Tradition, Confession, Perspective:
Tools & Communities of Interpretation for the Christian Historian
The 2002 Conference on Faith and History Biennial Meeting
Huntington College, Huntington, Indiana
10-12 October 2002

Friday, 11 October 2002, 10 AM, Session 7: Writing “Official” Histories of Christian Organizations
Chair: Edith Blumhofer (Wheaton) at Edith.L.Blumhofer@wheaton.edu
Papers: Timothy Paul Erdel (Bethel, IN) & James Patterson (Union)
Comment: William Ringenberg (Taylor) at wlRingenb@TAYLORU.EDU
Convener/contact: Jay D. Green at jdgreen@covenant.edu

Basic draft: 10 October 2002 (some editing/updating: 7 May 2004); comments to erdelt@bethelcollege.edu

PEDAGOGY, PROPAGANDA, PROPHETIC PROTEST, AND PROJECTION: DANGERS AND DILEMMAS IN WRITING AN AUTHORIZED DENOMINATIONAL HISTORY

Timothy Paul Erdel
Missionary Church Archives
Bethel College, Mishawaka, Indiana

PROPOSAL ABSTRACT: My assumption is that an authorized denominational history is a form of “public history,” a popular history written expressly for a particular church audience. Should a denominational history straightforwardly serve the purpose of those who commissioned the work, who may have hoped for a pleasing combination of institutional chronology, religious pedagogy, and public relations, or should it also push and probe beyond the original intentions of those who sanctioned the project? To what degree can the historian balance faithfulness to the church, to confessional commitments, to the historian’s craft, to the truth, and to those persons in authority who assigned the task? Does an element of prophetic protest suggest undue hubris on the part of the historian? What are the dangers of projecting one’s personal agenda or of moral posturing as a historian? A series of specific examples are explored to illustrate possible tensions. Should fundamental changes in doctrine and practice be lamented, celebrated, or merely documented with minimal evaluation? Should historic deficiencies with respect to racial justice or outreach to ethnic minorities be highlighted? To what extent should moral failings of church leaders be brought to light? Along the way some possible applications to other forms of public history are noted, including histories of Christian colleges.

Introduction

A working assumption of this paper is that public histories are a recognizable *genre* of historical writings, and that public histories of various types, whether of churches, of educational or medical institutions, of businesses, of military units, or the like share certain common features, so that historiographical questions raised about one particular project might have application to other public histories. A public history is commonly commissioned in order to provide a popular, interesting, and presumably favorable narrative concerning the same institution which is authorizing and underwriting the project. Institutions want their story told well and cast in a positive light, but they also want the work to be done by respected scholars who will bring credibility to the project.

It doesn’t take much imagination to conceive of possible dangers or conflicts of interest when one is charged with producing a work that is historically responsible while also promoting the public image of the institution whose story is being told. Nor need one invoke extreme analogies such as Leni Riefenstahl’s films for the Nazis in order to do so. Perhaps an anecdote or two will set the stage.

Several years ago William C. Ringenberg wrote a very fine little public history entitled *The Business of Mutual Aid: 75 Years of the Brotherhood Mutual Insurance Company* (Ringenberg 1994). As the book review editor for the small historical journal *Reflections*, I made sure the book was reviewed and assigned it to a sympathetic reviewer. [I will readily confess I was and remain an admirer of both the book’s author and the insurance company he describes, which arose out of the Evangelical Mennonite Church (now the Fellowship of Evangelical Churches), a sister denomination to the Missionary Church.] The reviewer, Dave Matteson, made one mild suggestion near the end of his comments, namely, that the author might have clarified the relation between Brotherhood Mutual and its sister company, Mutual Security Life Insurance Company. Although the two businesses were somewhat related in their genesis and therefore often identified together in the public's mind, Mutual Security had in fact soon gone its own way, only to end sadly in a rather spectacular collapse (Matteson 1995, 41). The intent within the review was actually to keep Brotherhood Mutual from being confused with Mutual Security and thereby besmirched by the latter's well known problems.

Nevertheless, when certain Brotherhood Mutual officials saw the review, they were rather troubled. I learned about their indignation from nervous Missionary Church leaders whom they had called, presumably since *Reflections* is a journal about Missionary Church history, though it is not an organ of the denomination per se. The church leaders called me in turn to see if the offending review could be removed from circulation, or at least if a retraction and apology could printed. One small suggestion by the reviewer, which had been gently extended as a healing branch, had instead been received as a poisonous arrow. As I made phone calls trying to explain our good intentions and apologize for any misunderstanding, I began to see how seriously the public relations function of the company's history was taken. I was frankly astounded that a brief paragraph in a friendly review in a little known journal of limited circulation could cause so much excitement.

More recently, and perhaps somewhat ironically, in another review of another public history by William C. Ringenberg (1996), historian Dave Schmidt shared about his own attempt to gain access to source documents which would allow him to write an institutional history of George Fox College (now University). His request was quickly and firmly denied for fear that his work might not serve the interests of the college (Schmidt 2001, 36-37).

Yet another irony connected with this talk today is that I have been warned more than once that as an archivist I should be very careful about whom I admit to do research in the Missionary Church Archives, because one never knows how researchers might misuse denominational records. The name whose work has been invoked in a cautionary fashion is that of Edith Blumhofer! The work is, of course, her magisterial study, *Restoring the faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American culture* (1993). I would be fortunate indeed to produce anything remotely so interesting or well crafted.

Such issues lurked in the back of my mind when in 1997 Dennis Engbrecht was commissioned by the General Board of the Missionary Church, Inc. to write a new denominational history and he asked me to join him in the project. This would be the second officially sanctioned "public history" since the Missionary Church Association and the United Missionary Church came together to create the Missionary Church in 1969. The first, *Merging Streams* by Eileen Lageer, was published in 1979 to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the merger (Lageer 1979). While we are **not** to be remunerated financially for this project, the intent is for the manuscript to be published by the Missionary Church and distributed across the denomination. The good people who commissioned us were hoping for a published work within two years so as to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the church. Five years [now seven] have passed, and we are perhaps one quarter of the way through the project. To date Dennis has done the bulk of the writing. At our present rate we will be done closer to the fiftieth than the thirtieth anniversary, but please don't tell this to anxious church officials.

Instead of doing my share, I have been musing off and on about several questions. Should a denominational history straightforwardly serve the purpose of those who commissioned the work, who may have hoped for a pleasing combination of institutional chronology, religious pedagogy, and public relations, or should it also push and probe beyond the original intentions of those who sanctioned the project? To what degree can the historian balance faithfulness to the church, to confessional commitments, to the historian's craft, to the truth, and to those persons in authority who assigned the task? Does an element of prophetic protest suggest undue hubris on the part of the historian? What are the dangers of projecting one's personal agenda or of moral posturing as a historian? Another way of casting these questions is simply to ask to what degree multiple interests can be served in such a history. One need not endorse a post-modern historiography and assume that all history is suspect to ask such basic questions as: Whose pedagogy is being taught? Whose propaganda is being spread? Whose prophetic protest is being raised?

These are obviously much bigger questions than can be dealt with adequately in a few short minutes, but this paper will at least explore some of these issues in a preliminary way. My approach, however, will be somewhat indirect and backhanded, and will mostly consist of asking further questions about the history of the Missionary Church. But before we take up any those questions, perhaps a brief overview of the Missionary Church is in order. My summary will also attempt to represent in a small way the fairly upbeat, positive tone which one might expect from an authorized denominational history.

The Missionary Church, Inc.

The Missionary Church, Inc. is an evangelical denomination with some 33,000 members and an "Easter constituency" of about 75,000 persons. The church has its roots in both the Mennonite and Methodist traditions (cf. Erdel 2001c). Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, numerous pockets of Mennonites, Amish, and River Brethren across North America were transformed by frontier revivals and by Pietist calls for personal conversion. Sunday schools, cottage prayer meetings, protracted (revival) meetings, camp meetings, new modes of musical expression, use of the English language in church services, emotional displays during times of worship, aggressive evangelism and missionary outreach, ecumenical Bible conferences, Baptism by immersion, and openness to women in ministry were among the controversial new practices adopted by some of these groups (cf. Gerber 1993). There was also an unusual interest in higher education for persons of Mennonite and Amish descent at that time (see Beutler 1959, 1970; Bethel College 1997; Erdel 2003a; Gerig 1954; Gerig 1980; Ringenberg 1980; cf. Witmer 1959). For example, the Pacific Northwest District alone founded some eight colleges during its early decades, though none endured.

Perhaps nothing was more offensive to some tradition-centered Anabaptists than the bold new message that everyone, even bishops or ruling elders, must be "born again" (cf. Nussbaum 1980). Within a generation many of these same people discovered the Wesleyan-Holiness experience of Holy Spirit crisis sanctification as well. A common charge was that these various Anabaptist groups had "all gone Methodist" (Storms 1958, 36).

As these groups began to discover each other, they frequently coalesced or formed alliances with each other, creating small denominations. Then in 1875 the first two of at least six distinct tributaries began a process of multiple mergers and name changes which ultimately resulted in two broad streams, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ (later the United Missionary Church), headquartered in Elkhart, Indiana, and the Missionary Church Association, headquartered in Fort Wayne, Indiana. That is, the New Mennonites (of Ontario) and Reformed Mennonites (of Indiana and Ontario) merged in 1875 to form the United Mennonites, which merged in turn with the Evangelical Mennonites (of Pennsylvania) to become the Evangelical United Mennonites in 1879, which merged yet again with the "Swankite" River Brethren of Ohio in 1883 to become the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, which later became the United Missionary Church in 1947. On the other side, some members from the mostly Mennonite "German Branch" of the Christian Alliance joined with a major portion of the "Egly Amish" or Defenseless Mennonites to form the Missionary Church Association in 1898. The United Missionary Church and the Missionary Church Association, which had begun formal merger talks at least as early as 1920 (see a news note in *Newsweek*, 12 September 1938, 23), finally joined together in 1969, becoming the Missionary Church, Inc. (Lageer 1979, see also earlier histories by Huffman 1920; Storms 1948, 1958; Lugibihl and Gerig 1950; cf. examples of briefer overviews or partial histories in various forms and formats by Amstutz 1948; Behnken 1945; Dean 1956; Engbrecht and Erdel 1994; Engbrecht 1998; Erdel 1996b, 1997a, 1997b, 1998, 2000, 2001a, 2001c; Fujishiro 1979; Gerhardt 1981; Hyndman 1992; Shelly 1992; Steele 1981; Swalm and Swalm 1965).

At the same time there were always more than just Anabaptist and Wesleyan influences at work. A. B. Simpson's Keswickian messages on victorious Christian living, his passion for overseas missions, and his emphasis on the fourfold gospel were crucial as well: Jesus Christ as Savior, Sanctifier, Healer, and Coming King (though note Donald Dayton's point that these four themes were fairly pervasive throughout late nineteenth century evangelicalism, Dayton 1987). Concern to spread the twin messages of salvation and sanctification gave rise to an overriding emphasis on missions, as did the perceived duty to "bring back the King" so emphasized by Simpson (see Matt. 24:14 & Mk. 13:10). Hence the denominational name, Missionary Church.

The church's first foreign missionary, Eusebius Hershey, who went to Liberia in 1890 at the age of 67 after a long career as a circuit-rider (Beals 1994, 4-7), is generally recognized as the first Anabaptist missionary from North America to serve overseas (Schlabach 1980, 29), though I personally think former slave and self-styled Anabaptist pacifist George Liele [spelling varies], who sailed a decade before William Carey, deserves that honor (Gayle 1982, Erdel 2001b; cf. Erdel 1995a). Over the years Missionary Church missionaries have worked in more than eighty countries. Today the International Fellowship of Missionary Churches, in which each national church is at least in principle autonomous, maintains a presence in some two dozen countries (see, e.g., the following studies of and stories from various mission fields: Storms 1947, 1948; Bell 1998; Brenneman 1955, 1978; Clark 1980; Dyck 1975; Eagle 1986; Eby 1922; Erdel 1985; Fuller 2001, 2003; Fuller 1999; Fujishiro 1979; Gerig 1974;

Harrigan 1985; Lageer 1970, 1995; Lambert 1911; Maclure 1994; Reifel 1992; Sarkar 1993; see also various runs of periodicals covering Missionary Church missions, including : *Gospel Banner*, *Missionary Banner*, *The Missionary Worker*, *Emphasis!: Life and Faith in Our Times*, *Emphasis on Faith and Living*, *Missionary Church Today*, *Our [Bi-]Monthly Letter*, *Reflections*, and *World Partners*). In some places the "fourth self" (cf. "self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating") is emerging as the indigenous churches begin to explore their own theologies (note the following examples from the Caribbean alone, all related in one way or another to the Missionary Church or its institutions: *BINAH* 1996-1997; *Caribbean Journal of Evangelical Theology* 1997- ; Dennis 1995; Duncan 1991; Dundas 1990; Erdel 1996a; Gerig 1993; Homer 1989; HoSang and Ringenberg 1983; Noelliste 1987, 1993, 1998; Oliver 1991; Ringenberg 1982; Vassel 1997). Usually the first step is to engage in formal theological education (again note some Caribbean examples with links to the Missionary Church or its institutions: Allen 1997; Gerig 1967, 1993; Henry 1988; Henry and Erdel 1991; Noelliste 1993; Palmer 2002; Ringenberg 1992; Jamaica Theological Seminary and Caribbean Graduate School of Theology 2002; cf. Awojobi 1995; Joseph 1992). The United Missionary Church of Africa in Nigeria now boasts substantially more members than the Missionary Church in the United States and a multi-level infrastructure of theological education (cf. Fuller 2003).

In 1987 the Missionary Church of Canada separated from the Missionary Church, Inc. Then in 1993 it merged with the Evangelical Church of Canada to become the Evangelical Missionary Church of Canada (Lageer 2004). The loss of Canada was the third major schism in the church's history. One took place in 1952 when the largest single district, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ of Pennsylvania, left what was otherwise by then known as the United Missionary Church. The Mennonite Brethren in Christ of Pennsylvania would in 1959 become the Bible Fellowship Church (Shelly 1992, Gerber 1995). A still earlier division occurred on the Missionary Church Association side in 1923 when pastors and leaders hesitant to affirm the doctrine of Holy Spirit crisis sanctification were asked to leave the church. Among those who departed at that time was denominational leader and Fort Wayne Bible Training School principal Henry C. Thiessen, later known for his work as a theologian (Erdel 1995b).

From the beginning, each new generation of Missionary Church pastors and leaders eagerly grasped new insights, and, in the process, whether consciously so or not, often first neglected, then discarded the commitments of previous generations. The general denominational drift went from Anabaptism to Pietism to the holiness movements (whether Wesleyan, Keswickian, or a blend of the two) to a fairly generic brand of evangelicalism. There remain to varying degrees further influences from theologically alien movements, including dispensationalism, Pentecostalism, fundamentalism, and Baptistic Calvinism, not to mention the at times all too pervasive presence of good old American civil religion.

The drive to reach out to others has had a profound impact as well. For however much missionaries are accused of transforming other peoples and their cultures, probably nothing so transforms missionaries or their sending agencies as the process of engaging in mission. Within the past decade or so, a sudden and fairly striking surge of church planting across North America has had a similar effect. The recent pattern of establishing new churches in new geographical areas among ethnically and culturally diverse populations while welcoming a flood of new converts is once again changing the ethos of the Missionary Church profoundly (Erdel 2001c).

One upshot of the foregoing tangled history is that the Missionary Church is sometimes rather difficult for outsiders to understand or to classify. Elmer T. Clark once proclaimed the Missionary Church Association a subjectivist sect known for its "extreme positions," one akin to Bishop Alma White's Pillar of Fire (Clark 1949, 78; cf. Stanley 1993, Wagner 1993). J. Gordon Melton formerly considered the Missionary Church one of two principal Keswickian denominations in North America, while the all-knowing classifiers at the Library of Congress have placed us next to the Jehovah's Witnesses. There were in fact for many decades strong ties to and affinities with the Christian and Missionary Alliance. There are a series of interesting connections with the Christian Catholic [Apostolic] Church, Zion (today the Christ Community Church), including a merger between the two groups in Jamaica in 1966 (see Studebaker 1996b, Erdel 1992; cf. Cook 1996, Wacker 1985). In some ways the groups closest to us ethnically, historically, and doctrinally are the Brethren in Christ and the Fellowship of Evangelical Churches (formerly Evangelical Mennonite Church, before that the Defenseless Mennonites, originally the Egly Amish). Today, however, our fellowship not only comes from Wesleyan groups, but also a perhaps surprising cross-section of other evangelical bodies, including the International Church of the Four Square Gospel. Over the past two decades or so, two fairly radical if somewhat low key experiments have been undertaken in cooperation with the Roman Catholic Church, first in France, and now, more recently, at Bethel College in Mishawaka, Indiana.

We are now in 2004 over half way through a two or more year process in which the Church of the United Brethren in Christ USA, a denomination that sometimes claims that it is the oldest indigenous Christian denomination in North America, would more or less unilaterally join the Missionary Church, though the plan could still be derailed. Major questions include the status of Huntington College and the presence of major advocates of Open Theism within that school's faculty.

Though sometimes misunderstood or overlooked, the Missionary Church and its predecessors have produced a remarkable series of evangelical leaders. Some of the better known figures on the domestic side include: J. E. Ramseyer (evangelist and mystic, for some four decades the leader by consensus of both the Missionary Church Association and Fort Wayne Bible Institute; see Amstutz 1948, Bender 1959, Ramseyer 1945, Ramseyer 1948, Gerig 1993), Jasper Abraham Huffman (pastor, author, publisher, ecumenist, educator–longtime dean and president of the Winona Lake School of Theology; see Gaddis and Huffman 1960, Huffman 1968, Huffman 1951), Safara A. Witmer (dean and president of Fort Wayne Bible Institute, "Mr. Bible College," founding executive director of the American Association of Bible Colleges; see Witmer 1962), Jared F. Gerig (dean of Azusa Pacific College and Fort Wayne Bible College; president of the Missionary Church Association, of Fort Wayne Bible College, of the National Association of Evangelicals, and of the American Association of Bible Colleges; see Gerig 1980, Gerig and Gerig 1993), Clyde W. Taylor ("Mr. Evangelical," longtime general director and director of public affairs for the National Association of Evangelicals, for awhile simultaneously director of the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association; see Curtis 1998), Kenneth E. Geiger (a catalyst for revitalizing the National [later Christian] Holiness Association and for the birth of the Wesleyan Theological Society; see Geiger 1962, 1963, 1965), Quinton J. Everest (pastor, preacher for *Your Worship Hour*, a founder of Bethel College, Indiana), Vergil Gerber (director of the Evangelical Missions Information Service), Jay Kesler (president of Youth for Christ, then Taylor University; see, e.g., Kesler 1988), Paul Robbins (executive with Youth for Christ, then *Christianity Today*), Timothy M. Warner (educator, missiologist, consultant on spiritual warfare; see Warner 1991), and William Lane Craig (philosopher, theologian, and apologist with Campus Crusade and force for transforming the Evangelical Philosophical Society), among others. Nor does the foregoing list include: career missionaries, whose ranks have often drawn our church's most gifted personnel; persons from Canada or other churches in the International Fellowship of Missionary Churches who have gained international prominence; a growing cadre of pastors who lead mega-churches; the directors of the Church Multiplication Training Center, which now serves over eighty denominations; or celebrities from popular culture.

There have been four particularly noteworthy denominational histories written within our tradition prior to this current project, beginning in 1920 with the *History of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church*, for which Jasper Abraham Huffman is listed as editor-in-chief (Huffman 1920, Storms 1958, Lugibihl and Gerig 1950, Lageer 1969). The first attempt generated some controversy, since certain of Huffman's students thought he had pirated material they had submitted to him as a professor at Bluffton College without sufficient acknowledgment of his debts to them. One such student, S. Floyd Pannabecker, left the Mennonite Brethren in Christ over the matter and joined the General Conference Mennonite Church, where he had a distinguished missionary and scholarly career, returning from China to earn a Ph.D. from Yale and ultimately serve as president of the Mennonite Biblical Seminary. In addition to the histories just noted, the Evangelical Missionary Church of Canada now has its own history as well (Lageer 2004).

The remainder of this paper will primarily take the form of a series of questions with various illustrations. Four questions have intrigued me from the outset. What happened to the women? Why are there so few African-Americans? How did we lose our Anabaptist vision? Does any dirty linen need to be (re-)washed in public? Linked to these four questions are other subsidiary and meta-level questions, though I will just be noting a few.

What Happened to the Women?

Beginning with the ministry of Janet Douglas (later Mrs. James Hall), who began preaching in 1883 and was first officially licensed for ministry by special resolution of the Indiana District Conference of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ in 1885, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ/United Missionary Church began to recognize women in ministry. Over the next seven decades or so, the Missionary Church gave a fairly full voice to women in the Church. They were licensed for ministry, held revival services, preached in camp meetings, planted churches, baptized new believers, started inner city missions, engaged in street ministries, cared for orphans, ministered as senior pastors, served as traveling evangelists, became faculty members who prepared others for ministry, and did pioneer work overseas as missionaries. Article after article in the *Gospel Banner* described their exploits and editorial after editorial defended the right of women to engage in the full range of gospel ministries, that is, to hold every church office as gifted by the Holy Spirit to do so.

Some five hundred women were licensed for ministry in North America alone during those three score and ten years, and many more served overseas as missionaries with full ministerial credentials (Garnaat 1995). The number jumped rapidly from a mere five in the Mennonite Brethren in Christ in 1890 to some two hundred-twenty within the MBC already by 1910 (Swartz 2002, 2). At least one of every eight churches in the MBC was ultimately founded by a woman (Storms 1958, 63). Five hundred female ministers is an astounding number given the relatively small size of the denomination at that time (all streams combined had just over 3,000 members in the earliest years and grew to a mere 17,700 formal members by 1969). While this pattern of female ministers was particularly true of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ/United Missionary Church side, the Missionary Church Association also licensed over eighty women for a variety of ministries within the United States. On neither side were their ministries limited to merely serving children or leading other women. Both sides also initiated what amounted to special religious orders for women in ministry, the best known being the Gospel Workers Society (see, for example, the lavish pictorial overview of and series of articles on their work in the *Gospel Banner*, 19 December 1912, 796-805 [12-21]) and the Light and Hope deaconesses (see Haines 1994, 2002). Not all women in such orders were necessarily credentialed, but a good many were. Nor were women in ministry required to join such orders.

In most traditional Mennonite circles during the late nineteenth century, women were not allowed to address the congregation in church meetings. In certain groups they customarily sat separately from the menfolk in worship services, and sometimes even entered the building by separate doors. Women were expected to submit to men and serve them, but not to lead, especially in religious contexts. Female pastors and preachers or teachers of adult males were unthinkable. Thus the shift in roles could scarcely have been more dramatic. Thus, probably no innovation met with more reticence and outright opposition from within the new movements, at least at first, than this one. That is why early church leaders such as Daniel Brenneman, John Krupp, and Solomon Eby spoke and wrote so ardently in favor of women in ministry. It was also a stance probably never fully accepted and embraced by everyone across the church; and, even during the era of greatest freedom, there were hints of resistance to full-blown equality. The most obvious were the fairly wide variety of "separate but [not quite] equal" titles given to licensed ("ministering sisters," "sister workers," "helpers") and ordained ("approved," "dedicated") female ministers, though the latter were also known to use the title "Reverend," just like male clergy.

Although this new freedom for women blossomed for over a half century and resulted in innumerable benefits to the Missionary Church in terms of conversions, churches planted, multiplied ministries, and missionary outreach, it did not last. Various baleful influences from evangelical cultural conservatism and even forthright fundamentalism, often with a dispensational or Calvinistic hermeneutic lurking in the background, began to overtake both the Mennonite Brethren in Christ/United Missionary Church and the Missionary Church Association by the mid-twentieth century (Engbrecht 1996). At the time of their merger in 1969 to become the Missionary Church, there were few visible signs of this rich heritage of women in ministry, other than occasional death notices that would mention that the person was a retired ministering sister, or the like.

The nadir of this transformation probably occurred from the late 1980s to the mid-1990s, when three successive events underscored the sharply curtailed roles for women in ministry. First, a position paper, "The Role of Women in Ministry," was appended to the *Constitution of the Missionary Church, Inc.* Where there had been none before, and where it had been originally assumed by some attuned to the denomination's history that women had complete freedom in ministry, now women could be senior pastors solely in "situations of need" (i.e., temporary emergencies), that is, where no qualified men were available. In one sense, a person could argue that this was not a profound change from the practice of the church since the 1950s, which no longer lived under the same sense of eschatological urgency which may also have fueled the sense that every mature believer, even women, could be thrust into ministry during these last days. In fact, by the time the statement was written, the text was actually seen as a bit "liberal" by some who were by now convinced women had no business whatsoever in formal ministry. Nevertheless, the position paper still marked a significant shift from much earlier freedoms to minister. Women were now being labeled in an official document of the church as clearly different in a way that signaled their second class status. The negative overtones, though primarily connotative, and softened by language subject to a variety of readings, were palpable.

Second, there was a fairly quiet but dramatic procedural shift in the way missionaries were licensed for ministry, one which resulted in nearly all but two or three female Missionary Church missionaries around the globe losing their ministerial credentials almost overnight. I far as I have been able to discern, this was not done by board or conference action, but by administrative fiat. In theory female missionaries could still be licensed or even ordained for ministry, and a handful were. But the fact of the matter was that, beyond being deeply hurt and highly insulted–some missionaries who had held credentials for thirty or forty years suddenly lost them without prior consideration or consultation–most women missionaries intuitively realized that there was no way they would now be licensed, because they now had to be licensed through their home districts instead of through the denominational office as missionaries.

This brings us to the third point, namely, that a number of district superintendents had already begun to act as a "rump parliament"; that is, they would not even grant women the restricted licensing and ordination that the new constitutional statement did permit. *De facto* stonewalling overruled any *de jure* provision for women in ministry.

This turn away from recognizing women in ministry may have been checked somewhat by at least two factors. One was the pragmatic need for church workers as the denomination plunged ahead with its church planting. This was especially the case with respect to ethnic congregations, which were perhaps less visible to the more vocal opponents of women in ministry, and whose female ministers apparently seemed less threatening to the dominant order of male pastors and superintendents. The second was a polite but firm series of cautions to denominational leaders and district superintendents from Bethel College senior administrators and from various faculty in its Division of Religion and Philosophy. But it remains the case that the Missionary Church no longer has many living role models of women fully and properly recognized by it for ministry, and that the very few openings still available to women have been challenged by certain district leaders who see virtually no roles for women in pastoral ministry or other positions of leadership. [The Evangelical Missionary Church of Canada has pursued a different path and is open to women in ministry (Elliott 2002b, 15)].

Nevertheless, need I say the obvious? As major currents of evangelicalism become more and more paranoid about the horrors of feminism, and as popular evangelicalism frequently indulges in reactionary hysteria (note, for example, the recent attempts by some to censor and prohibit distribution of *Today's New International Version* [TNIV]), will the General Board of the Missionary Church be happy with a public history of their church which bemoans the loss of women's historical (and from a Wesleyan perspective, wholly biblical) right to participate in the church as fully ordained ministers of the gospel? Are persons outside the Missionary Church likely to be thrilled by the stones cast at various streams of fundamentalism, dispensationalism, Calvinism, or other possible sources of tradition-bound teachings about gender hierarchy (cf. Giles 2002)?

Should one really suggest in a public history of this sort that we have regressed tragically as a denomination? Dare one press more radical and prophetic claims about the sin of shunting aside women gifted by God for ministry? Should the historian merely record the shift as objective fact? Or should the topic be muted, or even ignored?

If we have largely lost our vision for women in ministry, it is not clear that we ever had one for African-Americans as vital, integral members of our movement.

Why Are There so Few African-Americans?

There are relatively few persons of color in the Missionary Church today, at least within the United States. The percentage is finally beginning to rise fairly rapidly because of a recent and (I believe) healthy explosion of church planting among ethnic minorities, especially hispanics and recent immigrants from the two-thirds world. There are many fairly plausible reasons why there were so few persons of color across our church, especially African-Americans. Some are rooted in the social realities of ethnic communities. For example, for decades the precursors to the Missionary Church were themselves barely removed from their status as German and Swiss-German speaking immigrants living in culturally closed communities. There weren't many members from Polish, Italian, English, Welsh, Irish, Swedish, Norwegian or other European backgrounds, much less non-European ones. Also, many Mennonites were located in Midwestern rural areas or small towns, places more often than not rather removed from significant contact with persons of color.

So there were some understandable explanations for the relative lack of ethnic diversity within the Missionary Church. There were also some significant positive experiences of working with people of color. These include such examples as a glowing report about African-Americans who ministered with powerful effect during the early years of historic Prairie Camp south of Elkhart, Indiana, which was the first Mennonite campground in North America (see, e.g., *Gospel Banner*, 1 September 1881, 132), or the ministry of Missionary Church Association evangelist Edison Habegger in conjunction with the Cleveland Colored Quintet during the mid-twentieth century (Talbert and others 1937, 67-72). Very significantly, of course, there were extensive missionary ventures to Africa, to the Caribbean, and to areas of Brazil and Ecuador that were traditional centers for persons of African descent.

But, all too sadly, there could be a negative explanation for a lack of African-American members, namely, far too much raw prejudice on far too many levels throughout the church. This prejudice was at times fairly pronounced, at least to some observers, despite occasional official rhetoric to the contrary. At other times there was a strange admixture of a genuine loving concern for people of other races with a paternalistic condescension or naive stereotyping which undermined attempts to minister effectively to them.

The third time the issue of race relations appears in the *Gospel Banner* (19 February 1895, 8), there is a plaintive letter to the editor which asks about the "race question," presumably in light of repeated editorials about equality of gender. An excerpt gives the tone of the letter.

> What is the attitude of our church to the race question? Do we have a recognized line of separation on account of color? Now, brethren, some of you speak up. Don't try to evade the questions by keeping silent. If a belief is worth having, it certainly ought to be worth telling.

Although the letter was printed, there is no response. The silence is deafening.

The best way I know to document this prejudice is through oral history and numerous personal anecdotes. Only occasionally did such prejudice appear overtly in printed church documents, though one clear example would have been the long-standing formal prohibition of inter-racial dating at Fort Wayne Bible College spelled out in its student handbook. Some thought Bill Pannell's early autobiography, *My Friend, the Enemy* (1967), a bit harsh in its assessment of his time at Fort Wayne Bible College; but when compared with accounts I have heard from others, or even from things I myself have witnessed first hand, I am surprised Pannell's story did not have a sharper edge.

For example, and this is but one such story, I know an articulate, insightful African-American graduate from Fort Wayne Bible College who had a very difficult time earning anything higher than a "C" during his years at the college. Although by the grace of God he remained a loyal and respectful alumnus of the campus, he confessed to me that he felt he was a victim of racial stereotyping while a student there, one who was perceived as having but modest intellectual ability simply because of his color. His special moment of vindication came when he scored the highest grade in his graduating class on the comprehensive senior Bible exam, a more or less objective standard he could appeal to in order to validate his perception of prejudicial mistreatment. A more subtle example of educational condescension may have been the practice of offering special evening classes to African-American clergy, but generally doing so on a not-for-credit basis, rather than aggressively finding ways to create degree completion tracks.

Other events include a decision made by the Fort Wayne Bible College Board during the 1960s. There was a clear call from local African-American clergy for moral partnership in social ministry in a predominantly black housing development in the city of Fort Wayne. The college board's chief concern was not about racial justice, but rather, "What will people think?" "People" here presumably referred to a socially and politically conservative constituency. A small minority on the board vigorously protested the refusal to support the ministers. To this day, one former board member believes that the failure to stand with the African-American clergy may have led to a divine rebuke upon the college. For, shortly thereafter, the college really did have to worry about its reputation. Night after night it became part of a sensational story on the national television networks when a graduate kidnaped and sadistically molested some young boys. The college's reputation was tarnished nationwide, however unfairly; and its hard earned state recognition in teacher education was temporarily placed in jeopardy, a severe blow to a school still lacking regional accreditation (cf. Erdel 2002a). How would the church or the academy react to the absurd hubris of someone who dares to assume the prophet's mantle and identify the judgment of God in a contemporary historical setting?

My sense is that one would need to tell a fair number of similar anecdotes to show how pervasive racism has been in the Missionary Church, so that such stories were not just dismissed as the occasional anomaly, as purely perspectival, as sour grapes, or the like. They include such sorry tales as the time when a stern district superintendent insisted a young pastor close down his church planting effort in South Bend, a new and flourishing congregation consisting primarily of African-Americans, and that he do so saying, "They are not our kind of people." The young pastor reluctantly obeyed in order to keep his ministerial credentials within the Missionary Church, where he patiently worked toward changing such attitudes. The stories I could recite include all too many case studies of congregational prejudice and collapse in the face of changing inner city neighborhoods. For example, listen to former pastor Ron Cook tell about the time he was chased through what was then the First Missionary Church of Chicago by an irate, axe-wielding church member who threatened to kill him the next time he allowed a Puerto Rican to enter the church building–the same building that, by the grace of God, is today the home of *La iglesia evangélica misionera*!

The stories include highly revealing personal statements made to me by revered denominational leaders at various junctures, including one who unexpectedly volunteered to me that he fully understood why our family had to leave Jamaica, namely, since our daughters were reaching adolescence. Oddly enough, I had been charged with the same motivation before I left Jamaica by a prominent Jamaican pastor, who assumed racism and prejudicial fear on my part. In a rather Freudian irony, that pastor was shortly thereafter charged with molesting numerous young women.

Again, this whole matter of race relations within the United States is but one thread in a complex and otherwise often inspiring denominational story. But the thread sometimes takes an ugly twist, one which is not very likely to make its way into a public history sponsored by the Missionary Church about itself. Yet the fact of the matter is that a sanitized version of some of these events and patterns throughout our history will have about as much relation to historical reality as do pulpit tales about United States founding fathers such as Benjamin Franklin or Thomas Jefferson that present them as earnest Christian saints who guided their lives by biblical convictions. Furthermore, many of us live with such cultural and racial blinders that, unless some of these unfortunate facts are called to our attention, we may continue to carry on in a kind of ignorant bliss, almost completely unaware of how we have sometimes treated groups and individuals outside our rather closed circles, or how we have at times been perceived by them.

If women in ministry and our relations with African-Americans are important strands in our history, Anabaptism provided the original and most basic fabric for shaping the Missionary Church. There is at least some sense in which to lose our Anabaptism is to lose almost the whole cloth.

How Did We Lose Our Anabaptist Vision?

The notion of an "Anabaptist vision" in which Anabaptists are marked especially by their discipleship, their community, and their peace witness (see Bender 1944a, 1944b; Hershberger 1957), is a contested one these days (see, e.g., Weaver 1987, Snyder 1999, Roth 2002b, or the July 1995 issue of *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* with articles by Nolt, Miller, Dintaman, Roth, Shenk, Koontz, Blough, and Higueros). Who are the true Anabaptists? What was their genesis? What is their enduring legacy? What does and should Anabaptism mean today? What form should the peace witness take and how should it be understood (e.g., Yoder 1972, 1976; Stutzman 1993; Roth 2002a)? In a sense I am going to bracket these questions, as important as they may be, and simply say that the heritage of the Missionary Church was solidly Anabaptist in its roots, but that somewhere along the way we have severed most of those roots, or at least our close connections with other denominations which are self-consciously Anabaptist. While to this day our *Constitution* doesn't make sense apart from an understanding of our Anabaptist origins, the fact of the matter is that most or our members and many of our leaders no longer have a sense of Anabaptist identity, and some would even prefer to define us in ways that would deliberately set us against Mennonites and other peace churches.

There is no doubt that we were once firmly committed to Anabaptist principles. To his dying day Daniel Brenneman argued that he was as true a Mennonite as those who had expelled him from the Mennonite Church (Brenneman 2002; Brenneman 1993). During World War I young men from both the Mennonite Brethren in Christ and the Missionary Church Association faced prison and worse rather than succumb to the call to bear arms. The Missionary Church Association and the Mennonite Brethren in Christ helped lead the way among Mennonite and other peace church denominations in pursuing political efforts following World War I that brought about official United States government recognition of the conscientious objector status. From 1913 to at least 1921, J. A. Huffman (from the Mennonite Brethren in Christ) also spear-headed a movement along with representatives from the Missionary Church Association to bring all Mennonite bodies in North America back together into one body, or at the very least to connect them in a close working relationship. Huffman would also pen a widely distributed pamphlet on the meaning of foot-washing early in his ministry (1913). During World War II, the *Gospel Banner*, which had published a steady stream of articles against participation in war and in favor of a peace church stance over the years, featured an important and passionate two part article entitled, "Why I Am a Mennonite" (*Gospel Banner*, 26 August 1943, 415-416 and 2 September 1943, 432-33), in which the author took a strong stand against any military service by members of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, even in non-combatant units. In 1947 Stanley Taylor, soon to be a founding member of the faculty and administration at Bethel College, Mishawaka, Indiana, published a brief book (adapted from his seminary thesis) about the activities of pacifist conscientious objectors during World War II that met with some approval. But the tide was already turning.

A simple illustration of the huge change in perspective is the sharp difference in topic and tone between a denominational catechism from around 1932, *Book of Religious Instruction*, and a parallel manuel, *Believers in the Missionary Church*, published in 1976. In the former, there are repeated tell-tale signs of Anabaptist doctrines and practices. But aside from a few historical references in the latter volume, where Mennonites are presented in part as spiritually dead during the nineteenth century, there are few clues that the Missionary Church has any Anabaptist convictions or connections. Other than a continued emphasis on believer's baptism and discipleship, by that time, it scarcely did. But by now discipleship materials were as likely to be drawn from Navigators, a para-church ministry started by a naval officer, as from the teachings of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount.

I personally suspect that the single most important factor in our loss of Anabaptist perspective and principles was the almost overwhelming cultural pressure to accept and accommodate World War II as a just war. Many who registered as conscientious objectors actually served in the armed forces, but did so in non-combatant roles. Others served in combatant roles and returned not only as church members in good standing, but went on to prepare for ministry on their GI bills. Soon pulpits were filled with veterans. This was very different from World War I, when church members, without the shield of recognized conscientious objector status, had still refused to wear military uniforms at considerable personal risk to themselves and even to their families, who were often harassed. The more important point is that this resulted in not only a dramatic change in attitudes toward war and peace, but in the relationship between church and state. A Christendom mentality was beginning to replace the traditional Anabaptist emphasis on two kingdoms. Many within the Missionary Church instead decried what they perceived to be the growing secularization of the United States government, soon to be symbolized by such despised court actions as prohibiting Bible reading and prayer in the public schools. Perhaps the most profound change came when the traditional Anabaptist (and Pietist) focus on the teachings of Jesus (and Wesleyan-holiness focus on the Holy Spirit) was largely replaced by the more Pauline focus characteristic of the magisterial Reformation. These changes came not only in the wake of World War II, but also as the Missionary Church became deeply committed to the founding and development of the National Association of Evangelicals.

There was always another significant factor as well. In every generation of the Missionary Church and its predecessors, many members have joined the movement precisely because of their dissatisfaction with other Mennonite or Anabaptist bodies. A classic example would be Kenneth Geiger, who grew up in the General Conference Mennonite Church in Pandora, Ohio, but openly resented the fact that he felt he had not heard "the gospel" in his home church (perhaps a classic case of what Theron Schlabach calls "gospel versus gospel"; cf. Schlabach 1980). Geiger would become the first General Superintendent of the United Missionary Church, then the first President of the newly formed Missionary Church. In those positions he did everything possible to forge ties with Wesleyan and evangelical organizations, while deliberately breaking links with the Mennonite Central Committee, Mennonite World Conference, and the like. Harold Bender was reduced to tears when Geiger refused to submit statistics for inclusion in the *Mennonite Yearbook*, a symbolic yet very significant rupture with other Mennonite and Anabaptist bodies across North America.

These days, when I introduce the basic typology from H. Richard Niebuhr's *Christ and Culture* (1956) to Missionary Church students at Bethel College, they tend to identify the Missionary Church with almost anything but its multi-layered Christ against culture roots. The trouble is not that Niebuhr may have misrepresented Anabaptism or more radical forms of the Wesleyan-holiness movement with his five-fold typology (e.g., Mennonites have never eschewed all culture, and the presence of uncompromisingly principled groups may in itself transform a society). Rather, many students simply assume that a "God and country" Christendom model is the only way to be a faithful evangelical Christian, and they hope to transform society along what amounts to a Reformed vision (cf. the "Geneva experiment" and the Puritan Revolution) until we have a truly Christian nation. Some will occasionally suggest alternatives, saying, for example, that the two-tiered Christ above culture Roman Catholic model fits where the Missionary Church actually is today. But the vision of two kingdoms in radical conflict with each other has largely disappeared, with the exception of a few evangelical hot button issues such as abortion or homosexuality, which are two of the very few topics which I can use to even help students understand that they might need to stand over against the broad tide of American culture.

Although there may be a bit of an Anabaptist renaissance underway at Bethel College, and though denominational officials have accepted the re-establishment of a few tentative conversations and links with other Anabaptist bodies since 1994, the general drift of the denomination continues to be one of moving further away from rather than closer to its roots. The prevailing climate was illustrated in 2003 by the first two issues of the new denominational magazine, *Missionary Church Today*, which featured articles that ranged from tacit approval to fairly *gung ho* endorsement of the United States invasion of Iraq (e.g., Nordstrom 2003a, 4-6; Goriel 2003, 16-17; Piper 2003, 18-19; von Gunten 2003, 20-21; Nordstrom 2003b, 22-23).

As deeply as I care about issues of justice for women and African-Americans, this seems to me to be such a dramatic shift, such a profound capitulation to popular American culture and to an alien hermeneutical stew derived from fundamentalism, dispensationalism, and Reformed Calvinism, that I sometimes could wish to turn what should be a careful study in church history into an extended theological harangue. Furthermore, and though I do not have the space to document the story here, just as we have surrendered our Anabaptist heritage, we seem to be on a fairly fast track toward losing our Pietist, Wesleyan, and Keswickian emphases as well, at least in the majority of districts. The stand taken by a few to defend the most rudimentary Arminian theological perspectives may well be a lost cause (cf. Moran et al. 2004, 80-81; Erdel 2004, 82-88).

Should my confessional commitments be to a bygone past which I believe the Missionary Church should still hold dear, or to the current trajectory of assimilation into popular American culture and generic evangelicalism? If I attempt to cry out in prophetic protest, will I lose whatever voice I have within the denomination? This question of how to write about our very dramatic series of changes in doctrine and practice, a pattern which is rooted in the very birth of the those movements which are now the Missionary Church, may be the most important historiographical issue I face. Nor is it a simple one, in which change is bad and the older is better. For example, I strongly approve of some early changes, such as recognizing women in ministry, even while disapproving of others, such as the loss of the peace stance. On some of these issues, I would find a kindred spirit in the writings of Donald Dayton with respect to issues of evangelical historiography (e.g., 1976a, 1976b, 1988a, 1988b, 1993a, 1993b; cf. the responses to Dayton in the "What Is Evangelicalism?" September 1993 issue of *Christian Scholar's Review;* cf. also Horton 2001a & 2001b, Olson 2001).

Does Any Dirty Linen Need to Be (Re-)Washed in Public?

What place do anecdotes and personal memoirs have in a public history? My sense is that they appear fairly frequently and are often employed as a means of making the story "reader friendly," but that in public histories they tend to be used in ways which are favorable, even flattering to the subjects. What happens when the intent is to consider important but slightly less savory aspects of an institutional history, to present a critical analysis of it rather than merely provide a device for sharing testimonials? What does one do when one has damaging personal knowledge, which information is genuinely instructive in terms of understanding certain people and their patterns of behavior or the reasons for institutional shortcomings? In one sense, I have already tipped my hand by using personal anecdotes repeatedly, but I will begin this section with an illustration from an institution outside the Missionary Church.

At a seminary I attended, the son of the school's president once spoke in chapel. Just a student himself, in the course of his message, he told a story about his father. Apparently the speaker and his brother would sometimes play their father in Monopoly; but they could never, ever win. One day, they accidentally discovered their father's secret. He actually had a second Monopoly set hidden away, and he would sneak money from that second set at crucial moments, that is, until he had survived any financial crises and gained control of the game. That our president would stoop so low as to deliberately and repeatedly cheat his own sons in order to beat them at a board game was a story that, for a variety of reasons, resonated rather deeply with a number of people then working at the school. If I were charged with writing about the man's administration, I would be sorely tempted to include that anecdote. For one thing, it is already public knowledge, at least to those who were in chapel that day or heard the story repeated in public more than once. For another, it fits a certain pattern of behavior which it might in theory be possible to document, but only at the risk of still more awkward charges and embarrassing disclosures. It seems to me that the story his son told says a great deal in itself.

The Missionary Church has had its share of strong personalities. Should the denominational history include anecdotes which would focus in on the effects of personality, temperament, and personal character? How should such factors be discussed? Is it at all possible, for example, that the separation of the Missionary Church of Canada from the Missionary Church in the United States was motivated not just by the longstanding public arguments for separation by Canadian pastor and evangelist Alf Rees, or were his passionate pleas in any measure driven by personal ambition? [Following Dr. Samuel Johnson, I do not think personal ambition is necessarily wrong, but it surely is a factor to consider in discussing reasons and motivations for actions.] Rees was not likely to become the president of the Missionary Church (though, in fact, another Canadian, Leonard DeWitt, had served as president over the six year period just before the separation, and a majority of persons serving as denominational officers at that time were in fact Canadian). Yet many had recognized intuitively that Alf Rees would stand a good chance of becoming the first president of the Canadian body, which is indeed what happened (cf. Shirton 1997). Nevertheless, some of those who know Rees best think he pressed his case for separation quite apart from any personal factors or considerations. Should a denominational history even bother with such questions? Is it inconsiderate or even slanderous to even raise them?

Was not the loss of the Pennsylvania Conference tied to various struggles for power, struggles both internal to the district and externally with the denomination (again, cf. Shelly 1992, Gerber 1995)? Was it not a district where two families who had intermarried early on, the Gehmans and the Musselmans, also controlled the conference for eighty-six years, to the frustration of other potential leaders in the conference? (Family control of churches, districts, and institutions is a recurring theme in a small denomination such as the Missionary Church.) And did not those two families very cleverly leverage their district power so as to perennially control denominational voting at bi-national general conferences as well? What is more important, to rehearse the specific means and parliamentary mechanics by which such power was acquired and used so effectively (effectively, at least, from a Machiavellian perspective), or to reflect on the ironies of meek and mild Mennonite Brethren from Pennsylvania succumbing to all too human temptations to grasp, use, and keep the ring of power? Or again, how ironic is it that the "most Mennonite" conference in our church, which severed itself from the rest of the denomination in the name of preserving its Mennonite heritage, has instead become the most severely Calvinist and fundamentalist body associated with our tradition? Or what about the judgment that individual personalities and even a certain lust for power are the core catalysts in these events?

What about the doctrinal clashes between a leading district superintendent and prominent theologian subsequent to the merger in 1969? Though not many may have known the exact content of the exchanges, many people in the two largest and overlapping districts of the newly merged Missionary Church were aware of tensions between the two men, a debate in some sense symbolic of numerous other frictions between the two somewhat clumsily gerrymandered central districts. Were their debates just a matter of concern for theological integrity, or were their choleric temperaments involved as well? A similar question might be, to what extent were patterns of confrontation, conflict, and controversy characteristic of certain key leaders throughout our history?

The second, third, and fourth presidents of Fort Wayne Bible College were first cousins, while the fifth was a son-in-law of the third, and the seventh was a cousin to the fourth. Sometimes, at least to those with a slight tilt toward paranoia or cynicism, it seemed as though everyone in authority at the college was somehow related. To what extent should anecdotes be told which would illustrate possible nepotism, however inadvertent, or similar conflicts of interest? Great leaders are still people who, like all of us, have occasional blind spots. If someone focuses on the occasion when one college president received an extraordinarily large personal gift from a college donor, a gift he openly acknowledged from his various pulpits and saw as a blessing from God, is the person being petty, or are such incidents important to understanding at least one side of that man's personality and his administration? What about the decision at Fort Wayne Bible College to forge ahead without full financing and build Witmer Hall when a possible merger with Bethel College loomed on the horizon? Did the overriding drive to forestall any such merger with its denominational rival and preserve the distinct identity of Fort Wayne Bible College prove instead to be a critical moment in the undoing of Fort Wayne Bible College?

Are there some stories that do not offer any great historical lesson, but that are nevertheless too rich in irony not to be told? Just before going to Jamaica as a missionary, I visited J. A. Ringenberg one last time in 1987 at Hubbard Hill Estates in Elkhart, Indiana. The former president of both Fort Wayne Bible and of the Missionary Church Association, as well as a former missionary to Jamaica, his most basic doctrinal and spiritual concerns were forged as a young lieutenant to J. E. Ramseyer during the crucial period which led to a denominational split over the issue of Holy Spirit crisis sanctification in 1923. Teaching on the work and ministry of the Holy Spirit was a central portion of his life's work (see, e.g., Ringenberg 1972; cf. Huffman 1940, 1944). Now Donald Gerig, who had openly questioned traditional Missionary Church teaching on crisis sanctification in print, was the new president of Fort Wayne Bible College. J. A. Ringenberg was all doom and gloom as he talked to me about the appointment, rather oblivious to the fact that Don and I had been good friends for years. J. A. was convinced that God could not possibly continue to bless the college if the man at its helm denied crisis sanctification, the very doctrine for which God had called and raised up the church and the school, the doctrine that was their special mission to guard and to teach. "Mark my words," J. A. told me, "Don Gerig will be the end of Fort Wayne Bible College." I think the ancient Greeks would love such a story.

There have been, however, some church and college leaders at various levels whose decisions or whole administrations have at some point gone badly awry. Is there a way to talk about misjudgments, or mismanagement, or poor strategy, or the like that is genuinely instructive and helpful? Should one simply gloss over human error and fallibility in favor of explanations which mitigate personal responsibility?

For all its emphasis over the years on higher education, some have thought the Missionary Church has simultaneously harbored a significant anti-intellectual streak (cf. Culp 1970; Erdel 2003a, 2003b). Is it important to tell about meetings in the 1970s where certain district superintendents openly declared they would never place a seminary graduate? Is it worth noting that a district superintendent scornfully told me during the 1997 General Conference in Fort Wayne that the only resume he throws into the trash can faster than that of a seminary graduate is that of someone from Bethel College–or are such comments merely anomalies which one would do better to simply ignore? How would such statements correlate with a denominational survey taken in December 1979, which suggested that less than a quarter of Missionary Church members read seriously (that is, read more than news, light fiction, or inspirational devotionals), and that about half seldom if ever read any books at all (see Dockery 1980; cf. Erdel 1982).

The decisions of Roman Catholic bishops (and of church leaders from other traditions) about cases of sexual abuse by clergy are much in the news these days. So too are questions about the church's relationship to practicing homosexuals (cf. a current statement by the Missionary Church, Gerber 2002). How important is it to know that A[lbert] E[yst] Funk, Mennonite pastor and evangelist, leader of the "German Alliance," Resident Superintendent at the Missionary Alliance Training Institute in Nyack, New York, perhaps the closest personal colleague of A. B. Simpson (see Thompson 1920, 208), and the first president of the Missionary Church Association (1898-1900), a post held concurrently with his duties at the Institute, was also, although married, a practicing homosexual who apparently preyed for years on young men in his charge? Is it of more than passing interest that A. B. Simpson apparently shielded him through a brief period of mild probation and continued to appoint him to important posts, including Foreign Secretary, even after his struggles became known to a wider circle of people? Were Simpson's motives primarily pastoral (working toward Funk's restoration), pragmatic (needing his friendship and ministerial skills), or perhaps even shockingly "progressive" (Simpson certainly riled many with his trans-denominationalism, his openness to supernatural gifts, his championing of female ministers, his attribution of female imagery to God, and the like). While I very much doubt the last option is true in this case, the incident certainly leaves many questions open to speculation, including the whether or not any early hint of impropriety by Funk had any bearing on his having such a short tenure in leadership with the Missionary Church Association [though he apparently continued as a vice-president for some fifteen years], or if it was primarily a matter of his geographical distance from the main centers of the new church. Is there any possible connection between this relatively mild response to Funk's failures and the charges and disclosures made several generations later concerning long ignored abuses at C&MA boarding schools for missionary children?

Concluding Comments

The history of the Missionary Church is a rich and complex one on many levels. It includes numerous stories of faithful, even heroic commitment, of loving outreach to strangers, of incredible personal sacrifice. There are times when I struggle to share in an adequate and meaningful way the good that others in our church have done in the name of Jesus, or to trace what they have suffered in order to do so without weeping. It is a global story about a handful of Anabaptists whose missionary zeal led them to spread the gospel in strange and distant corners with remarkably diverse peoples and plant enduring churches among them. From the beginning, our missionaries have served in some of the most difficult situations on earth, including years of harrowing ministries to Armenians in the midst of genocidal massacres. Many undertook arduous voyages to West Africa or to the interior of China knowing full well their missionary journeys guaranteed difficulty and disease and would likely end in early death. Waves of volunteers are still finding ways to penetrate countries supposedly closed to the gospel and to plant new churches in unlikely communities within the United States.

But the history of the Missionary Church is also filled with many ironies, paradoxes, and anomalies. Some of the saintly persons I most respect and admire were still deeply flawed in ways and to degrees which baffle the imagination. The church I love and have served virtually the whole of my life is also one whose attitudes and actions occasionally make me so ashamed that I scarcely know how to respond. How can I record and reflect on this strange and rich and holy, yet at points badly marred heritage in a manner which does justice to the truth, while telling that truth in love back to persons who have entrusted their story to me?

Although I am not always a fan of Augustine, his pervasive sense of human depravity, especially his insight into the deceptiveness of his own heart is instructive to me. For I am quite convinced that my own moral and spiritual failures are every bit as bad as those of persons who preceded me. Any attempt to bring a prophetic word should begin with a deep sense of my own sinful nature. Malice and moral posturing should have no place in my motives, but I suspect they skew my thinking more than they should.

Not least, given my own perversity, it is not at all surprising that I have largely and deliberately avoided pursuing some of the most obvious and potentially embarrassing questions about the project in which I am supposed to be engaged, questions such as: When will the denominational history of the Missionary Church you are writing with Dennis Engbrecht finally be finished? What have you contributed to date? How many projects have you started throughout your life and left undone? What qualifies you to write this (or any) history? But I am more interested in your questions at this juncture than in raising more of my own.

Addendum

There is no remembrance of men of old,
and even those who are yet to come will not be remembered by those who follow.
There was once a small city with only a few people in it.
And a powerful king came against it, surrounded it and built huge siegeworks against it.
Now there lived in that city a man poor but wise,
and he saved the city by his wisdom.
But nobody remembered that poor man.
Ecclesiastes 1:11 & 9:14-15

A great change may sometimes slip into the constitution through neglect [of a small matter].
Aristotle, *Politics* 1303 a 22

It illustrates well enough the usual complex, unpatterned historical process;
in which, while men often throw away irreplaceable wealth,
they not infrequently escape what seemed inevitable dangers,
not knowing that they have done either nor how they did it.
C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century: Excluding Drama:*
The Completion of The Clark Lectures, Trinity College, Cambridge, 1944,
The Oxford History of English Literature, eds. F. P. Wilson and Bonamy Dobrée,
vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), 558

Select Bibliography and Reference List

Nota bene: In addition to the following published sources and "grey literature," the foregoing essay drew on unpublished materials in the Missionary Church Archives and Historical Collections, Bethel College, Mishawaka, Indiana, in the Bethel College Archives, Bethel College, Mishawaka, Indiana, and in personal files, as well as on a lifetime of contacts and conversations with persons in the Missionary Church and its predecessors. There is no attempt to duplicate in their entirety other published bibliographies (e.g., Erdel 2003b) or scholarly works containing extended bibliographies related to some aspect of the Missionary Church (e.g., Beutler 1959, Fuller 2003, Ringenberg 1992).

Allen, Wayne W. 1997. Faithful with a few things: A dedication to Dr. Zenas and Mrs. Esther Gerig. *BINAH* (Kingston, Jamaica) 2 (June): 4-6.

Amstutz, John Pritchard. 1948. The life of Joseph E. Ramseyer: Founder of the Missionary Church Association. Th.M. thesis, Princeton Theological Seminary.

Awojobi, Joseph Tunde. 1995. A descriptive study of the educational institutions of the Missionary Church Association in Jamaica: With a focus on elementary, remedial and vocational schools. M.A. thesis, Caribbean Graduate School of Theology (Kingston, Jamaica). UMI #1375268.

Ayer, H. D. (Sandy). 2001. *The Christian and Missionary Alliance: An annotated bibliography of textual sources*. ATLA Bibliography Series, series ed. Kenneth E. Rowe, no. 45. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press.

Beals, J. Duane. 1994. Eusebius Hershey: First foreign missionary. *Reflections* 2 (Spring): 4-7.

Behnken, Robert A. 1945. The distinguishing characteristics of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ. B.S.T. thesis, The Biblical Seminary in New York.

Bell, Ross H., with Eileen Lageer. 1998. *Pioneer doctor: The struggles and rewards*. Kitchener, Ont.: Kitchener Printing.

Bender, Harold S. 1944a. The Anabaptist vision. *Church History* 13 (March): 3-24.

The presidential address to the American Society of Church History, 29 December 1943.

________. 1944b. The Anabaptist vision. *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 18 (April): 67-88.

Slightly revised version of the address printed the month before in *Church History*.

________. 1955-1959. "Ramseyer, Joseph Eicher." In *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*. Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House.

[Bethel College]. [1997]. *Bethel College, 1947-1997: Sustained by faith*. [Mishawaka, Ind.]: [Golden Dome Productions for Bethel College]. Videocassette.

Beutler, Albert J. 1959. The development of a program of higher education in the United Missionary Church of America. M.A. thesis, Winona Lake School of Theology (Winona Lake, Indiana).

________. 1970. The founding and history of Bethel College of Indiana. Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University.

________. 1995. The struggle for resolution: The first twenty-five years of higher education in the Missionary Church. *Reflections* 2/3 (Fall 1994/Spring 1995): 12-23.

________. 2001. A tribute to Ray Pannabecker (1913-2001). *Reflections*. 5 (Spring): 33-35.

BINAH. 1996-1997. Vols. 1-2. Kingston, Jamaica: Jamaica Theological Seminary and Caribbean Graduate School of Theology.

In 1998 merged with *Caribbean Journal of Evangelical Theology* (see below).

Bixler, Virgil. 1993. Founding issues: The Missionary Church Association. *Reflections* 1 (Summer): 16-21.

Blough, Neal. 1995. The Anabaptist vision and its impact among French Mennonites. *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 69 (July): 369-388.

Blowers, LaVerne P. 1996. A dream to renew. *Reflections* 4 (Fall): 24-28.

Blumhofer, Edith L. 1993. *Restoring the faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American culture*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, Illini Book.

Brenneman, Daniel. 2002. Letter from Daniel Brenneman to C. Henry Smith [ca. 1908]. *Reflections* 6 (Spring and Fall): 41-50.

Brenneman, Wayne H. 1955. *A church is born!* With an Introduction by L. Russell Sloat. [Share, Nigeria: United Missionary Society]. Mimeographed.

________. [1978.] The indigenization of the Missionary Church in Nigeria. M.Min. paper, Huntington College (Huntington, Indiana). Mimeographed.

________. 1993. Daniel Brenneman: The birth of a church. *Reflections* 1 (Summer): 27-32.

Bridges, Renee [Witmer]. 1996a. Review of *God gives the increase*, by Gladys Reifel with Linda Duncan. In *Reflections* 4 (Spring): 30-32.

________. 1996b Review of *Letters from the white man's grave: Pioneering on the medical missionary frontier*. In *Reflections* 4 (Fall): 29-32.

Brown, Dale W. 1996. *Understanding Pietism*. Rev. ed. Nappanee, Ind.: Evangel Press.

Brown, Kenneth O. 1997. *Holy ground, too: The camp meeting family tree*. Hazelton, Pa.: Holiness Archives.

Caribbean Journal of Evangelical Theology. 1997- . Vol. 1- . Kingston, Jamaica: Caribbean Evangelical Theological Association, Jamaica Theological Seminary, and Caribbean Graduate School of Theology.

Since 1998 also continues *BINAH*.

Carpenter, Eugene E. 2001. Translating the *New Living Translation*. *Reflections* 5 (Fall 2001): 8-12.

Carpenter, Joel A. 1993. The scope of American evangelicalism: Some comments on the Dayton-Marsden exchange. *Christian Scholar's Review* 23 (September): 53-61.

Christian Service Fellowship. 1972. *Report of evaluation study of the Missionary Church*. Fort Morgan, Col. and Minneapolis, Minn.: Christian Service Fellowship. Multilithographed (type and format vary).

Clark, David B. 1980. *The Missionary Church in Jamaica*. [Fort Wayne, Ind.]: [by the author].

Clark, Elmer T. 1949. *The small sects in America*. Rev. ed. New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press.

Clark, Valerie, comp. [1997]. Missionary Church women in ministry historical timeline: Some highlights. [Edited by Jason C. Garnaat.] Chart prepared for distribution by the Missionary Church Archives, Bethel College, Mishawaka, Indiana. Printout (photocopied).

Conrad, Donald. 1996a. A new look at our Amish cousins. Review of *Amish society*, by John A. Hostetler [4th ed.], *A history of the Amish*, by Stephen M. Nolt, and *Tradition and transition: An Amish Mennonite heritage of obedience 1693-1993: Proceedings of the conference*, edited by V. Gordon Oyer. In *Reflections* 4 (Spring): 22-28.

________. 1996b. Review of *Amish Mennonites in Germany: Their congregations, the estates where they lived, their families*. In *Reflections* 4 (Spring): 29.

Cook, Philip L. 1996. *Zion City, Illinois: Twentieth-century utopia*. Utopianism and Communitarianism, series eds., Lyman Tower Sargent and Gregory Claeys. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press.

Culp, Jean A. Zawoysky. 1970. The presence of anti-intellectualism in the founding of Bethel College, Mishawaka, Indiana. M.A. paper, Andrews University.

Curtis, Carolyn. *A man for all nations: The story of Clyde and Ruth Taylor*. The Jaffray Collection of Missionary Portraits. Camp Hill, Pa.: Christian Publications.

Dayton, Donald W. 1976a. *Discovering an evangelical heritage*. New York: Harper & Row.

________. 1976b. Evangelical contradictions: Critique. *Sojourners*, April, 24-26.

________. 1987. *The theological roots of Pentecostalism*. With a Foreword by Martin E. Marty. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, Francis Asbury Press.

________. 1988a. Yet another layer of the onion: Or opening the ecumenical door to let the riffraff in. *The Ecumenical Review* 40 (January): 87-110.

________. 1988b. Draft. An analysis of the self-understanding of American evangelicalism with a critique of its correlated historiography. Paper for the Wesleyan/Holiness Study Project, First Fellows Seminar, [n.p.], 28-30 January. Typescript (photocopied).

________. 1993a. "The search for the historical evangelicalism": George Marsden's history of Fuller Seminary as a case study. *Christian Scholar's Review* 23 (September): 12-33.

________. 1993b. Rejoinder to historiography discussion. *Christian Scholar's Review* 23 (September): 62-71.

Dean, William W., ed. [1956]. *The United Missionary Church yesterday and today*. William W. Dean with Alan Hatfield, Yvonne Kipp, Darrel Enz, Charles Miller, Mary Whitacre, Elaine Ummel, Shirley Cary, Melvin Coil, Shirely Schooley, Dorothy Hayes, Eleanor Hine, John Carroll, Darlene Hatfield, Venus Arnold, Harold Barger, Richard Carpenter, Mary Beth Moran, Keith Riffel, Janice Riffel, Donna Jean Stephey, Hilda Kinghorn, Polly Speicher, Jack McGlesson, and Dean Mason. [Mishawaka, Ind.]: [Bethel College]. Mimeographed.

Dennis, Carlton Alexander. 1995. Proverbs and the people: A comparative study of Afro-Caribbean and Biblical proverbs. Ph.D. diss., Drew University.

Dintaman, Stephen F. 1995. The pastoral significance of the Anabaptist vision. *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 69 (July): 307-322.

Dockery, Jeanne. 1980. A look at ourselves. *Emphasis on Faith and Living*, 15 July, 20.

Dow, Thomas. 1994a. A. W. Banfield: Missionary pioneer in Nigeria. *Reflections* 2 (Spring): 12-15.

________. 1994b. Review of *Brave love: A biography of Edna Pridham*, by Chureb Kowtecky. In *Reflections* 2 (Spring): 22-24.

________. 1994c Review of *Dorothy Carey: The tragic and untold story of Mrs. William Carey*, by James R. Beck. In *Reflections* 2 (Spring): 25-28.

Duncan, Joseph Vernon. 1991. The face of Christ: A Pauline symbolization of Christian ministry in 2 Corinthians 3:7-4:6. M.A. thesis, Caribbean Graduate School of Theology (Kingston, Jamaica). Dean's Thesis Award, 1991. UMI #1375269.

Dundas, Leon A. 1990. The morality and marital status of the Caribbean common-law union. M.A. thesis, Caribbean Graduate School of Theology (Kingston, Jamaica). UMI #1347613.

Dyck, David W. 1975. The Missionary Church in the Dominican Republic. M.A. thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary.

Eagle, Robert L. 1986. The Missionary Church in the Caribbean. M.Min. paper, Bethel College (Mishawaka, Indiana). Printout.

Eastern Gospel Banner. 1917-1924. Cleveland, Oh.

Eby, Mrs. D. C. 1922. *At the mercy of Turkish brigands: A true story*. With an Introduction by Jasper Abraham Huffman. New Carlisle, Oh.: Bethel Publishing Co.

Emphasis!: Life and Faith in Our Times. 1967-1969. Ft. Wayne and Winona Lake, Ind.

Emphasis on Faith and Living. 1969-2003. Elkhart and Ft. Wayne, Ind.

Continued by *Missionary Church Today* (see below).

Elliott, G. Keith. 2002a. Why servant leadership? *emcc.ca: Evangelical Missionary Church of Canada*, [vol. 2, no. 2] Fall, 2-3.

________. 2002b. Report on Assembly 2002: Seeking God passionately. *emcc.ca: Evangelical Missionary Church of Canada*, [vol. 2, no. 2] Fall, 14-15.

Engbrecht, Dennis. 1995. The theological development of the Missionary Church 1969-1994. *Reflections* 2/3 (Fall 1994/Spring 1995): 4-11.

________. 1996. The changing role of women in the ministry of the Missionary Church: A brief overview. Paper presented to the Missionary Church Historical Society, Warsaw Missionary Church, Warsaw, Indiana, 9 April. Printout (photocopied).

________. 1998. Merging and diverging streams: The colorful and complex history of the Missionary Church. Bethel College, Mishawaka, Indiana. Printout (photocopied).

"An overview for an updated history of the Missionary Church originally prepared for World Partners on November 5, 1998–Fort Wayne, Indiana."

________, and Timothy Paul Erdel. 1994. Marriage, memory, and mission: Of [*sic*, Reflections on] the 25th anniversary of the MCA/UMC merger. *Emphasis on Faith and Living*. July/August [vol. 26, no. 4], 4, 13.

Erdel, Paul Arthur. 1985. The development of the *Iglesia Misionera* in Ecuador. D.Miss. project, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School.

________. 1994. Henry Zehr: Never sound retreat. *Reflections* 2 (Spring): 8-11.

________. 2001. Giving the winds a mighty voice: The story of cooperation between the Missionary Church and World Radio HCJB. *Reflections* 5 (Spring): 6-13.

Erdel, Timothy Paul. 1982. Bring also the books: Studies of ministers as readers. *Reformed Review* 35 (Spring): 136-51.

________. 1992. Chart history of the Missionary Church Association in Jamaica. Denominational History, Jamaica Theological Seminary, Kingston, Jamaica. Chart (photocopied).

________. 1995a. Sharpe, Sam(uel). In *The Blackwell dictionary of evangelical biography: 1730-1860*. Edited by Donald Lewis. 2 vols. Oxford: Blackwell Reference, Blackwell Publishers.

________. 1995b. Review of *Handbook of evangelical theologians*, edited by Walter A. Elwell. In *Reflections* 2/3 (Fall 1994/Spring 1995): 45-47.

________. 1995c. Review of *Holiness manuscripts: A guide to sources documenting the Wesleyan holiness movement in the United States and Canada*, by William Kostlevy. In *Reflections* 2/3 (Fall 1994/Spring 1995): 42-44.

________. 1996a. Theological education and religious pluralism. *BINAH* (Kingston, Jamaica) 1: 34-50.

________. 1996b. Chart history of the Missionary Church (USA/Canada). [3rd rev. ed.] Missionary Church Archives, Bethel College, Mishawaka, Indiana. Chart (photocopied).

________. 1997a. The Missionary Church: From radical outcast to the wild child of Anabaptism. *Illinois Mennonite Heritage* 24 [no. 3] (September): 60, 59.

________. 1997b. Five theological traditions which gave rise to and guide the Missionary Church and Bethel College. Division of Religion and Philosophy, Bethel College, Mishawaka, Indiana. Printout (photocopied).

________. 1998. From Egly Amish to global mission: The Missionary Church Association (1898-1969). *Emphasis on Faith and Living*, July/August [vol. 30, no. 4], 2-3, 5.

________. 2000. From the Colonial Christ and Babylonian Captivity to *Dread Jesus*: Documenting world Christianity on a shoestring budget. In *Summary of proceedings: Fifty-fourth Annual Conference of the American Thelogical Library Association: Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, California, June 21-24, 2000*, 82-95. Edited by Margret Tacke Collins. Chicago, Ill.: American Theological Library Association.

________. 2001a. Bawa Salka, Jacob; Clark, John D[aughtrey] [with Paul Arthur Erdel]; Gerig, Zenas; Missionary Church, Inc.; Missionary Church Association; Oke, Janette Lorene; Ramseyer, Joseph E.; Sierra Castro, Wilfrido [with Paul Arthur Erdel]; Sloat, L. Russell [with Paul Arthur Erdel]; United Missionary Church. In *Historical dictionary of the holiness movement*, edited by William C. Kostlevy; associate ed., Gari-Anne Patzwald. Historical Dictionaries of Religions, Philosophies, and Movements, no. 36. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press.

The original scope of the denominational articles was significantly reduced and the editorial process also introduced errors to a number of the articles. See also Gerber 2001a, Ringenberg 2001.

________. 2001b. I wish I'd been there: "Negro slavery's prophet of deliverance." *Mennonite Historical Bulletin* 42 (July): 8-9.

________. 2001c. Report. An overview of the Missionary Church, Inc. With Dennis Engbrecht for Bill Hossler. Canadian Council of Anabaptist Leaders/[U.S.] Council of [Mennonite and Brethren] Moderators and Secretaries, Fort Garry Mennonite Brethren Church, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 30 November. Printout (photocopied).

Similar reports have been been compiled by Erdel with Engbrecht since 1995 through 2003 for meetings at a variety of venues (e.g., in 2002 at Eastern Mennonite Seminary in Harrisonburg, Virginia, and in 2003 at the Mennonite Central Committee headquarters in Akron, Pennsylvania).

________. 2002a. Sermon. "Whose shoes do you shine?" Ordination service for Jon Chester ("Chet" [& Holly]) Miller-Eshleman, Capital Christian Fellowship (Lancaster Conference, Mennonite Church USA), Laurel, Maryland, 10 February. Printout (photocopied).

________. 2002b. Will we remember? *Emphasis on Faith and Living*, November/December 2002, 19.

________. 2003a. "Tough-minded and tender-hearted": Sixteen theses on Christians and the life of learning. *Reflections* 7 (Spring and Fall): 51-61.

________. 2003b. "Insisting upon higher education": A preliminary, select, annotated bibliography of publications related to higher education: With a focus on, provenance from, or other links to the Missionary Church. *Reflections* 7 (Spring and Fall): 153-187.

________. 2004. Commentary on the report. In *Missionary Church North Central District thirty-sixth district conference, May7, 2004, Everest/Rohrer Auditorium, Bethel College, Mishawaka, Indiana*, 82-88. Elkhart, Ind.: Missionary Church North Central District, 2004.

Forrest, Vera. [n.d./1987?] *Our exciting heritage: The Missionary Church*. [Foreword] by Alf Rees. Colborne, Ont.: Missionary Women International, Canada East District.

Fuller, Daniel P. 1993. Response to Donald W. Dayton. *Christian Scholar's Review* 23 (September): 41-43.

Fuller, James Clare. 2001. *Banfield, Nupe and the UMCA*. Ilorin, Nigeria: World Partners for the United Missionary Church of Africa.

An expanded and corrected Canadian edition is anticipated.

________. 2003. We trust God will own his Word: A holiness-Mennonite mission in Nigeria 1905-1978. Th.M. thesis, McMaster University Divinity College.

Fuller, Lois, ed. 1999. *Faith of our fathers: Life stories of some UMCA elders*. Ilorin, Nigeria: World Partners for the United Missionary Church of Africa.

Fujishiro, Jean Sprunger. 1979. *Wahine firebug: A history of the Missionary Church in Hawaii*. Elkhart, Ind.: Bethel Publishing Co.

Gaddis, Vincent H., and Jasper Abraham Huffman. 1960. *The story of Winona Lake: A memory and a vision*: *The remarkable story of one of the world's largest Bible conferences;*

its environing institutions; its present personalities, and its future. Winona Lake: The Wesley Press Agency.

Garnaat, Jason C. 1995. “In memory of her”: A list of over 500 women in North American Ministries in the Missionary Church and its predecessors. *Reflections* 3 (Fall): 4-9.

The issue was devoted to the theme: “Women in ministry.”

Gayle, Clement. 1982. *George Liele: Pioneer missionary to Jamaica*. With a Foreword by R. A. Anglin. Kingston, Jamaica: Jamaica Baptist Union.

Geiger, Kenneth E., comp. 1962. *Insights into holiness: Discussions of holiness by fifteen leading scholars of the Wesleyan persuasion*. Kansas City, Mo.: Beacon Hill Press.

________. 1963. *Further insights into holiness: Nineteen leading Wesleyan scholars present various phases of holiness thinking*. Kansas City, Mo.: Beacon Hill Press.

________. 1965. *The word and doctrine: Studies in contemporary Wesleyan-Arminian theology*. Kansas City, Mo.: Beacon Hill Press.

Gerber, Wayne J. 1993. Founding issues: The Mennonite Brethren in Christ. *Reflections* 1 (Summer): 9-15.

________. 1995. What ever happened to the Pennsylvania Conference? Review of *Verhandlungen (1859-1895): Proceedings of the Evangelical Mennonite Society, also known as The Mennonite Brethren in Christ, now known as The Bible Fellowship Church*, translated by Frank Litty and edited by Richard E. Taylor, *What mean these stones?*, edited by Leonard E. Buck, and *The Bible Fellowship Church: Formerly Mennonite Brethren in Christ, Pennsylvania Conference, Originally die Evangelische Mennoniten Gemeinshcaft von Ost-Pennsyvanien*, by Harold P. Shelly. In *Reflections* 2/3 (Fall 1994/Spring 1995): 32-37.

________. 2001a. Brenneman, Daniel; Eby, Solomon; Huffman, Jasper Abraham; Musselman, William Brunner; and Sprunger, John A. In *Historical dictionary of the holiness movement*, edited by William C. Kostlevy; associate ed., Gari-Anne Patzwald. Historical Dictionaries of Religions, Philosophies, and Movements, no. 36. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press.

See also Erdel 2001a, Ringenberg 2001.

________. 2001b. The *New Life Version* of the Holy Bible. *Reflections* 5 (Fall): 13-17.

________. 2002. Statement on homosexuality and same-gender marriage. *Emphasis on Faith and Living*, January/February, 12-13.

Gerhardt, Freda Pillon. 1981. *Northwest District Missionary Churches*. [n.p.]: [Northwest District of the Missionary Church].

Gerig, Jared F. 1955-1959. Missionary Church Association. In *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*. Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House.

________. 1980. *“A vine of God’s own planting”: The story of Fort Wayne Bible College upon the commemoration of its 75th anniversary, 1904-1979: A venture of faith in biblical higher education*. Fort Wayne, Ind.: Fort Wayne Bible College.

________. 1990. *The conflict: From eden to eternity*. With an Introduction by Edward D. Simpson. Elkhart, Ind.: Bethel Publishing.

________. 1993. Joseph Eicher Ramseyer: Saint and servant. *Reflections* 1 (Summer): 22-26.

[________, and Mildred Gerig]. 1993. *The Jared and Mildred Gerig story: (Plus Glory through suffering by P. L. Eicher)*. Compiled with John Gerig and Jeff Gerig. [Fort Wayne, Ind.]: [by the authors].

Gerig, Wesley L. 2001. Translating the *New International Version*. *Reflections* 5 (Spring): 4-7.

Gerig, William D. 1974. A history of the development of the Sierra Leone Missionary Church. M.A. thesis, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School.

Gerig, Zenas. 1954. A history and evaluation of the curriculum of Fort Wayne Bible College. S.T.B. thesis, The Biblical Seminary in New York.

________. 1967. An analysis of selected aspects of Jamaica culture with implications for adult education programs in the church. Ph.D. diss., Indiana University.

________. 1993. *The story of* [*the*] *Caribbean Evangelical Theological Association: 1973-1993*. Kingston, Jamaica: CETA.

________. 2001. The story of Caribbean Evangelical Theological Association. *Reflections* 5 (Spring): 14-27.

A condensed revision and updating of the previous entry.

Giles, Kevin. 2002. *The Trinity & subordinationism: The doctrine of God & the contemporary gender debate*. Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press.

Gingerich, Charles. 1996. Pietistic and Wesleyan influences in the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church. *Reflections* 4 (Fall): 18-23.

Gorial, Bassim. 2003. With Ken Hogg. An Iraqi speaks about Iraq. *Missionary Church Today*, July/August, 16-17.

[The] Gospel Banner. 1878-1969. Goshen, Ind.; Berlin, On.; Cleveland, Oh.; Berne, Ind. and New Carlisle, Oh.; Pandora and New Carlisle, Oh.; Pandora, Oh. and Elkhart, Ind.; Elkhart, Ind.

Title varies. At different times there were multiple variant editions, including a German edition, a Canadian edition, a Pennsylvania edition, and an edition designed for street distribution. There is now a very thorough *Gospel Banner Index* compiled by Jason Garnaat available either as a CD ROM or online. For a link see the Missionary Church Archives web site at www.bethelcollege.edu/acadb/library/Archives/home.htm.

Goudie, S. [1932]. *Book of religious instruction: Compiled by the committee appointed by General Conference of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church held at Brown City, Mich.,1924*. With S. Cressman and A[lvin] Traub. With an Introduction by A[lvin] Traub. [n.p.]: by the author. Booklet.

Habegger, Tillman. 1993. History of merger negotiations. *Reflections* 1 (Summer): 4-8.

Haines, Max. 1994. J. A. Sprunger: Light and Hope. *Reflections* 2 (Spring): 16-21.

________. 1995. Mary Degarmo: Martyr for Christ in China. *Reflections* 3 (Fall): 10-15.

________. 2002. J. A. Sprunger. Edited by Holly McCune and James Stump. *Reflections* 6 (Spring and Fall): 4-40.

Harrigan, Stephen M. 1985. A history of church growth among the Yalunka tribe of Sierra Leone (1951-1983). M.A. thesis, The Columbia Graduate School of Bible and Missions (Columbia, South Carolina).

Hassey, Janette. 1986. *No time for silence: Evangelical women in public ministry around the turn of the century*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, Academie Books.

Hatch, Nathan O. 1994. The puzzle of American Methodism. *Church History* 63 (June): 175-189.

" . . . the presidential address to the American Society of Church History, 8 January 1994."

Henry, Carl F. H. 1947. *The uneasy conscience of modern fundamentalism*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans Publishing Co.

Henry, Claire. 1988. The Bible college as an adult education institution: The case of Jamaica Theological Seminary. Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University.

[________, and Timothy Paul Erdel]. 1991. Partnership in theological education. *The Joint Committee on Tertiary Education: Partnership in Education* 1 (November): 24, 26.

Hershberger, Guy P. 1957. *The recovery of the Anabaptist vision: A sixtieth anniversary tribute to Harold S. Bender*. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press.

Higueros, 1995. The Anabaptist vision in the church of Central America. *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 69 (July): 389-404.

Homer, Andy Owen. 1989. An exegetical analysis of Ephesians 5:21-6:9 with application to patterns of family life in Trinidad and Tobago. M.A. thesis, Caribbean Graduate School of Theology (Kingston, Jamaica). UMI #1350750.

Horton, Michael S. 2001a. Is evangelicalism Reformed or Wesleyan? Reopening the Marsden-Dayton debate. *Christian Scholar's Review* 31(Winter): 131-156.

________. 2001b. Response to Roger Olson's reply. *Christian Scholar's Review* 31 (Winter): 163-168.

HoSang, David, and Roger Ringenberg. 1983. Towards an evangelical Caribbean theology. *Evangelical Review of Theology* 7 (April): 132-146.

Huffman, Jasper Abraham. [1913?]. *The twin memorials: The sacrament (the memorial of sacrifice) and the washing of saints feet (the memorial of service)*. New Carlisle, Oh.: Bethel Publishing Co. Pamphlet.

________. 1940. *The meaning of Pentecost and the Spirit filled life*. Marion, Ind.: The Standard Press. Pamphlet.

________. 1944. *The Holy Spirit*. 2nd, rev. ed. Elkhart, Ind.: Bethel Publishing Co.

________. 1955. *The proposed merger: A frank statement*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Westminster Press.

________. 1968. *Seventy years with pen, pointer and pulpit: Memoirs of Jasper Abraham Huffman*. Elkhart, Ind.: Bethel Publishing Co.

________, ed.-in-chief. 1920. *History of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church*. New Carlisle, Oh.: Bethel Publishing Co.

Huffman, Lambert. 1951. *Not of this world*. [Canton, Oh.]: [by the author].

Hyndman, William J. 1992. The influences at work on the Old Mennonite Church which caused the various groups of the Missionary Church to come into existence. M.A. thesis, Asbury Theological Seminary.

Jacobsen, Douglas. 1993. The Calvinist-Arminian dialectic in evangelical hermeneutics. *Christian Scholar's Review* 23 (September): 72-89.

Jamaica Theological Seminary and Caribbean Graduate School of Theology. [2002]. *Training servants for the Kingdom of God, Kingston, Jamaica: Jamaica Theological Seminary/Caribbean Graduate School of Theology*. Kingston, Jamaica: JTS/CGST. Videocassette.

Jones, Charles Edwin. 1974. *A guide to the study of the holiness movement*. ATLA Bibliography Series, series ed. Kenneth E. Rowe, no. 1. Metuchen, N. J.: The Scarecrow Press and the American Theological Library Association.

Joseph, Errol Elton. 1992. An assessment of the needs of the constituency of the Open Bible Institute of Trinidad and Tobago: Implications for curriculum. M.A. thesis, Caribbean Graduate School of Theology (Kingston, Jamaica). Dean's Thesis Award, 1992. UMI #1348644.

Kesler, Jay. 1988. *Being holy, being human: Dealing with the expectations of ministry*. The Leadership Library, vol. 13. Waco, Tex.: Word Books; Carol Stream, Ill.: Christianity Today.

Kessler, D. David. 2003. Jasper Abraham Huffman: The man whose impact built bridges. M.A. thesis, Indiana Wesleyan University.

Koontz, Ted. 1995. Grace and peace to you: Nonresistance as piety. *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 69 (July): 354-368.

Kostlevy, William. 1994. *Holiness manuscripts: A guide to sources documenting the Wesleyan holiness movement in the United States and Canada*. ATLA Bibliography Series, series ed. Kenneth E. Rowe, no. 34. Metuchen, N.J.: The American Theological Library Association and The Scarecrow Press.

Kowtecky, Chureb. 1993. *Brave love: A biography of Edna Pridham*. Toronto: Harmony Printing Co. [for the author].

Lageer, Eileen. 1970. *New life for all*. With a Foreword by Paul S. Rees. London: Marshall, Morgan, & Scott, 1969; Chicago: Moody Press.

Cover subtitle: *True accounts of in-depth evangelism in West Africa*.

________. 1979. *Merging streams: Story of the Missionary Church*. Sketches by Leah Gillard. Elkhart, Ind.: Bethel Publishing Co.

________. 1980. The establishment and development of the Missionary Church in Nigeria. M.A. thesis, Grace Theological Seminary.

________. 1995. Twenty-five years of mission advance. *Reflections* 2/3 (Fall 1994/Spring 1995): 26-31.

________. 2004. *Common bonds: The story of the Evangelical Missionary Church of Canada*. Edited by Elaine Brown and James McDowell. Illustrated by Kim Brander. With a Foreword by Mark Bolender and an Appendix on A theological history of the Evangelical Missionary Church by Edward Oke. Calgary, AB: Evangelical Missionary Church of Canada.

Lambert, Rose. 1911. *Hadjin, and the Armenian massacres*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co.

Lechlitner, Laurie. 1996. Camp evangelists. *Reflections* 4 (Spring): 18-21.

Long, Fredrick J. 2001. Review of *The Bible in translation: Ancient and English versions*, by Bruce M. Metzger. In *Reflections* 5 (Fall): 18-20.

Lugibihl, Walter H., and Jared F. Gerig. 1950. *The Missionary Church Association: Historical account of its development*. Berne, Ind.: Economy Printing Concern.

Maclure, Hugh L. 1994. *Letters from the white man's grave: Pioneering on the medical missionary frontier.* Foreward by Paul Brand. [Rev. and expanded ed.] White Rock, B.C.: CREDO Publishing.

Magnuson, Norris A. 1977. *Salvation in the slums: Evangelical social work, 1865-1920.* ATLA Monograph Series, series ed. Kenneth E. Rowe, no. 10. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press.

Malick, Bill. 2001. Reflections on the conception and birth of the Church Multiplication Training Center. *Reflections* 5 (Spring): 28-32.

Marsden, George M. 1982. *Fundamentalism and American culture: The shaping of twentieth-century evangelicalism: 1870-1925*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980; New York: Oxford Paperbacks.

________. 1993. Response to Donald Dayton. *Christian Scholar's Review* 23 (September): 34-40.

Matteson, Dave. 1995. Review of *The business of mutual aid: 75 years of the Brotherhood Mutual Insurance Company*, by William C. Ringenberg. In *Reflections* 2/3 (Fall 1994/Spring 1995): 38-41.

McKenna, David L. 1987. A report on the study of Christian education in the Missionary Church. [Wilmore, Ky.: by the author for the Missionary Church, Inc., Fort Wayne, Indiana.] Printout (photocopied).

Miller, Dawn. 1995. Eva Surbrook: Ministering sister. *Reflections* 3 (Fall): 16-20.

Miller, Levi. 1995. A reconstruction of evangelical Anabaptism. *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 69 (July): 295-306.

Missionary Banner. 1938-1969. New Carlisle, Oh.; Winona Lake, Ind.; Pandora and Springfield, Oh.; Elkhart, Ind.

Missionary Church Today. 2003- . Ft. Wayne, Ind.

The Missionary Worker. 1904-1967. Berne and Ft. Wayne, Ind.

Moberg, David O. 1972. *The great reversal: Evangelism versus social concern*. Evangelical Perspectives, gen. ed. John Warwick Montgomery, no. 7. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., A Holman Book.

Moran, John. 2004. With Norman Bridges, Timothy Erdel, Dan Miller, Jason Nicholls, and James Stump. Report from the North Central District Study Committee on the assurance of the believer. In *Missionary Church North Central District thirty-sixth district conference, May7, 2004, Everest/Rohrer Auditorium, Bethel College, Mishawaka, Indiana*, 80-81. Elkhart, Ind.: Missionary Church North Central District, 2004.

Niebuhr, H. Richard. 1956. *Christ and culture.* New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1951; Harper Torchbooks, The Cloister Library.

Noëlliste, Dieumème E. 1987. The church and human emancipation: A critical comparison of liberation theology and the Latin American Theological Fraternity. Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University.

________. 1993. *Toward a theology of theological education*. Outreach and Identity: Evangelical Theological Monographs, ed. Bong Rin Ro, no. 10. Seoul, Korea: World Evangelical Theological Commission.

________. 1998. Transcendent but not remote: The Caribbean. In *The global God: Multicultural evangelical views of God*, 104-26, 263-265. Edited by Aída Besançon Spencer and William David Spencer. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, A BridgePoint Book.

Nolt, Steve. 1995. Anabaptist visions of church and society. *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 69 (July): 283-294.

Nordstrom, Mark. 2003a. Dear Missionary Church family. *Missionary Church Today*, July/August, 4-6.

________. 2003b. At peace with war. *Missionary Church Today*, September/October, 22-23.

Nussbaum, Stan W. [1980]. *You must be born again: A history of the Evangelical Mennonite Church*. With a Foreword by Andrew M. Rupp. [Fort Wayne, Ind.]: [Evangelical Mennonite Church].

Olson, Roger E. 2001. The reality of evangelicalism: A response to Michael S. Horton. *Christian Scholar's Review* 31 (Winter): 157-162.

Oliver, Anthony. 1991. Salvation as justice in Amos 5:18-27: Implications for Jamaica. M.A. thesis, Caribbean Graduate School of Theology (Kingston, Jamaica). UMI #1349295.

Our [Bi-]Monthly Letter. 1914-1938. Kitchener, On.; Cleveland, Oh.

Palmer, D. Vincent. 2002. Tribute to the Gerigs: A sequel. *Caribbean Journal of Evangelical Theology* 6 (June): 73-84.

Pannell, William E. 1968. *My friend, the enemy*. Waco, Tex.: Word Books.

Pieper, John. 2003. If Christ predicted war, may Christians pray for peace? *Missionary Church Today*, July/August, 19.

Pinnock, Clark H. 1993. Fuller Theological Seminary and the nature of evangelicalism. *Christian Scholar's Review* 23 (September): 44-47.

Ramseyer, Joseph E. 1948. *Dwell deep: A series of devotional messages on the deeper Christian life*. Compiled and edited with a Biographical Introduction by Safara A. Witmer. Fort Wayne, Ind.: Bible Truth Publishers.

Ramseyer, Macy Garth. 1945. *Joseph E. Ramseyer: "Yet speaking."* Fort Wayne, Ind.: Fort Wayne Bible Institute.

Reifel, Gladys. 1992. *God gives the increase*. With Linda Duncan. Edited by Grace Pettifor. Elkhart, Ind.: Bethel Publishing Co.

Reflections. 1993- . Vol. 1- . Mishawaka, Ind.: Missionary Church Historical Society.

Ringenberg, J[onas] A. 1947. *Jesus the healer*. With an Introduction by W. G. Weston. Fort Wayne, Ind.: The Missionary Church Association.

________. 1949. *Blessed are ye*. Fort Wayne, Ind.: Bible Truth Publishers.

________. 1972. *By my Spirit*. New York: Vantage Press.

________. 1979. *The revelation of Jesus Christ*. St. Paul, Minn.: Braun Press.

Ringenberg, Ralph, ed. [1976]. *Believers in the Missionary Church*. Elkhart, Ind.: Bethel Publishing.

Ringenberg, Roger. 1982. Caribbean theology: An evaluation from an evangelical perspective. Th.M. thesis, Grace Theological Seminary.

_________. 1992. A history of Jamaica Theological Seminary: 1960-1992. D.Miss. project, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School.

Ringenberg, Violet. 1996. Youth camps in the MCA. *Reflections* 4 (Spring): 11-17.

Ringenberg, William C. 1980. A brief history of Fort Wayne Bible College. *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 54 (April): 135-55.

________. 1994. *The business of mutual aid: 75 years of the Brotherhood Mutual Insurance Company*. Fort Wayne, Ind.: Brotherhood Mutual Insurance Co.

________. 1996. *Taylor University: The first 150 years*. With a Foreword by Jay Kesler. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans Publishing Co.; Upland, Ind.: Taylor University Press.

________. 2001. Witmer, Safara A. In *Historical dictionary of the holiness movement*, edited by William C. Kostlevy; associate ed., Gari-Anne Patzwald. Historical Dictionaries of Religions, Philosophies, and Movements, no. 36. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press.

See also Erdel 2001a, Gerber 2001a.

Roth, John D. 1995. Living between the times: "The Anabaptist vision and Mennonite reality" revisited. *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 69 (July): 323-336.

________. 2002a. *Choosing Against War: A Christian View: "A Love Stronger Than Our Fears."* Intercourse, Penn.: Good Books.

________. 2002b. Recent currents in the historiography of the Radical Reformation. *Church History* 71 (September): 523-535.

Runyon, Paul Warren. 2001. The preparation of cross-cultural missionaries: An active participant perspective. Ph.D. dissertation, Concordia Theological Seminary.

Sarkar, Pronoy , with Eileen Lageer. 1993. *Missionary Church in India*. Fort Wayne, Ind.: World Partners. Pamphlet.

Schlabach, Theron F. 1980. *Gospel versus gospel: Mission and the Mennonite Church, 1863-1944*. Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, eds. Cornelius J. Dyck, Ernst Correll, Leonard Gross, Leland Harder, Guy F. Hershberger, John S. Oyer, Theron F. Schlabach, J. C. Wenger, and John H. Yoder, no. 21. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press.

Schmidt, David E. 2001. Review of *Taylor University: The first 150 years*, by William C. Ringenberg. In *Reflections* 5 (Spring): 36-38.

Shelly, Harold P. 1992. *The Bible Fellowship Church: Formerly Mennonite Brethren in Christ, Pennsylvania Conference: Originally dis Evangelische Mennoniten Gemeinschaft von Ost-Pensyvanien*. With a Foreword by John L. Ruth. Bethlehem, Penn.: The Historical Committee, Bible Fellowship Church.

Shenk, Sara Wenger. 1995. Remember who you are. *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 69 (July): 337-353.

Shirton, Wayne F. 1997. *Tried, tested, triumphant!: The eventful life of Alf Rees*. With a Foreword by Janette Oke. Markham, Ont.: Stewart Publishing & Printing.

Simmons, Dale H. 2001. Review of *Holy ground, too: The camp meeting family tree*, by Kenneth O. Brown. In *Reflections* 5 (Spring): 39-40.

Smith, C. Henry. 1909. *The Mennonites of America*. Goshen, Ind.: Mennonite Publishing House (Scottdale, Pa.) for the author.

Smith, Timothy L. 1957. *Revivalism and social reform in mid-nineteenth-century America*. New York: Abingdon Press.

"Chapters I-XI and XIV comprise, 'The Frank S. and Elizabeth D. Brewer Prize Essay for 1955,' The American Society of Church History."

Snyder, Arnold. 1999. *From Anabaptist seed: The historical core of Anabaptist-related identity*. Kitchener, Ont.: Pandora.

Stanley, Susie Cunningham. 1993. *Feminist pillar of fire: The life of Alma White.* Cleveland, Oh.: The Pilgrim Press.

________, comp. 1994. *Wesleyan/holiness women clergy: A preliminary bibliography.* Portland, Or.: Western Evangelical Seminary.

Steele, Harold E. 1981. *Historical background of the Missionary Church and a history of the Ohio District.* Fort Wayne, Ind.: Missionary Church for the Historical Committee, Ohio District of the Missionary Church.

Storms, Everek Richard. 1947. The History of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church in Nigeria. M.A. thesis, Winona Lake School of Theology (Winona Lake, Indiana).

________. [1948]. *What God hath wrought: The story of the foreign missionary efforts of the United Missionary Church.* With an Introduction by R. P. Ditmer. Springfield, Oh.: United Missionary Society.

________. 1958. *History of the United Missionary Church.* Elkhart, Ind.: Bethel Publishing Co.

Strom, Jonathan. 2002. Problems and promises of Pietism research. *Church History* 71 (September): 536-554.

Studebaker, Richard F. 1996a. The theology of James Arminius. *Reflections* 4 (Fall): 4-17.

________. 1996b. Review of *Zion City, Illinois: Twentieth-century utopia*, by Philip L. Cook. In *Reflections* 4 (Fall): 33-36.

________. 1998. The concept of mind in the sermons of John Wesley. Ph.D. dissertation, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School.

Stutzman, Ervin R. 1993. From nonresistance to peace and justice: Mennonite peace rhetoric, 1951-1991. Ph.D. diss., Temple University.

Swalm, Noah, and Swalm, Olive. 1965. *History of the United Missionary Church Canadian Northwest District, 1894 to 1962*. Calgary, AB: Canadian Northwest Distrist of the United Missionary Church.

Swartz, David. 2003. Woman, thou art almost loosed! The rise of women ministers in the nineteenth-century Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church. Graduate paper [written for a course with George Marsden], University of Notre Dame, 13 January. Printout (photocopied).

Sweeney, Douglas A. 1993. Historiographical dialectics: On Marsden, Dayton, and the inner logic of evangelical historiography. *Christian Scholar's Review* 23 (September): 48-52.

[Talbert, Alexander E., J. W. Parker, H. D. Hodges, Spurgeon R. Jones, and Floyd H. Lacy]. 1937. *The Coloured Quintette: A Narrative of God's Marvelous Dealings with the Cleveland Coloured Gospel Quintette and Their Personal Testimony*. Silver Jubilee ed. Kilmarnock, Scotland: John Ritchie, Publishers of Christian Literature.

Cover title: *The Cleveland Coloured Gospel Quintette*.

Taylor, Stanley. [1947]. *Activities of the pacifist conscript.* [Pandora, Oh.]: [Times Publishing Co. for the author].

The text for this work was originally presented in 1947 as a B.D. thesis at Bonebrake Theological Seminary, Dayton, Ohio.

Thompson, A. E. 1920. *The life of A. B. Simpson*. Official authorized ed. Harrisburg, Pa.: Christian Publications.

Tucker, Ruth. 1988. *Guardians of the Great Commission: The story of women in modern missions*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, Academie Books.

________, and Walter L. Liefeld. 1987. *Daughters of the church: Women and ministry from New Testament times to the present*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House.

Vassel, Samuel Carl W[inston]. 1997. *Understanding and addressing male absence from the Jamaican church.* D.Min. diss., Columbia Theological Seminary (Decatur, Georgia)/United Theological College [of the West Indies] (Kingston, Jamaica).

von Gunten, Sharon. 2003. From a mother's heart. *Missionary Church Today*, July/August, 20-21.

Wagner, Steven, comp. 1995a. Historical timeline. *Reflections* 2/3 (Fall 1994/Spring 1995): 24-25.

________. 1995b. Review of *Feminist pillar of fire: The life of Alma White*, by Susie Cunningham Stanley. In *Reflections* 3 (Fall): 30-32.

________. 1995c. Review of *Wesleyan/holiness women clergy: A preliminary bibliography*. In *Reflections* 3 (Fall): 32.

Wacker, Grant. 1985 Marching to Zion: Religion in a modern theocracy. *Church History* 54 (December): 496-511.

Warner, Timothy M. 1991. *Spiritual warfare: Victory over the powers of this dark world.* Wheaton, Ill.: Good News Publishers, Crossway Books.

Weaver, J. Denny. 1987. *Becoming Anabaptist: The origin and significance of sixteenth-century Anabaptism*. With a Foreword by Leonard Gross. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press.

Weeks, Ken. 1996. The legacy of fetter's grove. *Reflections* 4 (Spring): 4-10.

Wells, David F. and John D. Woodbridge, eds. 1975. *The evangelicals: What they believe, who they are, where they are changing*. Nashville: Abingdon Press.

Wiesner-Hanks, Merry E. 2002. Women, gender, and Church history. *Church History* 71 (September): 600-620.

Witmer, Renee. See Bridges, Renee [Witmer].

Witmer, Safara A. n.d. [ca. 1948]. *Removing the danger signals: A study in the application of the warnings in the Epistle to the Hebrews*. With an Introduction by Kenneth Geiger. Fort Wayne, Ind.: Fort Wayne Bible Institute, n.d.; reprint ed., Elkhart, Ind.: Bethel Publishing. Pamphlet.

________. 1959. *Galilean fishermen: A manual in personal evangelism*. With a Foreword by Leslie Ray Marston. 6th ed. Berne, Ind.: Light and Hope Publications.

________. 1962. *The Bible college story: Education with dimension*. With an Introduction by Merrill C. Tenney. Manhasset, N.Y.: Channel Press.

World Partners. 1992-1996. Ft. Wayne, Ind.

Yoder, John Howard. 1972. *The politics of Jesus: Vicit agnus noster*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans Publishing Co.

________. 1976. *Nevertheless: The varieties and shortcomings of religious pacifism*. [Rev. ed.] The Christian Peace Shelf, no. 1. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press.

Young, Murray Arnold. 1974. The philosophy of ministry of the Missionary Church, arrived at inductively. M.A.R. thesis, Asbury Theological Seminary.