began to fear an influx of abolitionist literature from Illinois. The state Legislature passed "drastic" regulations of abolitionist materials, seeking to protect citizens' property. News of slaves escaping or being kidnapped by abolitionists fueled Missourians' fears, and there were occasional violent incidents along the Missouri-Illinois border, the most famous of which was the lynching of Elijah Lovejoy for his production of abolitionist literature.⁴⁶ A gradual emancipationist view was held by fluctuating numbers of St. Louisans; some who rejected that position were anti-slavery while not going as far as assuming an abolitionist stance.⁴⁷ Related to this situation is the increased momentum in the 1850's of the colonization movement, which supported the resettling of African-Americans in West Africa, about which more will be said below.⁴⁸

Slaves in Missouri always had ample legal opportunity to apply for freedom. But, while legally permissible, the freedom suits were in fact difficult to maintain since the slave as plaintiff always carried the burden of proof. Hence, very few slaves actually gained their freedom in most of Missouri's counties. By comparison, however, St. Louis County saw a much larger number of slaves manumitted (freed) over the years, for example 49 in both 1855 and 1858.⁴⁹

Such an optimistic statistics must be tempered, however, by the painful observation made by the German-language St. Louis newspaper *Mississippi Blätter* one year after the Dred Scott case had concluded: "Since the Dred Scott decision, a Negro is a head of cattle like any other, and cattles have no standing in court."⁵⁰ Furthermore,

During the 1850s, St. Louis became a busy slave market, serving as a collecting point for slaves from outstate areas. More than two dozen dealers had agents in the city, and slave auctions at the

courthouse were commonplace spectacles. At best a slave's life in St. Louis was precarious; as in other places, bondage depended on coercion or the threat of it; and even the kindest master played Jekyll and Hyde, capable of administering a beating if given provocation. Advertisements for runaways gave evidence that mutilation was resorted to. Even if the questionable premise that the institution was comparatively humane in St. Louis is accepted, the essential condition of slavery remained. Even the free blacks were only half-free. They could not live in the city without a license, testify against a white person in court, or vote....⁵¹

When the Supreme Court rendered the final Dred Scott decision in 1857, slavery in St. Louis was real, both legally and personally.

Ethnic and Religious Groups

From 1830 to 1860, the overall population figures for St. Louis City show remarkable growth.⁵² The 1840's and 1850's saw particularly large surges, fueled greatly by the influx of German and Irish immigrants. In 1860, the overall Missouri population still had "a distinctly Southern tinge."⁵³ However, about 68 percent of Missouri's 160,541 foreigners (55 percent German, 27 percent Irish) lived in and around St. Louis. Their increasing presence greatly impacted the city of St. Louis, and Missouri as whole, in the two decades leading up to the Civil War.

The waves of German immigrants are usually classified into two groups. Those that came from 1833 to 1847, the "Dreissigers," emigrated because of political persecution. Those who emigrated from 1847 to 1851, the "Forty-eighters," were radical liberals and revolutionaries. Their common background made the new German-Americans fiercely anti-slavery and pro-Union:

The patriotic German-American was no less ready to defend the Union than he was to denounce slavery. The German who now faced the question of disunion in America had once fought bitter battles in his native land for union. He knew the price of disunity; he knew the weakness of a disorganized people. Moreover, he knew that separation meant *eternal war*.⁵⁴

It was thus a primarily German contingent of Union soldiers that secured Camp Jackson in May, 1861.⁵⁵

Many of the first Germans to settle in St. Louis were Catholic. The Lutheran surge began in the 1830's, and soon several of those congregations existed in St. Louis. Calvinistic Evangelical Reformed Germans were part of the mix as well, starting two congregations in St. Louis in 1845. Mixed in with Jewish settlers and others who were not church-

43. Kenneth J. Winkle, "Yankee Merchants and the Making of the Urban West: The Rise and Fall of Antebellum St. Louis. — book reviews," in *Journal of Social History*, Fall, 1993 (Gale Group, 2004), available online at http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2005/is_n1_v27/ai_14446835.

44. Savage (1943), 311.

45. Ibid.

46. One thorough analysis of the Lovejoy incident, along with the preceding mob killing of the free mulatto Francis McIntosh, is Bonnie E. Laughlin, "Endangering the Peace of Society': Abolitionist Agitation and Mob Reaction in St. Louis and Alton, 1836, 1838," in *Missouri Historical Review*, XCV, 1 (October, 2000): 1-22.

47. Merkel (1939), 2-3.

48. Savage (1943), 313-318.

49. Harrison Anthony Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri 1804-1865*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1914), 211-214, 223.

50. The *Mississippi Blätter* was the Sunday supplement for the *Westliche Post*, one of two major radical St. Louis German newspapers. *Germans For a Free Missouri: Translations from the St. Louis Radical Press, 1857-1862*. Selected and translated by Steve Rowan. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1983), vii-viii, 65.

51. Primm (1981), 187-188.

52. Campbell Gibson, "POPULATION OF THE 100 LARGEST CITIES AND OTHER URBAN PLACES IN THE UNITED STATES: 1790 TO 1990." Population Division Working Paper No. 27. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of the Census, June 1998), available online at <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0027.html> (accessed June 23, 2007).

53. Harry Carl Koelling, "The Civil War in Missouri During 1861." (Washington University unpublished MA Thesis, 1937), 1.

54. Ibid., 31, 68

55. Ibid., 234.

affiliated, the St. Louis German population exhibited a variety of socio-political leanings.⁵⁶

While not all German immigrants fit the stereotypical Lutheran mold, most of the Irish immigrants did stay true to the expected form with their Catholicism.⁵⁷ The Irish potato famine of 1845-46 and the Young Ireland rebellion of 1848 catapulted thousands of Irish across the Atlantic, with many riding steamboats to the burgeoning city of St. Louis.⁵⁸ Since most of them arrived in St. Louis destitute and with limited skill levels, the Irish immigrants competed with free blacks for low-paying jobs. That economic factor was sufficient to make the Irish pro-slavery (and pro-Confederacy when the war broke out), since they feared a glut in the labor market if slaves were freed.⁵⁹

Of all the non-Native-American religious groups that developed in St. Louis, the Baptists and Methodists actually got their feet on the ground before anyone except the Catholics. The Baptist growth took place primarily among the White-American settlers, as well as among African-Americans, who had come (or been brought as slaves) to St. Louis. Ten years after the establishment of the Fee Fee Baptist Church in 1807, missionaries John Mason Peck and James Eby Welch arrived and formed First Baptist Church, "with a primarily black congregation."⁶⁰ Soon, a separate African-American congregation was begun, with former slave John Berry Meachum as pastor. While Baptist numbers grew among both Blacks and Whites, in 1934 there were more Baptists among the Blacks.⁶¹

Despite regular opposition from those who feared that the slaves would revolt if they became literate, Meachum was a leader in starting schools for African-Americans in St. Louis. Such schools included the well-known "Freedom School" held on a barge (beyond state jurisdiction) after Missouri banned the education of African-Americans in 1847.⁶² Meachum's Freedom School continued "until he died in his pulpit in February 1854."⁶³ Several other White Baptist

churches, including a church among the many new German and Dutch immigrants, started by the Second Baptist Church in 1850,⁶⁴ and "Colored" Baptist churches were begun in the 1850's.⁶⁵ Again, both Black and White Baptist churches had substantial membership numbers at this time.⁶⁶

The Methodists, beginning with circuit-riding Jesse Walker, became organized in St. Louis in 1821.⁶⁷ New Methodist churches were added in the 1830's, and in 1841 both the first German Methodist and the first African Methodist Episcopal (AME) churches were organized. Also noteworthy was the 1845 beginning, then the 1861 closing, of the Methodist Ebenezer Chapel. This congregation of northern sympathizers simply could not survive amidst a predominantly southern denomination,⁶⁸ particularly in light of the national Methodists' north-south split in 1844.

The Baptists divided nationally in 1845, and we can safely assume that most of the White Baptist churches in St. Louis were southern both by organizational affiliation and by members' backgrounds.⁶⁹ The Presbyterians did not experience a national north-south split until the war broke out in 1861. However, they experienced the aforementioned Old School-New School split, which was formalized in 1837. Presbyterianism in St. Louis did not have the appeal that the Baptists and Methodists did among the Kentuckians and Tennesseans who settled in the surrounding farming regions. Even so, Presbyterianism had enough attraction for easterners with Calvinist backgrounds to grow and organize, under the leadership of the Congregationalist missionary Salmon Giddings, the First Presbyterian

56. William Barnaby Faherty, *The St. Louis German Catholics*. (St. Louis, Missouri: Reedy Press, 2004), 17-19.

57. Faherty mentions some of the influential Protestant Irish in St. Louis. *Ibid.*, 67-68.

58. Primm (1981), 171.

59. City of St. Louis CDA/SLDC, "Peopling St. Louis: The Immigration Experience," 1996, available online at <http://stlouis.missouri.org/government/heritage/history/immigrant.htm> (accessed June 25, 2007). See also Primm (1981), 176.

60. David A. Lossos, "Early (pre 1900) St. Louis Places of Worship," 2007, available online at <http://genealogyinstlouis.accessgenealogy.com/earlychurches.htm>. This helpful website is the single most extensive list of 19th-century St. Louis religious groups I have seen. See as well the helpful summary of the development of St. Louis religious groups, City of St. Louis CDA/SLDC, "Religious Life," 1996, available online at <http://stlouis.missouri.org/government/heritage/history/religion.htm> (accessed June 27, 2007).

61. Elva Kuykendall Norman, *Biography Of A Church: A History Of The Early St. Louis Baptist Community 1817-1877 and Delmar Church Which Emerged From It 1877-1977*. (St. Louis, Missouri: Delmar Baptist Church and AC Litho Company, 1978), 29-30, 40.

62. City of St. Louis CDA/SLDC, "The African-American Experience," 1996, available online at <http://stlouis.missouri.org/government/heritage/history/afriamer.htm> (accessed June 26, 2007).

63. Dennis L. Durst, "The Reverend John Berry Meachum (1789-1854) of St. Louis: Prophet and Entrepreneurial Black Educator in Historiographical Perspective," Part II. *The North Star*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Spring, 2004), available online at <http://northstar.vassar.edu/volume7/durst2.html> (accessed June 26, 2007).

64. A. W. Payne, *What Mean These Stones? Joshua 4:21, The Third Baptist Church, St. Louis, For Eighty-Three Years*. (St. Louis: A. W. Payne, 1934), 35; Elva Kuykendall Norman, *Biography Of A Church: A History Of The Early St. Louis Baptist Community 1817-1877 and Delmar Church Which Emerged From It 1877-1977*. (St. Louis, Missouri: Delmar Baptist Church and AC Litho Company, 1978), 46.

65. According to the city directory, in 1841 there was one AME church and one African Baptist. By 1859 there were six African-American churches. Cited in Julie Winch, "Introduction," in *The Colored Aristocracy of St. Louis*, by Cyprian Clamorgan. (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 8.

66. "Of the 46 Baptist churches on the Missouri Association roster [the year is undefined], the two largest black churches enrolled 1,445 members; the thirteen largest white churches had 1,023." The inferred political implication of this demographic vis-à-vis slavery – "The Baptists were active abolitionists, as the demographics of their congregations suggest" – is questionable, given the predominantly southern affiliation of the White Baptist churches. Certainly *some* of the Baptists, i.e., numerous African-Americans, were active abolitionists. "Religious Life," 1996, available online at <http://stlouis.missouri.org/government/heritage/history/religion.htm> (accessed June 28, 2007).

67. Primm (1981), 98; Lossos (2007); "Remembering Our Roots," The Missouri Conference Center of the United Methodist Church Service Consecration program (January 21, 2006), 6, available online at http://mo.brickriver.com/files/oFiles_Library_XZXL CZ/Consercraton_program_XIEMNJ95.pdf.

68. Lossos (2007)

69. That the pastors of the Third Baptist Church during the Civil War were both Northerners – the first of whom shared his political preferences for the North and began to split the congregation, the second of whom managed to rise above the political struggles of the day – thus becomes all the more noteworthy. Norman E. Nygaard, *Where Cross the Crowded Ways: The Story of the Third Baptist Church of St. Louis, Missouri, and its Minister, Dr. C. Oscar Johnson*. (New York: Greenberg, 1950), 37-38

Church in St. Louis in 1817.⁷⁰ The abolitionist efforts in St. Louis, then across the river in Alton, of Elijah Lovejoy have already been noted.⁷¹ Lovejoy preached from 1834-1836 at the Des Peres Church, which was the second Presbyterian church formed in the area.⁷² Along with unique efforts (among Protestants) to “Anglicize the Indians and save their souls,”⁷³ Presbyterians began new churches (including among the German immigrants) in St. Louis in the 1840’s and 1850’s. Lovejoy’s efforts in the 1830’s notwithstanding, the southern leanings of several leaders and many of the members persisted. Within that vein, N. L. Rice, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church from 1855-1857,⁷⁴ published a series of open letters to the Old School Presbyterian General Assembly (where he was Moderator in 1855),⁷⁵ declaring that “colonization alone could save the country from northern abolitionism and southern radicalism.”⁷⁶ Rice was openly criticized for his attempt, representative of many others, biblically to justify slavery.⁷⁷

It is also important to note the long-standing and well-represented colonization movement among St. Louis religious leaders, which was spearheaded by the Methodists. Supported by area churches, the “Auxiliary [colonization] Society of St. Louis” was founded around 1827. Records of financial contributions indicate that other churches and ministers besides the Methodists were involved. The Unitarian Church of St. Louis, for example, raised \$150 for the society at a meeting in 1849.⁷⁸

There were many other denominations as well. The formation of the Episcopalian churches in the area is worthy of mention. Appealing to a small but influential group of merchants and professionals who had come from Virginia and the Carolinas, the Christ Church parish was established in 1825, with Thomas Horrell as rector.⁷⁹ The Unitarian Church of the Messiah was formed in 1834 under the energetic leadership of William G. Eliot, who led the socially active congregation for 37 years.⁸⁰ Congregationalist churches were formed in 1852, and while they were

regarded unfavorably in most of Missouri due to their largely abolitionist stance, they wielded substantial influence in St. Louis.⁸¹ By the 1850’s, there were two active Jewish congregations. The First Christian Church was formed in 1840. The presence of other smaller groups, including such fringe movements as the Mormons and Swedenborgians, added to the increasingly diverse mix.⁸²

In sum, the Catholic presence, bolstered somewhat by early German immigration and greatly by the Irish influx in the 1840’s and 1850’s, has always been a dominant factor in St. Louis religious life. However, despite the tendency some might have to view the city as predominantly Catholic, or, as one contemporary Presbyterian pastor put it, through the lenses of “our Anglo-Saxon civilization,”⁸³ St. Louis in the 1850’s was anything but a uniform socio-religious city. The kaleidoscope of groups that were active in the area points to a colorful and volatile scene. Among the Catholic parishioners themselves were French, English, Creole, and German speakers.⁸⁴ Among African-Americans were slave, free, and a wealthy, land-owning, Catholic “Colored Aristocracy.”⁸⁵ Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and others competed for St. Louisans’ religious affiliations.

Political Movements

The socio-political movements in St. Louis often were at odds as well. By all accounts, the Missouri Compromise of 1850, which was intended to be a short-term solution to the thorny issue of national unity over slavery, actually exacerbated the problem, leading to the eruption of the Civil War. The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which addressed the issue of whether those new states would be slave or free by making the decision a matter of popular sovereignty, only raised the political stakes and local violence immediately to the west of Missouri.

These national political decisions were closely intertwined with local movements in St. Louis. The volatility of the political scene is evident from the frequent changes in mayoral party affiliations from the mid-1840’s through the 1850’s.⁸⁶ Such volatility was connected with the ever-changing national issues of slavery, geographic expansion, and economic development as well as with St. Louis’ burgeoning, diverse population, particularly the German and

70. “First Presbyterian Church of St. Louis – History,” available online at <http://www.fpcstl.org/history.html> (accessed June 28, 2007).

71. It is instructive to note how Lovejoy became increasingly radical in his anti-slavery editorials. Having first supported African recolonization, Lovejoy progressed from endorsing gradual emancipation to abolition in the District of Columbia to, finally by 1837 when he was killed, immediate universal emancipation. See “The Library Congress, American Memory. Today in History: November 7, Elijah Lovejoy,” available online at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/today/nov07.html> (accessed June 28, 2007).

72. Lossos (2007).

73. Primm (1981), 98.

74. Lossos (2007).

75. N. L. Rice, *Ten Letters on the Subject of Slavery: Addressed to the Delegates from the Congregational Associations to the Last General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church*. (St. Louis: Keith, Woods & Co, Printers, 1855).

76. Trexler (1914), 230

77. One such criticism was published under the pseudonym Smectymnuus, *Slavery and the Church: Two Letters Addressed to Rev. N. L. Rice, D. D., in Reply to His Letters to the Congregational Deputation, on the Subject of Slavery. Also a Letter to Rev. Nehemiah Adams, D. D., in Answer to the “South Side View of Slavery.”* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1856.), 5-31

78. Trexler (1914), 227-228.

79. Primm (1981), 99.

80. Lossos (2007).

81. Trexler (1914), 132

82. Lossos (2007). Also, for example, during the spring of 1857 every Saturday edition of the *Daily Missouri Democrat* contains a brief promotion for the following Sunday evening’s eschatologically oriented sermon at the “Tabernacle Church,” other information concerning which I have been unable to find.

83. S. J. P. Anderson, *The Dangers and Duties of the Present Crisis! A Discourse: Delivered in the Union Church, St. Louis, January 4, 1861*. (St. Louis, MO: Presbyterian Of Our Union Job Print – Scmenck & Co., 1861), 8.

84. The Archdiocese of St. Louis, *Archdiocese of St. Louis: Three Centuries or Catholicism, 1700-2000*. (Strasbourg, France: Éditions du Signe, 2001), 40 (also available, minus certain graphics, at <http://www.archstl.org/history/index.html>).

85. The phrase is from the title of a book (cited earlier) originally published in 1858, recently republished in 1999, edited and with an introduction by Julie Winch. Cf. Winch (1999), 8; Primm (1981), 188.

86. This information is posted in a very helpful, concise format on the “St. Louis Mayors QuickFacts” page, available online at <http://exhibits.slpl.org/mayors/default.asp> (accessed June 29, 2007).

Irish immigrants. Tensions between nativists and immigrants often erupted in bloody brawls and riots.⁸⁷ One particularly violent riot, sparked by Know-Nothing electioneers denying several Irish Americans the right to vote, spiraled out of control in the summer of 1854. It began as a scuffle, led to a stabbing, and then erupted into mob violence.⁸⁸ The ever-present north-south tension also bubbled up, causing problems even among church members. Once the war started, even issues such as whether or not to pray publicly for President Lincoln, or which flag to fly, could cause great tension and even mob activity.⁸⁹ Hence, both before and after the March 5, 1857 Dred Scott decision, there was ample tension in St. Louis between various ethnic, religious, political, and socio-economic residents.

REACTIONS AND NON-REACTIONS

Now that the historical context of the case has been examined, it is time to return to the study's original question about how churches in St. Louis reacted to Supreme Court's decision in the Dred Scott case: when they learned of the decision, did St. Louis Christians express outrage, support, or indifference?

The Court Case

Before formulating an answer, it is important to outline this complicated legal battle.⁹⁰ Around 1800, Dred Scott was born in Virginia as a slave of the Peter Blow family. After a few years in northern Alabama,⁹¹ Blow brought Scott to St. Louis in 1830 and later sold him to a military surgeon, Dr. John Emerson. Scott traveled with Emerson to several free areas of the country, including Illinois and the Wisconsin Territory. During that period, Scott met and married Harriet Robinson, a slave of Major Lawrence Taliaferro, the U.S. Indian Agent for the Upper Mississippi River region. When they married, Harriet was about 17 years old, and Dred was around 40.⁹²

In 1842, the Scotts moved back to the St. Louis area with Dr. and Mrs. Emerson. In 1846, after Emerson died and bequeathed his property (including his slaves) to his wife, the Scotts sued for their freedom. They initially argued that they were free because they had travelled and lived in free territories. In 1847, the Circuit Court ruled in favor of Mrs. Emerson,

87. Primm (1981), 173.

88. Archdiocese of St. Louis (2001), 61.

89. Parrish (1973), 62-63.

90. There are many accounts of the case. For our purposes here, except for where specifically noted otherwise cf. "The African-American Experience" (1996), available online at <http://stlouis.missouri.org/government/heritage/history/afriamer.htm> (accessed August 15, 2007); Washington University in St. Louis, "Dred Scott Chronology," in the *Dred Scott Case Collection*, available online at <http://library.wustl.edu/vlib/dredscott/chronology.html> (accessed August 15, 2007); Washington University in St. Louis, "Freedom Suits Case Files, 1814-1860, in the St. Louis Circuit Court Historical Records Project," available online at <http://www.stlcourtrecords.wustl.edu/about-freedom-suits-series.php> (accessed August 15, 2007); David Thomas Konig, "The Long Road to Dred Scott: Personhood and the Rule of Law in the Trial Court Records of St. Louis Slave Freedom Suits," n.d., available online at <http://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/TheLongRoadtoDredScott.pdf> (accessed August 15, 2007).

91. In the area where I myself grew up, on a personal note.

92. Lea VanderVelde and Sandhya Subramanian, "Mrs. Dred Scott," in *The Yale Law Journal*, 106, 4 (January, 1997): 1042.

dismissing the Scotts' cases but allowing them to refile their suits. A second trial in 1850 (at this point the Scotts' lawyers dropped Harriet's case and effectively absorbed it into Dred's⁹³) ruled in the Scotts' favor, but the Missouri Supreme Court reversed that decision two years later. Supported by anti-slavery lawyers, Scott then filed suit in the U.S. Federal Court in St. Louis in 1853-1854. (The defendant in this case was Mrs. Emerson's brother, John Sanford, who had assumed responsibility for John Emerson's estate. Since Sanford was a New York resident and technically beyond the jurisdiction of the state court, Scott's lawyers could file a suit against him only in the federal judicial system.) Once again the court ruled against Scott.

In 1856, Scott and his lawyers appealed the case to the U.S. Supreme Court. In *Scott v. Sandford*⁹⁴ the Court stated that Scott should remain a slave, that as "a negro, whose ancestors were imported into this country, and sold as slaves,"⁹⁵ he is not a citizen of the United States, and thus not eligible to file a lawsuit in a federal court, and that, as a slave, he is personal property, and thus has never been free. The Court further declared unconstitutional the provision in the Missouri Compromise that permitted Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories.

After the decision, John Sanford sold Scott to Taylor Blow, the son of Scott's original owner, Peter Blow. Taylor Blow promptly freed the Scotts, but in 1858, the year after he gained his freedom, Dred Scott died of tuberculosis.

Evidences of Reactions

First, we can surmise that members of the Blow family would have reacted negatively to the 1857 ruling, since they signed the bond when the Scotts' freedom suit was first filed.⁹⁶ Taylor Blow's freeing of the Scotts immediately upon receiving them after the case confirms as much. It is probable that Harriet's pastor, Rev. John R. Anderson, also encouraged the Scotts to file the lawsuit, and perhaps even helped them secure their initial legal counsel.⁹⁷ He and his congregation would certainly have been distressed at the final verdict.⁹⁸

93. VanderVelde and Subramanian note grimly, "With this unobtrusive, seemingly technical, legal gesture, the Scott's lawyers buried Harriet's case and may have sealed the Scott family's fate." *Ibid.*, 1059-1060.

94. The opinion is actually titled "Scott v. Sandford" because the Supreme Court accidentally misspelled Sanford's last name by inserting a "d." I am indebted to Kristen Sagar for this interesting tidbit.

95. This phrase is from the Court's majority opinion, as delivered by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney. Cf., for example, Street Law and the Supreme Court Historical Society, "Dred Scott v. Sandford (1857)," in *Supreme Court Landmark Cases*, available online at <http://www.landmarkcases.org/dredscott/majority.html> (accessed August 15, 2007).

96. Bryan (1948), 231.

97. According to, for example, the Missouri Secretary of State Robin Carnahan website, "Anderson returned to St. Louis soon after [Lovejoy's 1837 death] and began helping slaves pursue their freedom whenever he could." Accessed March 4, 2008.

98. The church's pastor 80 years wrote that Anderson "felt deeply Justice Taney's decision as to Dred Scott, whose wife was a member of his church..." George E. Stevens, *History of Central Baptist Church, 1846-1926*. (St. Louis: The King Publishing Co., 1927), 10. Located in the Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri-St. Louis.

Edward Bates exhibits an instructive conflation of personal and legal positions regarding the case. Born in Virginia in 1793, Bates moved to the St. Louis area in 1814, where he studied law and entered the political arena. He joined the temperance movement, worked for improvements in railroads and education, held membership in a Masonic lodge, and was a member of the American Colonization Society.

In the mid-1840's, Bates moved his family of nine children from St. Charles to St. Louis City and sold his remaining few slaves.⁹⁹ At about the same time, Bates took up the case of the St. Louis slave girl Lucy Delaney, eventually helping her win her legal freedom after she had endured 17 months in jail.¹⁰⁰ The Scotts filed their freedom lawsuit during the same period, and Bates was engaged in the case by the time it went to the Missouri Supreme Court in 1851. Despite the fact that Bates urged his brother-in-law, Missouri Supreme Court Justice Hamilton R. Gamble,¹⁰¹ to protect the 1787 provisions in the Northwest Ordinance that granted freedom to slaves, the court rendered its 1852 decision against the Scotts (with Gamble as the lone dissenter).¹⁰² Incidentally, Bates was elected a ruling elder at Central Presbyterian Church in 1852 and remained in that position until his death in 1869.¹⁰³ Various other evidences suggest the genuineness and fervency of Bates' Christian faith.¹⁰⁴

With respect to the final U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1857, Bates offered at least one legal opinion, in 1862. Bates was replying to a query from the Treasury Secretary about the citizenship of a particular "free man of color" in relation to that man's qualifications for the job of operating a coastal vessel. Toward the end of his extensive answer, Bates mentioned the Dred Scott case: "Finally, the celebrated case of Scott vs. Sandford ... is sometimes cited as a direct authority against the capacity of free persons of color to be citizens of the United States. That is an entire mistake." After tracing the case's development through some of its technical turns, Bates states that he "raise[s] no question upon the legal validity of the judgment in Scott vs. Sandford. I only insist that the judgment in that case is limited in law" He then

99. According to an October 25, 1845 St. Louis Tax Notice (on file in the archives of the Missouri Historical Society), Bates still possessed seven slaves the time. Marvin R. Cain, *Lincoln's Attorney General Edward Bates of Missouri*. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1965, viii, 46, 59. Cf. the Biographical Directory of the United States, "Bates, Edward, (1793-1869)," available online at <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=B000231> (accessed March 4, 2008).

100. Lucy A. Delaney, *From the Darkness Cometh the Light or Struggles for Freedom*. Originally published by the Publishing House of J. T. Smith, St. Louis, MO, [189-?], 33-49. Republished in the *Documenting the American South* Series, Electronic Edition, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001. Available online at <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/delaney/delaney.html> (accessed March 4, 2008).

101. Also "the leading Ruling Elder of the Second Presbyterian Church." Grasty (1871), 109.

102. Cain (1965), 75.

103. According to the Central Presbyterian Church archived register, available at the church facility in Clayton, Missouri.

104. In a note to one of his grown children and his family accompanying a Bible Bates was giving them, Bates encouraged reading a chapter each day, noting, among other benefits, that "above all, [the practice] may be the means of leading you to eternal salvation." Bates Papers, 3-15-1859 letter, Archives of the Missouri Historical Society

concludes his discussion of the case by quoting the judgment's own words:

The plaintiff in error is not a citizen of Missouri, in the sense in which that word is used in the Constitution, and that the circuit court of the United States, for that reason, had no jurisdiction in the case, and could give no judgment in it. Its judgment for the defendant must, consequently, be reversed, and a mandate issued, directing the suit to be dismissed for want of jurisdiction.

Bates then immediately concludes his overall answer to the Treasury Secretary: "And now, upon the whole matter, I give it my opinion that the *free man of color*, mentioned in your letter, if born in the United States, is a citizen of the United States..."¹⁰⁵ We can conclude that Bates' undeniable anti-slavery sympathies, and hence his public positions about the Dred Scott decision, were tempered by his commitment to uphold constitutional principles, legal precedents, and national well-being.¹⁰⁶

It is next to impossible to ascertain how St. Louis Catholics viewed the decision, especially given Archbishop Kenrick's subsequent wartime example of silent neutrality. Diversity of national origin alone would point to a lack of uniformity, although likely there was a widespread acceptance of the 1857 verdict among the pro-union Germans and pro-slavery Irish. On a national scale, there were discussions on both sides that focused on U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney, himself a Catholic from Maryland. Some Catholics backed Taney and the Court's decision out of devotion to governmental authority and national unity. Others criticized the decision, and Taney in particular, as having "violated both natural and revealed law on the equality and dignity of all human beings. And, from that perspective, it was utterly inconceivable how a Catholic could write such a decision."¹⁰⁷ How such arguments played out in St. Louis is merely a matter of speculation.

The Southern Methodists were one St. Louis religious group that expressed themselves very clearly regarding the case – at least regarding others' reactions to the case. The April 9 lead editorial of their weekly *St. Louis Christian Advocate* notes that the U.S. Supreme Court decision "has wondrously stirred up the ire of many of the papers and people of the North...[I]t is to be regretted that people are not more law abiding, and will give place to such an insubordinate revolutionary spirit." The editorial ends with the following ironic and sarcastic remarks:

We have not read the decision. Indeed we believe it has not been officially published. We

105. Emphases original. Edward Bates, Opinion of Attorney General Bates on Citizenship. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1862, 24-26. Available among the Bates Papers, Archives of the Missouri Historical Society.

106. In a January 23, 1861 letter to "Jas. S. Rollins, Columbia, MO," Bates predicts that "The time is coming ... when all party questions ... will be lost in ... – For the Union – or against it – Every man will be forced to take one side or the other" He continues, "But the existence of the nation is not a subject of compromise – it must be maintained." Emphases original. Available among the Bates Papers, Archives of the Missouri Historical Society.

107. Patrick W. Carey, "Political Atheism: Dred Scott, Roger Brooke Taney, and Orestes A. Brownson," *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. LXXXVII, No.2 (April, 2002): 227.

have only seen a sort of abstract of it in the public prints, and it may in reality turn out to be a different thing, *as to its arguments*, from what it has been represented. But we have no doubt many of these ... criticizers and denouncers of the decision will be very *smart men*, *provided* they live long enough and learn fast enough.¹⁰⁸

Reactions and counter-reactions to the case made an unmistakable contribution to the ever-widening north-south divide. Also unmistakable is the failure of St. Louis area churches openly to condemn the case's combined effect of affirming institutional slavery and degrading African-Americans. Apparently other loyalties were potent enough to muzzle moral criticisms of the Court's fateful judgment.

SUMMARY

By the time the eleven-year-old Dred Scott case was finally concluded in early 1857, St. Louis had become a bustling metropolis and major "gateway" to westward expansion. A vast array of people made up the city's growing population, and a vast array of religious groups (almost all of them Christian) dotted the landscape. Individual Christians held both prominent civic positions as well as lowly places within St. Louis social circles.

Extant records give no indication of how area churches reacted to the Dred Scott decision. The fact that there are no recorded reactions (except the Southern Methodist critique of the Northerners' "insubordinate revolutionary spirit") should give us serious pause in analyzing what churches were thinking. Didn't the activist William Eliot offer a public critique of the landmark decision? Was there no moral outrage among religiously minded St. Louisans when local newspapers reported the Supreme Court decision? Why didn't Archbishop Kenrick and other religious leaders react as strongly in 1857 as they did in 1865 when they resisted the Loyalty Oath?

This study has shown that the socio-political situation in St. Louis was complex and multifaceted. People of many different national, regional, and religious backgrounds had recently arrived in the area. As the ensuing years of civil war revealed, fissures between groups, as well as within them (including churches), ran deep. The slavery issue was combustible, and a spark like the Dred Scott case could have easily ignited a destructive explosion in St. Louis. Perhaps it was indeed wisdom and "self-control" that constrained religious leaders to "hold their peace," as Galusha Anderson later claimed.

Even so, it is difficult to understand why there are no recorded voices of protest, or even of questioning, about the moral issues involved in the case. In wider circles there was intense discussion, including among Roman Catholics. As noted, the Ironclad Oath after the Civil War sparked strong, well-documented public reactions (as well as ample studies of those reactions). Why, then, do we have no indication that St. Louis

108. Emphases original. *St. Louis Christian Advocate*, Vol. VI, No. 34 (April 9, 1857), 1. It is interesting to note that the March 19 and 26 lead editorials – just a couple of weeks after the March 6 Dred Scott Case decision – were devoted to opposing the state legislature's efforts to modify the prohibition on liquor sales on the Sabbath.

religious leaders spoke up in sermons, through the newspapers, or in special lectures, all of which were regular conduits of those leaders' messages?

While it is important to avoid being reductionist or simplistic, one must recall the imposing presence of many prominent pro-slavery and anti-secessionist St. Louisans. Their weighty membership in congregations could have dissuaded priests and ministers from speaking out against the final verdict. More significant, however, was the historical development of the United States. Indeed, this is probably the single greatest reason why church leaders were mute about the case. Slavery and the growing threat of southern secession were volatile issues. But those issues' volatility arose from the ultimate value people gave to the well-being and existence of the United States. Any issue that could tear the nation in two was to be avoided if at all possible – even it meant biting one's tongue in the face of moral decadence.

In the end, the nation was ripped apart, despite religious leaders' efforts to prevent the awful war that ensued. It is impossible to know whether the presence of more Christian leaders standing publicly against the Dred Scott decision would have altered history. Nevertheless, records of that kind of courageous moral fortitude would at least assure us that our civic forefathers valued righteousness more highly than nationalism and self-preservation.

Such records would also provide more guidance for churches in the United States today with regard to bearing their mission responsibility toward enduring systemic racism.

** The bulk of this article was first delivered to the Yale-Edinburgh Group in 2007. Numerous St. Louis-area individuals and libraries assisted in the research for this study.*



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WHEN DID CULTURAL DIVERSITY BEGIN?

Marvin J. Newell

And the LORD said, "Behold, they are one people, and they have all one language, and this is only the beginning of what they will do. And nothing that they propose to do will now be impossible for them. Come, let us go down and there confuse their language, so that they may not understand one another's speech." So the LORD dispersed them from there over the face of all the earth, and they left off building the city. Therefore its name was called Babel, because there the LORD confused the language of all the earth. And from there the LORD dispersed them over the face of all the earth. (Genesis 11:6-9)

I grew up in the state of New Jersey (USA) on a small farm located half way between the towns of Burlington and Mt. Holly. In the 50's and 60's that semi-rural environment in which I was raised was almost exclusively mono-cultural. Most everyone around me was Caucasian. That's just the way it was back then – although it isn't anymore. All my associations were in my white community.

There was also a tiny community of African Americans not far away that lived separately in an enclave called Bucktoe. The only place we intersected was at school where they were clearly the minority. They mostly kept to themselves, and we to ours.

When it came to religion, most everyone was a member of one of the variegated expressions of Christianity. Churches of all flavors were everywhere. There were no Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim or any other "foreign" religious adherents. No temples, mosques, synagogues or shrines of any sort were to be found. Those were somewhere overseas in some distant country that visiting missionaries told us about and showed in their slides.

When it came to communicating, everyone around me spoke only English. Rarely, if ever, did I hear another language spoken in public places like malls, stores or schools. There was no need for bi-lingual signs, because everyone, like me, was monolingual. In short, growing up I only knew a mono-cultural, mono-religious, monolingual way of life.

That all changed when, in my 20's my wife and I boarded a plane and departed to be missionaries in a foreign country on the other side of the world. Thankfully we had some cross-cultural training but minimal cultural exposure, before we arrived in Indonesia. Once there we immersed ourselves in the culture. We gradually learned the richness of becoming bi-lingual and bi-cultural. We gradually adjusted to a radically different worldview. The tables were now turned. We were now the ones clearly in the minority both racially and religiously. And we grew to appreciate that! Becoming bi-cultural and bi-lingual enriched our lives. Over time we came to value the

richness of cultural diversity.

IMPORTANCE OF GENESIS 11

Since, as we have seen in the previous article in the 45th issue of the Asian Missions Advance, scripture informs us that human culture began with Adam and Eve, the next logical question is, "When did cultural diversity begin?" "When did human culture diversify?" The scriptures are not silent on this important matter. Genesis 11 tells us when and how it happened. With the grand dispersion of the peoples following Divine judgment at the tower of Babel, culture diversity followed. How do we know that? By looking at what Moses recorded about that pivotal event.

ONENESS AND UNITY

Before the nations scattered across the globe following God's judgment on them by the confusion of languages, the entirety of mankind lived together in cultural unity and homogeneity. This certainly was true of mankind directly following the flood (Genesis 6-9) and there is no indication otherwise that this was not true of civilization the years leading up to that global deluge.

In Genesis 11 we read that mankind was living contrary to God's purposes and plans for them. The command to man was to "fill the earth," (Genesis 1:28, and 9:1), meaning to spread out over the entire globe to inhabit the lands God had created for them. Instead, in direct disobedience, all of humanity was living in one locale joined together in unity.

In Genesis 11 we read that mankind was living contrary to God's purposes and plans for them. The command to man was to "fill the earth," (Genesis 1:28, and 9:1), meaning to spread out over the entire globe to inhabit the lands God had created for them. Instead, in direct disobedience, all of humanity was living in one locale joined together in unity. Man was united in: 1) one language (v. 1, 6), 2) one location (v. 2), 3) one city (v. 4), 4) one central reference point (the tower)(v. 4), 5) one name for themselves (v. 4), and 6) one people (v.6). Taken together, it shows mankind in a comprehensive connectedness resulting in a

strong mono-cultural, monolingual society. Humanly speaking, mankind was at his best, achieving far more synergistically than they could divided.

ABUSE OF UNITY

What was wrong with that ancient interconnectedness that forced God to step in and set it back for millennia? It wasn't the tower, contrary to colorful Sunday school lessons that focus on that part of the story. It was humankind's self-centeredness and selfish intent. Their self-centeredness is evidenced by the phrase "let us make a name for ourselves" (v.4). Their selfish intent is found in the phrase, "And nothing that they purpose to do will now be impossible for them" (v.6). As a united people they were gaining capacity to rival their need for God. The whole enterprise of building that mega-city reeked of arrogance, human pride and independence from the Almighty.¹ It was to be a civilization based on secular humanism with achievements that excluded any thought, remembrance or need of God. It was to be a one-world society with tolerance of anything non-divine as its core value.

GRACIOUS JUDGMENT

But God stepped in. He brought an end to this human rebellion. This time his judgment did not entail destroying man or destroying his building project. This would be a judgment of grace. Instead of destroying, he would separate. He did this supernaturally by confusing "their language so they may not understand one another's speech" (v7).

The result of this judgment was that, for the first time in human history, mankind was speaking in many languages and dialects. This resulted in people clustering together in linguistic affinities, "so the Lord dispersed them from there over the face of the earth" (v.8). But this was not a haphazard dispersion. The Apostle Paul tells us that God's guiding hand superintended so as to make, "mankind to live on all the face of the earth, having determined allotted periods and the boundaries of their dwelling place" (Acts 17:26).

There is a corollary lesson found in this commentary by Paul. This providential guiding of people's movements meant that God so superintended the direction of each resultant linguistic entity that they scattered so they ended up inhabiting the very geographical areas he willed for each. With that being so, by extension it can be deduced that all people groups today ("allotted periods") dwell where they are ("boundaries of their dwelling place") because God has placed them there. Consequently, since all ethnicities should value the homeland they inhabit, God has willed for them to dwell at their locale.

CULTURE FOLLOWS LANGUAGE

But a huge assumption is being made here that needs to be addressed: Did the multiplicity of languages have a direct correlation to the multiplicity of cultures? The answer must be in the affirmative. It

would naturally follow that once humans separated themselves from one another into distinct groups occupying distinct regions, that over time they developed their distinct cultures.

Language is the audible expression of emotions, concepts, and thoughts of the mind.² Over time these audio expressions manifest themselves in *distinctive beliefs, values and customs* – the very components that make up culture. Corporately a community affirms those beliefs, values and customs by living them out and transferring them to the next generation. A cultural identity develops. It can therefore be deduced that the plurality of culture followed plurality of language. Thus, multiculturalism emerged following the dispersion of peoples throughout the world.

HUMAN DISPERSION

Moses gives us a window into the direction of the dispersion of humans in Genesis 10. This chapter, commonly called "The Table of the Nations," chronologically transpires after the Tower of Babel event found in chapter 11. Record of the post-Babel geographic locations of the descendants of Noah's sons was something that Moses had access to. He records in chapter 10 what happened following the judgment of the Tower of Babel.

The rich variety of cultural expressions mankind enjoys today is of God. It is exciting to see he is orchestrating the present day acceleration of the intermixing of cultures and races through globalization and migration for his divine purposes. Certainly the main reason is that he might be known by all peoples and glorified through his Son.

Moses starts with the peoples who are less relevant to the main story line of his history of the Hebrew people, then draws a progressively tighter circle until he gets to the Jews. Notice what is stated as a summary statement about each descendent of Noah:

1. Sons of Japheth: "From these the coastland peoples spread in their lands, each with his own language, by their clans, in their nations" (v5). These peoples are primarily identified as the forefathers of the Indo-Europeans.
2. Sons of Ham: "These are the sons of Ham, by their clans, their languages, their lands, and their nations" (v. 20). These peoples are primarily identified as the forefathers of African and Arabian peoples.
3. Sons of Shem: "These are the sons of Shem, by their clans, their languages, their lands, and their nations" (v.31). These peoples are primarily

1. <http://www.answersingenesis.org/articles/cm/v24/n3/babel>

2. Keil and Delitzsch, pages 174-175.

identified as Middle Eastern peoples, including the Hebrews.

4. Finally, Moses gives a summary statement for all three: "These are the clans of the sons of Noah, according to their genealogies, in their nations, and from these the nations spread abroad on the earth after the flood" (v.32).

However, how some racial groups not mentioned at all in scripture (such as Chinese, Japanese, Malay peoples, or Native Americans) fit into this description can only be left to conjecture. Certainly migration and adaptation to distant terrain, from the reference point of the Middle East of those who are mentioned by Moses, must be a consideration.

SUMMING UP

In His graciousness, God has enriched mankind with cultural diversity that began after Babel. The judgment upon mankind of speaking in multiple languages, became the avenue for cultural diversity and the races have been separated out ever since.

The rich variety of cultural expressions mankind enjoys today is of God. It is exciting to see he is orchestrating the present day acceleration of

the intermixing of cultures and races through globalization and migration for his divine purposes. Certainly the main reason is that He might be known by all peoples and glorified through his Son.

** This article is from Newell's forthcoming book, Crossing Cultures in Scripture with the permission from the author.*



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DISCIPLESHIP IN THE 21ST CENTURY IN THE CONTEXT OF POST-SOVIET REALITY

Vitaly Maksimjuk

INTRODUCTION

Our Lord Jesus Christ, before returning to heaven, commanded his disciples, that is, to each of us:

... Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. (Mar.16:15)

This paper talks about the evangelical movement in Russia. The Christians in Russia thank all those who over the years have prayed for our country. We know that during the 70 years of communist ideology in the Soviet Union, many Christians around the world were praying for us. For 22 years now, we have the freedom to preach the gospel. And in the history of Russia this is the longest time period that the missionary movement and planting of new churches is in full pace in Russia today.

I was born and raised in a Christian underground church in Ukraine.

A census, held in 1979 in the Soviet Union, showed that out of 120 million nationalities living in the Soviet Union, out of 66 million there was no single Christian, and in their places of residence there was no single Bible. This fact have become a kind of "detonator" that prompted the leaders of Christian churches to gather and talk about responsibility for evangelization and discipleship in our country and pray ...

It was then that Christians in western Soviet Union took responsibility for spreading the Gospel in the territory of the rest of Russia, which is the sixth part of the entire globe.

And then came 1991. The Soviet Union ceased to exist. It was during this year that 18 new teams went from western part of Ukraine and Belarus to Russia to preach the Gospel and establish Churches. Many of them traveled to big cities.

I was in one of those teams. We came to one of the largest cities in Russia - Novosibirsk. I will never forget the first sermon on the street. It was on the station square. People just surrounded us when we praised the Lord with a guitar for 15 minutes. Then, within 5 minutes I was telling people about God's love. And when I asked for a show of hands of those who would like to accept Jesus, almost all the people who were around us made a decision to raise their hands. It was awesome, and it was a real sign for us that the time has come to wake up! At that time you could just go out and preach about God. So was the church established in Novosibirsk.

Throughout the period of the Soviet Union there were churches actively performing the Great Commission. They were small, and they were few. Very often brothers were imprisoned, and then sisters took responsibility of the ministry.

In 1991, when pastors from all over Russia gathered, there were about 100 people - that is, about 100 churches were active that time in Russia. Today, there are more than 8,000 evangelical communities across Russia. And this is for the last 22 years after Russia's freedom. And the number of churches continued to grow. Just like 100 years ago in South Korea, when you first distributed the Bible and planted the Words of God. We believe that it is now the time for planting the Words of God in Russia. We need to share the Word of God to every person.

Three years ago, the Lord gave us a vision. By 2020, the Lord will help us to plant 10,000 churches. For this vision to be accomplished, we equip the people in our churches to be ready to share and teach the Words of the Lord. We encourage them to travel at their own expense for six months or a year to villages and towns to preach the gospel from morning till evening. In the last 3 or 4 months over 600 people have come to Christ around Novosibirsk City.

I deeply believe that the harvest in Russia is approaching! And soon we will witness an unprecedented growth of the church!

CHALLENGES FOR CHRISTIANS IN RUSSIA

1. The Challenge in Ideology or Religion Challenge

During the period of the Soviet Union, the Orthodox Church was very weak, and the prevailing ideology was atheism. When the Soviet Union ceased to exist, a spiritual vacuum was left, and then in 90 years, the Lord raised the real missionary movement, wherein thousands of new evangelical churches were founded. Over the past 20 years, the movement spread throughout the country and evangelical churches have grown and was strengthened. In key areas there appeared to be communities around which regional associations were formed.

At the same time the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church became friendly with the new government and began the ideological propaganda of Orthodoxy. All other churches and movements were announced as sects. After years of massive "indoctrination" by the media, there emerged a carefully shaped public opinion. Today we have a real problem in the evangelization: people to whom the Word is preached, often ask, "Are you Orthodox?" And when they get a negative answer, then immediately stop any contact, fearing that they are "involved with a sect." People without religious knowledge believe that there is only one true church - the Orthodox church.

2. The Challenge of an Anti-Social Lifestyle

Russian people have a historical predisposition to

alcoholism. Regardless of the political and cultural background, the men in our country have always found solace and inspiration in drunkenness. However during the seventy years of Soviet regime the communist ideology constrained such social ailments as drug addiction and prostitution.

After the fall of the "Iron Curtain" in the early '90s, along with freedom of speech, Russia was overflown with addiction, pornography, and prostitution. Over the past two decades, these vices have infiltrated all levels of society, creating a generation of slaves. More and more people of all ages get into harmful addiction.

As derivatives of drug-addiction, prostitution and trafficking have widely spread in this country, people suffering from addictions were abused and became sources of income for criminal organizations.

Preaching the Gospel to such people became complicated with apathy common to addicts, their dependence on the drug traffickers and the "owners" resulted to separation anxiety.

3. The Challenge of Poverty

Despite the booming economy in Russia, many people remain in poverty. Many factors contribute to this: Centralization of business - most of the financial capital is concentrated around the big business cities while regions outside get the crumbs. Features of the Russian mentality - many people tend to curse the government and representatives of business rather than try to solve their problems through hard work and faith. High levels of corruption - not having the "right Me" it is impossible to solve many problems related to business development.

But worst of all is the case in rural areas. When you drive away from the city for a short distance, and enter any house in a typical village, and you'll be shocked by those conditions in which people live!

At the same time, a small portion of the population has enormous wealth, causing resentment and envy of others. Preaching the Gospel is aggravated by obvious injustice that prevails in society - it is hard to constantly respond to the question: "Why does your God allow this?" People find it hard to believe in the justice of God when there is so much injustice.

4. The Challenge of Family

The orphans in Russia is another serious problem and a challenge for Christians.

- 118,000 orphans in Russia.
- 61,000 children were placed under guardianship in 2012.
- 50,000 parents annually deprived of parental rights, and their children end up in orphanages.
- 44,000 children have living parents deprived of parental rights due to alcoholism and drug addiction.

The living conditions and educational psychology in orphanages do not provide a good environment to raise up full members of society. Without parental

attention, love and sincere care, children grow up unable to adapt to the existing society. Most of them after leaving the orphanage fall into the criminal system, and become drug addicts and prostitutes.

Growing up, these people bear the stamp of rejection. It is very difficult to believe in the Good News of a loving God and Father, as their biological fathers created for them only a negative image.

Moreover, even children raised in families often do not receive adequate attention and parental care. Difficulties through which their parents go, their over-employment and negative impact of society alienate children from their mothers and fathers, creating spiritual orphans. Only a real relationship with the Living God can change this situation.

5. The Challenge of Corruption

Historically, Russia has a tradition to "help move" their relatives and friends. Because of this the clans have formed within authorities of all levels, bound with "frankpledge". Back in the early days of the Soviet government, for fear of responsibility before people, rulers surrounded themselves with people close to them, creating for themselves a trustworthy team. However, they could not be sure even with their close circle. So they strengthened their power using blackmail and threats. For many decades in Russia there formed a unique structure of power, completely based on corruption.

This heritage of the Soviet regime still retains its influence on people's minds. The same spirit today operates in governmental structures, creating obstacles to the development of the evangelical movement in Russia and lobbying interests of "traditional religions" that is Orthodox Christianity, Islam and Judaism. Today because of corruption the authorities practice hidden rebellion to spreading of the Gospel, replacing it with "national traditions."

THE ANSWER OF CHURCH TO CHALLENGES

When we think about discipleship in the post-Soviet reality, we reflect on what we can give as an answer to all these challenges. Based on my personal experience and my observations of the situation in the country, I was able to formulate a response to the challenges described above, which the Church can give today.

1. Dedicated People, Devoted to God

Today, when we think about the missions and discipleship in Russia, the answer is in people deeply devoted to God.

For the eyes of the LORD run to and fro throughout the whole earth, to shew himself strong in behalf of them whose heart is perfect toward him. (2 Chronicles 16:9)

I would like to draw your attention to the word "perfect." It means 100%. Not half, and not even 95 or 99 per cent, but in full, completely dedicated to God! This is a person supported by the Lord!

Example 1: Dedication of People in Love

Let's imagine a boy and a girl, who love each other and want to get married. They spend time communicating with each other. Love fills their hearts. At one point he asks her, "Will you be faithful to me? Do you give yourself to me?" In response, she says, "Yes, dear, I'll be yours. I'll give you my heart, and I will be true to you 364 days a year. One day in the year let me do whatever I want. Do not ask me, please, what do I do on this day and where I'm going and with whom.... The rest of the time - I'm yours". Tell me, would you marry this girl? This is exactly what we used to do with our Lord. So often, we reserve some part of our lives, our hearts, our time for ourselves to do what we like, while on other times we serve God.

But God will support those whose heart is fully committed to Him!!! 100% devotion is what we need as missionaries.

This text says that the eyes of God look around the world and seek hearts perfectly given over to Him.

An Example With the Radar:

I imagine that God has a huge monitor that displays the hearts of all the people living on earth. And God looks at it and is looking for someone who is ready to go where He sends and do what He wants. God looks carefully into every heart and sees all of our thoughts. And suddenly His face changes and He cries out, "Behold, the man, I found him!!! I hear his prayers, I see his heart. I see devotion in his heart".

And then He takes this man, pours out His Spirit upon him, pours out His wisdom, He equips and sends the person for a mission. He does not really care in which country the person lives, what language he speaks, how he looks like, if he has any recognition or not. All God needs is a faithful heart, fully committed to Him.

Example: Ivan Voronaev

The history of the Russian evangelical church is inextricably linked with the name of the missionary Ivan Efimovich Voronaev. As a pastor in New York in 1920, he felt the call of God to go to Russia for missionary work. This man was so committed to God that he forgot about himself. He talked about Jesus wherever he went. And he always had a lot of people around him.

On the way to Russia they stopped in Bulgaria and there began to preach the truth of God, within one year they planted 18 churches, and a year later there were already 5,000 believers.

In 1921, together with his family, Voronaev returned to Russia and settled in Odessa. In nine years he worked there. He traveled from one place to another. He preached everywhere, at the markets and streets and homes. He went to the villages and set up churches. After 5 years of the mission 17,000 people have become disciples of Jesus. 350 churches were founded. Churches were established in the central regions of Russia, the Urals, the Caucasus and in

Siberia. In 1929, in his (presumably last) letter to the General Council of the Assemblies of God in August 1929 Voronaev reports 25 thousand members.

In 1930 Voronaev and many other brothers were repressed. They were put in prison and then exiled to Siberia, where he died. His wife was deported to Central Asia. In prisons and in exile she spent a total of 25 years.

What motivated these people? What made them leave prosperous America and put their lives preaching the Word of God and to plant churches in the country, which has rejected God? The answer is obvious - their loyalty and commitment to the Lord, and their determination to do God's will, not caring about their own welfare.

2. Servants, Ready To Break Their Lives For Others

Another effective response of the church to modern challenges may be people who will be dedicated to others. These are the ones that can take into their hearts a disciple, share their lives with him and invest in him all the love they have received from God. These are people who allow God to expand their hearts to live the life of Christ and be an example for others.

Example: Mother Teresa

As an example I would like to bring a woman who lived in the last century and had a great authority. She was only a meter and a half in height. Her weight was 45 kg. Her social position was even less impressive. She was born and raised in unknown Albania. Her father died when she was only 8 years old. Her mother worked hard. She did not have high education and position. All her life she was lonely. However, since the mid-80s until her death in 1997 she was considered the most influential woman in the world. Priests, prime ministers and presidents queued to her office to talk for an hour with her. In 1979 she won the Nobel Prize. Who is this woman? This is Mother Teresa.

Studying her life, I was looking for a clue why God used her so powerfully? Already in her young years she has devoted her life to God, bringing Him vows. The first of them: she told Him - I will give You absolutely everything You ask of me. Before You tell me something, know that my answer is "Yes." No matter what it would cost me and what awaits me in the future. My answer will always be: "Yes, Lord." Her second vow was to devote herself fully to His calling. She said: If God gave Himself completely for us, then surely He deserves to receive in reply from us our full commitment to Him. She also said she would be faithful to Him, even in small matters. These small things she called the work of love. For example, sitting at the table, she took only those dishes that remained after everyone had eaten. She promised to serve every man who she met.

Mother Teresa was a great example for all of us! Her example incredibly is inspiring to me in my ministry!

THE ROLE OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH IN THE COMING REVIVAL

1. Hudson Taylor's Prophecy

In 1889, Hudson Taylor, the famous English missionary to China and founder of China Inland Mission, was on holiday in England. During his sermon, he suddenly stopped and stood silently with his eyes closed. Soon he explained it: "I had a vision. I saw a great war that covered the whole world. I saw this war was over, and then resumed, but in reality there were two wars. After that I saw revolts and uprisings that have affected many people, as well as a spiritual awakening in some places.

There will be national spiritual awakening in Russia, so strong that nothing can be compared to it. I saw it spreading from Russia to many European countries. Then worldwide awakening happens after that Christ will come.

I deeply believe that God showed him this vision. I believe that in the coming years we will see a great awakening among a lot of people and disciples will arise. So today there is a great need for ministers. I want to encourage you that we really need the Lord, and a huge harvest field is in front of us.

2. A Great Need of This World

In November 2011, in Kaliningrad the 7th billion citizen of the world was born. According to world statistics there are 2 billion 200 million Christians. And if you subtract the number of Christians out of the total number of people living on earth - we will have 4.8 billion people. This is a huge figure. I would like to illustrate how big this figure is.

I would again like to draw your attention to the fact that it is necessary not only to commit ourselves to God, but also be ready to give our life to people. Live a life with them.

If we stand so that each faces the back of another and create a queue, how long, do you think this line of unsaved people will be? How far it will go? If we start in Korea, then build a bridge across the Pacific, even to America. Then we go on to California and New York. Then again make a bridge across the Atlantic to Europe. We find ourselves in France, go through the whole of Europe, Russia with 11 time zones and come back to Korea. And the first person will greet the last. They will meet having crossed the entire globe. How many do you think all this line of unsaved people will have to work around the globe to be 4 billion 800 million people? 2, 3 or 5 or 10 times? ... 36 times!!!

These people stand and wait. These people need your and my ministry. Each of us is special and precious. Each one of us is chosen by God.

And I would again like to draw your attention to the

fact that it is necessary not only to commit ourselves to God, but also be ready to give our life to people. Live a life with them. God will use such people. This is the discipleship, which we are talking about.

CONCLUSION

To sum it up I would like to quote from the book of Isaiah, chapter 6: verses 1-8 :

In the year that King Uzziah died, I saw the Lord sitting on a throne, high and lifted up, and the train of His robe filled the temple. Above it stood seraphim; each one had six wings: with two he covered his face, with two he covered his feet, and with two he flew. And one cried to another and said: "Holy, holy, holy is the LORD of hosts; The whole earth is full of His glory!" And the posts of the door were shaken by the voice of him who cried out, and the house was filled with smoke.

So I said:

"Woe is me, for I am undone! Because I am a man of unclean lips, And I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips; For my eyes have seen the King, The LORD of hosts."

Then one of the seraphim flew to me, having in his hand a live coal which he had taken with the tongs from the altar. And he touched my mouth with it, and said:

"Behold, this has touched your lips; Your iniquity is taken away, And your sin purged."

Also I heard the voice of the Lord, saying: "Whom shall I send, And who will go for Us?" Then I said, "Here am I! Send me."

I deeply believe that each one of us, is called by the Lord, and each one of us is ready to answer: Here am I, send me. "When we follow Him, rejecting ourselves completely, giving ourselves and our heart to the people, allowing them to enter into our lives, then we will see our countries and peoples changed.



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