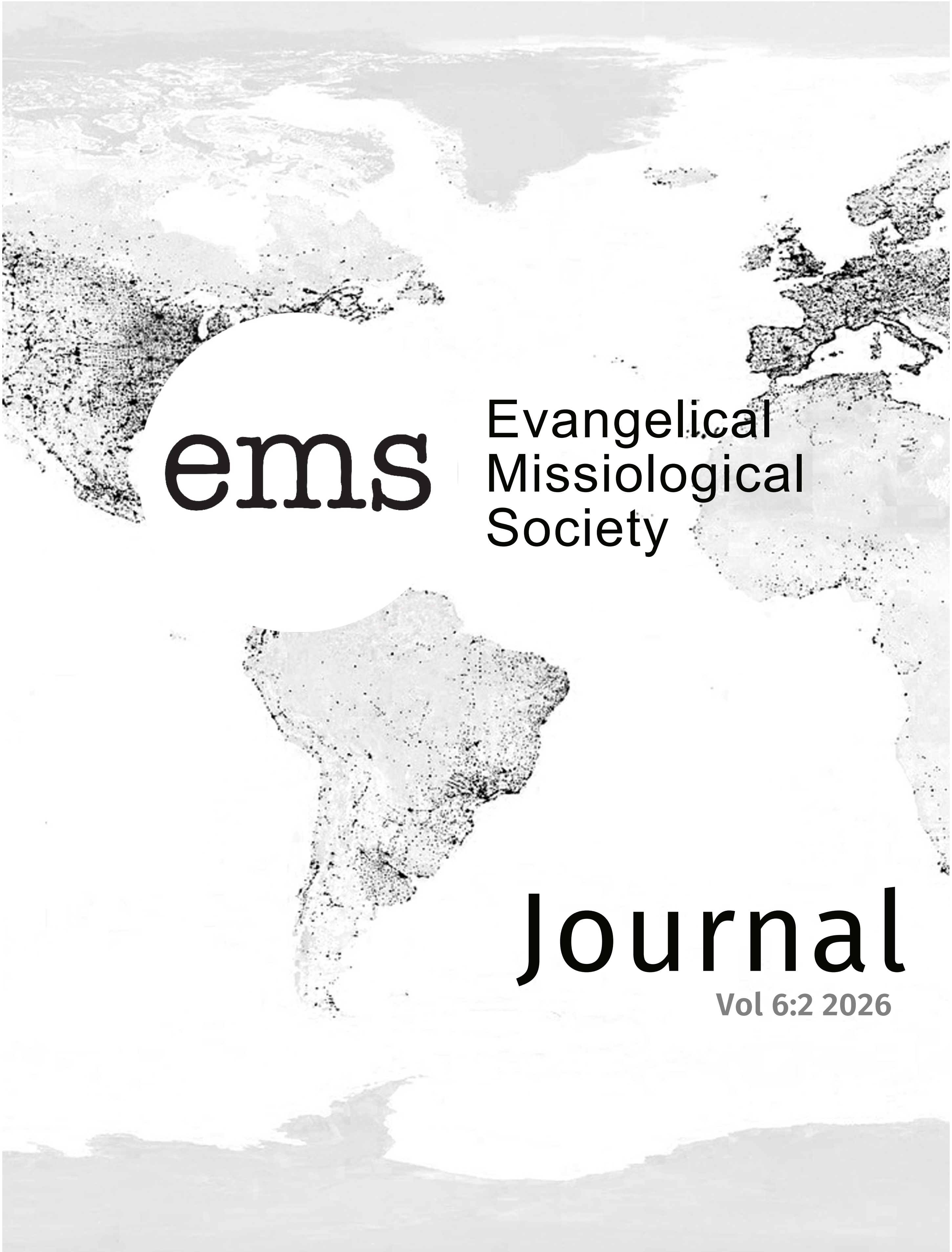

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Looking Back to See the Future: How Nineteenth-Century Anglicans Evangelized the Globe while Maintaining Anglican Polity

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Abstract

This article is one attempt—or perhaps I should say three—to find answers to that question. We will explore the three main nineteenth-century Anglican approaches to sharing the gospel and planting churches in places where one might think Anglican ecclesiology would limit success. The first is grassroots ministry, growing the church from the ground up, under the direction of a denominational missionary society. Second, we will explore the role of British chaplains who used their careers to gain access to unreached peoples. Finally, we will explore outreach approaches that began by sending missionary bishops who then allowed the church to expand into new territories. After this historical tour, we will explore the relative benefits and dangers of each approach as we consider how to move forward in reaching the more than 2 billion people considered to be "frontier peoples," who currently have no sustained Christian missional presence.

Introduction

In his article "Globalization of the Anglican Communion," Grant LeMarquand notes:

> It seems almost an oxymoron to use the words "Anglicanism" (i.e., a church which is distinguished by its "Englishness") and "globalization" in the same sentence. How can one speak of a "national" church being at the same time "global"? The vocation of Anglicanism, it seems, is to live in a tension between its historical rootedness in the British Isles, and its particular manifestations in 38 [now 42] provinces which extend to virtually every country in the world (LeMarquand 2013, 666).

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The question LeMarquand raises is especially important today as Anglican missionaries consider how to enter frontier mission fields where there is no orthodox episcopal oversight or perhaps no ordained presbyter. In such circumstances, how can Anglican churches be planted in Anglican ways? How can a denomination governed by an episcopacy expand into territories where there are no bishops?

One could assume this was a minor concern for a few hidden peoples living in the back of beyond. While preparing this paper, however, I had the opportunity to participate in the Universidad Anglicana Practica (Practical Anglican University), a training conference for new Anglicans and church leaders in Mexico sponsored by the Anglican Diocese of the Southwest. One day over lunch, I spoke with several members of a congregation that had no ordained clergy. The church is located about three hours from the nearest priest and is able to receive the eucharist only once a year when their Bishop, who lives in the USA, visits. They were asking how sacramental church planting could occur without anyone on-site authorized to administer the sacraments.

That conversation was just one of many I have had over the years, claiming that episcopal polity makes frontier missions impossible. And yet, as LeMarquand points out, the Anglican Communion exists at some level in virtually every nation. How did our forebears manage to accomplish the impossible and become a global enterprise? And how can that inform our missiological strategies today?

This article is one attempt—or perhaps I should say three—to find answers to that question. We will explore the three main nineteenth-century Anglican approaches to sharing the gospel and planting churches in places where one might think Anglican ecclesiology would limit success. The first is grassroots ministry, growing the church from the ground up, under the direction of a denominational missionary society. Second, we will explore the role of British chaplains who used their careers to gain access to unreached peoples. Finally, we will explore outreach approaches that began by sending missionary bishops who then allowed the church to expand into new territories. After this historical tour, we will explore the relative benefits and dangers of each approach as we consider how to move forward in reaching the more than 2 billion people considered to be "frontier peoples," who currently have no sustained Christian missional presence (Joshua Project, n.d.).

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Model One: Mission Societies

Anglican mission efforts preceded the nineteenth century, especially if we include as *Anglican* the Church *in* England prior to the development of the Church of England, as many historians do (see Moorman 1980). But the press for a "modern" missionary movement among members of the Church of England was first inspired, as was most of the missionary effort in the nineteenth century, by the work of missionary pioneer William Carey (1761-1834).

Wilbert Shenk describes the motivation for a purely Anglican mission society in his biography of Henry Venn:

> The early 1790s saw the formation of William Carey's Baptist Missionary Society and the interdenominational London Missionary Society. Even though most of them gave support to both of these new societies, the Clapham sect remained dissatisfied. They wanted a fully Anglican missionary society. Struggling for several years against apathy, opposition, and their own inexperience, they finally organized the Church Missionary Society (CMS) on April 12, 1799 (Shenk 1983, 2).

According to the CMS version of their story, a group of people began meeting to pray about how best to influence society with the power of the gospel:

> The founders of CMS were committed to three great enterprises: abolition of the slave trade, social reform at home and world evangelisation. The Reformation and the abolition of monasteries and religious orders left the Church of England without vehicles for mission, especially for outreach to the non-Christian world. This new membership society agreed to be loyal to the leadership of bishops and an Anglican pattern of liturgy but not dominated by clergy and emphasised the role of laymen and women. Much of what we call the Anglican Communion today traces its origins to CMS work (Church Mission Society, n.d.).

Once the CMS had organized, they faced the same question Anglicans face today. How would they go about their goal of world evangelization in places where there were no bishops, especially with their emphasis on empowering laity for ministry? The short answer to that question is with great difficulty and much controversy.

The conflict between mission societies and the bishops came to a head in India, where the bishops, especially Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta, argued that the mission societies needed to be under proper ecclesial authority. From the point of view of Stewart Brown,

> The bishops insisted on exercising authority over the CMS missionaries, including the authority to supervise missionaries and assign them to mission stations. The CMS missionaries, however, believed that they were accountable primarily to their local CMS committees, which were often led by laymen, and to the CMS parent committee in London (Brown 2017, 57).

The conflict was largely resolved under the leadership of Henry Venn, chief Secretary of the CMS from 1841 until 1872, and a close friend of Bishop Wilson. As stated by Max Warren,

> Venn, by virtue of his gifts, his enthusiasm and his limitations, was bound to be involved in controversy in what was a highly controversial age. Because he was operating on an ill-defined frontier, as ill-defined ecclesiastically as it was politically, much of his controversy, in the main temperately conducted, was with bishops. Both parties were concerned with the respective boundaries of responsibility, of episcopal oversights on the one hand and of the initiative of a voluntary society on the other (Yates 1978, 1).

The primary reason for conflict was not over authority, per se, but Venn's absolute insistence that the church established in the pioneer area would be indigenous and that the European influence would be kept at a minimum, a process he called "the euthanasia of missions" (Yates 1978, 17).

According to Wilbert Shenk:

> Venn's key concept was to build up an ecclesiastical structure from the simplest unit of a Christian "company" to a full-fledged church consisting of districts. He inveighed against the fallacy of importing a complete church system, which missionaries imposed on a group of people without considering their resources. The system must grow upwards rather than being imposed from outside (Shenk 1983, 45-46).

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In the end, however, Venn did his best to accommodate the institutional ties within the Church of England, even incorporating Bishop Wilson's own words in a statement of submission to the proper ecclesial authorities that he included in all CMS annual reports from 1839 to 1877 (Stanley 2017, 120). But he did not pay much attention to other structures, like the Scottish Episcopal Church or the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (now commonly referred to as The Episcopal Church or TEC). And he had very little patience for those who advocated for missionary bishops (Yates 1978, 17-18).

However, in spite of the challenges, within fifty years of being founded, the CMS had missionaries serving in China, Japan, Persia, the Middle East, India, and both Western and Eastern Africa (Church Missionary Society, n.d.). And by the end of the century, in addition to the over 1,600 missionaries who had been deployed, nearly 500 indigenous clergy had been ordained, and more than 5,000 lay teachers had been trained (*Church Missionary Atlas* 1896).

Model Two: Chaplains

Another model for missions during this time period was the chaplain. Stephen Neill notes:

> Early Anglican expansion can be conveniently summarized under the not unattractive association of "Gain and the Gospel." English interests were propagated by companies of merchant adventurers; where these went, they took their chaplains with them, and in most countries secured the right to maintain worship according to their own Church, though often in the face of considerable opposition and under rigid limitations. (Neill 1978, 203).

Many of these chaplains serving in South Asia worked directly for the British East India Company; in other places, often they were sponsored by The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) or the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK). In each case, soon after arriving in the colonies, many would begin to work with expats from other countries, and eventually the national population, leading to the rapid expansion of the Anglican faith around the globe (Strong 2015).

An early supporter of the chaplaincy model was Charles Simeon, a leader of the Clapham Sect and an important voice in the founding of the CMS. Originally, the missionary society approach was strongly encouraged by Simeon. He appreciated the commitment of the CMS to provide a denominational structure to undergird missionary enterprises. Soon, however, he began to be concerned that the CMS and the missionaries they sent did not have enough support from ecclesial authorities (Bennett 1998, 6). Simeon remained committed to the need for episcopal polity, and he never stopped urging his disciples or his friends in the CMS to work as closely as possible with local bishops in the field.

Later, he grew frustrated by the lack of good candidates willing to serve with the CMS. The perception, at least among university-trained potential missionary candidates, was that missionaries were more likely to be craftsmen and schoolteachers than ministers and scholars. Struggling with these two issues, episcopal polity and the lack of quality candidates,

> Simeon gave serious thought to an alternative channel for missionary activity. East India Company chaplaincies—a respectable vocation for university graduates—would allow Simeon to send his best students to India while avoiding the establishment's restrictions on missionaries per se. From 1805 to 1820, Simeon encouraged more than three dozen students to apply for India Company chaplaincies (Bennett 1998, 6).

One of the most famous examples of the chaplaincy approach is Henry Martyn (1781-1812). Henry Martyn was born in Truro, England and studied at Cambridge, where he came under the influence of Simeon, who in turn brought him under the influence of Christ. Martyn sensed a call to ministry and served as a curate with Simeon before accepting a chaplain's commission with the British East India Company. He specifically chose to serve in this bivocational role as opposed to serving as a missionary with the CMS, because he needed to earn more than a CMS stipend provided to support his sister Sally, after his family's inheritance was lost (Latourette 1944, 109).

Upon arriving in Calcutta, Martyn met William Carey and his team. The Serampore missionaries recognized his brilliance and encouraged him to continue his translation work. Besides preaching to Europeans and Indians, Martyn devoted himself to translating the Bible into Arabic, Urdu, and Persian. Eventually, he came to be regarded as one of the greatest Bible translators of Western South Asia (Bennett 1998, 266).

In October 1806, he proceeded to Dinapur, where he was soon able to conduct worship among the locals in their heart languages. In addition, Martyn went on to establish

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schools for the local children where they could study the Scriptures. In April 1809, he was transferred to Cawnpore (now Kanpur), India, where he translated the Book of Common Prayer into Urdu and preached to both British and Indians in his own compound, despite interruptions and threats from local non-Christians (Bennett 1998, 266).

Tragically, he became ill and was advised to return to England for medical care. He spent a year in Persia (modern Iran) to gain strength in the drier climate, using the itme to check his Arabic translations of the Scriptures and work with others to complete the New Testament in Persian (Farsi). Feeling better, he restarted his journey to England, but died in Tocat, Turkey at the age of thirty-one (Bennett 1998, 267).

While the chaplain model was effective in many areas, it was not universally considered the best way forward for world evangelization in areas where the Empire had dominion. First, many, if not most, of the chaplains only worked with the colonials and were not keen to evangelize the nationals around them. Second, as Brown summarizes quite well:

> There were, however, concerns over such a loose and unsystematic provision of clergy in the settlement colonies, and a belief that a scattering of chaplains could not meet the long-term spiritual needs of the settlers. For many Anglicans, it was imperative to bring to the colonies the full benefits of the Established Church of England—including endowments, episcopal government, diocesan and parish structures, schools and colleges, and a close alliance of the Church and state. This, some claimed, had been the lesson of the American Revolution and the loss of the North American colonies in 1783, which they argued would not have happened had the colonists been instructed under a proper Anglican establishment with colonial bishops (Brown 2017, 51).

One answer to these concerns was our third model, missionary bishops who brought with them a fully formed and established church.

Model Three: Missionary Bishops

E.B. Pusey was one of those who found missionary societies to be lacking both direction and proper oversight. In a word, said Pusey in his famous two-part sermon, “The Church the Converter of the Heathen,” they are *desultory* (Pusey 1859).

Pusey began his message by describing the inadequacy of Scripture distribution as a means of global evangelization. “It is not by the written word only, but through the Word of God, living in and quickening His chosen temples, sanctifying them, and testifying His own presence by the holy awe of the habitation wherein He dwells, that so great a work must be established.” It is not the word, but the message of the preacher that brings faith. He illustrates this point by drawing his hearers’ attention to the founding of the church in Britain, where their “simple minded though barbarian forefathers were, without the written word, by the zeal of those who ‘forsook all and followed’ Christ, converted unto God” (Pusey 1859).

But lest his audience think missionaries sent by mission societies could be the answer, he quickly continued his message,

> The desultory way in which Missionaries are sent out, not responsible, or, in the best cases, scarcely responsible to Bishops, under no control except of such as have no right to any control over them, departs as widely from the Apostolic and Scriptural plan of converting the heathen as that of circulating the Scriptures only; and is likely in the end to produce mischievous effects, as the other to fail of any. . . . *The* Missionary Society set forth in the Prophets, by our Lord and by His Apostles, is the Church” (Pusey 1859).

Pusey was convinced that the only way to reach the nations was to found a Church, and to commit to doing nothing without a bishop and the backing of the entire ecclesial authority of one’s sending province. Misson work, therefore, could only be done properly through an arm of the state. In the case of his discourse, he gave the example of the SPG, first incorporated by Royal Charter in 1701. Later, he commended the work of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa (UMCA).

The UMCA (1857-1965) was started by the Anglo-Catholic/Tractarian movement as a result of David Livingstone’s (a Presbyterian) call for help (Faught 1997, 304). What set the UMCA apart from the missionary society approach generally associated with groups like the CMS is that the evangelical societies saw the development of episcopal leadership to be an end result of the work. Missionaries would share the gospel, convert the heathen, and plant churches, but the first bishop in an area should be a national. In reality, this goal was more often aspirational than actual, and racism often prevented bishops from being appointed or, if appointed, being accepted (Oluwatayo 2011).

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The UMCA, and the Episcopal Church after them, felt that the sign of the Church (capital C intended) being in an area should be a bishop with the apostolic authority to share the gospel and establish local churches. Therefore, the first missionary sent would generally be a bishop.

As the name implies, the UMCA focused its efforts on Central Africa. As Brown reports,

> Members of both Cambridge and Oxford Universities now undertook to support a mission up the Zambezi, to regions outside the crown's dominions. They were joined by members of Durham University and Trinity College, Dublin, to form an Anglican Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA). The Convocation of Canterbury agreed that the Central Africa Mission should be headed by a missionary bishop, and in early 1861, Charles Frederick Mackenzie, an Anglican missionary serving in Natal, was consecrated bishop of Central Africa by the South African bishops at a service in Cape Town (Brown 2017, 62; see further Faught 1997).

For a time, the UMCA partnered with the SPG, but parted ways in 1881, becoming a stand-alone Anglo-Catholic missionary society, encouraging their missionaries to adapt a monastic approach, including celibacy and simplicity, to missions (Stanley 2017, 129).

In the United States, The Episcopal Church had a different focus. Rather than trying to cross oceans to reach other nations, they wondered how the church could be established in the frontier territories on their own border. On 25 September 1835, leaders of the Church gathered to consecrate their first missionary bishop, Jackson Kemper, to reach the Native Americans of the American Northwest (what we now know as Wisconsin).

In his consecrating sermon, the Rt. Rev. George Washington Doane, Bishop of New Jersey, explained the purpose of this role,

> In places where the Church has long been settled, there will be a settled ministry. The people will supply themselves, or be supplied, through means which are substantially their own, with the word and ordinances of God . . . In places where the Church has not been introduced, or has but

> partial and precarious lodgment, it, of course, cannot be so. To them emphatically applies the argument of the Apostle (Doane, 1835).

Doane continues his sermon by outlining the role of the Apostle Paul, the ultimate missionary bishop, as an example for Kemper, who was to "go in the Spirit . . . to preach the gospel to a ruined world . . . (knowing that) He who hath called you will give you strength" (Doane 1835). In the contemporary era, the argument is often made that the modern-day missionary is the equivalent of a biblical apostle (see Dent 2011). Doane was reminding his hearers that in Anglican ecclesiology, the modern-day equivalent of an apostle is by definition a bishop who should continue the apostolic ministry of missions.

Applications for Today

As diverse as these three approaches were, they all had two things in common. First, as a result of each approach, the gospel was preached, churches and the Church were established, and ministries that they initiated continue to the present day. Second, none of these methods were perfect, and mistakes were made, sometimes with disastrous results. In the following section, I want to consider what we can learn to do and to avoid doing from their examples. And I hope we can take confidence in knowing that God is always working in spite of our imperfect strategies.

Before moving on, however, I would like to point out that these methods all had a third commonality. They occurred under the auspices of Empire. While this topic is far too complex to adequately discuss in the context of this paper, each of these methods of missionary outreach were dependent on and impacted by, for good and bad, their proximity to the British Empire (see Neill 1966 and Twiss 2015).

Mission Societies

Mission societies continue to be an important part of gospel witness in the Anglican communion. The Church of England currently recognizes ten major missions agencies, including the modern iterations of the SPG, the SPCK, and the CMS (The Church of England n.d.). The Anglican Church of North America, through their ministry partner New Wineskins, identifies twenty-eight member agencies, including two sending agency partners: Anglican Frontier Missions (AFM) and the Society of Anglican Missionaries and Senders (SAMS) (New Wineskins, n.d.). These agencies work primarily in partnership with existing Provinces to strengthen the work of national churches.

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But mission societies are not limited to British and American Provinces. One aspect of Anglican missions that did not exist in the nineteenth century is non-Western partners. The Global Anglican Communion's website includes a list of partner agencies. However, the agencies specifically working as mission societies are made up entirely of those related to the CMS (Anglican Communion, n.d.). One area for future consideration could be the increase of non-Western-based or modeled mission societies.

Not unlike the early days of Anglican mission societies, current mission strategies often lack a unified approach to episcopal oversight. Some workers in the field are directly tied to the bishops in their area of service, others look to their sending bishop for guidance, and some work is under the supervision of their agency, especially when there is no orthodox bishop with jurisdiction over the field.

Perhaps a clear statement of submission, similar to the one Venn adopted for the CMS would help clarify clear lines of authority and episcopal oversight. In the current climate of multiple jurisdictions, some orthodox and others not, careful thought will need to go into which ecclesial body should be approached by the mission society. Also, consistent with the aspirations of the CMS, that authority should be national led as soon as possible.

Chaplaincy Approaches

Today, the chaplain as missionary model continues to be practiced around the world, in many forms, including by those who pastor the expatriate community. Pastors of international churches or staff for existing provinces in otherwise unreachead areas are uniquely suited to use their platform not only to impact the expatriate community, but also to develop strategies to reach the frontier peoples around them.

Another option currently in vogue that is similar to the chaplain model is the bivocational minister, especially those serving in the Business as Mission (BAM) category. While not exactly a chaplain, since they are not in the field as a religious worker, serving in a secular business can allow Christian workers to live among the unreached, build relationships, share the gospel, and plant churches (see Johnson 2022).

One word of warning, however, is worth considering. The BAM approach can result in divided loyalties, leading people to try to do too much, which often leads to burnout. Trying to learn a new culture, a new language, fulfill the duties of an expat worker, perhaps with a family also adjusting to expat life, all while reaching a people group in one's "spare time," can be overwhelming.

Andrew Brashier stresses that in a model of this kind, it is possible that the worker will become distracted or defeated by trying to do too many things at once. He points out that "we can't make disciples if we are running ourselves ragged and not investing in the images of God we serve." His concern is that bivocational missionaries can be consumed with the busy-ness of their jobs that they lose sight of the needs of the people they have come to minister to. He continues, "If you do not begin your focus on delivering the Word and Sacrament then you can't advance to discipling your flock in the Scriptures and Christian walk" (Brashier, 2020).

As was true of the nineteenth-century chaplains, another potential problem with this strategy is the lack of continuity. If the BAM worker loses his or her job, returns home due to some unforeseen circumstance, or even loses interest after being overwhelmed by too many responsibilities, the work could end suddenly with no one to carry on the ministry.

For this model to be effective, therefore, a plan needs to be in place for episcopal oversight for the work, especially sacramental ministry. Someone who feels called to serve on a BAM platform will need to clarify whether they will be under a local bishop or a sending bishop and have a plan for transferring the work to national leadership and a national province as soon as possible, if not from the very beginning.

Missionary Bishops

While most provinces in the communion have a missions department, these departments are primarily oriented to valuable ministries within their own countries. But missionary bishops have continued to be a significant part of the story of growth in "home missions" settings.

The Church of Nigeria, for example, grew from two dioceses in 1951 to sixteen dioceses in 1979, seventy-six dioceses in 1990, and 161 dioceses in 2009. Missionary Bishops providing mission focus, training and equipping as well as godly oversight, were a key factor in the Church of Nigeria becoming the largest Province in the Anglican Communion (Nedison 2020, 237-240). In the Anglican Church of North America, new geographic dioceses, like Yellowstone and the Great Plains, are being planted under the leadership of missionary bishops.

The Diocese of Singapore is an outstanding example of a diocese engaging in frontier missions. They are making a significant impact in reaching the unreached under official and coordinated episcopal oversight involving the whole Church.

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Through their missions program, "The Diocese of Singapore oversees the mission work of seven other countries besides Singapore; namely: Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Nepal, Thailand, Timor-Leste, and Vietnam," (Diocese of Singapore, n.d.). Their goal is to help develop future dioceses and even provinces under national leadership, a model that could be copied around the globe.

One challenge faced by those who are engaging new fields in this way is knowing when to follow Venn's advice to "euthanize missions" and empower the younger churches, under the leadership of the Holy Spirit, to appoint their own bishops. Just as the nineteenth-century British church had difficulty in ceding authority to homegrown bishops, the churches of the Global South need to be wary of paternal and colonial attitudes toward their daughter churches.

It is quite possible, however, that the problem of having no bishop, or a foreign bishop, will prove to have been easier to solve than the question of what to do when there are too many bishops. With the fracturing of the Global Anglican Communion, many of the world's frontier peoples fall under competing jurisdictions and non-geographical structures, muddying the lines of episcopal oversight.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this essay, we saw that many people think Anglican polity makes frontier mission work impossible. But in realizing the Anglican Communion exists at some level in virtually every nation, we discovered how our forebears managed to accomplish the impossible by looking at the three main nineteenth-century Anglican approaches to sharing the gospel and planting churches (grassroots, chaplains, and missionary bishops). Each of these has its merits and challenges, and they continue in the present day. What they share in common is prayer and a reliance on the Holy Spirit.

The most important first step in moving forward, regardless of approach, therefore, is prayer. And so, I will conclude this article with the collect for Missionary Societies from the 2019 Book of Common Prayer:

> Lord Jesus, you commanded us to make disciples of all nations: Bless all those who work together for the spread of the Gospel; make them faithful and true witnesses to proclaim your glorious Name. Send down the grace of the Holy Spirit upon all your people, that we may give cheerfully of our substance for the evangelization of the world, and that the light of your

> truth may shine brightly in every place. Hear us, O merciful Savior, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit live and reign, one God, world without end. Amen (Book of Common Prayer 2019, 651).

And then, having prayed, let us go "out to do the work [He] has given us to do, to love and serve [Him] as faithful witnesses of Christ our Lord" (Book of Common Prayer 2019, 137).

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Missionary Bishops: The Case of Jackson Kemper (1789-1870) and its Significance for Today

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Abstract

While the Anglican church has been a missionary church, it is also a church led by bishops. At times, this episcopal structure has raised challenges for how missionary work in new fields ought to be approached. What comes first, a bishop or a church? Should missionaries and evangelists first plant churches and then later set apart bishops? Where is the authority for the church planting in the absence of a bishop? Anglicans have wrestled with this tension for centuries. When the Episcopal church's Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society was reorganized in 1835, a new structure developed for sending missionaries to the American West. That year, Jackson Kemper (1789-1870) was set apart as the first missionary bishop—tasked with establishing Episcopal congregations in the western frontier states. In this article, I sketch out the mission practice and theology of Bishop Kemper in the American West and conclude by discussing the relevance of missionary bishops today.

Introduction

While the Anglican church has been a missionary church, it is also a church led by bishops. At times, this episcopal structure has raised challenges for how missionary work in new fields ought to be approached. What comes first, a bishop or a church? Should missionaries and evangelists first plant churches and then later set apart bishops? Where is the authority for the church planting in the absence of a bishop? Anglicans have wrestled with this tension for centuries.

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In the nineteenth century, Anglicans in North America adopted a missionary bishop approach. Following the American Revolution, the Anglican church in the United States became the Protestant Episcopal Church. Though an American prayer book was published in 1789, the Episcopal church generally lacked a mission vision (much less mission-sending structures) for nearly half a century. While some vestiges of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel's work remained, and some Anglican evangelicals took an interest in global mission work, most church leaders in the young nation focused their energies on maintaining the church in the original thirteen colonies. Because of this, resources and personnel were not being devoted to the spiritual needs of the expanding American western frontier (Prichard 2014, 163-168; Gallagher 1915, 1; Breck and Reeves, 1992, 4; Holmes 1985, 27-34; Burr 1985, 10).

When the Episcopal church's Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society was reorganized in 1835, a new structure developed for sending missionaries to the American West. That year, Jackson Kemper (1789-1870) was set apart as the first missionary bishop—tasked with establishing Episcopal congregations in the western frontier states. At Kemper's consecration, Bishop George Doane preached: "Brethren, we are assembled, under the protection of Almighty God, to partake in, or to witness, the consecration of a missionary bishop. It is a new office in this church. The event has not occurred before" (Doane 1935, 180). In this article, I sketch out the mission practice and theology of Bishop Kemper in the American West and conclude by discussing the relevance of missionary bishops today.

Background and Early Ministry

Because of his godly character and sensitivity to others, friends encouraged Kemper to pursue ordained ministry in the Episcopal church. After graduating from Columbia College in 1809, he completed a year of theological study and ministry apprenticeship under New York bishops John Henry Hobart and Benjamin Moore. In 1811, at just twenty-one, Kemper was ordained a deacon. Three years later, he was made a priest.

Kemper's first place of ministry was Philadelphia, where he served as a priest in three parishes over twenty years. Ministering in a metropolitan context among educated people from various Christian traditions, Kemper took a very missionary posture in his parish ministry (White 1900, 15-16, 22, 34; Stuckert, 1935, 130-132, 142).

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Kemper's primary spiritual gifts were pastoral care and administration. Though he would learn from evangelicals how to preach with more passion, he was not naturally a charismatic communicator. While he served faithfully among educated people in Philadelphia and would earn a doctorate in divinity, Kemper did not see himself as a scholar-pastor or an intellectual. In his pastoral ministry, his greatest strengths were visiting parishioners, praying for them, and providing spiritual care. Early in his ministry, his administrative gifts were recognized as he was made secretary of the Pennsylvania diocesan convention and later secretary to the house of bishops (White 1900, 29-32; Stuckert, 1935, 132, 135).

From an early point in his ministry, Kemper demonstrated a burden for mission. While serving in parish ministry in Philadelphia, he was particularly concerned for the Germantown district where no Episcopal church existed. Caring for people from various cultural and socio-economic backgrounds, he proved capable of connecting and communicating with diverse audiences.

In 1812, he got further involved in mission when he helped launch the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania. The Society aimed to bring renewal to Pennsylvania's dying parishes, particularly through raising up new clergy. As Kemper traveled on horseback across Pennsylvania (even as the War of 1812 was heating up), he began to think about the great spiritual needs of the American West. His vision was encouraged by Bishop Hobart who was burdened for native Americans in New York and Wisconsin and had already sent one missionary to the Oneida people in Wisconsin. In 1821, Kemper helped launch and provide leadership to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, which aimed to place at least one priest in each of the western territories (Gallagher 1915, 6-7, 111-112; White 1900, 24-25, 59; Stuckert 1935, 132-133, 137-140).

Mission to the West

By setting apart Kemper as a missionary bishop to the West in 1835, the Episcopal church moved beyond mere parish maintenance in the original thirteen states. Likening Kemper's calling to that of the Apostle Paul, Bishop Doane declared: "If they have bishops to oversee the flock, to lay hands upon them 'after the example of the holy Apostles . . . to ordain elders in every city, and set in order the things which are wanting,' they must be missionary bishops." Doane added that Kemper was empowered to “organize the church, not waiting till the church has partially been organized” and that he should be a “leader, not a follower, in the march of the Redeemer's conquering and triumphant gospel” (Doane 1935, 182). Initially, Kemper’s mission field included Indiana and Missouri. Later, it expanded to include Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, and Nebraska (White 1900, 64-64)

From 1835 to 1859, Kemper traveled extensively throughout the western territories preaching, conducting services, confirming believers, ordaining new church leaders, encouraging existing leaders, and dedicating new churches. In 1859, he transitioned to serving uniquely as the bishop of Wisconsin where he served until his death in 1870. The Episcopal church committee on domestic missions summarized Kemper’s quarter century of ministry in this way:

> When Bishop Kemper was appointed missionary bishop, in 1835, with jurisdiction over Missouri, Indiana, and Iowa, neither of which was an organized diocese, there was but one of our clergy and one church in Missouri, one clergyman and one church in Indiana, and neither church nor clergyman in Wisconsin or Iowa. Twenty-four years have passed away, and by God’s blessing on the church, he now sees Missouri a diocese, with its bishop and twenty-seven clergy; Indiana a diocese, with its bishop and twenty-five clergy; Wisconsin, his own diocese, with fifty-five clergy; Iowa a diocese, with its bishop and thirty-one clergy; Minnesota an organized diocese, with twenty clergy; Kansas . . . just organized a diocese, with ten clergy; and the territory of Nebraska, not yet organized as a diocese, with four clergy . . . in all, six dioceses . . . and one hundred and seventy-two clergymen (cited in White 1900, 176-177).

In addition, Kemper helped to establish 100 new churches and confirm over 10,000 believers in the western territories (White 1900, 227-228).

By 1870, the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society came under the leadership of the house of bishops. Also, the previous work of the Church Missionary Society in the United States was absorbed into the Domestic Society. The same year, the Commission on Indian Affairs was also established. By 1880, there were nearly 500,000 Episcopalian Christians in the United States with about 50,000 of those living west of the Mississippi River. Though the Episcopal Church was far from being the largest church in nineteenth-century America, much of its growth in the West can be traced to Kemper’s pioneering work (White 1900, 177-178).

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Kemper's Mission Practice

Itinerant Missionary Bishop

Similar to George Whitefield, John Wesley, and the American Methodist circuit riders, who engaged in itinerant evangelism, Jackson Kemper served as an itinerant missionary bishop. In his thirty-five years as a bishop, he traveled 300,000 miles on western roads by wagon, horseback, and foot. He also made many journeys by boat up and down the Mississippi River. Though he had studied in New York City and pastored in Philadelphia, Kemper seemed drawn to the beauty and wildness of the frontier. He also seemed adept at relating to the "common man" in the western territories—ferry operators, tavern owners, and local people living in small towns and villages. Beginning in 1842, Kemper's plan was to visit every western diocese and spend at least one week in each one. Given the vastness of the western territories, often Kemper spent more time traveling to places of ministry than actually ministering (Burr 1985, 11; Holmes 1985, 21, 26; White 1900, 108).

Though Kemper spent the majority of his time on the road and mission field, to keep from being a "homeless wanderer," it was important that he establish a strategic base of operations. For the first ten years of his ministry, he was based in St. Louis where, apart from his role as bishop, he served as rector of a local parish. Beginning in 1845, he moved his base to Wisconsin just down the road from the recently established Nashotah House mission (White 1900, 113).

Setting Apart Leaders

Kemper's greatest legacy for the western mission was setting apart, ordaining, and deploying men for mission work. From the outset of his work as the missionary bishop for Indiana and Missouri, he urged the churches in these territories to select their own bishops as soon as possible.

Ordaining leaders for ministry on the western frontier was a process of trial and error. Most east-coast clergy preferred the familiarity, comfort, and even affluence of their lives and ministries to consider a move out West. Others who answered the call lacked resilience and grit for the hardships of frontier ministry. Finally, others who had failed in parish ministry back East received unwise counsel to give the frontier a try, which resulted in disaster. Despite this, Kemper was able to raise up nearly 200 clergy from established east-coast parishes, seminaries, and from the frontier itself (White 1900, 112; Gallagher 1915, 105-106).

The real fruit of Kemper's ministry was ordaining other missionary bishops for the western mission. During his career, he laid hands on Cicero Stephens Hawks for Missouri (1844), William Ingraham Kip for California (1853), Henry Washington Lee for Iowa (1854), Henry Benjamin Whipple for Minnesota (1859), Thomas Hubbard Vail for Kansas (1864), and Ozzie William Whitaker for Nevada (1869). From 1854, in addition to his missionary bishop duties, Kemper himself served as the bishop of Wisconsin—a role he maintained after transitioning from his missionary bishop duties in 1859 until his death in 1870. In 1859, Kemper passed the baton of missionary bishop for the West to Joseph Cruikshank Talbot. Because of their ability to relate to western peoples (immigrants and native Americans alike), these bishops not only sustained a vision for western mission, but they also helped solidify diocesan structures in the region (White 1900, 152, 165, 176; Holmes 1985, 19-20).

Theological Education

With the challenge of raising up leaders came the requirement of training them adequately for frontier ministry. Because it was difficult to recruit quality church leaders from the eastern parishes and seminaries, Kemper turned his attention to forming new ministers who were born and raised on the frontier. To accomplish this, he was directly involved in starting two schools.

When Kemper was based in Missouri, he launched Kemper College in 1837. Over the first few years, the school enjoyed a healthy enrollment of thirty students, and the curriculum included Greek, Latin, theology, French, and math. In 1840, the school broke further ground and added medical studies. Despite a strong start in the early years, by 1845, the school faced insurmountable financial debts and was forced to close (White 1900, 87, 173; Gallagher 1915, 79-80, 104).

When Kemper spoke at General Theological Seminary in 1840, his appeal to students to come serve in the West directly led to the founding of Nashotah House—a mission and theological seminary in Wisconsin. Thomas Reeves writes that Kemper was after "self-denying men who were prepared to endure every species of hardship for the sake of Christ and his church" (Reeves 1996, 54). In his address, Kemper called for "means and men . . . to found seminaries of learning to be under the control of the church" and "laborers to assist him in preaching the gospel" (Reeves 1996, 54). As a result of this appeal, three men responded to the call: James Lloyd Breck, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania; William Adams, an Irishman who had graduated from Trinity College Dublin and had immigrated to the United States; and John Henry Hobart, Jr., a graduate

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of Columbia College and son of the bishop of New York. Influenced by the Oxford Movement, Breck had a vision to organize a "society of Protestant monks" for mission (Reeves 1996, 54).

Despite some resistance from Episcopalians (evangelical and high church) who did not appreciate the Oxford Movement or Anglo-Catholicism, the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society approved and funded the plan for the mission. Richard Cadle, a missionary already living in Wisconsin, was tasked with supervising the order though he quickly resigned, lacking a vision for the monastic experiment. Despite this, Breck, Adams, and Hobart were ordained as deacons, and land was secured near Milwaukee to begin the work (Reeves 1996, 56-57, 60).

Though the mission got off to a great start (three new parishes were planted in the first four months), Bishop Kemper and the young men had different visions for the mission. Kemper's primary aim was to establish a theological seminary to train men for ministry while Breck, Adams, and Hobart were more interested in direct mission work. The men yielded to their bishop and in 1842, Nashotah House opened as the fifth Episcopal seminary in the United States and the first institution of higher learning in Wisconsin. Though theological education took precedence, Kemper was happy that the men could also devote energy to ministering at ten different mission stations. When Hobart left the work to get married (to Kemper's daughter), Breck became the mission leader at the age of twenty-four. During a worship service in an Oneida-speaking church, Kemper ordained Breck and Adams to the priesthood (Reeves 1996, 60-65).

By 1844, twenty-eight students were enrolled at Nashotah House. The diverse community included Irish, Welsh, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, and native American students. Breck organized their day around a monastic schedule with morning and evening prayers, manual labor, and academic study. In addition to their life together, the students continued to plant new churches in various languages (English, Welsh, Swedish, Oneida, Mohican). While the work among the Welsh, Swedish, and Oneida was largely organizing existing Christians into fellowships, the ministry to the Mohican-speaking Stockbridge people was more evangelistic (Reeves 1996, 66-69; Breck and Reeves 1992, 61, 66-78, 80-81, 89, 104-105, 114-117).

While Breck had hoped that graduates from General Seminary and other east-coast seminaries would answer the call to serve in the West, over time, he realized that they were not coming. With Kemper, he became convinced church leaders for the West would also have to come from the West. By 1847, only five years after Nashotah House opened, five men had been ordained to the ministry, including one set apart for native American ministry (Reeves 1996, 69; Breck and Reeves 1992, 87-89; Holmes 1985, 28).

Despite the mission's enrollment growth and ministry fruitfulness, Nashotah House continued to experience controversy. Other Episcopalians interpreted the community's Anglo-Catholic worship forms, sacramental theology, and monastic rhythms as Roman Catholicism. Kemper, who was already living near the campus, rebuked Breck for his monastic ways and worship practices. As the bishop responsible for the mission, Kemper apologized to the national Episcopal church for Nashotah House's Anglo-Catholic excesses. In his subsequent preaching and communication, Kemper highlighted his commitment to the English Reformers, the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the other formularies of Reformation Anglicanism.

Though Breck obeyed his bishop, a mutual frustration set in between Kemper and Breck, which resulted in Breck leaving Nashotah House for a new work in Minnesota. Despite this parting of ways, in Minnesota, Breck continued Kemper's vision for theological education when he founded Bishop Seabury Mission (later Seabury Seminary) in 1858 (Reeves 1996, 75-76, 80-81; White 1900, 123-124, 172-173).

Kemper's Theology of Mission

The Church as Mission Society

Various mission societies have figured prominently in Anglican mission history. At times, groups like the Church Missionary Society struggled with the tension between episcopal oversight and mission initiative in new fields. Kemper's ecclesiology for mission was groundbreaking because he understood the church to be the mission society. As Bishop Doane preached at Kemper's consecration: the church is a "missionary church" and "her bishops are apostles . . . her ministers are all evangelists . . . her members . . . are missionaries" (Doane 1935, 190). The way to resolve the tension was to make the church the mission society.

Interestingly, the original plan for the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society did not have the approval of the house of bishops. As this mission vision developed, the Episcopal church decided that the Society would come under the leadership of the bishops and that every Episcopalian in every parish would be a member of the mission. Ultimately, this ecclesial mission strategy depended on the work of missionary bishops. Bishop Doane added:

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> To every soul of man, in every part of it, the gospel is to be preached. Everywhere, the gospel is to be preached by, through, and in the church. To bishops, as successors of the Apostles, the promise of the Lord was given to be with his church, "always, to the end of the world." Upon bishops, as successors of the Apostles, the perpetuation of the Christian ministry depends. With bishops, as successors of the Apostles, the government of the church, the preaching of the word, the administration of the sacraments, the care of souls, has been entrusted (Doane 1935, 188).

These values also inspired Kemper to be a catalyst for raising up new church and mission leaders, especially priests and bishops. Throughout his career, he showed no desire to remain bishop over the vast western territory. As he consecrated new bishops and saw new diocesan structures develop, Kemper continued to be apostolic, giving his attention to new mission fields (Gallagher 1915, 106-107, 110-112; Bellamy 1985, 36).

Suffering and Simplicity

Kemper carried out his itinerant ministry as a missionary bishop amid many hardships and dangers. Going back to his early itinerant ministry in Pennsylvania, he journeyed along dangerous roads in bad weather. In the West, he traveled by horseback, foot, wagon, and boat during freezing winters and hot summers. While he traveled extensively in the western territories, he also made many trips back east to raise money, recruit laborers, and participate in the church's General Convention. On the frontier, he slept on many cold cabin floors and in dirty inns in rooms shared by multiple people. Because of the scarcity of food in the West, he often ate very simple food offered by parishioners.

Kemper also ministered in contexts of violence. During his early ministry years in Pennsylvania, Kemper was out on the road during the War of 1812. In his final years, he ministered in Wisconsin and the western states during the American Civil War. Because much of his ministry focused on native Americans, he and his colleagues often found themselves in the crossfire of violent exchanges between the American military and native American peoples. Since he was a white man, these conflicts also weakened his credibility among indigenous peoples.

Because of the sustained stress on his body, at the age of fifty-seven, Kemper experienced a breakdown in his health, from which he never fully recovered. Despite these difficulties, Kemper continued to mount his horse and travel to minister and establish the church in the frontier. Though in his seventies, he began to experience seizures and diminishing mental faculties, he did not retire from ministry but focused on the work of the church in Wisconsin.

Kemper also cultivated a theology of simplicity. The people on the western frontier regularly faced economic scarcity, food shortages, and high inflation. Early in his ministry, Kemper reported withdrawing currency from a bank in Missouri that was worth nothing by the time he reached Illinois. Because of these resource challenges, western parishioners could not conceive of supporting a parish priest. Greatly burdened by frontier priests who lived in poverty and were forced to share food supplies with other clergy, Kemper constantly battled to secure more funding from the General Convention, which was also financially stretched (Gallagher 1915, 8, 64-72, 79-80, 125, 130-132; White 1900, 90-95, 130, 154, 157, 185-186, 194-195).

Given these economic realities, Kemper purposely adopted an austere lifestyle. Even before he went west, he turned down a comfortable parish with a house in Baltimore and avoided luxuries such as dinner parties and the theatre. When he settled near Nashotah House, he kept his household budget simple by not purchasing wine. He often gave sacrificially when he learned of a missionary family struggling to make ends meet. Because of a shortage of mission funds, from 1836 to 1838, Kemper paid for his ministry travel out of his own pocket. While living simply and sacrificially, he also abhorred going into any form of debt and impressed this value on his clergy. Though Episcopalians were erecting impressive church buildings and cathedrals on the east coast, Kemper advocated constructing "cheap and unadorned" churches on the frontier—what was affordable and sustainable.

Kemper also proved to be constructive in generating resources. In addition to seeking funding from the General Convention, he challenged bishops in eastern established dioceses to give toward the work in the West. Kemper also built relationships with benefactors who helped with Episcopal work. For example, in 1836, the governor of Illinois donated a plot of land for the construction of a church. Later, General William Henry Harrison, the future president of the United States, did the same in Indiana. Over time, frontier parishes started to attract new members with financial means who could give generously toward sustaining the churches.

Though Kemper navigated financial challenges throughout his entire ministry career, he never allowed these obstacles to halt the work of ministry. He continued to travel, recruit and set apart clergy, start new churches, and build church buildings.

When he challenged men to come to the western frontier, he called to them to embrace a rugged lifestyle, to suffer, and to live simply. In many respects, James Lloyd Breck and the Nashotah mission team embodied these values in their monastic experiment. They embraced simplicity, relied on the sacrificial gifts of donors, and supported themselves through farming and manual labor (Holmes 1985, 31; White 1900, 31-34, 137, 170; Gallagher 1915, 118, 130, 139, 147; Breck and Reeves, 1992, 75-79, 94-97).

Image of God in Man

A final area of Kemper's mission theology was his understanding of the image of God in man. This is most apparent in Kemper's ministry to native Americans in the West. From his initial visit to Wisconsin in 1834, where he first observed native American ministry firsthand, he was burdened that the children, in particular, would be taught the gospel and be rescued from poverty and exploitation. He was also distressed at how indigenous people were buying alcohol from white settlers and developing addictions. He concluded that native Americans were being oppressed from all sides—from the government, the military, and traders.

As a result, Kemper's approach to native American mission was holistic—ministering to spiritual and physical needs. Spiritually, Kemper focused on preaching the gospel, teaching the Scriptures, and helping indigenous people to cultivate a life of prayer. Practically, the mission provided food and clothing and established schools to educate the children. Because addiction was on the rise, Kemper's missionaries also addressed this in their teaching. Finally, though Kemper was not a political activist, within his sphere of influence in the Episcopal church, he advocated for care for and ministry to native Americans. In his final speech as missionary bishop to the General Convention in 1859, Kemper appealed to the church to send laborers to minister to indigenous peoples in the Dakotas (White 1900, 95, 151, 176; Stuckert 1935, 143, 145-148, 150).

Summary and Reflections for Today

Jackson Kemper broke new ground as an itinerant missionary bishop to the West. During early American history, he challenged the Protestant Episcopal Church to recognize the harvest fields on the western frontier. As he traveled and ministered in often difficult conditions on the frontier, his greatest legacy was raising up priests and bishops to develop the structure of the Episcopal church in the western United States.

As we evaluate his legacy, some weaknesses must be noted. First, Kemper seems to be more of an administrator than an evangelist. Much of his work was organizing existing Episcopalians into new churches. Though he and his team did some evangelistic preaching and planted churches with people from non-Christian backgrounds, in many places his ministry was organization more than evangelization (Burr 1985, 10-11; White 1985, 125; Holmes 1985, 31; Gallagher 1915, 85).

Though Kemper was committed to holistic mission, he did not speak up about injustices in the social or political spheres. While his apolitical posture may have been a reaction to his brother David's political activism, Kemper had very little to say about the American Civil War or slavery. In a letter to fellow bishop Philander Chase about a potential candidate for ordination with abolitionist leanings, Kemper wrote: "The subject of abolition is an exceedingly exciting one and is necessarily connected with the politics of the country. The kingdom of the Redeemer is not of this world" (Muller and Kemper 1945, 20). In short, if the candidate was going to be an abolitionist, then he could not be ordained a priest.

Though Kemper emphasized holistic mission among native Americans, it seems like he could have done more to reach unevangelized tribes and also to speak up against injustice against indigenous peoples. Later missionary bishops like William Hobart Hare enjoyed a more fruitful work among native Americans in Nebraska (Holmes 1985, 20).

What about the approach of missionary bishops today? James Griffis writes, "The frontier to which Jackson Kemper carried the gospel and on which he established new congregations no longer exists, but there are many other frontiers to which we, his spiritual descendants, have a mission today" (Griffis 1985, 88). Since becoming independent from the archbishop of Canterbury in 1951, the Anglican church in Nigeria has grown from two dioceses in 1951 to 161 in 2009, and 176 at the time of this writing. This has largely been accomplished through setting apart missionary bishops. Describing the role of Nigerian bishops, Bishop Foreman Nedison of Jalingo writes:

> The missionary bishop is sent to evangelize, to do humanitarian work, and also to be involved in social and political action in the name of Christ Jesus. As good shepherds of the flock committed to their charge, bishops take care of them in all spiritual, physical and material matters. Shepherding calls for a strong pulpit ministry, with regular prayer and charismatic emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit (Nedison 2020, 238).

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Similar to Kemper, Nedison argues for a holistic approach to mission; however, he goes beyond Kemper and asserts that social and political engagement are also within the bishop's purview. He also insists that mission is more than merely organizing groups of believers but also evangelizing non-believers. He adds, "the bishop . . . should always launch out beyond those who are already in the fold to those outside" (Nedison 2020, 238).

The Nigerian missionary bishop approach also seems to allow for more efficient and decentralized decision-making. Bishop Nedison continues: "Another factor stimulating growth is the concept of local autonomy" as "missionary bishops are able to look quickly at the needs of their localities and immediately to seek and proffer solutions without absolute dependence on a central or national authority" (Nedison 2020, 239). This leadership style seems significant for an episcopal ecclesiastical structure that can easily become bureaucratic and inefficient. The decentralized approach probably also poses a healthy challenge to traditional leadership values that are more hierarchical.

Finally, like Bishop Kemper, the Nigerian approach emphasizes training and equipping for ministry. While Kemper focused primarily on leadership development with ordained clergy, the Nigerian missionary bishops focus on training both lay people and ordained ministers. Finally, similar to Kemper's vision for theological education, the Nigerian Anglican church has started nine theological schools to equip its clergy (Nedison 2020, 239).

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The Rev. Roland Allen's (1868–1947) Theology of Spirit & Order: A Framework for Anglican Missionary Ecclesiology

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Abstract

In this article, I will attempt to disclose the central planks of the apostolic principles that shaped Roland Allen's missionary ecclesiology of *Spirit and Order*. Allen's writings were shaped by St. Paul's missionary practice, and it was this understanding that motivated Allen to proactively argue for implementing a Gospel *method* for Church growth. Allen disclosed his belief in the transcendence of the Holy Spirit's work in the life of the Church and argued for a return to the proper apostolic emphasis—*Spirit and Orde*r. His integrated pneumatology and ecclesiology formed the basis for his church-planting missionary theology, which he was convinced encompassed true historic apostolicity and catholicity.

Roland Allen's Missionary Ecclesiology

In this article, I will attempt to disclose the central planks of the apostolic principles that shaped Roland Allen's missionary ecclesiology of *Spirit and Order*. Some years ago while doing doctoral research on Roland Allen's published and unpublished archives in Oxford, England, I endeavored to develop an intellectual biography that disclosed how this prescient Anglican missionary and missiologist clearly influenced the thinking and practice of missionaries and missionary societies within the Anglican Communion, established Protestant denominations, the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Communions, as well as the independent branches of the Western and non-Western Church, especially throughout the Majority World of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

On the one hand, many of these branches of Christ's Church were quite successful in obeying the Great Commission (Matt 28:18–20) as they planted churches throughout the world. On the other hand, when some missionary societies began to replace their original focus of gospel evangelism, discipleship, and indigenous church planting with

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the development of *mission station* schools and hospitals, Roland Allen believed that the missionary societies diverted from the primary calling to plant churches and to make disciples in these foreign nations. He also believed that by developing schools and hospitals, instead of planting churches, the missionaries created a continual dependency on foreign financial support. Allen argued that this dependency upon foreign support was *not* St. Paul's missionary methods and practice. Allen observed how the indigenous inhabitants understood the *mission stations* as foreign businesses—held in trust by Europeans—where the missionaries financially organized and permanently managed these properties. For Allen, the *mission station system* lacked apostolic precedent. His solution to the problem was to ask, *what would St. Paul do*? Allen conformed to and argued for the essence of St. Paul's missionary methods and practices to address the problem.

His writings were shaped more and more by St. Paul's missionary practice, and it was this understanding that motivated Allen to proactively argue for implementing a Gospel *method* for Church growth. St. Paul's example of investing his time and energy in mentoring and appointing indigenous leadership, Allen argued, was indicative of why he was so successful with church planting in Galatia, Macedonia, Achaia, and Asia between the years AD 47–57. This significantly influenced Allen's thought, especially because of how St. Paul proactively applied these principles to promote self-extending churches that were not dependent on him to be their resident leader. His understanding of what St. Paul did cannot be understood from an autocratic practice—operating in isolation—Allen argued, but from a selfless practice of his apostolic ministry, which sought the well-being of the indigenous church and the church's ability to be self-governing. So, to set the parameters for his missionary ecclesiology and unpack the apostolic principles that encompass his missionary theology, he carefully designed principles and practices that were more in line with St. Paul's three missionary journeys. Allen disclosed his belief in the transcendence of the Holy Spirit's work in the life of the Church and argued for a return to the proper apostolic emphasis—*Spirit and Order*. His integrated pneumatology and ecclesiology formed the basis for his church-planting missionary theology, which he was convinced encompassed true historic apostolicity and catholicity.

Allen's Missionary Theology: Spirit (Pneumatology) & Order (Ecclesiology)

Apostolic Method: Spirit *before* Order

Roland Allen's apostolic method of Spirit *before* Order advanced a theology of mission that sent missionary clergy with some of the disciples that they had mentored with them to do missionary work (i.e., on-the-job training). These missional clergy and disciples were to serve as explorers within the kingdom of God's harvest field, and their commission was to scout out the land for church planting opportunities.

- Church-planting by birthing new churches from new Christians.
- Make disciples.
- Witness to salvation in King Jesus.

Apostolic Principle: Spirit *with* Order

Allen's missionary ecclesiology also argued for the apostolic principle of Spirit *with* Order. This apostolic principle "did not argue that episcopal ordination was of no importance" but rather that it was a "divine order [that] is for building up, [and] not for destruction: it is to maintain the sacraments of Christ not to annul them: it is to establish the Church not to hinder its establishment" (Allen, Bodleian Library, USPG X622, Box 3, No. 27, 1930). That said, Allen's ecclesiological argument affirmed the *normal* Order of Anglican clergy (ordained by bishops) presiding over the Lord's Table. His defense for sacramental ministry in the newly formed churches created a context for a well-ordered ecclesiology to eventually emerge, that being, Spirit *with* Order.

Apostolic Order: Spirit-*empowered* Order

As an Anglican churchman and missionary, Allen had reverence for *apostolic order* that advances a *Spirit-empowered Order*. In his writings, he also clearly distinguished between itinerate apostolic order (i.e., apostles, prophets, evangelists, teachers) and the resident local ministry (i.e., bishops, priests, deacons) from what he believed was primarily inspired within the Bible, and, secondarily, outlined within the early Church's application of apostolic instruction as revealed in the *Didache*. It is important to disclose that Roland Allen's missiology proposes a Spirit-*inspired* ecclesiology, that being, a Spirit-*empowered* Order, designed to accommodate the *charismatic* dynamic in order to equip, commission, send, and expand the Church throughout the world.

Roland Allen's Missionary Experience in China (1895–1903)

Allen's articulation of his missionary experiences in China and how these informed his missionary ecclesiology is made clear in his letters both during and after his ministry in China (Allen, Bodleian Library, USPG X622, Box 1-8), his chronicle of the Boxer Rebellion entitled *The Siege of the Peking Legations* (Allen 1901), papers he presented, and subsequent articles he wrote concerning China. All of these sources disclose the experiences of cross-cultural mission in China and how this influenced his thought and practice. In fact, it was during his ministry there that his vision and mission for developing indigenous churches began to take shape. Before analyzing his missionary experiences in China from 1895–1903, it is helpful to take note of a summary statement he made at the conclusion of his ministry time in China:

> The Chinese are apt to compare the antiquity of their religion with the modern character of ours . . . If Christianity is to be presented acceptably to the Chinese, surely it ought to be through Chinese teachers who have remained Chinese in thought and education, but whose Chinese thought is permeated with Christian doctrine and belief. So one might find an Apostle (Allen 1901).

This demonstrates how Allen began to formulate a missiology that anticipated the emergence of an indigenous Christianity, which incorporated the apostolic doctrine and belief, and which would eventually influence the thinking of Chinese Christians concerning the development of their own churches, local leaders, theologians, and those who would do the apostolic ministry of Church expansion. For Allen, foreign missionaries had the opportunities to evangelize and plant churches, ordain, and equip indigenous leadership, and then immediately retire from that region to establish churches in newer areas. He believed that once these new Christians embraced the Christian faith—not necessarily the forms and customs of the foreign missionaries—then a truly Chinese Christianity would develop. He would view that as mission accomplished! And yet, when he first arrived in China in 1895, he did not naturally think this way. What, then, were the contributing factors which can be attributed to this change?

First, Allen argued for an indigenous "how to" methodology that focused on "how to win Native Converts ... how to organize village churches ... how to educate Coreans [sic] to understand and use intelligently any Prayer Book at all ... [and] how to adapt a native hut for worship" (Allen, Bodleian Library, "The Work of the Missionary," Box 2, File J: 4, 8).

Lamin Sanneh correctly interprets Allen's argument here when he suggests that he was challenging "the Western cultural captivity of the gospel," which was, in effect, "strangling the gospel" (Sanneh 2008, 224-225). He called this a misrepresentation of Christianity, "slavery to a Foreign system" which was "not their own" and, consequently, the imposition of a "foreigner's Church" (Allen, "The Work of the Missionary," Box 2, File J: 4, 12). As far as Allen was concerned, this was a betrayal of St. Paul's missiology, which opposed slavery to a "foreign system," as clearly demonstrated when he defended the freedom of the Galatian churches to reject the Judaizing system which they attempted to impose upon the churches (Epistle to the Galatians).

Second, he believed the only way for the missionaries to reverse what Robert Young has referred to as the "long-lasting political hegemony" (Young 2001, 334) toward independence would be to apply the following three principles as part of the training process:

> (1) to teach the native converts to recognize their responsibility as members of the Church; (2) to avoid the introduction of any foreign element unless it is absolutely essential; (3) to be always retiring from the people to prepare the way for final retirement (Allen, "The Work of the Missionary," Box 2, File J: 4,9).

These three apostolic principles began to shape his thinking as he was attempting to train catechists in China. He recognized that the Anglican conventional methodology for leadership training limited any possibility to expand beyond his context. He quickly figured out that unless the local converts took responsibility immediately to disciple, train, and lead their own churches, then any idea of expansion would be slow. He reflects upon what he did in China:

> I called the people together, told them it was high time that they were doing something for the spread of the Gospel, and asked them what they meant to do. I observe that people in England sometimes view such conduct with surprise. If they treated their people at home in the same way, I believe they would feel less surprised that it succeeded in China (Allen, "The Work of the Missionary," Box 2, File J: 4, 11).

Allen argued that his successful experiences in China shaped his missionary thinking to undergo reform by embracing a different methodology. This reform was shaped more through practice than theory. He began to flesh out his missiology by analyzing every aspect of missionary societies' practices. This led him to develop as a methods analyst concerning the *whys* and *wherefores* of missionary methods.

Third, he warned against missionaries forcing foreign laws and customs rather than allowing the converts to adopt familiar local customs with "principles which they valued" as part of the contextualization process for local church development. He emphasized that missionaries needed to be more self-critical concerning their tendency to force conformity to a foreign system that would likely be abandoned once either independence came through a devolved process, or, if the indigenous churches' frustrations with paternalism would eventually "lead to rebellion" (Allen, "The Work of the Missionary," Box 2, File J: 4, 12).

Fourth, he applied the principles of self-government and self-support to the Chinese catechists so that they would take ownership of what they learned. He told the delegates how his reformed methodology in China worked in bringing independence to the churches but that it was contingent on the locals taking ownership of their worship services and daily responsibilities within these churches. He said that the missionaries who expected quick results by imposing a cast-iron system generally failed. In contrast, he told the delegates that the *apostolic principle* he applied was to build slowly and that "we had better at first give them only so much as they can easily assimilate" (Allen, "The Work of the Missionary," Box 2, File J: 4,13).

Finally, Allen comments on the extent to which the three principles had been adopted: the first principle (converts recognizing their responsibility) was "practised in different shapes very widely;" the second principle (restraint from imposing foreign elements unless it's necessary) was less widely practiced; and the third (missionaries retiring from their converts) was "scarcely recognized at all" (Allen, "The Work of the Missionary," Box 2, File J: 4, 15).

Hence, he concluded that the "problem of independent native churches is the great problem of the day" and that the western Church's missionaries needed to come to terms with: (1) understanding the native mind; (2) feeling "sympathy for the natives in their early efforts;" (3) watching slow growth with patience and hope; (4) realizing "that western Christianity is not the whole of Christianity;" and (5) watching how "the Holy Spirit transforms strange forms of life into Christian forms of life unlike our own" by uniting multiethnic Christians as a "complement of our own needs" (Allen, "The Work of the Missionary," Box 2, File J: 14-15). His developing ecclesiology presupposed an application of *apostolic principles* that reinforced independent native churches to emerge slowly and which were led by the indigenous people. Allen's insistence that all members take responsibility for their own development and maturity is an argument against a *Peter Pan* philosophy of mission station paternalism.

His belief was that if the mission societies released control, giving the works over to the indigenous converts, the latter could rely on the Holy Spirit's ability to govern, sustain, and propagate the Church's growth apart from foreign influence. The centrality of his pneumatology was influenced by Paul's epistles and Luke's historical account of the Acts of the Apostles, which he called "missionary history" (Paton 1970, 15). Consider the following influence of St. Paul's practice upon his mission theology:

> St. Paul was a preacher of a Gospel, not of a law . . . This is the most distinctive mark of Pauline Christianity. This is what separates his doctrine from all other systems of religion . . . He did not establish a constitution, he inculcated principles. He did not introduce any practice to be received on his own or any human authority, he strove to make his converts realize and understand its relation to Christ . . . He never sought to enforce their obedience by decree; he always strove to win their heartfelt approval and their intelligent co-operation. He never proceeded by command, but always by persuasion. He never did things for them; he always left them to do things for themselves. He set them an example according to the mind of Christ, and he was persuaded that the Spirit of Christ in them would teach them to approve that example and inspire them to follow it (Allen 1962, 148-149).

In terms of St. Paul's theology, Allen believed that the Apostle's practice of church planting was permeated with a dependency on the Holy Spirit's ability to lead the Church into all truth, as revealed in John 16:13. That said, he believed that the Church's global expansion was based upon foundational *apostolic principles* organically energized through a realized pneumatology, empowered ecclesiology, and an applied mission theology he believed stemmed from Pauline practice. For Allen, the apostolic principles (not systems) are the centrality of his missionary ecclesiology. Arguably, these key missionary principles are generated by the charismatic dynamic within Christianity, which produces self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating indigenous churches that find their rootedness in the Bible, a basic creed, trans-local and domestic ministers, and an ongoing sacramental life.

The key *apostolic principles* Roland Allen emphasized are: (1) belief that the one holy catholic and apostolic Church is ordered by the Scriptures, a basic creed, holy orders, and sacraments; (2) apostolic evangelists were called and sent to plant and equip indigenous churches; (3) church-planters were to organize, train, and retire from young church-plants as soon as possible (Allen 1962, 81-83, 95-107; Allen, "The Work of the Missionary in Preparing the Way for Independent Native Churches" (1903), USPG X622, Oxford, Bodleian Library; Allen, Bodleian Library, USPG X622, "The Work of the Missionary in Preparing the Way for Independent Native Churches," 1903); (4) indigenous churches then were to maintain self-support, self-government, and self-propagation (Allen, Bodleian Library, USPG X622, Box 2, No. 23, 1927; Allen Bodleian Library, USPG X622, Box 3, "Establishment of Indigenous Churches," 1927); (5) self-supporting churches spontaneously produce home-grown leadership from the inception (non-devolution); (6) ordination of indigenous voluntary clergy who are authorized to administer the sacraments frequently (Allen 1923, 1930); (7) trust in the ministry of the Holy Spirit to empower the spontaneous expansion of the Church (Boer 1954, 224-231; cf. Allen 1962, 48); (8) a belief that all Christians are missionaries – and that the Church is a missionary body (Paton 1962, 40, 61, 67, 75, 77-80, 165; Allen, Bodleian Library, USPG X622, "The Work of the Missionary in Preparing the Way for Independent Native Churches," 1903); (9) emphasize the priesthood of the laity, by which he referred to the empowerment of the church community (Allen 1933, 234-244); and (10) an ordered ministry in apostolic succession through a proactive missionary ecclesiology (Allen 1930, 3-4). Having identified these apostolic principles, I now want to unpack them.

A cursory and selective study of Roland Allen's writings has caused some to misrepresent his missiology. One must come to terms with what he meant by words such as: *Church, Spirit, mission, apostolic, catholic, apostolic succession, indigenous, expansion, sacraments, orders*, and *principles*. First, he defined these words from what he believed were Pauline missionary principles and practices. Second, as a High Churchman, this presupposed a framework of belief that embraced historic Christianity—the faith once delivered to the saints (Jude 3)—that being, *apostolic* and *catholic*. And, when reading him carefully, one will find a catholic understanding of the Christian faith, especially articulated through the first five centuries of the *undivided* Church. That said, an understanding of his mission theology will contribute significantly to contemporary missiology.

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Roland Allen's Contribution towards Missiology: A Contemporary Perspective

By *charismatic ministry*, I mean here a ministry which is exercised by a man who is moved to perform it by an inward, internal, impulse of that Holy Spirit who desires and strives after the salvation of men in Christ. I do not deny that men receive a charisma, a gift of grace, for their ministry in ordination: but I use the word *charismatic* to express the ministry which is exercised in virtue of that direct internal impulse of the Spirit, as distinguished from the ministry which is exercised by those who have been ecclesiastically ordained or commissioned (Allen 1930).

Allen's vision for the Church encompassed a combination of *Spirit* and *Order*—that is, pneumatology and ecclesiology. He believed that the Holy Spirit empowers Christians to apply *apostolic principles* in any given situation. His contribution to missiology stemmed from St. Paul's understanding of an indigenously-led Church that was, therefore, fully equipped with ministry to function as a permanent Church. He proposed the restoration of an apostolic order to enhance evangelism, particularly through the laity, by reaching out to pioneer regions where the Church had no current witness. His ongoing contribution to *missiology* advances (1) the historical significance for what he believed were universal *apostolic principles* and (2) how these principles provide flexibility within a framework of Spirit-driven Church growth to deal with a changing missionary environment (Rutt 2012, 201).

When missionaries discuss Allen's writings, they typically refer to either *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* (1912) or *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church* (1927). While, arguably, these two books are his most famous published works, it is important to realize that he wrote extensively for over fifty years—books, pamphlets, journal contributions, articles, ecclesiastical letters, speeches, sermons, and various unpublished works (Allen, Bodleian Library, USPG X622, Boxes 1-8). Indeed, his grandson and biographer, Hubert Allen, categorically states that his grandfather's booklet entitled *Pentecost and the World* (Allen 1917, 1-61) was his most characteristic work then and still "can speak to us today as cogently as when it was written" (Allen and Allen 1995, 104). "My grandmother once remarked to me," recalled Hubert Allen, "that Roland himself believed his best piece of writing to have been his brief *Pentecost and the World*," (Allen 2011, Email Correspondence, May 19) and that "on his death, for this reason, Grannie gave bound copies to each of us, his three grandchildren" (Allen and Allen 1995, 104).

Allen's main thesis in *Pentecost and the World* can be summarized by stating that the Pentecost story is the fulfilled promise of the Holy Spirit's coming in supremacy to baptize, fill, indwell, lead, inspire, and empower the missionary Church as a witness to all nations. He argued that the main emphasis in Acts is that Pentecost marked the turning point in the Church's emergent juncture in "that they were the recipients of a gift of the Holy Spirit sent upon them by Christ, and that all the labours and successes of their lives were due to the influence of that Spirit" (Allen and Allen 1995, 3). A missionary within the Reformed Church, Harry Boer, agreed and was convinced that Allen was the preeminent "missionary thinker of the Spirit" and that "except by Roland Allen, a missionary theology centering around Pentecost and its continuing meaning for the Church has not been developed" (Boer 1964, 63). Things have progressed since 1961, when Boer made that remark. Today, many books stress a missionary theology that engages the charismatic dynamic of Pentecost within the Church's mission, as can be seen in the growth of Christianity (and in particular the Anglican Communion) in the Majority world of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. That said, we might ask whether Allen's writings have influenced past and current trends in mainstream missionary theology. There can only be one answer: Yes (Kraemer 1960, 20; McGavran 1965, 43, 54; Schnabel 2008, 11-14, 21).

A century ago, Roland Allen envisaged a global Church emerging from indigenous Christianity that was free of the trappings of the mission station system. Allen said, "A *mission station* is indeed a contradiction in terms: mission implies movement, station implies stopping" (Allen 1927, 105). He argued that Pauline missiology was a better way to do mission, (1) by transferring missionary churches to indigenous converts without going through a devolutionary process; (2) by ordaining local ministers—stipendiary and voluntary—to direct, manage and administer the Sacraments for their own churches by means of an indigenous episcopate; and (3) by trusting the Holy Spirit to direct these churches without foreign control. Today, these are considered mainstream practices, but this was not the case a century ago.

The Contribution towards Missiology in India

In 1910, Roland and his wife visited Delhi, Calcutta, and Madras upon an invitation to preach within the Diocese of Dornakal (Allen and Allen 1995, 86). He met with Vedanayagam Samuel Azariah and probably saw Henry Whitehead, Bishop of Madras. This visit initiated an ongoing friendship with both men over the years, especially with

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Azariah, who was consecrated as bishop of the Dornakal diocese in 1912. In 1927, Allen was invited back to minister for Bishop Azariah (Allen, Bodleian Library, USPG X622, Box 7, File N, “Diary of a Visit in South India”). Bishop Azariah’s familiarity with Allen’s writings in general, and his *apostolic principles*, in particular, contributed to an environment for Church growth expansion. Azariah and Allen saw that Church expansion was certain since the bishop was willing to ordain the existing teachers and catechists as fully equipped priests and to distinguish from among the pastors those who were gifted as trans-local evangelists. Azariah embraced his principles wholeheartedly and sought ways to administer diocesan adjustments wherever necessary. The time was right for Church renewal and transformation because Azariah had already “proved to be such a competent leader and administrator” (Harper 2000, 132). Therefore, Allen’s teachings reinforced the clergy troops to prepare for planting more missionary churches. According to Susan Harper, some years later, the facts reveal that

> Under the leadership of Bishop Vedanayagam Samuel Azariah (1874–1945), Dornakal became the fastest growing Anglican diocese in South Asia. The total Anglican Christian population in the Dornakal diocese increased from 56,681 in 1912 to 225,080 in 1941, a number that exceeded the total number of Anglican converts for all of Japan, Korea, and China combined. In 1936 the Dornakal Church baptized over 200 converts each week, and a total of 11,400 converts that year, and sustained this general level of accession throughout the decade (Harper 2002, 185).

The Dornakal diocese was enriched by the teaching ministry of Roland Allen during his missionary journey in 1927–1928. It was the application of these apostolic principles which shaped Allen’s proactive missionary theology for China, India, and his ministry later in Africa, which can still significantly contribute to missiology for the situation of the changing structures within World Christianity today.

Roland Allen’s Missiology of the Holy Spirit

Allen’s missiology of the Holy Spirit is systematically articulated in *Missionary Principles—and Practice* (1913) and *Pentecost and the World* (Allen 1917, 1-61). Subsequently, this broadly pneumatological understanding is interspersed throughout his sermons, teaching notes, articles, and correspondence. His emphasis on pneumatology and ecclesiology—Spirit and Order—stem from his devotion to Pauline thought, especially with his instruction on spiritual gifts (I Cor 12–14; Allen, Bodleian

Library, USPG X622, Box 3, No. 27, "The Ministry of Expansion: the Priesthood of the Laity," 1930) which the apostle's concluding emphasis underscores: "Let all things be done decently and in order" (I Cor 14:40).

Additional disclosure of his pneumatology is located within an unpublished work entitled "The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit" (Allen, Bodleian Library, USPG X622, Box 3, 13, "The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit," 1930), which incorporates a symphonic blend —pneumatology, ecclesiology, and missiology—that shaped his overall missionary ecclesiology. For Allen, the missionary Spirit creates, nourishes, fills, and empowers "the native apostles" (Allen, Bodleian Library, USPG X622, Box 12, "The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit," 1930) to plant the Church and provide sacramental spiritual food. His missiology of Spirit and Order incorporates a central fostering of the faith through the sacramental means of grace. This argument for native clergy presupposes the necessity of the sacramental life of the Church and demonstrates how his theology embraced the frequency of its administration. The organic nature of Church growth stems from people who have embraced the faith, he believed, and subsequently desire to share what they have received (Allen 1912, 3). This is natural. Allen compares this with how Muslim missionaries—traders, soldiers, teachers—that is, common people who have embraced Islam, share their faith with people and eventually see that "a mosque springs up, a school is established, a Moslem community arises" (Allen 1912). He critiqued his fellow Anglicans' reluctance to share their faith in the way that Muslims did and concluded that much of the hesitancy in "our fellow churchmen who go abroad" is due to a past reliance upon professional clergymen to provide for them all the ministerial services, especially the sacraments (Allen 1912). This comparison serves as his charge for them to exercise faith in the missionary Spirit's creativity. He cites how the layman Frumentius (AD 300–380), referred to as the "Apostle of the Abyssinians," was later consecrated bishop of Axum (Northern Ethiopia) by Athanasius (Cross and Livingstone 1997, 644). "I suppose," Allen said, "most of our Bishops would deny that they had ever met a Frumentius. So rare a thing is it for a layman to think that as a Christian he has the right [and] duty to propagate his religion and instruct the ignorant in his faith" (Allen 1912, 4).

The basis for Allen's ecclesiology originates in his interpretation of the way the universal common priesthood of Christians functions through the presence, direction, and ministry of "the missionary Spirit" (Allen, Bodleian Library, USPG X622, Box 3, No. 27, "The Ministry of Expansion: the Priesthood of the Laity," 1930). This pneumatology shaped Allen's church planting methodology, in that it served both to

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advocate the oversight by missionary bishops (Allen 1912, 14), for the ordaining of a specialized ministry and to support the administration of the Sacraments by the "priesthood of the body" (Allen, Bodleian Library, USPG X622, Box 3, No. 27, "The Ministry of Expansion: the Priesthood of the Laity," 1930), whenever they were outside the range of the organized church due to the absence of ordained clergy. Again, his argument was always that "the universal priesthood cannot be annulled by an absent specialized priesthood" (Allen, Bodleian Library, USPG X622, Box 3, No. 27, "The Ministry of Expansion: the Priesthood of the Laity," 1930). Does Roland Allen's missionary ecclesiology remain influential today?

Allen's Impact and Contemporary Relevance

It is rather ironic that Allen's influence today encompasses an ecclesiastical sphere far beyond the Anglican Communion, which he faithfully served. On the one hand, my analysis has identified his significant contribution to Anglican missiology in India through his friendship with and influence of Bishop Azariah's ministry within the Dornakal churches and their expansive missionary undertakings outside of their diocesan borders. The archival research disclosed two letters (1912) from Bishop Henry Whitehead (Whitehead to Allen, Bodleian Library, USPG X622, Box 1, File A, June 1912), thanking Allen for supporting Azariah's consecration as the *first indigenous bishop* in India. Ongoing correspondence between Azariah and Allen disclosed how Azariah not only thanked him for writing *Voluntary Clergy* (1923) (Azariah to Allen, Bodleian Library, USPG X622, Box 1, File A:12, December 1923) but also assured him that the episcopacy was "in favour of an order of permanent Deacons and Voluntary Permanent Deacons" (Azariah to Allen, Bodleian Library, USPG X622, Box 1, File A:12, December 1923).

After Roland Allen's death in 1947, Hendrik Kraemer, in his *A Theology of the Laity* (1958), cited Roland Allen's *Spontaneous Expansion of the Church* (Kraemer 1956, 20; Allen 1962, 143-146) to disclose how the significant growth of the Church during the first centuries was accomplished through the laity's witness. Allen's contribution to Kraemer's missiology is the first example where he had an influence on a major ecumenical theologian a decade after his death. Shortly after Kraemer's book was published, two other noteworthy missiologists—Sir Kenneth Grubb and Lesslie Newbigin—men who already had been reading Allen's works, each contributed to writing the *Foreword* in 1962 for both republished books: *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* (1912) and *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church* (1927). And again, in 1948, the Reformed missionary in Nigeria, Harry Boer, wrote an article for the missionary journal—*World Dominion*—in appreciation of Allen's work. And, in his *Pentecost and Missions* (1961), he engaged with Allen's missiology throughout the book (Boer 1964, 48, 61, 63-64, 99, 136, 163, 210ff). Unlike many later missiologists who generally quote only from Allen's two most published books (Allen 1912; 1927), Boer purposefully quoted from some of Allen's articles (Allen 1918, 162; Allen 1930, 32) and other books (Allen 1917, 39-41, 42-43, 85, 87; Allen 1919, 41-42; Allen and Clark 1937, 132), that later missiologists tend to neglect. Hubert Allen pointed out to me that it was Boer who best understood his grandfather's thinking on how the Holy Spirit's power affects mission expansion (Interview with Hubert Allen, 4 February 2011).

Grubb's honest analysis and Boer's advocacy of Allen's works incited a substantial interest in Allen's works. And it was Grubb's influence with World Dominion Press to then republish these works, including *The Ministry of the Spirit: Selected Writings of Roland Allen*, edited by David Paton (1960), which caused Allen's missiological thought to spread. Then, it was the Anglican—Canon David Paton—who carried Allen's missiological baton within ecumenism after the dismantling of colonialism. Paton's contribution to Allen's legacy is commendable. Bishop Lesslie Newbigin, who believed that "Allen was right" (Newbigin 1989, 146-147) and emphasized *apostolic ministry*, which relied upon the *pneumatological dynamic* and also placed the *sacraments* as central to the community's life, contributed much to mission studies (Newbigin 1989, 147). In 1962, Newbigin argued that Allen's impact had affected the "assumptions of churches and missions, and slowly but steadily the number of those who found themselves compelled to listen has increased" (Allen 1962, Foreword, i).

In 2006, the contemporary missiologist Brian Stanley argued that Allen's missional pneumatology can be summarized as: "if the Holy Spirit is given, a missionary Spirit is given" (Allen 2006, Foreword VI). Stanley went on to say that "Allen thus foreshadows also the prominence which (in marked contrast to his own day) is now given to the Holy Spirit in Christian theology and in the churches of the majority world, so many of which are pentecostal in emphasis" (Allen 2006, Foreword VI). It was Francis Anekwe Oborji, the Nigerian-born Roman Catholic professor of missiology (Pontifical Urban University, Rome), when highlighting the success of Pauline mission, said that "Allen suggests [that it] was due to the fact that he trusted both the Lord and the people to whom he had gone" (Oborji 2006, 92). Oborji agreed that "Allen alerted his readers [*Missionary Methods*] to the glaring difference between Paul's missionary methods and those of contemporary mission agencies" (Oborji 2006, 92).

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The aforementioned African missiologists and missionaries who engaged with Allen's works are indicative of various leaders from within the 2008 Global Anglican Future Conference (GAFCON) who were influenced by him: Michael Nazir-Ali (former bishop of Rochester), Roger Beckwith, Vinay Samuel, and Chris Sugden. GAFCON's confessional statement—*The Jerusalem Declaration*—basically echoes Allen's Anglican apologia in terms of a clear Gospel emphasis, primacy of Scripture, creedal fidelity (1–5); clerical orders and sacramental practice (6–8); and missional ecclesiology that is dependent on the pneumatological dynamic (9–14) (Okoh, Samuel, and Sugden 2009). As my research has disclosed, two archbishops—Nicholas Okoh (Nigeria) and Eliud Wabukala (Kenya)—argued that the current crisis in Anglicanism is due to the fact that "the Church of England [ought to] go back to the basic principles and develop new structures while remaining firmly within the Anglican Communion" and further that "its leadership should be focused not on one person or one Church, however hallowed its history, but on the one historic faith we confess" (Thornton 2012). These statements from the younger churches of Anglicanism reflect Roland Allen's *apostolic methods* for church planting (Spirit *before* Order), the *apostolic principles* that served as the central planks for his theology of mission (Spirit *with* Order), and the *apostolic order* that has clearly advanced St. Paul's missionary ecclesiology (Spirit *empowered* Order) within the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church.

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The Invisible Mitre: Holy Orders, Contextualization, and the Muslim Frontier

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Abstract

This article seeks to examine whether Anglican orders function as a contextualized ecclesial practice or whether they are implicitly treated as context-transcendent structures. By placing Anglican theology of orders in dialogue with missiological theories of contextualization, the article argues that current Anglican practice reveals an unresolved contradiction: the church affirms contextualization in principle while exempting one of its most visible structures from contextual analysis. First, it clarifies contextualization as a theological method within Anglican and ecumenical missiology. Second, it examines Anglican holy orders as historically contingent yet theologically constrained practices. Finally, it considers how frontier mission to Muslims exposes the limits of current Anglican approaches and raises the possibility that the ordering of ministry itself may require renewed theological reflection. The aim is not resolution but clarity: to articulate the missiological stakes of Anglican orders in contexts where the church exists not as a public institution, but as a vulnerable and often hidden community.

Introduction

Anglican engagement in Muslim-majority contexts has long revealed tensions between inherited ecclesial structures and the demands of frontier mission (Cragg 2000). While Anglican missiology has shown considerable flexibility in matters of liturgy, language, and pastoral practice, the ordering of ministry—particularly episcopal oversight and holy orders—has remained comparatively resistant to contextual adaptation. This resistance is not merely practical or canonical but theological, rooted in Anglican understandings of apostolicity, catholicity, and ecclesial continuity. Yet it is precisely

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in Muslim contexts, where Christian presence is fragile, legally constrained, and often socially invisible, that the question of how Anglican orders are embodied becomes most acute.

In recent decades, Anglican theologians and missiologists have increasingly embraced contextualization as a central category for mission, and I draw especially on the work of Shoki Coe and the ecumenical movement of the mid-twentieth century (Miller 2016). Contextualization, as Coe articulated it, refers not to superficial cultural adaptation but to the discernment of faithful Christian witness within particular historical, social, and religious realities (Coe 2012). This approach assumes that theology is not merely repeated across contexts but is continually formed in dialogue with lived experience. Anglicanism has largely accepted this logic in areas such as liturgy, hymnody, and catechesis, where local adaptation is now widely regarded as both legitimate and necessary.

What has received less sustained theological attention, however, is whether contextualization properly applies to ecclesial structures themselves, and specifically to the ordering of ministry. Holy orders are often treated as a fixed inheritance, safeguarded from contextual pressure by canon law and episcopal succession. This assumption is understandable, given Anglican commitments to visible continuity and episcopal oversight. Yet it also risks insulating orders from the same missiological scrutiny applied elsewhere in Anglican life. If contextualization is a theological method rather than a stylistic preference, then it must raise questions not only about how the church worships, but about how it authorizes, recognizes, and sustains ministry in particular contexts.

This tension becomes especially visible in Muslim-majority societies, where Christian clergy may lack legal recognition, where public ecclesial structures can provoke state scrutiny, and where conversion to Christianity carries social and sometimes juridical consequences. In such settings, the territorial assumptions of Anglican episcopacy—diocesan boundaries, public ordinations, formal clerical status—often collide with the realities of minority Christian existence. The result is not merely administrative difficulty but a deeper missiological problem: Anglican holy orders, as currently configured, may presuppose social and political conditions that do not exist in Muslim frontier contexts.

Previous Anglican scholarship has demonstrated that contextualization can be pursued responsibly without dissolving ecclesial identity. In earlier work on Anglican

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liturgy in Jordan, for example, it has been argued that local adaptation of worship practices allowed Anglican communities to remain recognizably catholic while becoming intelligible and sustainable within a Muslim cultural environment (Miller 2019, 205-222). That case showed that Anglican liturgy could be shaped by local constraints and sensibilities without abandoning theological coherence. The present article asks whether a similar logic can be applied—carefully and critically—to the ordering of ministry itself.

The purpose of this article, therefore, is not to propose the abandonment of Anglican holy orders, nor to advocate for ad hoc or irregular forms of ministry. Rather, it seeks to examine whether Anglican orders function as a contextualized ecclesial practice, or whether they are implicitly treated as context-transcendent structures. By placing Anglican theology of orders in dialogue with missiological theories of contextualization, the article argues that current Anglican practice reveals an unresolved contradiction: the church affirms contextualization in principle while exempting one of its most visible structures from contextual analysis.

This contradiction matters not only for mission strategy but for Anglican self-understanding. If Anglicanism claims to be both catholic and reformed, historically rooted yet responsive to context, then it must account for how its sacramental and ministerial life is embodied in settings far removed from the social conditions in which its structures developed. Muslim-majority contexts, precisely because they expose the fragility of Christian institutional presence, serve as a testing ground for Anglican missiology. They force the question of whether Anglican holy orders are primarily instruments of mission or guardians of ecclesial continuity—and whether these roles can be held together under conditions of legal and social marginality.

The argument that follows proceeds in three stages. First, it clarifies contextualization as a theological method within Anglican and ecumenical missiology. Second, it examines Anglican holy orders as historically contingent yet theologically constrained practices. Finally, it considers how frontier mission to Muslims exposes the limits of current Anglican approaches and raises the possibility that the ordering of ministry itself may require renewed theological reflection. The aim is not resolution but clarity: to articulate the missiological stakes of Anglican orders in contexts where the church exists not as a public institution, but as a vulnerable and often hidden community.

Contextualization as Theological Method

Contextualization emerged within twentieth-century missiology as a response to the growing recognition that theology is never produced in abstraction from historical and cultural conditions. Although Christian theology has always been shaped by context, the explicit articulation of contextualization as a theological method arose in the aftermath of decolonization, when inherited Western ecclesial forms were increasingly experienced as alien or oppressive in non-Western settings. Within this milieu, Shoki Coe played a decisive role in reframing mission not as the transmission of a finished theological product, but as a dynamic process of discernment shaped by lived Christian witness in particular places (Coe 1973b, 12-25).

For Coe, contextualization was not a strategy for cultural accommodation, nor a concession to relativism. Rather, it was an expression of theological fidelity grounded in the incarnation. Because the Word became flesh within a specific historical and cultural context, Christian faith must continually take form within the concrete realities of local communities. Theology, on this account, is not merely applied after the fact but is generated through engagement with social, political, and religious conditions (Coe 2012, 23-41). Contextualization, therefore, assumes that Christian doctrine is stable in its referent but variable in its expression, requiring ongoing discernment rather than mechanical repetition.

Anglican missiology has largely received this insight, particularly in relation to worship and pastoral practice. The development of locally adapted liturgies, vernacular prayer, and indigenous leadership has been widely justified on contextual grounds. These adaptations are typically defended not as departures from Anglican identity, but as expressions of catholicity understood as the capacity of the church to be fully itself in diverse settings. Contextualization, in this sense, is treated as a means of safeguarding rather than undermining ecclesial coherence.

Yet contextualization, as Coe and (some) subsequent practioners understood it, extends beyond matters of language and ritual. It concerns the whole life of the church, including its patterns of authority, leadership, and institutional presence. Coe himself insisted that theological education, ecclesial formation, and ministerial practice must all be shaped by the social realities in which the church lives. To restrict contextualization to aesthetics or surface forms is therefore to truncate the method and to neutralize its critical force.

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This broader understanding of contextualization introduces a tension that Anglican theology has not fully resolved. On the one hand, Anglicanism affirms that theology is formed within history and culture; on the other hand, it treats certain ecclesial structures—most notably holy orders—as effectively context-transcendent. Orders are often discussed as bearers of apostolic continuity whose validity is independent of social location. While this claim serves an important theological purpose, it also risks placing the ordering of ministry beyond missiological examination, even though ministry is exercised within concrete social and political conditions.

Recent Anglican scholarship has shown that contextualization can be pursued with theological discipline rather than ecclesial improvisation. In the case of Anglican liturgy in Jordan, for example, contextual adaptation was shaped by legal constraints, Muslim cultural sensibilities, and minority Christian experience, yet remained accountable to Anglican sacramental theology and communal recognition (Miller 2019, 205-222). This work demonstrated that contextualization need not dissolve continuity, provided that its criteria are articulated and its limits acknowledged. Liturgy was neither replicated wholesale from Western models nor detached from Anglican norms; instead, it was rearticulated within a particular context through careful theological judgment.

The success of such liturgical contextualization raises a further question: whether the same methodological logic can be applied to other aspects of ecclesial life. If contextualization is a theological method rather than a stylistic preference, then it must be capable of interrogating not only how the church worships, but how it authorizes and sustains ministry. The question is not whether Anglican holy orders can be contextualized without remainder, but whether they have already been contextualized historically and whether their present forms implicitly presume social conditions that do not exist everywhere.

This recognition does not entail the abandonment of Anglican commitments to episcopacy, apostolic succession, or sacramental integrity. It does, however, suggest that these commitments must be interpreted within the realities of mission. Contextualization, properly understood, does not ask whether theology should adapt to context, but how theological norms are embodied under particular conditions. When those conditions include legal marginalization, social invisibility, and the risks associated with conversion, the embodiment of holy orders becomes a missiological question rather than a purely canonical one.

Accordingly, contextualization functions in this article as a critical lens rather than a prescriptive program. It provides a way of asking how Anglican holy orders operate in practice, what assumptions they carry, and where they encounter resistance or distortion in Muslim-majority contexts.

Coe described contextualization as a double-wrestle: wrestling with the Word of God and with the world of God. A proposed praxis would emerge from this dialectic. By treating contextualization as a theological method that applies to ecclesial structures as well as to worship, the article prepares the ground for a more focused examination of Anglican orders themselves, understood as historically contingent yet theologically constrained practices.

Anglican Holy Orders as Contextual Practice

Anglican theology has long held together a tension between continuity and adaptability. On the one hand, Anglicanism presents itself as a church ordered by bishops in historic succession, with a sacramental and ministerial life that participates in the catholic tradition. On the other hand, Anglican identity has never been defined by rigid uniformity. Its liturgies, canonical arrangements, and patterns of governance have shifted in response to political, cultural, and missional pressures. Holy orders, however, have often been treated as an exception to this pattern: as a stable core that must be protected from contextual influence lest ecclesial coherence be lost.

This instinct is understandable, particularly in a communion that lacks a centralized magisterium. Episcopal oversight and the recognition of orders serve as key mechanisms of unity within Anglicanism, providing a visible sign of continuity across time and space. Yet the assumption that holy orders are in some meaningful sense *context-transcendent* deserves closer scrutiny. Anglican orders did not emerge in abstraction from history but were shaped within particular political and ecclesial settlements, most notably the post-Reformation English context. The territorial diocese, the public office of the bishop, and the legal recognition of clergy were not incidental features but constitutive assumptions of Anglican ministerial life.

In contexts where those assumptions no longer hold, Anglican orders do not simply function less efficiently; they function differently. This is particularly evident in Muslim-majority societies, where Christian clergy may lack legal standing, public visibility may invite scrutiny, and episcopal presence can become a liability rather than

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a stabilizing force. In such settings, the territorial logic of Anglican episcopacy—so often taken for granted—encounters social and political realities that were not envisioned when those structures were formed. The question is not whether Anglican orders remain theologically valid in these contexts, but whether their current configuration adequately serves the missional life of the church.

Anglicanism already acknowledges, at least implicitly, that holy orders are exercised within context. Bishops operate differently in established churches than in missionary dioceses, clergy formation varies widely across provinces, and extraordinary episcopal arrangements have periodically emerged in response to pastoral necessity (see Miller 2017c; Hartman 2025). These variations are usually described as exceptions or temporary measures, yet they reveal that Anglican orders are already contextualized in practice, even if this is rarely acknowledged theologically. What is lacking is not adaptation, but a sustained theological account of why and how such adaptation occurs.

The contrast with liturgical contextualization is instructive. In Anglican liturgy, contextual adaptation is widely accepted, provided that core sacramental forms are retained and communal recognition is maintained. In my own work on Anglican worship in Jordan, I argued that liturgical practices could be shaped by local cultural and legal constraints without compromising Anglican identity, precisely because those practices were grounded in shared theological commitments rather than cultural replication (Miller 2019, 205-222). That argument was not offered as a license for improvisation, but as a disciplined exercise in ecclesial discernment. The same methodological question now arises with respect to holy orders: whether Anglicanism can articulate criteria for contextual adaptation that preserve continuity while allowing ministry to be embodied credibly in constrained environments.

One reason this question provokes discomfort is that holy orders occupy a different symbolic register than liturgy. Orders are public claims about authority, legitimacy, and succession. In Muslim contexts, where religious authority is closely monitored and conversion is often stigmatized, these claims carry risks that liturgical practices do not. A bishop’s presence may attract attention in ways that imperil local believers; public ordinations may expose converts; and formal clerical status may be impossible to maintain. In such cases, Anglican orders are not merely ecclesial realities but legal and social signals, interpreted within a framework not of Christian sacramental theology but of state and religious regulation.

It is at this point that contextualization becomes unavoidable as a theological method. If contextualization asks how Christian faith is embodied under particular conditions, then it must ask how ministry itself is embodied when visibility is dangerous and institutional presence is constrained. To insist that Anglican orders must be exercised in the same manner everywhere risks confusing theological continuity with structural replication. Conversely, to abandon ordered ministry altogether would undermine Anglican claims to catholicity and apostolic continuity. The challenge, therefore, is not to choose between order and mission, but to examine whether existing forms of order adequately serve the church's missionary vocation in frontier contexts.

This article does not propose a definitive solution to this tension. Rather, it argues that Anglican theology has not yet fully confronted the missiological implications of its theology of orders. By treating holy orders as a contextual practice—historically formed, theologically constrained, and socially embodied—it becomes possible to ask more precise questions about how Anglican ministry functions at the edges of the communion. Such questions do not weaken Anglican identity; they clarify the cost of maintaining it under conditions of marginality.

Frontier Mission in Muslim Contexts

Frontier mission to Muslims unfolds within social and legal environments that place significant constraints on Christian visibility, authority, and institutional presence. In much of the Muslim world, Christianity exists as a tolerated minority tradition whose public expression is carefully regulated and whose growth through conversion is viewed with suspicion. These constraints arise not only from Islamic jurisprudence but also from modern state interests in religious stability and social cohesion. As a result, Christian communities often operate within a narrow margin of legality, balancing pastoral care with the need to avoid undue attention from authorities (Tadros et al 2018, 1-18).

Within these contexts, the ordinary markers of ecclesial life—church buildings, ordained clergy, episcopal oversight—cannot be assumed to function as they do in historically Christian societies. Studies of Christianity in North Africa and West Asia repeatedly note that Christian leadership in Muslim-majority settings is shaped by discretion, informality, and relational authority rather than by public office (Ross 2018, 19-36). This does not indicate ecclesial weakness, but adaptation to conditions in which overt institutional presence can provoke restriction or retaliation.

The church's life is therefore often sustained through personal networks, family relationships, and small gatherings rather than through visible structures.

Anglican ministry, however, has traditionally been organized around assumptions of territoriality and public recognition. Bishops exercise authority within defined diocesan boundaries; clergy are publicly identifiable; and ordination marks a clear transition into a legally and socially recognized role. These assumptions are deeply embedded in Anglican ecclesiology and are rarely questioned where Christianity enjoys social legitimacy. In Muslim frontier contexts, by contrast, they frequently become liabilities. Episcopal visits may attract state scrutiny; formal ordinations may expose converts; and clerical visibility may endanger both ministers and congregants. The tension that results is not merely administrative but theological, touching on the nature of ministry itself.

Missiological literature on mission under conditions of marginality has long recognized that Christian leadership in constrained contexts tends to be exercised differently. Andrew Walls' work on the serial expansion of Christianity emphasizes that ecclesial forms which appear essential in one cultural moment may be provisional in another, shaped by historical circumstance rather than theological necessity (Walls 1996, 7-28). Similarly, Lamin Sanneh's analysis of Christianity as a translatable faith underscores the way Christian authority has repeatedly been re-embedded within local social systems, often in ways that depart from inherited Western models (Sanneh 1989, 29-52). These insights suggest that the forms through which ministry is exercised are neither timeless nor culturally neutral.

Conversion from Islam further intensifies these dynamics. For converts, participation in visible Christian leadership can carry consequences that extend far beyond those faced by members of historic Christian communities (Miller 2017a). Apostasy laws, social ostracism, and familial pressure render public religious affiliation costly, and formal ordination may mark a convert as a particular target of scrutiny. Pastoral literature consistently emphasizes the need for discretion, gradual formation, and relational accountability in such contexts (Miller 2021, 31-56). The exercise of ministry thus often takes place without formal titles or public recognition, even when sacramental and pastoral functions are being performed in practice.

Despite these constraints, frontier mission does not result in the disappearance of ecclesial order. On the contrary, Christian communities in Muslim contexts frequently express a strong desire for recognized leadership, sacramental assurance, and connection to the wider church. The challenge lies in the form that such order can take without undermining the safety and sustainability of local believers. Anglican practice on the ground often reflects this tension through informal or provisional arrangements that sit uneasily with inherited ecclesiological language. These practices are usually described as temporary or exceptional, yet they persist across regions and decades, suggesting that they respond to structural rather than incidental realities.

Muslim frontier contexts, therefore, function as a revealing lens for Anglican theology. They expose the extent to which Anglican holy orders presuppose conditions of legal recognition, cultural familiarity, and institutional stability. When those conditions are absent, Anglicanism does not cease to exist, but it operates through adaptations that lack clear theological articulation. Frontier mission thus brings into focus a gap between Anglican ecclesiology as formally described and Anglican ministry as actually practiced. Addressing this gap requires neither romanticizing marginality nor abandoning order, but developing a theological account of ministry that takes seriously the realities of concealment, risk, and constraint that characterize Christian life at the margins.

A Missiological Proposal: The Clandestine Missionary Bishop

If Anglican holy orders are to be examined through the lens of contextualization, the task is not merely to describe existing informalities but to propose a structural solution. The analysis above suggests that the primary obstacle to Anglican mission in Muslim frontier contexts is not the *fact* of episcopacy, but its *visibility*. The solution, therefore, lies in disentangling the apostolic office from its public, prelatic accoutrements.

I propose the revival and adaptation of a historic Anglican instrument: the missionary bishop, but reconfigured for the realities of the surveillance state. Specifically, this requires the consecration of bishops who operate under professional cover, without public installation, territorial claims, or open recognition.

In the nineteenth century, Anglican mission operated through bishops whose jurisdiction was personal rather than territorial (Allen 1953). To meet the demands of the modern frontier, this model must be taken to its logical conclusion.

1. Non-Public Consecration. The selection and consecration of such a bishop would not be a public event. It would be carried out by a small number of sponsor bishops and missionary societies acting with the quiet

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assent of ecclesiastical authority. There would be no public announcement, no press release, and no entry in public directories.

2. Secular Identity (Tentmaking). The bishop would not be a salaried employee of the church. To reside legally in a closed country, he must possess legitimate professional credentials—whether in business, education, or development—that justify his presence to state authorities. This secular identity is not a cover in the deceptive sense, but a genuine vocational integration, mirroring the tentmaking ministry of St. Paul.

3. Kenotic Visibility. There would be no purple shirts, copes, or mitres. The bishop would be visually indistinguishable from the laity in day-to-day life. His episcopal identity would be known only to the clergy he ordains and the specific communities he serves. To the state and the broader public, he is a private Christian individual; to the church, he is a successor of the apostles.

This proposal may strike some as irregular or subversive, yet it is deeply rooted in the early church's *disciplina arcani* (discipline of the secret) and the Ignatian understanding of the episcopate.

St. Ignatius of Antioch famously wrote to the Church at Smyrna (8.2), "Where the bishop is, there is the Catholic Church." He did not say, "Where the *diocese* is," nor "Where the *cathedral* is." In the pre-Constantinian era, the bishop was the center of unity for a persecuted minority, functioning without legal standing or public property.

By stripping the episcopate of its Constantinian trappings—palaces, titles, and political recognition—we do not diminish the office; we return it to its apostolic simplicity. This is a kenotic episcopacy, one that empties itself of status to ensure the sacramental life of the church survives. Furthermore, the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral (1886) explicitly allows for the historic episcopate to be "locally adapted in the methods of its administration," providing a conciliar basis for this flexibility.

The primary role of this bishop is not administration but sacramental assurance. In a closed country, local believers cannot travel freely to external dioceses for confirmation or ordination without alerting security services. By embedding a bishop within the context, the church ensures that:

- Ordinations can occur locally and privately, preventing the exposure of new clergy;
- Confirmations can solidify the commitment of converts in their own language and setting;
- Discipline can be maintained relationally rather than juridically.

This proposal involves high risk. It requires the global Anglican structures to trust a bishop whose work cannot be audited by public reports. It requires a willingness to bypass the bureaucratic machinery that typically governs episcopal elections. But as Andrew Walls has reminded us, the expansion of the church has often required it to live in liminal forms, sustained by relational authority rather than institutional dominance (Walls 1996). If Anglicanism is to be true to its claim of being a Church Apostolic—sent into all the world—it must be willing to send its bishops where the law forbids them to go, even if it means they must go in secret.

The Limits of Contextualization

Any proposal to examine Anglican holy orders through the lens of contextualization must also reckon with the limits of that method. Contextualization, as articulated within Anglican and ecumenical missiology, has never implied that all ecclesial forms are equally negotiable. Rather, it presupposes that discernment takes place within theological constraints that safeguard continuity, communion, and sacramental integrity. To ignore these limits would be to collapse contextualization into pragmatism and to undermine the very ecclesial coherence that Anglican orders are intended to preserve.

One such limit concerns the sacramental character of holy orders. Anglican theology has consistently resisted purely functional accounts of ministry, insisting that ordination effects a real ecclesial change rather than merely recognizing existing leadership. This sacramental understanding places boundaries on adaptation, particularly where proposals risk reducing orders to informal authorization or communal recognition alone. While ministry may be exercised discreetly or relationally in constrained contexts, Anglican theology cannot dispense with the claim that

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ordination is an ecclesial act grounded in apostolic continuity. Contextualization may shape how this act is embodied, but it cannot negate its theological significance (Avis 2007, 101-123).

A second limit arises from the communal and relational nature of Anglican orders. Ordination is not a private or purely local act; it presupposes communion with the wider church and recognition beyond the immediate context. This poses particular challenges in frontier mission settings, where discretion and concealment may restrict visibility and documentation. Yet Anglicanism has historically maintained that ministry is accountable not only to local communities but also to the broader ecclesial body. Any contextual adaptation of orders must therefore preserve mechanisms of recognition and accountability, even if those mechanisms operate quietly or indirectly. Without such connections, the risk of fragmentation becomes acute.

There are also practical limits imposed by formation and sustainability. Ordained ministry requires theological education, spiritual formation, and ongoing support. In Muslim-majority contexts, where access to formal training may be limited and mobility constrained, these requirements can be difficult to meet. While Anglicanism has shown flexibility in modes of formation, particularly in missionary settings, it has not abandoned the expectation that clergy be adequately prepared for sacramental and pastoral responsibility. Contextualization may modify the pathways to formation, but it cannot eliminate the need for formation itself without compromising the church's pastoral and theological integrity (Coe 1974, 3-15).

Moreover, contextualization must contend with the risk of normalizing exceptional arrangements. Practices developed in response to constraints—such as informal oversight or delayed ordination—may be pastorally necessary, but they can also become entrenched in ways that obscure their provisional character. Anglican theology has tended to describe such arrangements as temporary or extraordinary, yet in some regions they persist across generations. This persistence raises difficult questions about whether exceptional practices remain exceptions or gradually constitute a parallel ecclesiology. Contextualization must therefore include a capacity for self-critique, distinguishing between adaptations that serve mission and those that unintentionally erode coherence.

Finally, there are limits shaped by Anglican self-understanding as both catholic and reformed. Anglicanism has historically sought to balance fidelity to inherited forms with openness to reform under the guidance of Scripture and reason. Contextualization operates within this balance, neither absolutizing tradition nor dismissing it. Applied to holy orders, this means that Anglicanism must resist two equal and opposite errors: treating existing structures as untouchable, and treating them as infinitely malleable. The task is not to resolve this tension but to inhabit it faithfully, recognizing that some ecclesial forms may strain under missionary pressure without immediately yielding a clear alternative.

Acknowledging these limits does not weaken the case for examining holy orders contextually; it strengthens it. By naming what cannot be adapted, Anglican theology clarifies the stakes of adaptation where it does occur. In frontier mission contexts, where Christian existence is marked by marginality and risk, the question is not whether Anglican orders will be exercised differently, but whether the church will develop a theological account of those differences. Contextualization, constrained by sacramental theology and ecclesial communion, offers a way of engaging this reality without surrendering Anglican identity to either rigidity or expediency.

Conclusion

This article has argued that Anglican holy orders cannot be exempted from missiological scrutiny without undermining Anglican commitments to contextual theology. While Anglicanism has readily embraced contextualization in matters of liturgy, language, and pastoral practice, it has been more hesitant to apply the same theological method to the ordering of ministry itself. Frontier mission among Muslims exposes this hesitation with particular clarity, revealing the extent to which Anglican orders presuppose social, legal, and political conditions that are not universally available.

By retrieving contextualization as a theological method rather than a pragmatic strategy, the article has sought to place Anglican holy orders within the same analytical framework already applied elsewhere in Anglican life. Drawing on Shoki Coe's account of contextual theology, Anglican liturgical practice in Muslim contexts, and historical precedents for missionary episcopacy, it has shown that Anglican orders are neither context-transcendent abstractions nor infinitely adaptable instruments. They are historically formed, theologically constrained practices that are embodied under particular conditions and therefore subject to missiological evaluation.

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Muslim-majority contexts serve as a revealing lens for this evaluation. In settings where Christian communities exist under legal constraint and social vulnerability, the public, territorial, and juridical assumptions embedded in Anglican episcopacy and ordination often become sources of tension rather than stability. The adaptations that emerge in response—discreet oversight, informal leadership, delayed or modified ordination—are not evidence of ecclesial failure but of theological improvisation under pressure. What has been lacking is not practice, but theological articulation.

At the same time, the article has resisted the temptation to treat contextualization as a warrant for unlimited flexibility. Anglican sacramental theology, communal recognition of ministry, and the requirements of formation and accountability impose real limits on adaptation. Naming these limits is essential if contextualization is to remain a theological discipline rather than a rationale for expediency. The challenge Anglicanism faces is not whether to preserve holy orders or to abandon them, but how to exercise them faithfully where visibility is dangerous and institutional presence is fragile.

The contribution of this article is therefore modest but necessary. It does not propose a new ecclesial structure, nor does it offer a comprehensive solution to the tensions it identifies. Instead, it seeks to clarify the theological stakes of Anglican ministry in frontier mission contexts and to invite further reflection on how Anglican holy orders function at the margins of the communion. If Anglicanism is to sustain its witness among Muslims—and, by extension, in other contexts of marginality—it must develop a theological account of ministry that takes contextualization seriously without surrendering continuity.

Such reflection will inevitably be uncomfortable, particularly for a communion whose unity is already strained. Yet discomfort is not foreign to Anglican theology, which has long sought to hold together reform and tradition, catholicity and contingency. Frontier mission does not introduce a new problem so much as it brings an old one into sharper focus: how a church ordered for stability can remain faithful in motion. The question of Anglican holy orders in Muslim contexts thus becomes not a peripheral concern, but a test case for whether Anglican missiology is willing to examine its own structures with the same theological seriousness it brings to its worship and witness.

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“Diocese Planting” in Ethiopia

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Abstract

In this article, I explore the growth of Anglicanism in the Horn of Africa and Ethiopia with a particular focus on planting new dioceses amid the phenomenon of church-planting movements.

Introduction

In recent years, the growth of the Diocese of Egypt with North Africa and the Horn of Africa led the diocese to begin a process of becoming a separate ecclesiastical province of the Anglican Communion. In 2019, the Province of Jerusalem and the Middle East, at its Provincial Synod, granted the Diocese of Egypt the authority to separate. In January 2020, this move was approved by the Primate’s Meeting. “The new Province of Alexandria was formed on 29 June 2020, with the former ‘Diocese of Egypt with North Africa and the Horn of Africa’ split into four new dioceses (“Episcopal/Anglican” 2025). Two of these four dioceses of the new Province of Alexandria are based in Ethiopia: The Horn of Africa, which includes Somalia, Djibouti, and Eritrea (although Anglican Christians are few and far between in those nations), and Gambella, an area in western Ethiopia which is nestled up against the border with South Sudan. Prior to the creation of the new province, these dioceses were one “Episcopal Area” known as The Horn of Africa.

Before examining the growth of Anglicanism in Ethiopia in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, it is helpful to have a very brief overview of the whole scope of Anglican work in the region (for a more thorough review of the history, see LeMarquand 2018).

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Except for chaplaincy churches, there was little attempt to plant Anglican churches in Ethiopia or the wider Horn in the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. The first Anglicans to come to the region found an ancient and thriving Orthodox form of Christianity, little known in the western world (Munro-Hay, 2003, 1:717-723; Zanetti 2003, 1:723-728). The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo (or Täwahïdo) Church dates back to the kingdom of Axum in the early fourth century (Rufinus 1997; Fiaccadori 2003, 484-88; Isaac 2013). As I have written elsewhere: "The story of the ancient Ethiopian Orthodox Church provides an important backdrop to the story of Anglicans in the Horn since, for most of the two hundred years that Anglicans have worked in this region, they have had to do so with the permission of and in cooperation with the Orthodox, and Anglicans have worked for the renewal of that Church—or at least for the renewal of the Church as various Anglican mission societies have understood renewal" (LeMarquand 2018, 197).

Early Anglican Mission

The first Protestant missionaries were sent by the Church Missionary Society (CMS), arriving in "Abyssinia" in 1830. Like many of the first CMS missionaries in various parts of the world, they were Lutherans working as Anglicans (Jenkins 2000, 43-65). The best received of those working in the Horn was Samuel Gobat, who, although he had clear Protestant convictions, was an irenic individual who was able to build bridges with the Orthodox (Gobat 1850). A combination of factors, including misunderstandings between the missionaries and the Orthodox, missionary colleagues who were not as open as Gobat, and political disturbances within a divided region, forced the missionaries out of the country on several occasions until they left for good in 1842 (Crummey 2003, 1:740). A foundation of cooperation had been laid, however, which was built upon by subsequent mission efforts.

Anglican Missionaries and Emperor Tewodros: The Artisans' Mission

A second phase of Anglican missionary work eventually resulted in disaster. In 1855, the newly crowned Emperor Tewodros was able to bring unity to the previously divided region (Pankhurst 1988, 144). Gobat, now the second Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem, saw a new opportunity in this new unity. He proposed that artisans with practical skills would be able to have a positive impact on Ethiopia. Tewodros agreed with Gobat's suggestion, and Swiss missionary craftsmen were soon sent. Sadly, when they arrived, they discovered that what Tewodros really wanted was firearms, which he saw as

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necessary in his quest to consolidate power and protect Ethiopia from the Ottoman Empire, which had attempted to occupy the Red Sea. The Emperor also wrote to the heads of state of in Europe asking for their help in protecting his (Christian) realm from Muslim incursion. In particular, he wanted the British navy to prevent the Turks from entering the Red Sea. His letters were unanswered.

A series of diplomatic blunders between the Emperor and the British tried Tewodros' patience. In January 1864, he imprisoned the British envoy, the Swiss missionary artisans, and the newly arrived Henry Stern and Henry Rosenthal, who had come to do mission work among Ethiopian Jews (Stern 1862). When the government in London heard of the confinement of Cameron, Stern, Rosenthal, and the others, they sent an envoy who was also promptly imprisoned. The prisoners were taken to the Emperor's mountain fortress of Maqdala. The British themselves then lost patience and sent a force of about 30,000 who travelled through the country, reaching Maqdala in April 1868. On Good Friday, April 10, the Ethiopian troops attacked the British, but were easily defeated. The Emperor committed suicide. The British burned the Maqdala fortress, absconded with hundreds of ancient manuscripts (now to be found in the British Museum), and withdrew. The missionaries were freed, but clearly their well-intentioned desire to win Ethiopia for the gospel using practical skills had failed. "If the first Anglican missionaries failed due to their own lack of a cohesive vision, the second failed by being caught up in the day's political intrigue" (LeMarquand 2018, 199).

Mission to the Bete Israel

The mission among Ethiopian Jews was organized by the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews (nick-named the "London Jews Society," [LJS]). The Society's goals included declaring the Messiahship of Jesus to Jews, and working for the restoration of the Jewish people to the land of Israel. The so-called Falashas, known among themselves as *Bete Israel* (Solomon 1999; Kessler 1982; Wumbrand 1972, 6:1144-45), have been an important factor in Ethiopian history and politics for centuries, even though their origins are obscure.

The LJS sent Henry Aaron Stern to Ethiopia to work among the *Bete Israel* in 1860. Although the LJS was an Anglican organization, the converts reached by their work did not become Anglican, but rather were baptized into the Orthodox Church (Gidney 1908). When the Italians invaded in 1935, the LJS missionaries withdrew, leaving an Ethiopian convert in charge of their work.

The LJS returned in 1948 as "The Church's Mission to the Jews" (CMJ). This phase of the mission was led by F.G. (Eric) Payne. In 1942, Payne had served a curacy in Bath, where Emperor Haile Selassie had spent part of his exile after the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. The CMJ worked closely with the Orthodox until the 1974 communist coup severely restricted their work. In 1978, their property was given to the Orthodox Church. Although this phase of Anglican mission had some success, it never had the goal of planting Anglican churches.

The Bible Churchmen's' Missionary Society (BCMS, now Crosslinks)

Beginning in the 1930s, this conservative evangelical missionary society began work in Ethiopia with the goal (like other Anglicans before them) of bringing theological and spiritual renewal to the Orthodox Church (Stokes 1948). They worked with an assumption, however, that the Orthodox Church (like pre-Reformation Catholicism in England) simply needed access to the Bible and a miraculous change would take place spontaneously. The major period of BCMS work in Ethiopia saw many important accomplishments. "BCMS missionaries were involved (with others) in a new translation of the Bible into Amharic, a significant work if for no other reason than that it was authorized by the Emperor. Bible Schools for the Orthodox Church, open to both men and women, provided biblical instruction in a way that was sympathetic to the Orthodox" (LeMarquand 2018, 201-202). The production of Christian literature in Amharic, again with a sympathetic eye to the Orthodox reader, also made a significant contribution.

Anglican Chaplaincies and Chaplains

None of these efforts by the CMS, the LJS/CMJ, or the BCMS produced Anglican churches. In fact, few Anglicans working in Ethiopia believed that Anglican churches were a necessity for Ethiopian Christians. The Orthodox Church was a Christian church, they reasoned. It may be (from a Protestant perspective) defective in theology and spirituality, but it was an orthodox Trinitarian body simply in need of reformation.

A few churches were planted in Ethiopia (and the wider Horn), but these churches were chaplaincy churches meant to serve the British expatriate community (and later other Anglican ex-pats). St. Matthew's Church in Addis Ababa received a chaplain in 1926. Churches were later planted in Asmara, Eritrea, and in Hargeisa and Mogadishu,

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Somalia (Cousins 1986; Trimingham 1950). Of these, and for varying reasons, only St. Matthew's in Addis Ababa remains as an Anglican congregation with its own building.

Gambella and Assosa: History

The mid-twentieth century saw a major turning point in the history of Anglicanism in the Horn. As with other points of church history (the persecution of the Jerusalem church after the stoning of Stephen, and the scattering of believers after the execution of the Ugandan martyrs in the nineteenth century), the planting and growth of Anglican congregations in western Ethiopia came as the result of persecution and displacement.

In 1983, Sudan's Islamist regime in Khartoum imposed Sharia law on the entire country, including the people of the South, the majority of whom were, at the time, followers of African traditional religion, while a minority were Christian. The twenty years of civil war that followed resulted in the deaths of millions of southern Sudanese. Many of those who escaped did so by fleeing on foot to neighboring countries, including Ethiopia. Many of the refugees in Ethiopia were Jieng (Dinka people), and some of these were Anglican Christians. Massive displacement camps near the western Ethiopian towns of Itang, Bonga, Pinyudu, Dima, and Assosa soon saw a thriving Christian movement. "The vast movement of refugees out of the South . . . to Ethiopia created new, needy and receptive communities where the Christian Gospel met with a deep and unprecedented response" (Werner, Anderson and Wheeler 2000, 527).

Only 10% of the Jieng people were baptized Christians (mostly Anglican and Roman Catholic) before the war. The Nuer people had been evangelized by American Presbyterian missionaries, but, like the Jieng, the vast majority were resistant to the gospel message. In the camps, however, the message of a God who would come and suffer with those who were oppressed and hungry met with a receptive audience (see Nikkel 2001; Zink 2018; LeMarquand 2006). The suffering God seen in Jesus began to replace the ancestral divinities, now perceived as fickle and powerless.

Anglicans were especially militant in their evangelistic and church planting endeavors. Huge Anglican congregations began to form in the camps. These churches were characterized by an aggressive form of spiritual warfare against their old traditional religion. It was not that they abandoned their entire traditional worldview in favor of some modernist vision—they continued to believe in the existence of the unseen spiritual world of their ancestors—but they now saw these ancestral spirits as evil spirits to be opposed in the name of Jesus. The camps had become recruiting and training sites for the Sudanese Peoples' Liberation Army (SPLA), and so there existed in those places a military culture as many young boys began to train to go back to southern Sudan to fight against the aggressors from the North. But this martial spirit also gave rise to a form of *spiritually* militant Christianity. The cross began to be seen as a weapon to fight against the *jak* (traditional powers now interpreted as evil spirits).

> A committed band of aggressive evangelists with a spirituality steeped in military metaphors, bound together by shared experience, by shared education, Bible study and spiritual songs. They saw themselves as a "chosen generation," committed to the liberation struggle, but fired by their Christian faith and set apart for the decisive spiritual struggle being fought out with the *jak* [spirits] and the forces of evil. Others found their place in the military struggle bringing a Christian presence for the first time to the ranks of the SPLA (Werner, Anderson and Wheeler 2000, 529-530).

The Anglican churches in the camps of the Gambella region began as Jieng congregations, but their fervency soon attracted others, especially the closely related Nuer people, a Nilotic group that are indigenous to both the Sudanese and the Ethiopian sides of the border. Nuer-speaking congregations emerged in the camps, but since there were many Nuer people in the villages close to the camps, refugees also began to spread an Anglican form of Christianity outside of the camps. Bishop Nathaniel Garang, who lived for years behind enemy lines, including in the camp near Itang, evangelized, trained, and exorcised. Garang ordained probably hundreds of clergy, including many Nuer. By the end of the civil war, it is estimated that 90% of the Jieng population were baptized. Numbers are probably similar for the Nuer.

The vast majority of the Jieng refugees, including Jieng Anglicans, were driven out of Ethiopia after the fall of the *Dergue* (communist) regime in 1991, leaving the Nuer as the majority of the Anglicans in Gambella, although there are still some Jieng Anglican congregations in more recently established refugee camps in the Assosa region north of Gambella. A similar pattern of Jieng Anglicans working cross-culturally occurred in the Dima region of southern Gambella, where Anglican churches attracted the local Anuak people.

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In the late 1990s, a Nuer-speaking Sudanese priest, the Rev. John Jock Chuol, visited the camps in Gambella. While in Ethiopia, he managed to make his way to the capital, where he met with the Rev. Huw Thomas, a United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG) missionary who was the chaplain at St. Matthew's from 1995-1996. John Jock appealed to Thomas to help Anglicans build an Anglican church in Gambella town for the growing Nuer congregation there. Following the tradition of Anglicans resisting the idea of planting Anglican churches in majority Orthodox countries, Thomas at first refused. However,

> Together with another Sudanese minister, John Jok, and a future priest, Deng Mark Khor, they went to visit the [Orthodox] Patriarch, *Abuna* Paulos. To their delight the *Abuna* not only supported the idea of Anglican churches for refugees, but gave the group a letter to that effect. The result was the establishment of St. Luke's Church in Gambella town under the leadership of the Rev. John Malesh (LeMarquand 2018, 205).

Cooperation between St. Matthew's and Gambella continued under the next Addis chaplain, the Rev. Tony Andrews (CMS, New Zealand). At this point, I believe that a mistake was made, although with the best of intentions. St Luke's, a modest traditional church (that is, made from sticks, mud, and straw), had been built in Gambella town, with help from St. Matthew's. Andrews began the practice of making mid-week visits to help John Malesh train Lay Readers, brought from the refugee camp at Pinyudu. So far, so good. But then St Matthew's also began to pay John Malesh a modest salary. Eventually, other clergy, both inside and outside of the camps, began to receive salaries. More traditional church structures were built. The congregations themselves, however, contributed nothing. A cycle of dependency was initiated. The bishops of Egypt, first Ghais Abdel Malik and then Mouneer Anis Hanna, came to do confirmations, and the Gambella churches came under the authority of the Diocese of Egypt, the diocese itself eventually being renamed the Diocese of Egypt with North Africa and the Horn of Africa. Under the first ("Area") Bishop of the Horn of Africa, Andrew Proud, more local churches were built, more training and ordinations took place, and liturgies were translated into local languages, including Nuer and Jieng, of course. By this time, other language groups were joining the episcopal area. Mabaan people from the Sherkole camp in Assosa, Anuak people in the Dima region and in Gambella town, and Opo people from the area west of Itang along the South Sudan border. In Addis Ababa, a ministry to Somali people also developed. All of these groups also translated liturgies into their own languages—and their pastors also began receiving salaries from "the office" in Addis, almost all of these funds having to be raised from outside of the country.

Gambella and Assosa: Assessment

Can we assess the health of Ethiopian Anglicanism according to the three-self principles of Henry Venn (Venn 1971)? First, it is clear that these churches are *self-propagating*. Evangelism in Ethiopia since the 1980s has been done almost exclusively by indigenous people. Their methods have been diverse. Andrew Proud reported to me that during his episcopacy, the Anuak choir from their Gambella congregation, St. Barnabas, would travel to villages, sing, and gather a small audience from which a congregation would be formed. Often, clergy and lay leaders will notice that the village down the road had no Anglican Church, so they would simply go, preach the gospel, and begin worship services, thereby establishing a new church community. Also during that time, churches began performing dramatic retellings of biblical stories, which became an effective evangelistic tool (see Witts 2016). In the second decade of this century, Dr. Wendy LeMarquand instituted a program of health training to teach Mothers' Union members basic skills that could save the lives of their children (see ARDF 2025). The Mothers' Union members who bring this health training to local communities have seen not only greater degrees of children's health, but also community members joining the church as a result of being cared for.

When I went to live in Gambella to be the Area Bishop for the Horn of Africa in 2012, I was told by the Bishop of Egypt (the Most Rev. Dr. Mouneer Anis) that he thought there were thirty-eight churches in the Gambella and Assosa regions. I discovered that, during the interregnum of about a year, at least twelve more churches had been established, some worshipping under trees, or using a plastic tarpaulin sheets to shield themselves from sun and rain. Although I played no direct part in planting churches during my six-year tenure, the number of churches eventually grew to about 150. Part of this growth was a result of a major influx of refugees as the newly established country of South Sudan engaged in their own civil war. New refugee camps were built, and so new churches were established in those camps. But new evangelistic efforts reached towns and small villages.

One recent and rather large church plant was established recently. When the former Episcopal Area of the Horn of Africa had been divided into two separate dioceses within the Province of Alexandria (The Horn of Africa, which includes all the churches outside of the Gambella region, and Gambella itself), it was decided that the Diocese of Gambella needed a cathedral. With funds from Singapore, the cathedral was built in a new section of the town near where the government was building a university. That new

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congregation already has approximately 700 worshippers on Sunday mornings. Self-propagating is not a major problem for the two new dioceses.

Second, *self-governance* is developing, but faces major hurdles. The extreme poverty of the Gambella and Assosa regions, both inside and outside of the refugee camps, means that education levels are low. Low education levels mean that few prospective clergy have the resources (financially or educationally) to engage in full-time theological education. When I went to Gambella in 2012, none of the indigenous clergy had a theological degree. Many of the clergy had been ordained with almost no pastoral training. The legendary and heroic bishop Nathaniel Garang would apparently ordain someone if he could read and showed some kind of leadership capability, sometimes with only a day of training. I inherited some of those clergy and, perhaps not surprisingly, some of them failed in ministry. In his time, Andrew Proud engaged his clergy in a variety of schemes of theological education. In my time, a small theological college (St. Frumentius) had some success for a time. More recently, short part-time courses have been used to help train clergy, prospective clergy, and lay readers. Some of these courses were taught in local languages.

Several clergy were brought to Addis Ababa to study at the Mekane Yesus Seminary or the Evangelical Theological College. None of these students has returned to Gambella, although one is now ministering in Assosa. The Rev. (now Rt. Rev.) Jeremiah Meat Paul Koryom studied at the Alexandria School of Theology in Cairo and has returned to Gambella, where he is now the bishop. The new Diocese of the Horn of Africa, however, has an expatriate bishop (the Rt. Rev. Martin Reekes-Williams), and only two priests with formal theological education (one in Assosa and one doing Somali ministry in Addis). Another priest, a former Roman Catholic, is engaged in development work. Sadly, two other theologically trained clergy are, as of the time of writing, under suspension.

Although most parishes have lay and ordained indigenous leaders, the future of the church will be put on much firmer foundations if higher levels of pastoral training can be established—but experience has shown that removing these clergy from their local context has not usually been successful. So there has been moderate success in achieving self-governance.

Finally, Venn argued that churches should be *self-supporting*. From the beginning of the establishment of the relationship between Gambella and Assosa churches and the diocese, the churches of these regions have been dependent. Upon arriving in Gambella, I discovered that there was little recognition of the need for churches to support themselves financially. The keen awareness of being poor, paired with an apprehension that churches in other places (whether Addis, Cairo, Singapore, or the West) had resources and were often willing to share, has led to a passivity on the part of the Gambella and Assosa churches. I became aware that any time I ordained someone, I would be required to find new funds for the salary of that priest. Only about 10% of the congregations actually had a priest, who was then responsible for multiple churches, leaving the leading of Morning Prayer and preaching in the hands of Lay Readers, most of whom had virtually no training. This also meant that for many churches, access to the sacraments was severely limited.

After a year in Gambella, I informed all the clergy and congregation members that each "Mission Center" (group of churches under the supervision of a priest) needed to provide 5% of the priest's salary and that that assessment would increase every year. Although there was resistance at first, the church members were actually proud of the fact that they could achieve these goals. When I left Ethiopia, churches were providing 25% of their priests' salaries. There was an interregnum after I left, followed by a failed episcopacy, and then COVID-19. The scheme of each mission center providing the salary for their clergy completely fell apart. Presently, in Gambella, only the regional deans and the bishop receive any salary at all. Other clergy are non-stipendiary. This could lead (and has led) to competition for dean positions, to discouragement, and to clergy leaving for better paying positions working for NGOs, the government, or as pastors of other churches.

If Ethiopian Anglicans are asked why they are Anglicans and not some other denomination, there are two common answers: organization and liturgy. Apparently, the hierarchical, episcopal structure of Anglicanism appeals to these people groups. There is a sense that decisions will not be lost in committee and that with a bishop, there is a final court of appeal for issues and problems. The liturgy of the Anglican church makes Anglicanism, according to one Anuak leader, a church for grown-ups. Rather than worship being led by the whim of the leader, there is a structure to follow. The lectionary also provides a check on preachers sticking with a small number of familiar texts, and the church year helps to remind the church of the most important events in the biblical story. Although perhaps only 10-20% of the people in any of these churches are literate, more and more of the congregations in the area have memorized the liturgy, and liturgical music is beginning to develop.

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There may also be another reason why many are Anglican, although it is largely unspoken. The global nature of the Anglican Communion is attractive—for two very different reasons. First, positively, these Anglican Christians appreciate that their church is not simply local. They belong to a worldwide family. In Africa, where African Traditional Religions are not unified, but consist of a diversity of stories, traditions, cultures, and practices (even if there may be commonalities between versions of ATR), the notion of being allied to the one God who made the world and has revealed himself in Jesus has been a major factor in attracting conversions to Christianity across the continent. At the same time, this notion of a global church has a major drawback—the poor of the world now know that some members of this worldwide family are rich in comparison to themselves. And, in African culture, if a member of your family is in need, you are required to help them. Someone who helps his or her family is honored; the one who does not supply for the needs of his or her own family is shamed. Poor African Christians do not understand the idea that there are rich Christians who hesitate to provide for them in their need. As a result, dependency is not simply a pattern to fall into; it is almost expected. Culture dictates that the richer relatives should supply the needs of the poorer relatives.

Conclusion

After years of existing only as a chaplaincy ministry in the Horn of Africa, Anglicanism has been planted in Ethiopia, through the surprising missionary work of impoverished and persecuted refugees. Help from the outside (whether from Egypt, Singapore, or the West) has been welcomed and appreciated. Much of this help has enabled the Anglican churches of Ethiopia to develop. They have liturgies in local languages. Clergy have received basic training and, in some cases, more advanced theological education. Evangelism has continued to thrive—local people are becoming Christians and are forming caring Christian communities. But there continue to be major obstacles to full maturity. Poverty and ethnic tensions are obvious to all. More subtle and seemingly intractable is the problem of dependency. The consecration of an indigenous bishop in Gambella and the emergence of more lay and ordained leadership in both new dioceses provide hope for the future maturation of Gambella and the Horn of Africa.

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Anglican Ecclesiology in the Japanese Context

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Abstract

This paper will address the historic ecclesiology of the *Nippon Seikōkai* (NSKK) up to the present by reflecting on the historical Anglican missionary movements in Japan over the same time period. In particular, focus will be on Anglicanism's initial forays into new territory compared with the developments toward a common Anglican identity, all while addressing the peculiar circumstances of Japan.

Introduction

Anglican ecclesiology in the Japanese context is a multifaceted topic needing examination from many different angles in order to bring it into proper focus, given its rich and complex history. While the picture is one that at times appears at odds with itself, these seemingly internal contradictions are illustrative of an indigenous church attempting to find its own place within the context of global Anglicanism today. Thus, just as Anglicans around the globe are constantly seeking to define what Anglicanism is and how to best express it, the *Nippon Seikōkai* (日本聖公会, NSKK) is but one branch of Anglicanism seeking its inculturated witness to Christ. The NSKK maintains its diversity of perspectives, especially when it comes to its ecclesiology and Anglican distinctives, which in turn allows it to claim its Anglican heritage while standing within the unique Japanese cultural context (*39 Articles* 24; Cranmer 1549).

This paper will address the historic ecclesiology of the NSKK up to the present by reflecting on the historical Anglican missionary movements in Japan over the same time period. In particular, focus will be on Anglicanism's initial forays into new territory compared with the developments toward a common Anglican identity, all while

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addressing the peculiar circumstances of Japan. To begin with, ecclesiology needs to be defined in some essential way to speak of it. By ecclesiology, I mean the gathering which is the Body of Christ as understood by the Greek term εκκλεσια (ekklesia). The Greek term, as used in the early church, harkens back to an understanding of those followers of Jesus Christ as a body gathered together, which is the root of the usage of εκκλεσια in biblical texts. Thus, when we speak of ecclesiology, at least within the Japanese context, we need to take into consideration how the Body of Christ is constituted within Japanese culture and society

In the Japanese context, the εκκλεσια is perhaps best captured by the term 聖公会 (*seikōkai*), which is the East Asian adaptation of the moniker for the Church and is expressed through the English ecclesiastical tradition (i.e., Anglican; Mammana 2012). In its literal sense, the Anglican Church in Japan is the "Holy" (聖 *sei*) "Catholic" (公 k¶) "Church" (会 *kai*) that embodies the real sense of being a "set-apart public gathering" (聖・公・会) of Christ's Body. Thus, when we consider the ecclesiology of Anglicanism in Japan, we must first understand how the Church is being made incarnate within the Japanese socio-cultural structures through the gathering of its people who identify as Christians and, more specifically, as Anglicans.

Emergent Anglicanism in Japan

Anglicanism first entered Japan in 1859 with the arrival of the Protestant Episcopal Church USA (PECUSA) missionaries John Liggins and Channing Moore Williams. Both graduates of Virginia Theological Seminary and missionaries to China with the Board of Foreign Missions PECUSA, the two men were pioneers in many ways, not the least because they were sent to Japan and entered the country at a time when Christianity was still outlawed (Yazaki 1988). Williams arrived around July 1859, just months after Liggins, but it is Williams who is remembered as the sole regular Anglican minister in Japan after Liggins's return to the United States in early 1860 following an illness. Upon entering through Nagasaki on Kyushu, Williams settled into a rhythm of prayer in which he quickly sought to find a Japanese expression. Although his public aim was to minister to foreigners in Japan—principally trade and diplomatic delegations under the waning Tokugawa bakufu (shogunate-centred government) of the mid-nineteenth century—he saw his status as a sent minister of an Anglican foreign mission arm as one which drove him to an increasing care for and eventual love of the Japanese people and culture. To this end, since Williams saw Morning and Evening Prayer as the cornerstone of

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Anglican liturgical worship, he translated them into Japanese along with relevant passages of the Bible (Yazaki 1988).

What started as a personal project for Williams began to grow. As he moved and settled in Osaka, and later Edo (known today as Tokyo), Williams's project that began out of necessity to pray the daily offices in Japanese—accompanied by Japanese scriptural readings and sermons—grew into something more significant. Within five years, Williams was attempting to lead communion and other services in Japanese and had baptized his first Japanese convert by 1866 before being made missionary bishop later that year (Drummond 1971). With the arrival of the British CMS missionary delegations in 1868, headed by the Reverend Ensor, the Anglican landscape in Japan began to take on new dimensions (Kimura 2017). As Ensor and others also began seeking to minister in Japanese once the anti-Christian laws were relaxed from 1862 and lifted from 1873 (Drummond 1971), the variety of existing Anglican patrimony and ecclesiology from around the world began to creep in as well. The British, using the authorised 1662 edition of the Book of Common Prayer (BCP), undoubtedly found variation with Williams's use of the American 1789 edition of the BCP, which diverged notably in areas such as prayers for the sovereign and in the adoption of more of the Scottish eucharistic forms from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thus, the translation efforts begun in parallel between the British and Williams's own work were a microcosm of the greater Anglican ecclesiological picture of the age. While this could have been cause for consternation between the two groups, this was not to be the case.

It is possible, at this point, to examine this as a pure liturgical or linguistic concern and consider the question from either of those angles; however, if we take a step back to consider the broader ecclesiastical picture, what might be called "emergent Anglicanism" is prudent to posit at this juncture. In 1861, the first calls began to go out for some sort of collective meeting or other recognition of the evermore sprawling Church of England and its various offshoots around the globe—both those directly inheriting the tradition of the Church of England and others, such as the PECUSA, who indirectly had received their Anglican lineage from several lines. By 1865, the South African affair was coming to a head (the Bishop of Cape Town, Robert Gray, attempted to denounce and eventually excommunicate the Bishop of Natal, William Colenso, for heresy, failing jurisdictional and legal tests before the Privy Council; Draper 2003), with the Bishop of Ontario weighing in that a gathering of the "Anglican communion" was necessary to resolve the matter (Davidson 1889). While this proposed gathering did not attract wider support from Anglicans around the world nor was seen as particularly necessary, there was nonetheless momentum building from many quarters to gather as a communion and seek a more formal understanding of how the multitude of English and English-heritage churches around the world might better relate to one another and work together. Thus, at the invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the first of what came to be known as the Lambeth Conferences was held in 1867.

Williams, who had been made missionary bishop of China and Japan just the year prior, had since taken up residency in Japan and attended the first and subsequent Lambeth Conferences (Yazaki 1988). Bishop Bickersteth, who was the British missionary bishop sent to Japan from the Church of England in 1886, was also present from 1888 at Lambeth (Davidson 1889). Thus, in the small microcosm of budding Japanese Anglicanism, the emergence of Anglicanism on a broader, more global scale was partially mirrored in the early years of the NSKK. That recognition, at least at the episcopal level, of both PECUSA and English missions in Japan as equal members of a gathering of Anglicans globally meant that the Anglican presence could rightly be claimed as active and real in Japan by the nineteenth century, much as it could be claimed in British colonial frontiers such as India or Oceania as well. Furthermore, Williams and Bickersteth began to work together around the same time, moving their initially independent missions into a closer working relationship that centered around cooperation in missionary realms as well as shared work toward a common BCP liturgy in Japanese. The cooperation of British and American missions first led to the production of working texts by 1879, with the Williams-Bickersteth mission inheriting the mantle and helping establish the NSKK (日本聖公會 *Nippon Seikōkwai*) in 1887 and adopting the working texts by the newly-formed NSKK as its official liturgical texts. After further revision, these texts were published as the first NSKK prayer book under the title 祈禱文 (*Kitōbun*) in 1895 (Yoshida 2006).

During these thirty years, in which the NSKK formed and Anglican liturgies in Japanese were published, other groups entered the scene. In 1887, the Church of England in Canada established a mission in Japan, further nuancing the growing Anglican mosaic and contributing to the already present American, English, and Japanese Anglican expressions. In addition, over the years, Anglicans and other Protestant missionary movements in Japan continued to expand beyond pure evangelism and church planting/growth to areas such as medicine and education. With the founding of hospitals like St. Luke's in Tsukiji, Tokyo (Kawasaki 2018) and schools like St. Mary's in Osaka, as well as care centers like the leper colony in Kyushu (Tobimastu 1937) and the poor house also in Tsukiji, Anglicans in Japan began to see

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themselves as much participants in Japanese society as Christians who gathered to worship in the BCP tradition and learn from the Bible through prayer meetings, sermons, and other study groups. Japanese Anglican Christianity was off to a good start by the end of the nineteenth century despite the Meiji religious laws that established Shinto as the official state religion which imposed newly developed and reorganized State Shinto practices (attached to the emperor as cultural and social expectations for the whole of Japanese society) upon Christians while allowing for the freedom of religion practices.

Thus, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Anglicanism was poised to expand further and cement its foothold in Japanese society as one of the significant Christian groups in play. By the late nineteenth century, Williams had successfully overseen the establishment of the NSKK, the finalization and publication of the *Kitōbun*, and the establishment of a visionary future of the Church in Japan through a Bible training school for young men. He intended that this school would form future clergy and leaders within the NSKK. Founded in Tsukiji as the St. Paul School in 1874 (today: 立教大学 Rikkyo University), by the early twentieth century, this institution became a staple of the Anglican missionary effort to domestically reach the Japanese people. From its simple origins as a Bible training school with five pupils, it grew to the status of the NSKK theological college. By 1920, it was established as an Anglican university in Japan in its present-day location in Ikebukuro. Williams had thus cemented himself into the very foundations of the NSKK as its founding father, so eager to see the success of this endeavour that he lived at the school and oversaw its growth until retiring from his episcopal ministry in 1889. After the consecration of his successor in 1893, Williams returned to Japan in 1895 to take up residence in Kyoto until his final return to the United States in 1907 (Yazaki 1988).

Alongside the establishment of the St. Paul School, other educational endeavours took place across the country in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. St. Anges School of Osaka—later St Agnes University in Kyoto (平安女学院大学 Heian Women's University)—and St. Andrew's School in Osaka—later University (still in Osaka, 桃山学院大学 Momoyama University)—were established and grew into great centers of learning within Japanese Anglicanism as well as for the country. Furthermore, early childhood and primary education offered by Christians in Japan began to grow in prestige among the general population, and the NSKK was no exception to this. Especially after World War II, nurseries and primary schools run by Christians multiplied rapidly in Japan, and the NSKK had some of the fastest-growing schools of any Christian denomination in the country by the 1960s. The early twentieth century was a boon for Christianity in Japan in many ways, including an increased capacity as a trusted means of education within Japanese society.

The early successes of Anglicans and other Christians in Japan do not mean there were no difficulties or other concerns among Christians, especially from the 1920s onwards. On both the education and ecumenical witness fronts, Christians—including Anglicans—encountered several challenges. To the educational witness of the Church, an increasing imperialization of Japanese society at all levels drew greater scrutiny to the established educational institutions that Christians ran and how Christian educators presented themselves in society. In one famous example, Kanzo Uchimura refused to properly reverence the imperial decree scroll presented to and read at his Imperial upper school, leading to his censure and ultimate removal from the school (Shibuya 2013).

Similarly, Christian witness in Japan came under increasing public scrutiny as the numerous denominations pursued unity in mission. The Japan Federation of Christian Churches (日本キリスト教会同盟 *Nihon Kirisuto Kyōkai Dōmei*) was formed in 1911 as an effort to formalize what had been varying degrees of cooperation among Christian missionaries and later locally-grown Japanese churches across a variety of fields such as education, medicine, and social services. While the group saw positive growth, especially in the 1920s, once reorganized under the new name, the National Christian Council (NCC, 日本キリスト教連盟 *Nihon Kirisuto-kyō Renmei*), it also became an easy target for the Imperial government as it sought to exert further control on the churches (Drummond 1971). As a Protestant interdenominational body focused on ecumenical cooperation, the complexities of theological, missiological, and ecclesiological dynamics among the members, and the imposition of a state seeking conformity to control religious groups and enforce state-sponsored Japanese social norms, presented a challenge to Christian witness. Japanese Anglicans were no stranger to these pressures, though their lack of full participation in the Kyōdan meant they felt these pressures in parallel to the organization rather than exclusively as part of it.

Growth of the NSKK under Imperial Japan

Nevertheless, there were several positive ways in which the NSKK did grow from the 1920s onwards. In response to the first Anglo-Catholic Conferences held in the West between 1920 and 1923, there was an increasingly marked interest in liturgy and

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liturgical forms among Japanese Anglicans. The Society of St. John the Evangelist (SSJE), a British and American religious society formed in the nineteenth century from the Oxford and Tractarian Movements, grew and established a branch in Japan along with its sister community of women, the Society of the Nazarene. As a result, various breviaries and other additions and adjustments to the Kitōsho liturgies began to proliferate for private use, with varying degrees of endorsement and usage. Alongside this liturgical growth, the NSKK also increased the number of its dioceses as it sought to become a wholly Japanese-led Anglican province. The newly created dioceses in Tokyo and Osaka, both locations where Bishop William had started missionary work fifty years earlier, had newly appointed bishops drawn from the ranks of Japanese clergy. This was a significant move as it was a creation of dioceses by Japanese Anglicans for the first time, not founded by missionaries or associated with a particular overseas Anglican body, and formed for large social, political, and ecclesiological centers within Japan.

Through these movements, Japanese Anglicanism began to outgrow its missionary foundations and take on more characteristics of a truly self-governing church, a status that the NSKK had enjoyed on paper at least since 1887. The NSKK also took on an increasing role as not simply being a place where missionaries were sent (though the practice continued for some time and arguably does to this day) but also became a place from which missionaries were sent. The NSKK mission in Formosa (present-day Taiwan) was a Japanese-led effort within the boundaries of Japanese colonial territory. While this and similar efforts to Manchuria and the Korean peninsula certainly carried forward some of the less commendable parts of Anglicanism, particularly from its close colonial ties historically in the British Empire, it was nonetheless indicative of a fully indigenous church (Yano et al. 1991). Although many of the other dioceses outside of Tokyo and Osaka grew out of missionary districts—these two dioceses themselves being inheritors of the missionary endeavors of Bishop Williams and others before their formation—a clear patchwork of interrelated and interconnected Anglican bodies existed throughout Japan, which coalesced together under the ægis of the NSKK to form a thoroughly Japanese Anglican church.

Though still in a period of growth, the NSKK, was arguably at its apex in the two decades leading up to the Pacific War. It was a church of Japanese Anglicans, vibrant and growing despite its small and unique character. This was not a trend that benefited much from the wartime years, nor in the decades that followed. By 1941, the NSKK was forced into the increasingly difficult position of maintaining its independence apart from the state-sanctioned Kyōdan, the inheritors of the NCC, while maintaining a relatively strong and proportionate foreign mission presence. And by 1943, this boiled over to the point that the last remaining foreign missionaries were forced out of Japan, and the NSKK was forced into the decision to join the Kyōdan or fold. As the process of amalgamation into the group began—the unresolved question of bishops and creeds notwithstanding—a champion emerged in the figure of Presiding Bishop Sasaki, who stood up and refused the government's order to finalize the union. And it is arguably because of his example that the NSKK underwent what was effectively a split, with some churches, clergy, and laity joining the Kyōdan and others following Bishop Sasaki in refusing to comply with the government edict (Drummond 1971, Takeda 1996). Like many of the other established denominations in Japan at the time, in the postwar era, the NSKK had to contend with a society ravaged by war and suffering from destroyed resources. They struggled to remain independent as foreign missions agencies donated much-needed aid and funds, which caused the NSKK to take a step back toward dependency and destroyed their hard-earned three self (governing, supporting, propagating) status (Takeda 1996).

The NSKK stepped into this reality in 1950 when its General Convention faced the upcoming centennial marking Bishop Channing Moore Williams's first arrival in Japan. The difficulties of the war-torn country and church aside, the NSKK decided to appoint a committee to update the prayer book. Having gone through a series of minor edits and revisions in its fifty-five years, including a renaming to the present-day祈祷書 (*Kitōsho*), the 1895 edition was ripe for an update. In the popular sphere, society had moved on from the increasingly archaic forms and expressions found in the older Japanese BCP being used, with the government propagating a simplified form of Japanese in 1946 that updated spellings, pronunciation, and words, while removing dated characters and expressions (Nomoto 1993). However, the 1895 edition did not reflect many of the liturgical shifts present in Anglican churches elsewhere in the world, despite its long use until after the war. It had glossed over significant revisions to the American, Scottish, and English (proposed) books of 1928/1929, as well as the newly emergent and experimental rites in India and South Africa. Thus, the NSKK commissioned a study in 1950 to ascertain whether a revision to the Japanese BCP would be prudent and what timeframe was to be considered. Early on, the determination was made to proceed with a centennial edition to address these and other concerns with the text, which received approval at the 1953 General Convention. A first reading of proposed texts was given at the 1956 conference.

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The ecclesiology of Anglicanism in Japan was set to change once more, however. Having been started as a missionary work by Americans and British in the nineteenth century, the church quickly became a Japanese Anglican community, a benefit for the budding *ecclesia* as questions of Japanese identity within Imperial Japan came to the forefront in the early twentieth century. The NSKK responded by becoming a loyal part of Japanese society and a partner of other Protestant churches in Japan, while maintaining some of its Anglican distinctives, including an apostolic episcopacy. Later on, these distinctives extended to an increased emphasis on its liturgical heritage in the BCP tradition and an appreciation of ritual liturgics well-suited to Japanese societal and cultural norms. This faced a challenge in the pre-war years, especially as Japanese society moved in a more anti-Christian direction, but the NSKK sought to maintain its ecclesiastical distinctiveness while remaining a loyal subject as long as possible—a feat which may have preserved its independence in the end, while undermining its structure during and after the war. Thus, a self-reflection on liturgical grounds was, at least in part, an introspection inviting the NSKK at this 1950 juncture to consider its Anglican identity and the form the church would take moving forward. At this point, the question of inculturation enters.

Inculturating toward a Japanese Anglicanism

Inculturation, in its modern understanding, owes a lot to the outcomes of Vatican II in the 1960s and subsequent theologizing by Jesuits and other Roman Catholics attempting to update nineteenth and twentieth-century missiological terms in light of mid- to late-twentieth-century global church realities. By inculturation, I mean here that forward-looking perspective on the 1950s in Japan and among Japanese Anglicans that sought a unique indigenous Christian expression of the Anglican tradition in Japan. Inculturation, in general terms, finds its roots in nineteenth- and twentieth-century missiological history—most notably in the work of Roland Allen for Anglicans. It was further adopted in 1988 by the International Anglican Liturgical Consultation (IALC), which drew upon Roman Catholic theology of the 1970s and 1980s. Thus, what happens in the 1950s in the NSKK and Japan at large is a type of soul-searching that seeks to find and define a new sense of what it means to be Japanese, especially as Christians, and how to live this out. The NSKK's answer to this was partially undertaken in the foundation-laying 1959 edition of the Japanese *Kitōsho*.

Although the liturgical revisions that the NSKK considers and enacts in the 1950s may not appear foundational for inculturation at a cursory glance, they do set the tone for the church going forward as a thoroughly Anglican body seeking to find its best expression in Japanese and for the Japanese people. The documentary evidence of liturgical revision—particularly from notes and papers of prayerbook committee members like Bishop Mori and Father Sakurai—shows the NSKK inheriting a clear connection to the Anglican liturgical tradition. At the same time, the NSKK of the 1950s is keen on reflecting the current state of affairs in postwar Japan by reducing emphasis on the imperial aspects that had existed in the prior editions of the *Kitōsho* as well as other supplementary prayer texts. Thus, a nuanced variety of prayer forms made their way into the 1959 *Kitōsho*, with some harkening back to pre-Anglican (i.e., Sarum Rite) and later Anglican prayer traditions (e.g., 1662 BCP), and others deemphasizing some Japanese distinctives which were not helpful to the NSKK or its postwar cultural witness (e.g., nationalistic prayers for past emperors on their name days). This brought the Japanese prayer book further into alignment with other major Anglican prayer books of its day and also introduced to it variety and experimentation that sought a new and better understanding for the Japanese context.

At the threat of glossing over a large span of history since 1959, at least until the late 1980s, a few things can be said about Japanese Anglicanism in the interim and how it continued this introspection with various outcomes. On one hand, in the era immediately following Vatican II and the 1967 Lambeth Conference, the NSKK and Japanese Anglicans' relations to the broader Anglican world had shifted. Much in the vein of the Episcopal Church's 1979 prayer book and the Church of England's move toward modern colloquialisms within liturgical worship (vis-à-vis the Alternative Services measure of 1980 and Common Worship of 2000), the NSKK began studying the question of colloquial modernism within liturgical expressions in the 1970s. This led to the publication of the 1990 modern language edition of the *Kitōsho*. So too is identification with the Anglican Communion in its present form of paramount significance within the NSKK from this period onward. It may be equally thought of as the "Anglican Church in Japan" as much as the "Anglican Communion partner church in Japan." The Communion status of the NSKK lends as much legitimacy to the use of the "Anglican" modifier as do its inherited traditions and missionary legacies from other Anglican churches. Thus, in a manner of speaking, the postwar iteration of the NSKK was and is as much the "Holy Catholic Church" in name as well as ecclesiastical polity.

Yet not all of the steps taken since 1959 brought liturgical growth or a constructive inculturation of Anglicanism in Japan. In 1988, after many years of deliberation, the prayers for the emperor and imperial family were officially removed from the 1959

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Kitōsho in circulation, with many copies receiving pasted-in squares just two years before the modern language edition's release in 1990. Similarly, by following the Church of England's admission of women to Holy Orders (presbyterate), the NSKK kept in step with the "mother church," going so far as to only adopt the allowances or liturgical shifts necessary once the CoE did in 1994 and 1995. The result was that several dioceses and bishops refused to comply initially, though most have conformed over the past thirty years (Cosby 2021). In 2020, the first woman was elected as a diocesan bishop in Hokkaido (HHEB 2022), furthering its mirroring of the CoE. Since the 1990s, breakaway parishes and ministers have joined or affiliated with the Ordinariate out of Australia, the Traditional Anglican Communion, the Church of Nigeria, and, most recently, the Anglican Church in North America as ways of protesting what might be called a liberalizing trend within Japanese Anglicanism, particularly on social and theological fronts.

In response to these trends, as well as a general malaise in membership numbers, the dioceses have strayed from their initial roots in Western Anglican missions organisations (Pelot 2022). On one hand, this can be seen as a positive development in the direction of inculturation. Despite the compelling factors driving the changes, mergers like the nearly-completed "Diocese of East Japan" (東日本教区 *Higashi Nippon Kyōku*) from the Kita Kanto and Tokyo dioceses are addressing the needs of the twenty-first century NSKK and consolidating the church under a shared missionary oversight and vision for the future. However, these trends can equally indicate a church that, rather than maintaining the inculturating impulse instilled by missionaries and further supported by the 1959 *Kitōsho* revisions, has upset the balance of missionary diversity that gave life to the NSKK. For example, the new Diocese of East Japan, centred in the Tokyo region, combines a High Church, native Japanese diocese (Tokyo) with a more Low Church missionary-founded diocese (Kita Kanto). Several other discussions about further diocesan reductions and downsizings suggest a stagnant church and also threaten to paper over missionary heritages, liturgical practices, and other differences of polity. The dioceses of Central Japan (中部 *Chūbu*, founded by Canadian missionaries) and Kyoto (American) formally began talks toward integration on September 17th, 2025 (Nishihara 2025), and other possible mergers in the near future include Kobe/Kyushu and Hokkaido/Tohoku. (See Figure 1 on the next page).

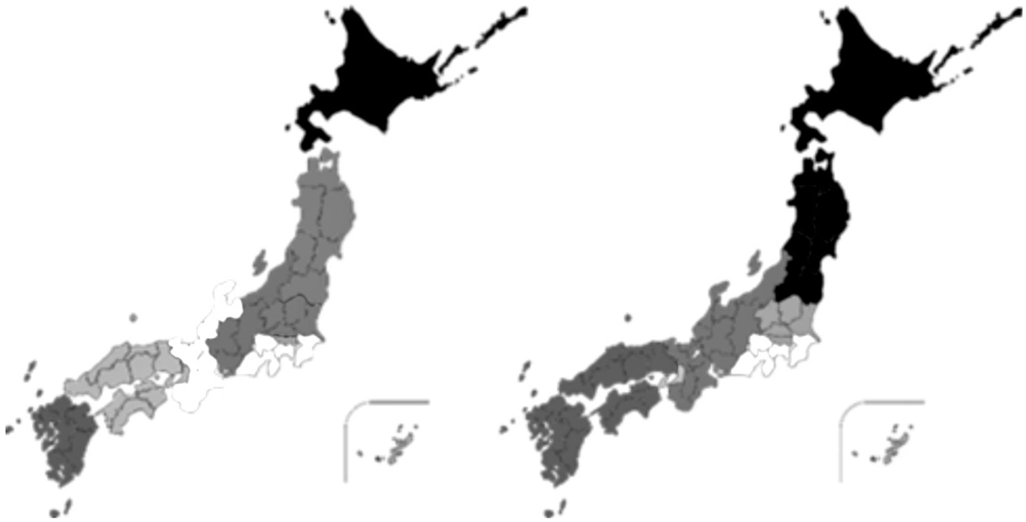

Figure 1 - Comparison of current diocesan prefectures (left) with proposed/posited prefectural groupings post-amalgamation (right). The current diocesan bishop of Tokyo serves as the bishop-in-charge of Kita Kanto and will likely pass to the newly created See in East Japan, hence the new diocese taking on Tokyo's colour. Likewise, the Diocesan of Chūbu recently serves in-charge of downgraded Kyoto Missionary Diocese and will likely succeed for the newly yet-named diocese, hence the change on the right map. As Hokkaido's bishop is relatively young and female, hence the north amalgamation colour; and the conjectured southern diocese merger arbitrarily takes on a single character of its constituents.

Where do these trends leave things today? The primary impression of the NSKK today is one of a small church within a populous and modern cosmopolitan country. It faces many of the same difficulties that other churches in Japan and in similar contexts face, particularly as a minority religion and existing within a postmodern society. Nevertheless, there is a staying power to Japanese Anglicanism that has endured 150 years and, despite its small size today, suggests it could last 150 more. While dioceses may shrink and consolidate, parishes close or are sold off, and elderly congregations lose members one by one, there is comfort in knowing that Japanese Anglicanism occupies a particular niche of Japanese Christianity and Japanese society more broadly that will likely see it maintain its share of the market. Christianity in Japan arguably is faced with difficult times ahead as its early missionary successes and subsequent growth through the postwar Reconstruction period give way to a minority position within a postmodern, secular society of deep spirituality but little love for organized religion.

Nevertheless, there is hope for the future, too. Some scholars like Lande (1993) have argued for a wave theory in describing how Christianity in Japan has operated over the course of history, and we are long overdue for a new wave. Perhaps we are even in the midst of the swell of a fourth wave as Japan begins to exit the economic downturn of the 1990s "Lost Decade" and finds new footing in an internationally volatile world (Pelot 2022). Although Anglicanism today faces a modicum of uncertainty as it attempts to find its global footing in the twenty-first century, the seed that Anglican missions have sown over several centuries is starting to sprout and grow toward a new expression of Anglicanism for today's world. This is an Anglicanism that is global yet traditional, an expression that appeals well to Japan today and hints that Japanese Anglicanism is ready to be weeded and carefully tended in the fertile soil of Japan.

One way to go about this is rooted in the 1980s and 1990s discussions around liturgical inculturation within Anglicanism. Although these were initially dominated by Africans and Westerners, dealing with a superficial understanding of inculturation and its application to lived-out faith, today these are a gift in disguise for Anglicanism (Pelot 2022). By reaching back into Anglicanism's missiological past and seeing the biblical foundations of Anglican mission acted upon to bear fruit, even an initial misunderstanding or misapplication of liturgical inculturation by Anglicans in the 1990s offers a chance to consider how missiological inculturation occurs when the gospel is preached and faithful witness of Christ lived out. Via inculturation, we can speak ecumenically with our brothers and sisters in the Roman Catholic world because we use the same language and terminology, nuancing our understanding as it applies to the whole of Christ's Church. Likewise, we can connect with Protestant Christians who favor similar and increasingly analogous terms like "contextualisation" to see that our lived faith can translate across cultures and languages (Pelot 2022). And this is an approach which, despite its fluidity in Anglican applications, can find success in Japan to further the Japanese Anglican witness.

Missiological Approaches to Japanese Anglicanism

Contemporary Japanese Anglicanism stands to benefit from these inculturating practices in a number of ways. First, it can find a small but dedicated number of scholars from both sides of the Western Church who address these questions in Japanese and for the Japanese in order to add Japanese voices to the global Anglican mix. Just as Furuhashi acknowledged inculturation as a type of "cultural incarnation" (文化的受肉 *bunkateki ju'niku*, 2009) and Fukuda (1993) asserted that the gospel must be contextualized if it is to live in the Japanese heart, Japanese Anglicans can help bridge the Roman Catholic-Protestant lexilogical divide by embracing inculturation as "incultural flourishing" (文化内開花 *bunkanai kaika*) while also addressing the gospel to Japanese hearts (Furuhashi 2009, Pelot 2022).

Second, the richness of Anglican liturgical practice and its continuity across the centuries gives Japanese Anglicanism a method to approach its worship that is properly ordered to the right ends yet flexible enough to embrace the needs of the day. The liturgical establishment under Williams embodies the Cranmerian tradition of adapting existing liturgies to practical, everyday needs in the words of the people to create a collective and common worship. Added to this are the foundations of liturgical inculturation—which the mid-century Japanese Anglicans laid in the 1950s by seeking a balance between their Anglican heritage and meeting the needs of the day—and which allow for further innovation of liturgical worship that can put down deep roots. There is potential, for example, as the NSKK proposes further prayer book revisions and publishes trial liturgies, seeking to address real needs for a living faith and to strike a balance between theology and praxis for everyday life in Japan.

Finally, the staying power of the Anglican tradition in Japan is one that seeks to preserve the faith once delivered by the saints through episcopal succession and godly leadership, administration of the sacraments, teaching and preaching of the Word and the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the faithful witness of all believers as the Body of Christ. While Anglicans cannot necessarily make a unique claim to all of these traditions, by the inheritance that we have received over the past 2000 years, we are a people whose search for God and love of Christ has helped us to endure. As a result, the best of the inherited traditions is distilled for us, from the monasticism of the early Celtic Christians to the ecclesiology of the Romans and biblical witness and attestation of the reformers. We draw upon a lengthy and deep history that engrafts us to Christ when we are faithful to the Word we have received. Japanese Anglicanism is no exception.

Thus, when looking at the state of Anglicanism in Japan today—though many of the trials and hardships give pause and even lament—we can take heart and have faith. Moving forward, there is a need to embrace the faith-culture dialogue that is central to the inculturation process in order for biblical witness in Japan to thrive among Anglicans. Too often, lived faith is seen as an intellectual or social exercise, divorced from theological orthodoxy, rather than the natural witness of the gospel faithfully lived. Yet, an appraisal which honors the inherited traditions of Japanese Anglicans and

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missionaries to Japan, and which seeks to inculturate and incarnate our faith to the Incarnate Christ who is as indigenous to Japan as He is to all places, times and peoples, might just lead to a fuller understanding of what it means to be Christian in Japan and how one can be both Christian (or even Anglican) and Japanese.

The ritual traditions of the West, including those in Anglicanism and others inherited from the Anglo-Catholic movements of a century ago, are also rich avenues by which Japanese Anglicanism can express itself and find its own footing amidst a Japanese culture that is ritualistic and formal. The ritual practices that Westerners, including Anglicans, sometimes push back against are perhaps the very things that must be taken under consideration in Japan. This does not mean that they need to be adopted carte blanche without modification, but these practices and the theology that lies behind them are a good starting point to ask how our bodies, hearts, and minds are positioned in liturgical Anglican worship and what is the best means to go about that in Japan.

In order to better envision what this inculturated Anglicanism in Japan might look like, what follows are some observations on how to practically enact this type of inculturation in such a way that extends beyond theological maxims or liturgical texts and enters into everyday Japanese Anglican praxis.

Embracing silence

The use of silence is not liturgically, rubrically, or otherwise mandated in Anglican liturgy or liturgical texts. In fact, silence is rarely mentioned outside of portions of Scripture read in the liturgy. In some contexts, silence can often be drowned out by music, movement, voices, actions, or other well-meaning yet distracting liturgical movements which others find innocuous or even conducive to their own liturgical prayer. Anglicanism certainly allows for this breadth of expression, and it should be encouraged where needed. However, a renewed appreciation of silence and intentional use of it within liturgy could go a long way to helping Japanese participants find the space to encounter and worship God.

Sacred space

The consciousness and awareness of sacred space is another point to which Anglicans have a rich history and tradition to draw upon, but which also may not be fully utilized, particularly in a missions context which prioritizes the practical and efficient use of resources over seemingly unnecessary or unwise choices of space. Japan is full of sacred spaces, and the Japanese people are very cognizant of these in their day-to-day lives. This also touches upon an awareness of the spiritual realm, which itself is a type of sacred space and permeates our world as we know it within the Japanese mind. By becoming more aware of these things, and how Anglicans treat and think about sacred spaces and the combined spiritual and physical realities that inhabit them, we can find ways in which Anglicanism offers the right combination of considerations to speak truth into the realities the Japanese people naturally sense.

Liturgical rhythms

While this can certainly take on a musical connotation with a rich Anglican tradition to reinforce it, here I mean simply the daily rhythms of life we find in the Anglican tradition. Just as Cranmer sought to simplify the monastic hours of his day so that the prayer lives of the people—lay and clerical alike—might be edified by simple and accessible rhythms of prayer, so too can this appeal to a Japanese context where an ordered day with its own liturgy is lived out by many. This may have overtones of a daily liturgy by which one keeps life, but it need not be confined in this particular manner. Rather, the rhythms by which we live our lives are the same rhythms that we seek to embody in prayer, worship, and the reading of the Scriptures. Thus, by seeking to achieve harmony in these parts of everyday life, Anglicanism offers the means by which a rhythmic balance might be found that meets the needs of Japanese people while drawing us closer to God.

Recentering Scripture

Finally, the centering of our lives in and around Scripture is essential to our lives as Christians and ought to come naturally to Anglicans, whose liturgical traditions of prayer are rooted deeply in the Bible. Oftentimes, Anglicans want to go straight for the proverbial three-legged stool of Scripture, tradition, and reason, providing a somewhat intellectually-leaning argument for how one ought to interact with the biblical texts. However, since Cranmer's liturgical tradition and language of worship were so steeped in Scripture, this should encourage more approaches to living this out. By offering a rich prayer tradition that couples well with biblical knowledge and sound preaching, the Anglican tradition offers an attainable and fertile means by which intentional exposure to God's Word can naturally happen, even among the Japanese.

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Toward a Japanese Εκκλεσια

These suggestions are not meant to be exhaustive, though there is a certain clarity and beneficial quality to them. Rather, they are guiding principles for proclaiming the gospel and living out our liturgy of common prayer. The Anglican tradition, when inculturated well, could potentially be a natural fit in the Japanese context.

In this paper, I have aimed to show an outline of ecclesiological history and the current state of affairs in Japanese Anglicanism that points to an inculturating approach of Anglican missions and the incarnation of Christianity within Japan. The dialogue between Christianity and Japanese culture, as well as between Japanese and non-Japanese Christians, has changed drastically over the past seventy years. This, though not always in a positive growth direction for Christianity or Anglicanism in Japan, has nonetheless provided tools and ways by which the conversation can be carried forward today. By seeing and acknowledging the long patrimony which Anglicanism draws from, we can see how those elements that speak to the hierarchical and ecclesial structures of the Church might find a natural home in Japan. Similarly, the inculturating impulse that lies at the center of Anglican missiology and the proclamation of the gospel as naturally incarnate in all parts of the world applies equally to Japan. Thus, we can lean into our liturgical and prayer traditions to find ways, old and new, of expressing our faith in Japan so that the Japanese people can find their own voice to lift up the name of the Lord, *ad majoriem Dei gloriam*.

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The Good Shepherd Church of India as an Ecclesiastical Framework for the Consideration of Majority World Christians

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Abstract

This study examines the contextual, biblical, and theological contexts in which the Good Shepherd Church of India operates, cataloging the challenges faced by India and other nations within the Majority World when seeking an authentic expression of their Christian faith. This study showcases Good Shepherd's origin as a parachurch organization, emergence as a church movement, and the embracing of a theology of dignity that shapes the work today, rooted in humanity's creation in the Imago Dei, compelling cultures worldwide to embrace the living God in indigenously appropriate ways.

Introduction

India is experiencing a remarkable transformation, characterized by bustling airports and the lively highways filled with various modes of transportation, underscored by vibrant billboards proclaiming, "India Rising" (Cohen 2000). With a population exceeding 1.4 billion (Hertog, Gerland, and Wilmouth 2023), the nation has emerged from its so-called third-world status (Silver 2015) to assert its identity on the global stage (Center for Economics and Business Research 2024), positioning itself as a future economic superpower (Worldometer 2025). According to the World Economic League Table, India is expected to surpass the U.S. and China by 2080 (CEBR 2024). However, this narrative exists within a paradox, as the ultra-wealthy coexist alongside the desperately poor (Satapathy 2023), revealing a society vividly illustrated by rich clothing and spicy foods (Shukla and Park 2023, 27-44 and Srinivas 2011, 16), yet plagued by high illiteracy, infant mortality rates, and gender-based injustices (Chandru, Sharma, and Dharmaraju 2022, 743-752). The necessary structures for growth and

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equity remain lacking, highlighting a deep-rooted injustice where the privileged benefit from systemic disparities.

With this backdrop of India's rising out of the so-called Third World, and after more than sixty years of ministry experience, the Good Shepherd Church of India has emerged as an indigenous church movement that worships in the Anglican tradition, embraces a theology of dignity, and possesses a rich archival history. This study examines the contextual, biblical, and theological contexts in which the Good Shepherd Church of India operates, cataloging the challenges faced by India and other nations within the Majority World when seeking an authentic expression of their Christian faith. This study showcases Good Shepherd's origin as a parachurch organization, emergence as a church movement, and the embracing of a theology of dignity that shapes the work today, rooted in humanity's creation in the Imago Dei, compelling cultures worldwide to embrace the living God in indigenously appropriate ways.

The Good Shepherd Church of India

As an indigenous church movement (Coe 1973, 233-243), the Good Shepherd Church of India exemplifies the confidence and independence of both modern-day Christianity and the ancient church through its Indian designed, led, and sustained ecclesiological structure and activities (D'souza 2007). Established in 1964, it has transitioned from a Western-influenced parachurch organization to an authentic Indian expression of Christianity, focusing on holistic ministry that includes churches, schools, healthcare, disaster relief, and anti-trafficking initiatives nationwide (D'souza 2005). With a commitment to supporting the marginalized and poor, which encompasses over 800 million people in India (Kramer 2021), Good Shepherd addresses the profound physical, emotional, and spiritual suffering stemming from the structural injustice of caste-based oppression (Good Shepherd Church of India 2023). Recognizing that government aid alone cannot resolve these issues (Young 2011), Good Shepherd aims to promote human dignity and flourishing in alignment with biblical teachings, thus becoming a transformative force for the oppressed in Indian society and a leader within the global Christian community.

Striving for Dignity Amid Global Structural Injustice

In her 2011 book, *Responsibility for Justice*, American political theorist Iris Marion Young recognizes structural injustice as existing when social processes place large groups of people under systematic threat of domination or deprivation, while enabling others to dominate or develop their capacities (Young 2011, 52). This form of injustice,

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distinct from individual wrongful actions or state policies, arises from the collective actions of individuals and institutions pursuing their goals within accepted norms (Young 2011, 39). It is pervasive, particularly affecting the poor and oppressed, and traditional methodologies often fail to address it effectively.

Caste-based oppression in India (Ilaiah 1996; Wilkerson 2020) exemplifies structural injustice, where its majority peoples endure systemic domination despite constitutional prohibitions against caste discrimination (D'souza 2006). Good Shepherd's Archbishop Joseph D'souza highlights that although the Hindu Vedas fortify the caste system, it was Manu's codification of strict rules that rationalized the oppression of the low caste and women (D'souza 2007). This dehumanization results in various societal structures ensuring that oppressed castes internalize a belief in their worthlessness (D'souza, D'souza-Vali, and Kadwell 2025, 44). As American journalist Isabel Wilkerson states, this dehumanization isolates the oppressed from the privileged (Wilkerson 2020, 141). The Good Shepherd Church of India aims to dismantle these caste-based injustices, advocating for human flourishing as characterized by communion with God, beauty, and wholeness (Sherman 2022, 15-16). However, true human flourishing cannot occur without changes to the oppressive systems that inhibit freedom and empowerment for those suffering under structural injustice.

Structural Injustice within the Global Missions World

As leaders of the Good Shepherd Church learned about the deep structural injustices affecting the poor and low caste in India, they recognized that those within the broader Good Shepherd movement were also victims of a similar structural injustice. Historically, global missions had been influenced by imperialism, leading to the establishment of churches that mirrored Western nations (D'souza 2005, 25). This colonial mindset evolved into subtler neo-colonialism, particularly regarding decision-making power, authority over biblical and theological knowledge, and financial accountability (Qiao 2018). This ongoing issue obstructs the Church's indigenization and its advancement in diverse cultures, ultimately denying the dignity of the poor, marginalized, and forgotten, despite the fact that they are indeed individuals created in the imago Dei. Ultimately, the global mission community's reluctance to promote authentic indigeneity poses a challenge to recognizing the Kingdom of God present with all humanity in all cultures.

Authentic indigeneity in church movements is critical. Imposing Western standards while excluding majority world leaders from dialogue and leadership restricts faithful contextualization and undermines the Church's mission. Generally unknown Japanese missiologist Shoki Coe broke through this barrier with his discussion of *directed contextualization* (maintaining authority of thought while adapting that thought to the local culture), *indigenization* (local cultures given authority of thought, decision making, and freedom to make mistakes), and *organic contextualization* (local people adapting their thought within their own culture) (Coe 1973 and Stanley 2007). However, it seems there is a long way to go.

For the first twenty-five years, Good Shepherd's Indian leaders did not recognize the denial of their dignity due to the structural injustices created by Western missionary efforts. Though the foreign missionaries, who worked alongside them from 1964 to 1989, were generally loving and well-intentioned, the lack of decision-making power for Indian leaders and financial policies that enforced relative poverty stifled their growth (D'souza, 2007). A 2013 study revealed that enduring neo-colonialism persisted long after foreign involvement ended in 1989, preventing Indian leaders from fully experiencing their God-given dignity (Cate et al., 2013). Recognizing the need for change, the Indian leaders took significant steps in 1998 to reclaim their indigeneity, resulting in the establishment of the Good Shepherd Church of India as a fully indigenous body by 2003 (D'souza 2003). This transformation not only addressed the structural injustices endured but also initiated a dignity-based indigenous church movement that could inspire other cultures facing similar challenges.

Emerging from the legacy of neo-colonialism and structural injustice, the Good Shepherd Church of India has evolved into an authentically indigenous church movement rooted in the Anglican tradition, emphasizing dignity, historical context, and cultural authenticity. With thousands of congregations, it has transformed from a fledgling parachurch organization into a framework that other majority world Christians seeking an authentic expression of their faith can consider as they seek to embody a theology that celebrates humanity's imago Dei. Good Shepherd's commitment to building for the Kingdom of God is evident in its engagement with its archival history and a focus on creating Kingdom Communities that foster worship, catechesis, missions, and unity, all of which resonate with its local culture. Good Shepherd serves as a beacon of hope, encouraging other Christians with the desire to explore indigenous expressions of faith while maintaining a connection to the Ancient Church.

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Framework for Ecclesiology: Archbishop Joseph D'souza's Theology of Dignity

Biblical Basis

The Good Shepherd Church of India's ecclesiology is constructed from a biblical foundation outlining a theology of dignity, rooted in Genesis 1:26-2:3 and the incarnation (John 1:1-18). In the creation account of Genesis 1, human dignity is established and four imago Dei characteristics are defined: community (reflecting God's trinitarian nature), identity (inherent worth), vocation (divine purpose), and flourishing (holistic well-being). The incarnation restores and affirms this dignity after it had been corrupted by the fall of humankind into sin. Jesus personified community, identity, vocation, and flourishing (Athanasius in Lewis 1952, 154). Beyond the incarnation and particularly relevant to Good Shepherd and its Indian culture, practical biblical applications of this theology of dignity can be found in the stories of Dinah (Genesis 34), whose dignity was denied through silence and violence, and the woman at the well (John 4) (Topping 1990), whose dignity was celebrated through Jesus's engagement, highlighting the transformative power of affirming imago Dei in all humankind (Armstrong, Cohick, and Roese).

The Good Shepherd Church of India applies this imago Dei theology in its confrontation of structural injustice in India. Good Shepherd's dignity-based framework for Majority World ecclesiology emphasizes community (group accountability) (Lee 2022, 113), vocation (affirming labor and leadership) (Ilaiah 2012, 3-4), and flourishing (addressing immediate physical and spiritual needs) (D'souza 2022). This framework opposes neo-colonialism and caste oppression, promoting holistic redemption and present-day transformation (Good Shepherd Church of India 2023).

Theology of Dignity Explored

Archbishop Joseph D'souza, Good Shepherd's principal theological architect, shaped Good Shepherd's theology of dignity over his more than fifty years of ministry. Born in 1950 near Goa, India, D'souza initially followed Western missions models but recognized their limitations amid rising persecution and cultural shifts post-2000 (D'souza et al. 2025, 1). Influenced by early church fathers, medieval theologians, Bernard Lonergan, and N.T. Wright, D'souza frames his thinking and theological response to structural injustice through an epistemology of love, asserting that God's love is the foundation and rationale for human dignity (D'souza, personal conversation, 2022).

From this starting point, D'souza then constructs a robust theology of human dignity, rooted in the theological framework of Genesis 1, articulated through four foundational pillars. He posits *God's Immanuel Presence* as the ontological core of relationality, wherein the divine intentionally and unconditionally engages with humanity, fostering communal bonds that affirm the intrinsic worth of humanity (D'souza 1999). Second, D'souza champions *Human Distinctiveness*, asserting that each person, endowed with a sacramental quality, possesses unique value that subverts caste-based dehumanization and other systemic forms of marginalization (Cross 2022). Furthermore, he articulates *Vocational Union with God*, conceptualizing humanity's friendly union as co-laborers with God, tasked with fulfilling ordered and authentic roles, particularly empowering the disenfranchised to effect transformative change within societal structures (Sturdy). Finally, D'souza advocates for *Flourishing and Restoration*, a teleological vision energized by the incarnation, which pursues holistic redemption to ameliorate contemporary suffering and restore creation to its intended wholeness (DeWaal in D'souza et al. 2025, 38). Through this systematic theological construct, D'souza offers a compelling framework for understanding human dignity as an expression of divine intentionality and redemptive purpose.

D'souza's theology of dignity rejects dualistic views of salvation, embracing the physical and spiritual to affirm dignity, particularly for India's poor (D'souza, et al. 2025, 75). The Good Shepherd Church of India's commitment to these principles (Good Shepherd Church of India 2023) manifests in community-based worship, education, and advocacy, inspiring other majority world churches to consider the use and adaptation of this framework in their efforts to combat structural injustice and build for the Kingdom of God in their culture and context (Wright and Bird, 2024).

Findings: A Narrative Approach to Archival Discovery

In the development of their dignity-based ecclesiastical framework for India, the archives of the Good Shepherd Church of India narrate four historical eras that shaped their affirmation of imago Dei and the resulting embracing of indigeneity.

Origins (1964-1997)

The Good Shepherd Church of India originated as the India field of the international parachurch missions organization Operation Mobilization (OM USA website). Together, non-Indian missionaries and Indian workers distributed evangelistic literature and shared the Gospel. During this time, an assumed positive ethos of brokenness, poverty,

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and discipleship was cultivated under the authority of the non-Indian missionaries (D'souza 2009). Their unrelenting leadership (Randall 2008, 45-53), however, caused a persistence of structural injustice (Young 2011, 52): Indians faced neo-colonial control, limited decision-making, and forced poverty, denying their Imago Dei dignity in community, identity, vocation, and flourishing. The Indian workers, however, were not aware that this was their plight. The neo-colonial missions world's paradigm for reaching the lost diminished culture-based indigenous problem-solving.

Awakenings (1998-2002)

Triggered by the 1998 persecution of Christians and Graham Staines' martyrdom (D'souza 2000), the Indian leaders awakened to their subjection under neo-colonialism and caste oppression. Answering a "Macedonian call" from India's Dalits and other low-caste people (Acts 16:6-10), Good Shepherd shifted from their exclusive evangelism focus to a holistic ministry, establishing schools and health clinics (D'souza-Vali 2021). They rejected directed contextualization, replacing it with organic indigeneity, affirming imago Dei through communal doctrine and present-day transformation.

Chaos (2003-2012)

In 2003, moving past the parachurch world, Good Shepherd became an autonomous church, adopting the Anglican tradition (See Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral). This era was marked by conflict with Operation Mobilization International, as non-Indians resisted Indian autonomy (Good Shepherd Council of Bishops, 2014). Despite lawsuits and opposition, Good Shepherd consecrated bishops in the apostolic succession (D'souza 2014), established an initial large number of congregations (D'souza 2005), and refined its ecclesiology, fighting for imago Dei dignity against neo-colonial control (D'souza 2002).

A New Humanity (2013-Present)

As an autonomous, indigenous church movement (D'souza 2014), Good Shepherd fostered organic contextualization, growing in only ten years to an unbelievable number of congregations. It faced challenges like Hindutva-led persecution (D'souza 2000) and the COVID-19 pandemic (D'souza-Vali 2020), but managed to expand its schools, healthcare, and anti-trafficking efforts. Homegrown economic systems reduced reliance on charity, ensuring long-term self-sustainability.

A Life Changed by Dignity

A narrative from the Good Shepherd Church of India's archival research would not be complete without sharing a story of a life forever altered by God's work through its fully indigenous, dignity-based movement (D'souza-Vali 2023). Kanthamma's early life in rural India was marked by severe poverty, with her farmer parents unable to alleviate hunger or scarcity. Her father's death when Kanthamma was age twelve intensified their struggles, as the community's blame for divine disfavor pushed them toward starvation. Village elders coerced Kanthamma's mother to dedicate Kanthamma as a ritualized prostitute, leading to exploitation and trauma. By fifteen, Kanthamma migrated to Mumbai's red-light district, enduring stillborn pregnancies and alcoholism. Returning to care for her dying mother, she bore a daughter, who was brutally assaulted at age five.

The Good Shepherd Church of India's field-based leaders intervened, providing restorative care for Kanthamma's daughter at the Good Shepherd Pratigya Safe House and empowering Kanthamma through vocational training to become a peer leader, advocating against child marriages and for children of ritualized prostitutes. Through Good Shepherd's intervention, Kanthamma's God-given dignity was affirmed. She experienced community, identity, vocation, and flourishing as God intended. Kanthamma's transformation reflects the hope of "Thy Kingdom Come."

A Framework for Consideration by Majority World Christians

The narrative on the archival research into the Good Shepherd Church of India revealed a compelling framework for affirmation of imago Dei dignity through embracing indigeneity when developing ecclesiology. For those majority world Christians who are struggling to find an authentic expression of their faith, Good Shepherd offers their framework for consideration and subsequent local adaptation. Good Shepherd hopes to inspire and champion majority world Christians to pursue dignity-based indigeneity in their own way and in their own time. For those who might want additional encouragement and direction, Good Shepherd offers its framework of *Kingdom Communities* for their consideration.

As defined by Good Shepherd, *Kingdom Communities* are local bodies of Christ that break structural injustice through communal, redemptive, and sustainable practices. The Good Shepherd Church of India proposes four practical expressions for implementing and living in Kingdom Communities. First, Good Shepherd promotes *Kingdom Worship* as a corporate, teleologically oriented praxis, deeply embedded in

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Anglican liturgical traditions, wherein lament and the manifestation of divine glory unite to foster transformative communal worship (D'souza 2023). Second, through *Kingdom Catechesis*, Good Shepherd advocates a structured, communal pedagogy (Lee 2022, 1), using translated and indigenously adapted versions of the Book of Common Prayer (2019) to form new believers, while episcopal governance strategically empowers low-caste leaders, advancing ecclesial inclusivity and social equity.

Further, Good Shepherd envisions *Kingdom Mission* as being anchored in God's covenantal faithfulness, prioritizing dignified vocational engagement and immediate societal renewal over reductive evangelistic metrics (Wright 2006, 531), thus pursuing holistic transformation. Finally, *Kingdom Unity*, in Good Shepherd's framework, embraces a relational ecclesiology characterized by communal presence, epistemic humility, and generous ecumenical fellowship (Second Vatican Council 1964, para 7). This systematic vision offers a robust theological construct that is relational, redemptive, and intrinsically oriented toward the communal realization of God's Kingdom.

The archives of the Good Shepherd Church of India chronicle its transformation from a neo-colonially influenced parachurch ministry to a vibrant, indigenous church movement. Its theology of dignity, rooted in Genesis 1 and the incarnation, confronts structural injustice and affirms imago Dei through community, identity, vocation, and flourishing. The four historical eras—Origins, Awakenings, Chaos, and A New Humanity—illustrate Good Shepherd's struggle and triumph in achieving indigeneity. By proposing Kingdom Communities, Good Shepherd offers a dignity-affirming framework for Majority World Christians to consider, fostering authentic expressions of faith that honor God and serve their cultures.

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Witnessing an Emerging Diaconate Among Anglicans in Mexico

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Abstract

This paper presents an examination of a renewed expression of the historic role of the diaconate on the leading edge of church expansion as it is emerging within the Anglican Diocese of the Southwest's ministry in Mexico.

Anglicanism in Mexico

The current growth of Anglican Christianity in Mexico, as is being realized in the Anglican Diocese of the Southwest, is not an initial planting of Anglicanism within the Mexican context. Anglicanism arose in Mexico in the middle of the nineteenth century as a reaction to challenging theological trends within the Roman Catholic Church. Initially, Manuel Aguas, a priest in the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico, sought connection with the Episcopal Church in the United States, having come to the belief that under the stewardship of the Roman Catholic Church "this Republic of Mexico . . . has not enjoyed the blessings of true religion" (Aguas, 1871). Aguas led a succession from the Roman Church, planting a movement he called the Iglesia de Jesus in 1859, and later soliciting the collaboration of the Episcopal Church of the United States (Ward, 2006, 170).

Aguas himself described both the initial success of the fledgling Church as well as the aggressive response it faced from both the Roman Church and the popular Mexican culture with which the Roman Church was deeply enmeshed. Aguas reported to the Episcopal Church in 1871 that "We have opened the Church of the former Roman Catholic Convent of San José de Gardia to the public, and a large congregation now attends there. We have established a Christian Association and also classes for young

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men who want to study for the ministry. In Central Mexico we have some fifty Christian congregations, and their numbers are increasing rapidly" (Dyer, n.d., 9). Other eyewitnesses at about the same time reported similar meteoric growth. Concerns for the formation of clergy, building of churches, and printing of educational materials were high priorities for early Anglicans in Mexico. At the same time, Aguas reported "terrible persecutions" carried out by Roman Catholic Christians, including the burning of homes and physical assault on men, women, and children who were members of the new Anglican movement.

Three observations emerge from the early Anglican movement in Mexico which are relevant to the current Mexican interest in Anglican Christianity. First, Anglicanism initially emerged as a response to the faults within the existing Christian Church in the culture at the time. Liberalism and cultural Christianity became the impetus for a new Christian expression in Mexico in the nineteenth century, as identified by Aguas himself. Today's Anglican resurgence articulates similar fundamental motivations as they point to the historical abuses of the Roman Catholic Church in Mexican culture and the current liberalism within Anglicanism as sources for their interest in the Anglican Church in North America. Other Mexican Christian leaders are emerging from Pentecostal and other Protestant movements, having noticed the challenges in their own ecclesiastical backgrounds, which have placed them on the so-called Canterbury Trail.

Second, early Anglicans had an immediate need for formation resources in Spanish as the Church grew quickly. Publication was a high priority for these early Anglicans as it is for Anglicans serving in Mexico today. The production of books, pamphlets, and liturgical texts remains a high priority. The lack of such resources in Spanish continues to slow the formation of new leaders in Mexico, though in its modern expression, this is also an opportunity for young, educated Mexican leaders to begin to take their place as theologians at the global Anglican roundtable. The problems of the current generation are expected to create the resources and leaders of the next (Dyer, n.d., 4).

Third, early Anglicans were eager to solicit funds and direction from the American Church. For example, Herman Dyer made the appeal, "To aid in strengthening and enlarging this work, the prayers and contributions of Christians are solicited. Funds are needed to sustain the laborers already in the field, to increase the number, to educate young men for the ministry, to establish an orphanage, to repair and open the grand old church of San Francisco, and to print and circulate books and tracts in the Spanish

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language" (Dyer, n.d., 4). Aguas himself continued to state the case more emphatically, saying, "We are collecting funds here to aid in its restoration among our brethren, but most of them are poor and can give but little, and therefore the work of reparation on the said church goes slowly. This delay is to us a cause of great sorrow. Will you and your friends aid us so as to push forward this work as quickly as possible?" (Aguas, 16).

This economic reality remains an open question for Mexican Anglicans; however, contemporary Anglican leaders have the witness of history to their advantage. The heavily funded churches planted by early Episcopal/Anglican missionaries proved weak, unsustainable by the Mexican people, and terminally foreign. In order for the Mexican Anglican Church to establish a long-term Christian witness, it must be fully supported by the Mexican people, both financially and in the formation of leaders. Economic disparity, both within Mexico and between Mexico and the United States, must not result in a system of lop-sided dependency if a viable Anglican expression is to take root in Mexico (Tighe 2023).

With regard to these preliminary observations, this paper presents an examination of a renewed expression of the historic role of the diaconate on the leading edge of church expansion as it is emerging within the Anglican Diocese of the Southwest's ministry in Mexico.

The Emergence of Diaconal Leadership in the Mexican Anglican Church

Early in the history of the Church, deacons proved essential in their ability to move with ease from one ministry or cultural context to another. The Biblical Phoebe, as an example, served as Paul's forerunner to the church in Rome (Rom 16:1-2). In his diaconate, Athanasius served alongside his bishop at Council of Nicaea of 325. The deacon Deogratias would have been completely lost to Church history, had he not written to Augustine of Hippo to request a little handbook to aid him in his catechetical ministry. In fact, the most significant points in the history of the diaconate were times of rapid Church expansion, either through evangelism (in particular, the first five centuries of the Church's history) or through the need for urgent ministry to rapidly growing populations (Jernigan 2023).

Francis Young points to the mid-nineteenth century in England as such an example saying, the "call for the renewal of the diaconate as an active order of ministry emerged from concerns about the speed of population growth in the cities and the inadequacy of the parish system as an effective model of ministry" (Young, 2015, loc 2108). In this setting, men and women were working in mines and factories while also being educated (including learning to read) and formed for parochial ministry. While the diaconate had previously been almost a hobby of the educated elite, it was eventually seen as valuable to form men for the order whose academic background was more familiar to the workers among whom they would serve. These deacons are a powerful indicator of the quotidian mission field encountered today by bivocational clergy, both deacons and priests, in the United States, and this seems to be emerging as a viable model among Mexican leaders and seminarians who are unable to leave their secular sources of income to attend seminary or serve in congregations with limited funding.

Ministries like those of Deogratias and Young's Industrial age English deacons point to two fundamental principles in the formation of a ministry, particularly diaconal ministry, in emergent church settings like current expansion of the Anglican Church in Mexico. The first is the need for a diaconate which can remain connected, moving freely between the leadership of the Church and the mission frontier to which the deacon may have unique and specialized access. The second is the need for a diaconate of cultural insiders who are able not only to reach the people they serve but also to inform the ministry partnerships of the wider Church. Without the first, the Church cannot become authentic within the new cultural context; without the second, the emergent church movement will not be empowered to take its place in the global fellowship of faithful leaders.

In order to build a Church which is both distinctly Anglican and distinctly Mexican, the Anglican Diocese of the Southwest serves as one diocese in both the United States and Mexico. The unity of the diocesan model is essential to the flourishing of this ministry. While Anglican ecclesiology requires episcopal leadership in order to ordain Mexican leaders, the weight of the formation process does not rest solely on either side of the border. Leaders in the United States and Mexico serve together as an ordination committee, while each side of the border is responsible for identifying and nurturing a diaconal or presbyteral call among their people. Mexican clergy and lay leaders have equal responsibility for the diocesan discernment process, including for vocations originating in the United States, as those from the United States share responsibility for encouraging and discerning Mexican vocations. It should be noted that the purpose of this model is not to teach the Mexican leaders how to lead, but to allow for a unified ministry in which both nationalities work together for the formation of leaders for the whole Church.

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The concept of partnership, therefore, is essential here. This is not a mission to Mexico, but the support of the Mexican mission, which finds its origin in the growth taking place within the Mexican faith community. Anglican Bishop Grant LeMarquand states the situation quite succinctly. As is the case in Mexico, "most Anglicans in the southern hemisphere are very aware that they are the recipients of mission . . . but we need to note that missionary endeavour is almost always a risky combination of love and courage, with arrogance and insensitivity. There are, of course, a multitude of stories about the cultural myopia, ignorance, and just plain sinfulness of missionaries" (LeMarquand 2003, 11-12). In short, there is no room for this antiquated and colonial model in building a sustainable and distinctively Mexican Anglican community. Rather, the focus is to partner together to provide opportunity for Mexican leadership to emerge, be formed for ministry, and begin to produce the resources which future generations of Mexican Anglicans will need to thrive.

The resultant power inbalance in cross-border relationships remain a particular concern within the Mexican culture. Spanish conquest and the dominance of the Roman Catholic Church that accompanied it have produced a culture which holds active, lived memories of religious oppression of Christians by other Christians. Linguists Mark Branson and Juan Martinez make the same observation in the area of language: "When one language is imposed on others by force, the relationship between languages changes. Either the minority language is limited in its domain, or it is forced underground. In the worst of circumstances, the conquered language is eradicated" (Branson and Martinez 2011, 125). Conquered faith traditions, both minority Christian as well as native pre-Christian religions have been actively suppressed, often to extinction, within Mexico. This is a significant hurdle for any non-indigenous mission movement to overcome in any culture.

Of course, language suppression has long been a powerful method of cultural dominance and the eradication of the native cultural memory, from the Japanese Occupation of Korea (in which the Korean language was actively suppressed) to the forced Anglo-normalizing schooling of native children in the United States and Canada, to the daily use of Spanish or English in North America today. Linda Waugh brings the linguist's perspective to play as well, saying that repeated studies indicate that "we must take into account the issue of symbolic power when studying those who are at the boundaries of linguistic and national identities" (Waugh 2020, 112). This is especially true in theological fields, as Spanish has not historically been accepted as a theological language, and it remains true that a fluency in English is a tremendous benefit for access to a theological education. At the same time, the true need of the Spanish-speaking church is to be equipped to convey the Gospel and to form the next generation of leaders in the Spanish language, without even the subtlest homage to English.

Historical language suppression offers one stark example. However, having been dominated by European language and culture in both the Spanish conquest and the Anglo missionary movement as well as the international influence of the Roman Catholic Church, the Mexican identity is deeply affected by the same need LeMarquand identifies in the Global South churches. The Mexican Anglican Church must be recognized as a distinctively Mexican church, the result of the movement of the Holy Spirit within the Mexican context, and of faithful, trustworthy Mexican leaders. Albert Zabriskie-Grey identified this obstacle regarding Mexico in 1876: "It is almost impossible here to realize how in that beautiful land a profession of Protestant or truly Catholic faith amounts to almost a complete ostracism- makes a social pariah of a man" (Dyer, Gray, et al., 8). This remains an active cause for suspicion within the Mexican culture, whether by inherited memory or as an ongoing ministry concern in some regions.

Once more from the field of linguistics, Waugh defines an antidote to the problem of a history of suppressing distinctively Mexican culture, including for the immediate purposes of the Church and the Mexican reception of the Gospel. She offers a case study of "Karim," who is described as having a "high level of economic, social, and cultural capital and its attendant symbolic capital" in his native setting. Waugh describes Karim as being "in an intermediate position, he occupies a hybrid space" since Karim has a high level of social capital in his native setting, is bilingual, and is able to engage with the mechanisms of authority both within his native language and culture and within the outside community which intersects with his own. In linguistic terms, Karim is capable of code-switching to represent the interests of his native culture to those in perceived authority while being empowered to serve and equip others within his native culture with a level of formation which might not be available to those who are not capable of crossing the linguistic or cultural barrier (Waugh 2020, 114). The historical upending of cultural norms has proven to be a barrier to the spread of the Gospel, while the current spontaneous growth of Anglicanism in Mexico leans heavily on the gifts and intuitions of the Mexican leadership. Therefore, it becomes our job simply to provide the tools for Anglican spiritual formation in Mexico; it is up to the Mexican leadership to design and build the Mexican Anglican Church.

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Uniquely Mexican, Uniquely Anglican

Historically, deacons have served with distinction in times of the Church's rapid expansion. Biblical deacons Stephen and Philip are prototypical of the deacon, making clear use of their social capital as Greek-speaking converts to Judaism (similar to Karim's ability to code-switch to serve his native Tunisian culture above). The first deacons had access to both the Greek-speaking widows and the service ministries of the new Christian movement in Jerusalem. These first deacons were uniquely equipped to serve not only in a service role but in a catechetical role during a time of rapid expansion for the Church. These first deacons were ordained as a direct result of the Church's growing pains following the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in Acts 2, including care of the vulnerable and the ongoing need for catechesis and continued missionary expansion. Significant to the question at hand, all seven of the first deacons ordained in Acts 6 seem to have been Greek-speaking Christians. The neglected widows being Greek speakers themselves are being provided with more than food services, but ministers who truly speak their language. These deacons represent a missionary strategy on the part of the Apostles to bring the Gospel to the most easily overlooked populations by raising up indigenous leadership to perpetuate the Church's mission. These early deacons represent cultural and linguistic insiders among the Greek speaking widows they serve. Thus, John Collins even presumes that the nature of the table ministry was not simply the distribution of daily nutrition but also a distribution of the Gospel itself (Collins 2002, 57).

This pattern has certainly continued through the remainder of the biblical deacon narrative. Acts 6-8 is a tour de force of the rapid expansion of the church as deacons proclaim the Gospel amid persecution and quite literally from Jerusalem (Stephen), to Samaria (Philip), and towards the ends of the earth (Philip's ministry to the Ethiopian official). Likewise, Phoebe (Rom 16:1-2) is also a deacon in a situation of rapid missionary expansion, serving as Paul's forerunner, carrying his letter to the Church at Rome. Later deacons would do the same, as Lawrence of Rome, Ephraem Syrus, Deogratias, James of York, and countless others lived out their ministries deeply rooted in and aware of the daily challenges of the expansion of the Church in their local context (Jernigan 2023, 52).

The concerns of Industrial Age England cited in Young have equally begun to emerge in both the United States and in the Mexican ministry contexts. Within Mexico, Anglican churches are normally small church plants in large urban communities. While the growth potential is high in each of these settings, the majority are served by clergy (or lay leaders who are in our clergy formation process) who also remain in their secular work in order to support their families and church planting efforts. The unfortunate legacy of the mission model of the early Anglican missionaries was to create churches that became dependent on largesse from the church in the United States and on the work of missionaries to sustain the churches. When the funding dried up or the missionary moved on, the church tended to collapse. Mexican ecclesiastical leadership still reports this phenomenon as ongoing in their communities today.

In this mission context, as in similar church planting contexts within the United States, the role of bivocational clergy takes a central place. It is often a matter of sustenance for the minister's family, especially when serving in smaller, missionary contexts; however, bivocational ministry is also a leveraging point for the community's successful growth. It is often within these workplace points of access that the Gospel can reach those within the communities who are most in need of Christ's saving grace. For example, one deacon is serving in his community both in his secular work as a nurse as well as planting a small but growing congregation in northern Mexico. His secular gifts allow the church to reach out with an occasional pop-up medical clinic. Another minister serving in the south of Mexico is a professor whose ministry not only allows him to reach and mentor students, but he has formed a cohort of rising leaders who share formation and fellowship with one another as well as work together to plant local congregations. Additionally, some of the diocese's Mexican seminarians and clergy have begun working to translate and contextualize Anglican resources, which are beginning to emerge in Spanish, such as the Book of Common Prayer and the Catechism, to the broader Mexican context in order that the generation which comes after them will be well resourced in Spanish-language materials that are uniquely Mexican and distinctively Anglican.

These models of ministry, while profoundly diaconal in the historic sense, have not been sourced in directives from the United States but are beginning to emerge as the result of the creative efforts of gifted Mexican leaders who know their communities and are growing in their ability to exercise ministries in ways that make sense in their unique contexts. Additionally, younger lay leaders are influencing the ministry in Mexico through a robust use of communications, videography, graphics design, and social media, which may eventually be the leveraging point for a ministry and secular career for the next generation of bivocational leaders.

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Cultural Literacy and the Flourishing of the Gospel

Anglicanism, historically identifying as both catholic and reformed, has often found itself unable to bridge this chasm. The vibrant and painful divisions of the Reformation in Europe and the Christian-on-Christian persecutions and political manipulations which followed as the Anglican Church took root in its native soil are still felt in many parts of the Anglican world. Anglicans have probably not felt the pain that Mexican Christians have experienced from the Roman Catholic Church. In his nineteenth-century report to the Episcopal Church in the United States, Manuel Aguas did not overstate his situation as he referred to the opposition as "our fanatical enemies, among whom are very rich and powerful persons, who spend their money lavishly in publishing newspapers and other publications to try and crush us" (Aguas 1871, 16).

The Roman Catholic Church had established itself by force in what would become Mexico, while Anglicanism arrived concurrently with the United States' western expansion into what was then Mexican territory. Anglicanism may also have been seen as the conquistador's religion, being first brought into Mexico by American troops in 1847 for the comfort of the anglophone and Protestant United States military. José Manuel Villalpando stated: "On September 14, 1847, the first public Anglican religious service on record was celebrated in Mexico City. That day, the invading North American troops raised the Stars and Stripes on the flagpole of the National Palace . . . The Episcopal religious services continued to be celebrated in Mexico during the occupation of the City by the invading army, until the middle of the year 1848" (Villalpando n.d. 513, translation mine). At this point, Roman Catholicism had been so deeply integrated into the Mexican cultural identity that suspicion of anything remotely Protestant would lead to divisions and result in the aggressive suppression and even persecution of the fledgling Anglican movement just a few decades later.

Modern Mexican people maintain a strong cultural memory of the early imposition of the Roman Catholic faith by Spanish conquistadores, tainted by cultural superiority, forced suppression of native religious practices, oppression, and bloodshed. More contemporary popular piety in the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico came to include a cult-like veneration of Our Lady of Guadelupe, along with state-wide suppression of non-Roman expressions of Christianity. It was so heavy-handed that it resulted in a cultural backlash that sought to remove ecclesiastical, particularly clerical, influence from the public square (Anaya 2024). In short, Mexican Anglicanism placed itself between Protestant fears of institutionalized excesses of the Roman Catholic state and Catholic historical memory of a Protestantism imposed by an occupying force.

In his provocatively entitled book *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder It*, Roland Allen explains the problem quite clearly only a generation later, saying, "Even if the supply of men and funds from Western sources was unlimited and we could cover the whole globe with an army of millions of foreign missionaries and establish stations thickly all over the world, the method would speedily reveal its weakness, as it is already beginning to reveal it. The mere fact that Christianity was propagated by such an army . . . would inevitably alienate the native populations who would see in it the growth of the domination of a foreign people. They would see themselves robbed of their religious independence" (Allen 2018, 22). Allen adds that this model serves only to propagate missionaries and mission stations, not the mission of the Church: "A thousand thousand [of such missionaries and ministries] would not suffice; a dozen might be too many" (Allen, 2018, 22).

Anglicanism remains a minority voice on the Mexican Christian landscape. The primary expressions of Christianity in Mexico remain Roman Catholic, often influenced by popular piety and a history of tumultuous relations between the Roman Catholic authority structure and the Mexican state. Protestant missionary work has led to a rise of Pentecostal expressions of Christianity, and centers of such missionary work continue, especially in ministry hubs in Puebla and Juarez. Often these missionary movements come from the United States, but more recent missionary work from South Korea has planted churches and at least one seminary, and has influenced the Protestant movement in both of these cities. Meanwhile, the few expressions of Anglicanism in Mexico today are tied to the liberal leaning Episcopal Church.

These three factors have left the Anglican Church in North America (ACNA) with a unique set of opportunities and liabilities as we serve alongside the Mexican people. For many, raised in the Roman Catholic tradition, the liturgical tools and recognizable structure of the Anglican Church are a profound comfort. However, for some evangelical Protestants who have come alongside the Anglican diocese, there remains a deep reluctance to use the liturgical tools in the Book of Common Prayer (*Libro de Oracion Commun*). For others, these are powerful tools that hold a deep attraction.

Historically, Anglican Christianity has been at its best when it walks the via media tightrope. Stretched between the expectations and comforts of cultural Roman Catholicism and the lively expressions of the Pentecostal minority, Anglicanism in Mexico is developing a unique voice. However, overshadowed by a historical narrative of suppression from both the Mexican government and the colonial movements from

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outside of Mexico, Mexican Christians can easily identify with Allen's statement that they have been historically robbed of their religious independence. Expressions of Anglicanism in Mexico must be authentically Anglican but also authentically Mexican. The definition of the latter becomes the challenge for young Mexican theologians and leaders being raised for ministry in the Anglican Church (ACNA) in Mexico today.

The Role of the Diaconate in Uniquely Mexican Anglicanism

Cross-cultural ministry partnerships require a particular charism from leaders in both cultural contexts. The willingness to respond in humility and extend grace to one another (and have a sense of humor) in moments which uncover differing expectations, cultural misunderstanding, or failure of language is not limited to a sending or receiving culture when both nationalities are full partners in ministry. Leaders who emerge in this ministry environment must be willing to work as partners with those whose cultural, linguistic, and educational backgrounds are different. However, ministry leaders who are willing to serve alongside one another, in particular emerging Mexican leaders who are willing to partner with leaders outside of Mexico, are uniquely placed to shape the future of the Mexican church. The aim is eventually to allow the Mexican Church to take its own place in the Province of North America as a diocese in its own right, producing academic and spiritual materials for the Spanish-speaking church both in Mexico and among immigrant communities in the United States. This partnership model has already begun to bear fruit and stands in sharp contrast to the patterns of the earlier Anglican missionary efforts in Mexico. While the identified needs remain the same, the solutions, especially as they arise from Mexican leaders in ministry partnership, are very different. Early Anglican missionaries identified four major areas in which they sought help from the Episcopal Church in the United States: funding, publication, education, and liturgy. Dyer and Aguas, for example, specifically pointed to the need for funding in order to publish materials in Spanish as well as for education. Alfred Lee pointed to the need for liturgical resources saying, "A simple liturgy was prepared and proved a very efficient aid in diffusing the principles of the Gospel and building up congregations" (Dyer et al., n.d., 16, 22).

Partnership with trusted Mexican leaders allows each of these needs to be met within the Mexican cultural context and to provide resources in Spanish which expect to have an impact beyond the boundaries of Mexico and the Diocese of the Southwest. Mexican leaders who have the charisms normally associated with the historic diaconate are well suited to this task and environment. Diaconal leaders, for example, must understand that they are accountable directly to their bishop, even if they live and serve at some distance from the bishop and others who may be overseeing their ministries. Ancient deacons were often emissaries of their bishops; contemporary deacons in Mexico must be especially prepared for high-trust ministry settings as their oversight is often from a distance and in concert with leaders who are not always fluent in Spanish.

Within this particular need, ministry groupings have begun which allow for pastoral and mentoring relationships for emerging leaders who support themselves through secular employment. While such bivocational clergy and lay leaders in the United States often struggle to stay connected with a clergy and formation community which expects that ministry is the source of paid employment (though clergy in those situations are rapidly becoming a minority within much of the Church), Mexican leaders are able to set a new pattern for the flourishing of their communities. Deacons, normatively bivocational and historically engaging secular employment as a means of access to the local mission field, are no different from anyone else in these formation groups.

Of course, bivocational clergy and lay leaders in Mexico also reduce (though to date do not eliminate) the need for financial support from the United States. However, the ongoing problem of economic disparity and the need for funding and resources in Mexico identified both in the early missionary letters (Dyer, et. al.) to the Episcopal Church's College of Bishops as well as in Roland Allen's writing is somewhat reduced by partnerships which are not intended to be long-term support, but instead relational and offering only short-term and limited financial support. The Mexican people are responsible for informing the financial need, supporting their own churches and clergy, assisting the leaders from the United States to culturally adapt when it comes to money (and often dramatically reducing our costs in the process), to identify when unrestricted gifts in the past have proven more harmful than helpful, and to begin to anticipate future obstacles that might arise from well-intentioned gifts from outside of Mexico.

The nineteenth century requests for funding were often paired with a request for written materials in Spanish for discipling and educating future Mexican leaders. This continues to be an ongoing concern. Scholars, universities, and other institutions of the Academy have historically failed to see Spanish as a theological language. This is even more true in the English-centered world of Anglicanism. Flexible models of diaconal ministry which combine Provincial standards, foundations in theological, catechetical, and pastoral formation, and a focus on local or diocesan needs for the diaconal order has allowed for Mexican leaders who may have undergraduate seminary formation in a

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non-Anglican tradition to build on that foundation with online seminary courses, local educational events, and contact with Anglicans in the rest of the Spanish-speaking world who can encourage and help to shape a vision for sustainable ministry in the Mexican context. This sustainability includes the translation of existing works into Spanish, but it is hoped that some of this group of young scholars will eventually take their place as producers of theological materials for the next generation.

The result thus far has indicated that models of the historic diaconate offer patterns which can be readily adapted to the Mexican ministry context among leaders who are passionate about the Scriptures and catechesis, and who are actively seeking healthy Anglican ministry models to plant and grow churches and raise the next generation of leaders. Instead of requesting funding, publication, education, and liturgy from sources outside of Mexico, it is hoped that Anglicans in Mexico increasingly will be the translators and educators for Spanish speaking Anglicans beyond Mexico. Many have already contributed to the translation of the 2019 Anglican Book of Common Prayer 2019 into Spanish, along with other resources which benefit the remainder of the Province. Others are beginning to translate and produce Spanish-language catechetical resources. Their expertise is poised to benefit the remainder of the Anglican Church in the United States and Canada.

This is all still a work in progress. There is no way, at this early stage, that this could be anything other than a preliminary report. Nonetheless, in a generation's time, the goal of a uniquely Anglican and uniquely Mexican church can be expected to produce good fruit both within the nation of Mexico and beyond its geographic borders.

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