**Title**
Missionary-Minded: American Evangelicals and Power in a Postcolonial World, 1945-2000



**Author**
Waits, Hannah

**Publication Date**
2019

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

# Missionary-Minded: American Evangelicals and Power in a Postcolonial World, 1945-2000

By

Hannah R Waits

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:
Professor Mark Peterson, Co-Chair
Professor Bethany Moreton, Co-Chair
Professor Margaret Chowning
Professor Charles Hirschkind

Spring 2019

Abstract

Missionary-Minded: American Evangelicals and Power
in a Postcolonial World, 1945-2000

by

Hannah R Waits

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Mark Peterson, Co-Chair

Professor Bethany Moreton, Co-Chair

This dissertation examines how global missionary work by millions of American evangelicals shaped the conservative resurgence in American society in the mid- and late twentieth century. The project shows that missionary networks created transnational feedback loops through which American evangelicals took lessons from their international activism and applied them to political and cultural battles in the United States.

In the decades after World War II, American evangelicals grew into a powerful voting bloc and developed widespread political and cultural influence in the US, and simultaneously they built and then directed the largest missionary enterprise in the world. Supporting mission work was a vital religious practice for the overwhelming majority of American evangelicals, and this revered religious practice taught these millions of Americans how they should understand and relate to those whom they perceived to be others – racial others, cultural others, religious others, and moral others. After World War II, the global mission field became a world of anticolonial revolutions and independence movements, and these changes empowered communities across the Global South to confront American missionaries about their complicity in global hierarchies of race, culture, and class. Dealing with those challenges and criticisms around the world altered American evangelicals' beliefs about race, multiculturalism, immigration, church-state relations, and sex. Applying those new beliefs to their political engagement and culture wars in the US, American evangelicals sought to save and develop American society by using the mindsets and methods that they had forged through their earnest efforts to save the world.

Beginning in the post-World War II period and continuing through the early 2000s, the chapters trace the ways that evangelicals' global activism fed back into and transformed US politics and culture. Chapter One charts how domestic social and political conditions after World War II enabled US evangelicals to build and expand their global missionary enterprise, and demonstrates that missionaries taught American evangelicals that they had a unique opportunity

and personal responsibility to save the world, lessons that undergirded evangelicals' cultural chauvinism and fervent activism. Chapter Two examines how missionaries encountered critiques of American racism around the world, repented of their racial prejudices, and then returned to the US and pleaded with white Christians to end segregation in the US for the sake of saving black and brown souls across the world. Missionaries advised evangelicals to understand racism as a problem of personal feelings rather than social structures, which in practice taught evangelicals how to embrace racial diversity while preserving structural whiteness in US society. Chapter Three highlights how missionaries clashed with critics of missionization across the Global South and then traveled back to the US and taught evangelicals how to be the outnumbered yet powerful and benevolent members of a diversifying community. Missionaries instructed US evangelicals not to fear the growing number of immigrants from Latin America, Asia, and Africa, but rather to appreciate diversity as an opportunity to do mission work inside of the US. Chapter Four demonstrates how short-term mission trips in the 1970s-2000s taught millions of American evangelicals how to use foreign people as the raw material for white Americans' self-actualization. Chapter Five explores how the end of the Cold War gave evangelicals opportunities to spread Protestant hegemony abroad in ways that they were trying to extend it at home, by putting Bible-based curriculum and devotional prayer in public schools. Chapter six shows how missionaries reframed US evangelicals' discourse about AIDS by recasting the epidemic not as God's judgement for sexual sin but as the poignant suffering of black and brown families that US Christians could relieve, thereby making possible evangelicals' transformation from the most implacable foes of AIDS victims domestically to the face of AIDS relief internationally.

Far from disappearing after the decline of colonialism, missionary work flourished in the postcolonial era and constituted an important part of American international power in this period. Through missionary networks, millions of Americans exerted their influence around the world, and their global experiences refashioned the political and cultural priorities that evangelicals championed back home in the US.

For my mother,
Lynn Davis Waits

*Asante sana. Nakupenda.*

## Table of Contents

## Acknowledgements

Although research and writing on this scale require even extroverts to accept periods of solitude, this project and its author have benefitted from the support of a large community of mentors, colleagues, friends, and loved ones. My first thanks go to the folks whose hospitality sustained me through many long stretches on the road for research: Katie and Michael Anderson, Jay and Ellen Clayton, Carol Galambos, Jaycelyn Holland, Sarah Hollis, Sarah Igo and Ole Molvig, Nicole and John Iwawaki, Kate and Alan Kruizenga, Jason and Melissa Lau, Natalie and Jeremy Lederhouse, Dee and David Woolford, and Cindy and Jason Wu. Thank y'all for housing me, feeding me, and humoring me as I rambled on about my archival adventures.

I am deeply indebted to many archivists and archives staff members across the country who offered me much guidance and who, in many cases, were willing to explore new, uncatalogued, or unopened collections with me. At the Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, I appreciated the work and collegiality of Jean Forbis, Taffey Hall, and Bill Sumners. At the Billy Graham Center Archives, I was grateful for the assistance of Keith Call, Paul Ericksen, Katherine Graber, David Malone, Marla Matthews, and Bob Shuster. At Fuller Theological Seminary, I benefitted from the help and good humor of Adam Gossman. At the Cru Archives, I valued the generosity of Mary Jo Felsted, Bob and Lynn Koehn, and Dori Ryen. At Golden Gate Theological Seminary, I was thankful that Jonathan McCormick allowed me to go through the special collections even while the entire seminary was packing up around us in preparation for a relocation to Southern California. At the Navigators History Department, I appreciated the help and advice of Susan Fletcher and Patrick Kochanasz, and I was especially grateful to Donald McGilchrist, who opened his private papers to me while I was at the Navigators headquarters. Thank you also to the librarians and interlibrary loan specialists at the University of Georgia, the University of California, Berkeley, and the Graduate Theological Union, who moved many mountains to provide me with vital sources for this project.

My years of archival digging and dissertation writing were costly, and I am very thankful for the financial support that made this project possible. For support during the early stages of this research, thank you to the University of Georgia History Department, the Willson Center for Humanities and Arts, the University of Georgia Graduate School, the Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, the Billy Graham Center Archives, the Berkeley Graduate Division, and the Berkeley Center for Right Wing Studies. For major research-year grants and fellowships, thank you to the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, the Religious Research Association, the Berkeley Center for Race and Gender, the Berkeley Center for the Study of Religion, the Berkeley History Department, and the Mustard Seed Foundation. For dissertation writing fellowships, thank you to the Louisville Institute for the Study of American Religion and the Berkeley Graduate Division. This financial support kept me traveling, lodging, and eating all over the country, including in the beautiful Bay Area with its skyrocketing cost-of-living. Special thanks and solidarity go to my union, UAW 2865, which fought for me to have the wages and health care that I needed to do my best work during my time as a graduate student.

I am very fortunate to have benefitted from several wonderful groups of gifted advisers during my time in graduate school. Throughout my circuitous journey through two doctoral programs, Bethany Moreton has been my steady guide. She is the greatest mentor, insightful with her criticism and inspiring with her straight talk, her metaphors, and her example of how to

have moral courage in this profession. Though she and I ultimately ended up at different universities, I am very honored to claim Bethany's academic family tree. Pamela Voekel introduced a world of theory to me in my first class in grad school, and her command of Latin American history, dexterity with theory, and distaste for verbiage have sharpened my scholarship and made me an Americanist who wishes to be as absolutely fabulous as the Latin Americanists that I know. Pam models what generous solidarity should look like in this profession, and hers is the example that I most aspire to follow. At the University of Georgia, Reinaldo Román and Stephen Mihm provided much-appreciated support and enthusiasm as this project took shape. At UC Berkeley, Margaret Chowning challenged me to broaden my research and strengthened this dissertation with her detailed reading and shrewd comments. Mark Peterson enriched this work with his keen intellectual curiosity and wide-ranging questions. And Charles Hirschkind made this project more attuned to the big picture and to cross-disciplinary debates.

As this work went through its many phases and drafts, it profited from the insights of interlocutors at many conferences and institutes. Thank you to my fellow panelists and attendees at the conferences of the American Historical Association, the American Studies Association, the American Society of Church History, and the American Academy of Religion Western Region. Thanks also to my fellow participants at Harvard's "New Histories of Transnational Christianity" conference, Harvard Divinity School's "Ways of Knowing" conference, and the Louisville Institute's winter seminar. Additionally, I am indebted to my most regular interlocutors and co-laborers in graduate school who supported and encouraged this project and its author through the rollercoaster of highs and lows. Thank you especially to Jessica Fowler, Rachel Lim, Candace Lukasik, Sarah Gold McBride, Keri Leigh Merritt, Kim Pendleton, Giuliana Perrone, Brenden Shanahan, Elizabeth Summerlin, and David Tamayo.

I am most grateful to my family, who graciously listened when I wanted to talk about my dissertation and who gave me many other wonderful things to do when I didn't. Brian Goodwin, Ozzie Goodwin, Serena Goodwin, Sierra Goodwin, Josephine Kubiak, and Richard Kubiak: thank y'all for the gift of having you in my life. My gratitude and all my love go to Lance Kubiak, who has given me the joy of being in love with him and who has given our life together such happiness and buoyancy amid all the ups and downs. And my biggest thanks go to my mother and father, Lynn and Dan Waits, who believed in me and gave me wings to live *una vida vibrante y tremenda*. Along with my dissertation, my PhD is dedicated to my mother, who would have become the first in my family with a doctorate if she had been able to finish her degree. It is my great privilege to become Dr. Waits in her honor.

## "Across the Street or around the World, the Mission's Still the Same": An Introduction

In the spring of 2017, five white male professors from Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, a Southern Baptist seminary in Texas and one of the largest seminaries in the world, dressed in gold chains, bandannas, and hoodies and held up guns and hand symbols for a photograph with stylized text that labeled the group the "Notorious S.O.P." (School of Preaching). This gift for a departing colleague who enjoyed rap music quickly made the rounds on social media, after one of the professors posted the image to his Twitter account and promised readers that the photo was a reason to "come study at the School of Preaching! Rap the word. Reach the world." A cycle of negative press coverage and formal apologies promptly followed.[1] The official apology from the president of Southwestern, Paige Patterson, began with what might seem to be a curious clarification of his relationship to racial politics. Patterson explained that though he had spent his childhood in Texas which, he admitted, had a long history of racism, "the home in which I was reared was an intensely missionary home and free of racist perspectives." He promised readers that leaders at Southwestern would "put an end to any form of racism on this campus" so that the seminary could return to "our priority—namely, getting the Gospel to every man and woman on the earth."[2]

Though it might seem odd to reference global missionary work to justify one's position on US racism, Patterson's testimonial would have made perfect sense to his main audience, American evangelicals, who in 2017 constituted one-fourth of the US population.[3] References to missionary work had been playing a central role in evangelicals' engagement with US politics and culture since the mid-twentieth century. In battles over school integration, rallies against the ERA, fights over prayer in public schools, and clashes about comprehensive sex education, evangelicals brought out stories and lessons from the mission field, and even trotted out actual missionaries, to serve as powerful moral authorities and guides for evangelicals' political and cultural involvement in the US.

---

[1] Julieta Chiquillo, "Southern Baptist Seminary Apologizes for Photo that Shows Fort Worth Faculty Dressed as Rappers," *The Dallas Morning News*, April 28, 2017; Jemar Tisby, "Why a Racially Insensitive Photo of Southern Baptist Seminary Professors Matters," *Washington Post*, April 27, 2017.

[2] Paige Patterson, "Racism IS a Tragic Sin – A Statement from the President of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary," April 26, 2017, accessed April 30, 2017, https://swbts.edu/news/releases/racism-tragic-sin-statement-president-southwestern-baptist-theological-seminary/. Famous within the Southern Baptist Convention as one of the architects of the conservative takeover of the denomination beginning in the late 1970s, Patterson was fired from Southwestern in 2018 after multiple women revealed that as a seminary president he had covered up reports of sexual assault rather than forwarding them to police, and that he had counseled women to remain in physically abusive domestic relationships so that their abusive partners would eventually feel guilty and convert to evangelical Protestantism. See Sarah Pulliam Bailey, "Southern Baptist Leader's Advice to Abused Women Sends Leaders Scrambling to Respond," *Washington Post*, May 2, 2018; Jonathan Merritt, "The Scandal Tearing Apart America's Largest Protestant Denomination," *The Atlantic,* May 3, 2018; Michelle Boorstein and Sarah Pulliam Bailey, "Southern Baptist Leader Paige Patterson Fired Over Handling of Sex Abuse Allegation," *Washington Post*, May 30, 2018; and Kate Shellnut, "Paige Patterson Fired by Southwestern, Stripped of Retirement Benefits," *Christianity Today,* May 30, 2018.

[3] The Pew Research Center's 2014 Religious Landscape Study found that evangelical Protestants make up 25.4 percent of the US population. See Pew Research Center, "America's Changing Religious Landscape," May 12, 2015, accessed January 20, 2019, https://www.pewforum.org/2015/05/12/americas-changing-religious-landscape/.

Missionaries and their lessons from the foreign mission field held such powerful moral authority within American evangelicalism because supporting missionary work was a vital religious practice for most American evangelicals in the mid- and late twentieth century, when US evangelicals built and then directed the largest missionary enterprise in the world. In the decades after World War II, American evangelicals swiftly became the majority of the world's missionaries and formed the world's largest non-governmental organizations (NGOs).[4] By the end of the twentieth century, 2 million American evangelicals traveled around the world each year on mission trips, through over 1000 organizations, which had a combined annual budget of over 7 billion dollars.[5] Through these evangelical networks, millions of Americans participated directly in large-scale missionary work across the globe, and their international engagement constituted a vital part of their lives.

This dissertation analyzes American evangelicals' global missionary work to explain the conservative resurgence in US society since World War II. It explores how millions of globally engaged Americans took lessons from their international activism and applied them to political and cultural battles in the United States. As American evangelicals grew into a powerful national voting bloc and wielded increasing political and cultural influence, while calling themselves the moral majority, they were also expanding their international presence and reigning as the dominant force of Protestant mission work around the world. They were also the missionary majority. This dissertation reveals the intimate connections between those twin endeavors.

It is tempting to understand American evangelicals' role in US politics and culture since 1945 as a purely domestic story. For the uninitiated observer, it is easy to overlook the enormous global networks that shaped evangelicals' lives, and instead focus only on national flashpoints around federal court cases and legislation, or local clashes over school board decisions, city ordinances, and state measures. To be sure, American evangelicals engaged publicly in formal politics as a means to accomplish their desires and aims for US society. But how did they form those desires and aims, and why were those goals and aspirations so important to them?

Many explanations paint evangelicals simply as a national reactionary force: they didn't like *Brown v. Board*, so they fought against racial integration and racial justice; they didn't like *Roe v. Wade*, so they raged against abortion and reproductive justice; they didn't like feminism and women's liberation, so they battled against the ERA; and they didn't like the sexual revolution and gay liberation, so they attacked the LGBTQ community and thundered against homosexuality. But focusing on only these immediate antecedents to evangelicals' actions merely skims the surface of causality. To understand how and why American evangelicals remade the domestic cultural and political landscape of the US, we need to understand how those

---

[4] In 1950, North America became the largest source of the world's Protestant missionaries, and by 1960 American evangelicals were the majority of North American missionaries. For statistics that show the changing number and composition of US and European missionaries, see *North American Protestant Ministries Overseas* (Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1970), 15; Edward Dayton, ed., *Mission Handbook: North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*, 11th ed. (Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1976), 61; and Samuel Wilson and John Siewert, eds., *Mission Handbook: North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*, 13th ed. (Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1986), 39. See Chapter One for a larger discussion of this swift growth and its causes.

[5] See Robert Wuthnow, *Boundless Faith: The Global Outreach of American Churches* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 170 and John Siewert and Dotsey Welliver, eds., *Mission Handbook: U.S. and Canadian Ministries Overseas*, 18th ed. (Wheaton, IL: Evangelism and Missions Information Service, 2001).

Americans made sense of social changes, what seemed to be at stake for them in their cultural struggles, and what assumptions they brought to their political battles. To do that, we need to understand their motivations – the driving passions and cognitive frameworks that shaped evangelicals' actions and worldviews.

This dissertation reveals American evangelicals' motivations by tracing the discourses that produced core ideas and meanings within American evangelicalism.[6] These meanings and ideas developed not only through conscious thoughts and statements but also through emotions like desire, love, and compassion, and flourished not just because of individuals' preferences but also because powerful institutions within US evangelicalism supported the continued use of certain concepts and meanings.[7] This dissertation shows how evangelical global networks brought together discourses about international activism with discourses about political and cultural engagement in the US. Those discourses were mutually constitutive, and together formed ideas and meanings that carried weight within American evangelical culture.

At the heart of American evangelical culture is a sense of missionary zeal and missionary duty. From cradle to grave, evangelicals hear an almost omnipresent message that they bear the responsibility to save others from eternal damnation by convincing them to accept the tenets of evangelical Protestantism and to convert to that particular brand of Christianity. Evangelicals sometimes experience this duty as an exciting and fun obligation, from lively children's contests over who can bring the most friends to church or youth group, to high-energy training classes for adults about "how to share your faith" in your workplace, in your neighborhood, or on the street corner. This calling to spread the gospel is not confined to one's workplace, neighborhood, or circle of friends, however. Evangelicals learn that the entire world must be saved, so commitment to one's faith means commitment to converting every person on earth. By the year 2000, 84 percent of evangelicals attended churches that regularly promoted mission work, and fervor for global evangelism permeated popular US contemporary Christian music, with stanzas

---

[6] This is a method of tracing aspects of American evangelical culture. By culture, I mean the sum total of overlapping discourses engaged by groups and individuals who understand themselves to be connected to one another within a community that they claim and with which they identify. Though these discourses are always in flux, subject to contestation and reinterpretation, they overlap to overdetermine certain ideas and meanings. This definition extends symbolic anthropology's concept of culture as symbolic communication and action within a society (Geertz) by adding culture as process, which highlights change over time and exchange across differences and rejects static boundaries (Rosaldo), and by adding the role of discourses, meaning historically specific "structure[s] of statements, terms, categories, and beliefs" created in specific social and institutional contexts (Scott). This framework for tracing American evangelical culture draws from Mary Renda's charting of American culture through early-twentieth-century transnational circuits. See Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, ed. M. Banton (Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), 1-46; Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989); Joan Scott, "Deconstructing Equality-versus-Difference: Or, the Uses of Postructuralist Theory for Feminism," in *Conflicts in Feminism,* ed. Marianne Hirsch and Evelyn Fox Keller (New York: Routledge, 1990), 135; Mary Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

[7] For the significance of affectively charged forms of representation and meaning, especially for mobilizing collective action, see for example Lauren Berlant, "Compassion (and Withholding)," in *Compassion: The Cultural Politics of an Emotion*, ed. Lauren Berlant (New York: Routledge, 2004), 1-14; Berlant, *The Female Complaint: The Unfinished Business of Sentimentality in American Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); and Janet Staiger, Ann Cvetkovich, and Ann Reynolds, eds., *Political Emotions* (New York: Routledge, 2010).

like "I would go to the ends of the earth," "We will see the nations turn," and "We won't stop 'til the whole world knows."[8]

Missionaries are the most revered members of US evangelicalism because they give their lives to the work that ostensibly all evangelicals should be doing each day – the work of conversion. Missionaries embody what evangelicals interpret to be the central command that Christ gave his followers, most clearly outlined in the Great Commission, a scripture passage which most evangelicals would have heard (and often memorized) in either the King James Version or, after 1973, the New International Version of the Bible: "Go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you."[9] Missionaries are the ones who go the farthest to make disciples of all nations, and therefore they are the paragons of American evangelicalism. A few celebrity preachers may become more famous than missionaries, but they will never become more revered. In the pantheon of US evangelical heroes, missionaries are the most admirable because their conversionist work crosses borders – national borders, racial borders, cultural borders, and linguistic borders.

And one does not have to be a missionary to participate in mission work. Financial support and its concomitant correspondence and prayer exchanges between missionaries and US donors create a steady connection, often imbued with warmth and tenderness, between sponsors and the mission work that they fund. Reinforcing this financial and affective attachment to mission work is a regular practice performed by the overwhelming majority of evangelicals; by the late 1990s, 92 percent of evangelicals (64 million Americans) were donating money at least once every two years to overseas mission work.[10] US churchgoers can also use their vacation time to travel to foreign mission fields and perform bite-size forms of missionary work, further strengthening their connection to larger campaigns of global evangelism. Since the 1970s, these short-term mission trips have provided millions of American evangelicals with direct access to mission fields across the world. Participating in mission work influenced American evangelicals, whether they financed it, prayed for it, traveled abroad and did it for a week or two, made a career out of it, or just heard about it regularly from missionaries who constantly wrote and traveled home to talk about their global work and what it meant for evangelicals back in the US. So to understand what has motivated and animated American evangelicals and thus understand how and why they transformed US culture and politics over the past seventy years, we must look beyond the boundaries of the United States and examine the international activism that earned nearly all evangelicals' devotion. We must examine their missionary work.

---

[8] Wuthnow, *Boundless Faith*, 149; "To the Ends of the Earth," mp3 audio, track 6 on Hillsong United, "To the Ends of the Earth," Hillsong Music Australia, 2002; "Touching Heaven, Changing Earth," mp3 audio, track 1 on Hillsong Church, *Touching Heaven, Changing Earth*, Hillsong Music Australia, 1998; Israel Houghton, "Great God," lyrics, chords, and sheet music, Integrity Music, 2007. The title of this introduction comes from a stanza in a 1989 song celebrating international missionary work and connecting it to American evangelicals' sense of missionary purpose in the US. See "The Mission," mp3 audio, track 4 on Steve Green, "The Mission," Sparrow Records, 1989.

[9] Matthew 28:19-20a (New International Version, 1973 edition).

[10] Christian Smith, *American Evangelicalism: Embattled and Thriving* (University of Chicago Press, 1998), 40.

**Missions, Decolonization, and Empire**

While missionary work was hardly new in the mid- and late twentieth century, for the first time American evangelicals became the leaders of that worldwide endeavor, and the world in which they endeavored changed dramatically. Independence movements across the Global South after World War II intensified critiques of missionization's role as a foundation for Western imperialism, and American missionaries were not immune from those critiques.

US missionaries had long supported and perpetuated colonial hierarchies in both European and American territories. As scholars have demonstrated, American missionaries during the "Great Century of Missions" (1792-1910) entered an international field dominated by European colonial systems, and US missionaries worked alongside their more numerous European counterparts and reinforced colonialism's global power systems. For example, despite mission boards' many promises to teach and commission native leadership, most US mission stations waited almost fifty years to train and ordain the first nonwhite pastors for local churches.[11] The infantilization and racialization of missionized people allowed white American women, who comprised two-thirds of the US missionary force by 1890, to gain positions of power and authority on the mission field that US churches and society denied to women back at home.[12] The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and other leading nineteenth-century US mission boards published countless triumphalist reports that characterized missionaries as civilized white Christians who ministered to and uplifted savage nonwhite heathens. And in the late nineteenth century, American missionaries adopted the chauvinism of manifest destiny by openly touting the supreme strengths of American Anglo-Saxon civilization and describing themselves as the purveyors of American progress, even to countries not formally colonized by the United States.[13] Though some missionaries wrestled with the claims and systems of cultural and racial supremacy on the mission field, and a few even challenged those

[11] William Hutchinson, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 86.

[12] See for example Joan Jacobs Brumberg, "Zenanas and Girlless Villages: The Ethnology of American Evangelical Women, 1870-1910," *Journal of American History* 69, no. 2 (1982): 347-71; Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984); Patricia Hill, *The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985); Ian Tyrrell, *Woman's World, Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Jane Haggis, "White Women and Colonialism: Towards a Non-Recuperative History," in *Gender and Imperialism*, ed. Clare Midgely (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 45-75; and Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie Shemo, eds., *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

[13] See Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 141-179; Hutchinson, *Errand to the World*, 91-124; Wendy J. Deichman Edwards, "Forgoing an Ideology for American Missions: Josiah Strong and Manifest Destiny," in *North American Foreign Missions: 1810-1914*, ed. Wilbert R. Shenk (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 163-191; Ernest Lee, *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981); and Emily Conroy-Krutz, *Christian Imperialism: Converting the World in the Early American Republic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).

structures and ideologies directly, the vast majority of missionaries and the process of missionization itself strengthened systems of control over colonized peoples throughout the Global South.[14]

American missionaries who worked abroad in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also were connected to hierarchical practices and ideas in the US, within the context of settler colonialism and "home missions" to Native Americans, African Americans, and immigrant communities in the United States. Many foreign mission boards worked closely with home mission boards, so the groups' ideologies and methods cross-pollenated one another; whether at home or in a foreign field, mission work was the main channel for white Christians' desires to minister to and develop racialized others. Missions to Native Americans in particular exposed the sometimes-conflictual relationship between missionaries and Western expansion, as missions' assimilation goals clashed with federal plans for Indian removal and voracious annexation of Indian land. As a result, as scholars have demonstrated, missionaries to Native Americans were likely to question whether missionary involvement could redeem or sacralize imperial projects.[15] Missionaries working in the late nineteenth century among African American and Chinese immigrant communities, other scholars have shown, expressed their longing to uplift those communities yet also depicted both African Americans and Chinese immigrants as foreign others who lacked the moral and cultural respectability required for full national inclusion.[16] Within these mission settings, many missionized groups appropriated, resisted, or reshaped these hierarchical ideas and advanced their own conceptions and institutions; even so, mission sites at home and abroad were arenas in which missionaries' ideas about racial and cultural differences contributed to and reinforced colonial hierarchies and discourses of Western supremacy.

Thus American evangelical missionaries on the field during decolonization in the mid- and late twentieth century, where this dissertation picks up, had to contend with accusations about American missionaries' longstanding complicity in colonial systems around the world. Anticolonial revolutions empowered people in missionized communities to condemn missionaries' support for oppressive hierarchical structures and epistemologies, and this changing international context was the biggest global challenge that missionaries faced in the

---

[14] For examples of missionaries who challenged colonialism, see Sylvia Jacobs, ed., *Black Americans and the Missionary Movement in Africa* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982); Xi Lian, *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907-1932* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997); and Derek Chang, *Citizens of a Christian Nation: Evangelical Missions and the Problem of Race in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). For studies of how missionization bolstered colonial racial hierarchies, see for example Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, vol. 1, *Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Peter van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in Britain and India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); and Amanda Barry, Joanna Cruickshank, Andrew Brown-May, and Patricia Grimshaw, eds., *Evangelists of Empire? Missionaries in Colonial History* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne Custom Book Centre, 2008).

[15] Hutchinson, *Errand to the World*, 62-90. See also John A. Andrew III, *From Revivals to Removals: Jeremiah Evarts, the Cherokee Nation, and the Search for the Soul of America* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992).

[16] See Chang, *Citizens of a Christian Nation*; Jennifer Snow, *Protestant Missionaries, Asian Immigrants, and Ideologies of Race in America* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Edward Blum, *Reforging the White Republic: Race, Religion, and American Nationalism, 1865-1898* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005).

second half of the twentieth century. While missionaries had long encountered opposition to their methods and messages in the field, after World War II missionaries worked increasingly in countries controlled not by European colonizers but by the very people who had leveled heavy criticisms against missions. So as American evangelicals became the majority of the world's missionaries, they entered a world that was becoming increasingly opposed to missionization itself.

Luckily for American evangelical missionaries, that decolonizing world was also a world increasingly dominated by American power, both US state power and non-state American influence. Decolonization transformed structures of Western hegemony by removing formal state-based colonial powers while also allowing Western state and non-state actors to impose informal stratified power relationships across the Global South.[17] This process of building neocolonial power most benefited the United States, which had achieved its global ascendancy at the end of World War II by surpassing war-torn European countries in economic, military, and geopolitical strength.[18] The growth of America's informal empire protected and fueled the expansion of American missionary work in the mid- and late twentieth century, analogously to the ways that formal European colonialism had supported European missionary work in previous centuries. American evangelical missionaries enjoyed the global security and support that the American state could provide, and missionaries represented and transplanted American ideologies, often unintentionally, through their evangelizing projects. Whether missionaries self-consciously recognized it or not, they were agents of American neocolonialism. They helped spread American influence during an era in which global power was achieved by far more informal means, not just by moving gunboats into another country's harbor. Missionaries also forged symbiotic relationships with powerful non-state US actors around the world. Many missionaries worked alongside American multinational corporations; for example, missionaries in Brazil assisted Shell oil company in expanding its oil fields in the Amazon during the 1960s

[17] The rise of state and non-state international development projects illustrates one example of this process. See for example Nils Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2003); Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Amy Staples, *The Birth of Development: How the World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization, and World Health Organization Changed the World, 1945-1965* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2006); Michael Adas, *Dominance by Design: Technological Imperatives and America's Civilizing Mission* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006); Matthew Connelly, *Fatal Misconception: The Struggle to Control World Population* (Harvard University Press, 2009); Larry Grubbs, *Secular Missionaries: Americans and African Development in the 1960s* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009); Michael Latham, *The Right Kind of Revolution: Modernization, Development, and U.S. Foreign Policy from the Cold War to the Present* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011); and Nick Cullather, *The Hungry World: America's Cold War Battle against Poverty in Asia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013).

[18] On the rise of American global power in the mid and late twentieth century, see for example Diane Kunz, *Butter and Guns: America's Cold War Economic Diplomacy* (New York: Free Press, 1997); John Fousek, *To Lead the Free World: American Nationalism and the Cultural Roots of the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Charles Maier, *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and Its Predecessors* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006); Elizabeth Borgwardt, *A New Deal for the World: America's Vision for Human Rights* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2007); Victoria De Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth Century Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); David Ekbladh, *The Great American Mission: Modernization and the Construction of an American World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

by convincing native converts to urge their fellow villagers to move out of the regions in which Shell wanted to drill.[19] And the rapid spread of new humanitarian and international development organizations, many based in the United States, provided American missionaries with many other influential non-state US actors to partner with in regions across the Global South. So the world in which American evangelical missionaries worked was a world shaped by American neocolonial power relations, which reinforced and strengthened missionaries' efforts to save that world.

**Feedback Loops and Transnational Lessons**

Within this decolonial, postcolonial, and neocolonial context, how did the global religious activism by millions of Americans feed back into and shape US society? Participating in mission work shaped how American evangelicals learned to use their power in relationship to "others" – those whom they perceived to be racial others, cultural others, religious others, and moral others. Mission work gave American evangelicals frameworks for understanding the world and their role among the "others" in that world. As this dissertation reveals, these cognitive frameworks were not altogether different from the dominant frameworks of missionary work, colonialism, and imperialism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. American missionary work in the mid- and late twentieth century demonstrates the comprehensive adaptivity of hierarchical structures and relationships to global conditions that demanded and even required the destruction of those hierarchies. Amid anticolonial revolutions, American evangelicals on the mission field after 1945 earnestly retooled their colonial and paternalist apparatus into what they believed was a loving and egalitarian global community, but in practice they ensconced and justified in new ways neocolonial and neopaternalist systems across the world, while also seeking to establish analogous systems in the United States.

One of the biggest ways that global missionary work by 1968 was different from mission work in 1898 was that decades of anticolonial revolutions had empowered missionized communities to confront missionaries about their complicity in global hierarchies of race, class, and culture. In response, missionaries openly repented of their past racism, paternalism, and cultural chauvinism, and self-consciously fashioned new self-conceptions and new perceptions of the world and the "others" in it. As the majority of the world's Protestant missionaries, American evangelicals led the way in this process of contrition and reformation. This dissertation demonstrates that where formerly a straightforward assumption of white Western superiority had justified the civilizing mission, missionaries working in a decolonizing and postcolonial world fashioned an allegedly egalitarian worldview that abstracted white Americans into universal subjects ("believers") and concluded that just as white Americans had cast off their particular subject positions in favor of universal categories, so should all other people in the "global Christian community" similarly abandon their particularity to join the collective. Missionaries sincerely believed that they were ridding themselves of their former prejudices and pursuing greater equality and cooperation with their fellow evangelical Protestants around the world

[19] See "The Missionary and Social Justice: Latin America," IDOC-North America (New York) 51 (March 1973): 1-61.

through these transformations, though in practice they simply separated what was still a hierarchical system from explicit language about hierarchies of race, nation, and class.

Missionaries' activism and disciplinary practices abroad produced lessons for US evangelicals at home about how to entrench social hierarchies within a logic of inclusive and tolerant community. As Chapters Two and Three reveal, the biggest battle between Christians across the Global South and American missionaries during this period was a theological one: Was individual salvation more important than or equal to social justice? Missionaries unconsciously racialized the concept of social justice to mean "the concerns of black and brown people," and thus when missionaries insisted that social justice was a secondary issue that distracted from the primary concern (individual salvation), they always also were asserting whiteness over the concerns of black and brown people. Protestant individualism has long been a tool for dissolving collective demands against Western projects, and during the postcolonial era missionaries' individualism rendered inadmissible the charges from people of color that American Protestantism and US society required fundamental transformation because they were predicated upon centuries of colonizing projects against black and brown bodies. Missionaries' theology of individual salvation countered those charges by insisting that the root of all conflicts resided in individual human hearts, not structures, and therefore the global Christian community should just transform individuals via salvation and sanctification, and thereby make a more loving and inclusive world. So even as missionaries self-consciously acknowledged the criticisms of missionization put forth by Christians across the Global South, missionaries' commitment to individualism as a universal principle prevented them from recognizing and eradicating the larger structures and epistemologies of Western hegemony inherent in mission institutions and theologies. And because epistemologies are not autonomous from the disciplinary practices of learning, missionaries' policing of "right beliefs" from Christians in the Global South was always also policing of "right bodies," which were disciplined bodies – bodies disciplined to suppress their specific social locations and instead acquiesce to "universal" white heteropatriarchal American evangelicalism.[20]

Missionaries took the lessons from their global clashes home to the US, where they assuaged evangelicals' fears about declining white Protestant hegemony in the US by touting the benefits of a multicultural Christian community that was loving and tolerant toward believers from all backgrounds and that, of course, would maintain the right beliefs. This framing of a multicultural community of right believers promised that the policing of right beliefs (and therefore right bodies) in the US, even by harnessing the American state, would maintain US evangelicals' priorities as the majoritarian norms even when white conservative Protestants were no longer in the numerical majority. As Chapters Two and Three show, the ways that missionaries reframed their relationship to people around the world after decolonization fed back into the US most vividly as the moral logic behind multiethnic megachurches and the racial reconciliation movement, and as the spiritual blueprint for color-blind racism within the conservative groundswell of the late twentieth century. American evangelicals applied their logic of mission work to their relationships with minority groups in the US, by seeking to save and

[20] On the relationship between epistemologies and the disciplinary practices of learning, see Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993). On disciplined bodies, see Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin, 1975).

develop those groups and bring them into what evangelicals believed was a multicultural loving and egalitarian community, which would be a society in which white American evangelical beliefs were the universal standards and governing principles.

These lessons and frameworks from the mission field not only influenced how American evangelicals related to racial, ethnic, religious, and sexual minority groups within the US, but also shaped how US evangelicals related to American society and the US state more generally. This dissertation demonstrates that just as evangelical missionaries othered groups around the world (racial others, cultural others, religious others, moral others) and targeted them as those who needed salvation, so did American evangelicals other the US state and American society as wayward "moral others" that needed to be saved and developed. Even as evangelicals were one of the principal faces of American empire around the world, were often staunchly patriotic, were bolstered by tax policies, subsidies, and funding from the US state, and were profiting from the US state's preservation of Protestant hegemony, white hegemony, and heteropatriarchy, they dissociated from American society and aimed to save and sanctify it.

The roots of this dissociation lay in fears of the "de-Christianization" of America, which meant the disestablishment of undisputed Protestant hegemony in the public square, demonstrated most markedly in federal cases like *Engle v Vitale* and *Abbington v. Schempp* (which declared unconstitutional compulsory prayer and devotional Bible reading in public schools) in the early 1960s and compounded by social and cultural revolutions in the 1960s and 1970s that defied conservative Protestant moral ideologies yet achieved federal legislative and juridical support. When they framed their relationship to American society and the US state, American evangelicals were not simply reactionaries – they were missionaries. According to this missionary logic, which Chapters Three and Five detail, American society and the US state were moral others in need of salvation because they supported secular pluralism and enabled social and cultural changes that disobeyed conservative white Protestant theologies. And therefore, since America was "lost" and increasingly un-Christian, US evangelicals had a missionary duty to save it and sanctify it. This othering of American society was not incompatible with patriotism, since patriotism embodied both nostalgia for an earlier "more Christian" America and hope for a future re-Christianized America. This is one of the reasons that so many evangelicals had no moral qualms about "Making America Great Again" in 2016 – thirty years before that, after all, President Ronald Reagan had proclaimed to the National Association of Evangelicals that they were the ones who were "keeping America great."[21] So evangelicals were not only driven by a sense of missionary duty to save and develop groups of people within American society or through the US state; evangelicals also wanted to save and develop American society and the US state as a whole, by bringing them in line with universalized standards and principles from conservative white American Protestantism.

Disidentification with the US state globally was possible because of American missionaries' reconceptualization of their global Christian community in response to the demographic shift of global Christianity from the Global North to the Global South. As Chapter Three demonstrates, beginning in the 1970s, Christians from the Global South told Western

[21] "Ronald Reagan, 'Evil Empire Speech' (8 March 1983)" transcript, Voices of Democracy: The U.S. Oratory Project, University of Maryland, accessed May 7, 2018, http://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/reagan-evil-empirespeech-text/.

missionaries that the project of mission work was complete and that missionaries should go home, since there were Christians in every country across the world and the majority of Christians resided not in Europe and North America but in Africa, Latin America, and South and East Asia. In response, American missionaries created a new way of mapping and labelling the world, by no longer categorizing entire nations as Christian or un-Christian and instead categorizing ethnolinguistic groups of people ("people groups") as believers (those who had converted to evangelical Protestantism) and "unreached peoples." As Chapter Five reveals, this reconfiguration brought into focus not only regions of the Global South with large Muslim, Hindu, and Buddhist populations, but also regions of the Global North that American missionaries imagined were plagued by secular pluralism or atheism and therefore were relatively "unreached" by evangelical Protestantism. Dividing the world into "believers" and "unreached peoples" made it possible to other the Global North – this is how Europe became a primary site for missionary work for the first time, especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the opening of Eastern Europe and Russia to missionaries – and further made it possible to other American society and the US state. So even as American evangelical missionaries benefitted from the global power of the US state and were one of the principle representatives of American international influence, they did not see themselves as agents of American empire but rather as agents of both the world's salvation and America's salvation. Both America and the world were the targets of US evangelicals' missionary endeavors and the objects of their conversionist desires.

**Historiographical Conversations and Contributions**

How conservatism has transformed American politics and culture over the past seventy years and how America and Americans have engaged the world since World War II are questions that have gripped scholars and produced several rich debates to which this dissertation contributes. Studies of American conservatism emerged in response to the 1980 presidential election, a sign that conservative politics had eclipsed the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, and expanded dramatically in the late 1990s and early 2000s, when scholars recognized that conservative political success was no fluke. Early depictions of conservatism focused on the backlash voters of the 1960s and 1970s, and some contemporary journalistic accounts still concentrate on those reactionary elements as the sole historical explanations for current conservative politics.[22] This dissertation joins the newer generation of scholarship that reveals how conservatives did not just mobilize in one reactionary moment but rather have mobilized in a sustained way, from the grassroots to high politics, since World War II to realize their visions for US society.[23] As I explain below, conservative white Protestants purposefully claimed the

[22] See for example Ronald Formisano, *Boston against Busing: Race, Class, and Ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Thomas Byrne Edsall and Mary Edsall, *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics* (New York: Norton, 1991); Dan Carter, *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995); and Carter, *From George Wallace to Newt Gingrich: Race in the Conservative Counterrevolution, 1963–1994* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996).

[23] On grassroots political mobilization, see for example David Farber and Jeff Roche, eds., *The Conservative Sixties* (New York: Peter Lang, 2003); Sara Diamond, *Roads to Dominion: Right-Wing Movements and Political Power in*

moniker "evangelical" in the years after World War II to signal that they wanted to form a community with the shared goal of engaging, saving, and transforming American society to bring it in line with their conservative white Protestant beliefs, and they steadily pursued and expanded upon that aim throughout the mid- and late twentieth century. They did not simply pop up in the late 1970s with the Moral Majority – evangelicals' institutions and the ideas behind them had been developing for decades before evangelical voters rejected a Southern Baptist Sunday School teacher and ushered into the White House a divorced Hollywood actor.[24]

Scholars have explored the growth and development of several different components that make up American conservatism, most notably anti-communism, resistance to the civil rights movement, laissez fair economic attitudes, commitment to heteropatriarchal sexual norms, and support for Christian (especially Protestant) supremacy in public life. This dissertation engages with and integrates scholarly debates about conservative opposition to civil rights, loyalty to traditional sexual norms, and promotion of Christian/Protestant hegemony. The literature on white flight and suburbanization, massive resistance, and the southern strategy demonstrates how opposition to the civil rights movement served as a foundation for conservative political organizing and facilitated the shift of many white voters from the Democratic to Republican party.[25] This project intervenes in those narratives by revealing how some white conservatives

---

*the United States* (New York: Guliford Press, 1995); John A. Andrew III, *The Other Side of the Sixties: Young Americans for Freedom and the Rise of Conservative Politics* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997); Rebecca Klatch, *A Generation Divided: The New Left, the New Right, and the 1960s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Gregory Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism: Young Americans for Freedom and the Rise of the Contemporary Right* (New York: New York University Press, 1999); Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Jonathan Schoenwald, *A Time for Choosing: The Rise of Modern American Conservatism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Donald Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Woman's Crusade* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Julian Zelizer and Bruce Schulman, eds., *Rightward Bound: Making America Conservative in the 1970s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008); Bethany Moreton, *To Serve God and Wal-Mart: The Making of Christian Free Enterprise* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); and Michelle Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012). On mobilizations within the Republican party and electoral politics, see for example Mary Brennan, *Turning Right in the Sixties: The Conservative Capture of the GOP* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001); Matthew Dallek, *The Right Moment: Ronald Reagan's First Victory and the Decisive Turning Point in American Politics* (New York: Free Press, 2000); Donald Critchlow, *The Conservative Ascendancy: How the GOP Right Made Political History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007); and Laura Kalman, *Right Star Rising: A New Politics, 1974–1980* (New York: Norton, 2010).

[24] Jon Butler argued that historians needed to understand the sustained role of religious actors in twentieth-century US history and called scholars to stop creating accounts in which religious actors seemed to appear out of nowhere. See Butler, "Jack-in-the-Box Faith: The Religion Problem in Modern American History," *The Journal of American History* 90, no 4 (Mar 2004), 1357-1378. For scholars' analysis of why evangelicals voted for Reagan and not Carter in 1980, see for example David Swartz, *Moral Minority: The Evangelical Left in an Age of Conservatism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 213-232; Geoffrey Layman, *The Great Divide: Religious and Cultural Conflict in American Party Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); and Gary Scott Smith, *Faith and the Presidency: From George Washington to George W. Bush* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[25] See for example Thomas Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Kari Frederickson, *The Dixiecrat Revolt and the End of the Solid*

understood themselves not to be hardening their hearts against appeals for civil rights but rather to be ridding their hearts of racial prejudices and embracing a color-blind framework for society – promoted heavily by missionaries returning home from African countries undergoing independence movements – which allowed those white conservatives to simultaneously oppose affirmative action and yet integrate their schools and found multiethnic churches. Contributing to the scholarship on racial politics in the post-civil rights era, these findings show how lessons from the mission field about race gave American evangelicals the spiritual blueprint for color-blind racism.[26]

Scholarship on conservatives' loyalty to heteropatriarchal sexual norms has revealed how men and women embraced heteropatriarchy and saw it serving their domestic, economic, and spiritual interests, and how conservatives constructed a vast network of institutions to promote and enforce heteropatriarchy, with groups that promoted conservative sex and gender roles in US society through political lobbying and juridical activism, and organizations that cultivated and reinforced heteropatriarchal ideologies among many distinct audiences: men, heteronormative families, women and girls, LGBT individuals, and young people, especially young women.[27]

---

*South, 1932–1968* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Becky Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920–1965* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Robert Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); Eric Avila, *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Kevin Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Matthew Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006); and Joseph Crespino, *In Search of Another Country: Mississippi and the Conservative Counterrevolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

[26] On colorblind racism, see for example Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003); Michael Brown, et al., *Whitewashing Race: The Myth of a Color-Blind Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Ian Haney-Lopez, *White By Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2006); and Justin Gomer, "Colorblindness, A Life: Race, Film, and the Articulation of an Ideology" (Ph.D. diss, University of California, Berkeley, 2014).

[27] On conservative women who saw heteropatriarchy serving their domestic, economic, and spiritual interests, see for example R. Marie Griffith, *God's Daughters: Evangelical Women and the Power of Submission* (University of California Press, 1997); Linda Kintz, *Between Jesus and the Market: The Emotions that Matter in Right-Wing America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); and Moreton, *To Serve God and Wal-Mart*. On conservative organizations designed to promote and enforce heteropatriarchy, see for example J.P. Bartowski, *The Promise Keepers: Servants, Soldiers, and Godly Men* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004); Heather Hendershot, *Shaking the World for Jesus: Media and Conservative Evangelical Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Tanya Erzen, *Straight to Jesus: Sexual and Christian Conversions in the Ex-Gay Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Lynne Gerber, *Seeking the Straight and Narrow: Weight Loss and Sexual Reorientation in Evangelical America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Kimberly Kelly, "In the Name of the Mother: Renegotiating Conservative Women's Authority in the Crisis Pregnancy Center Movement," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 38, no.1 (Autumn 2012), 203-229; Seth Dowland, *Family Values and the Rise of the Christian Right* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015); Sara Moslener, *Virgin Nation: Sexual Purity and American Adolescence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Amy DeRogatis, *Saving Sex: Sexuality and Salvation in American Evangelicalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); R. Marie Griffith, *Moral Combat: How Sex Divided American Christians and Fractured American Politics* (New York: Basic Books, 2017); and Jessica Johnson, *Biblical Porn: Affect, Labor, and Pastor Mark Driscoll's Evangelical Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018).

This dissertation contributes to those conversations by revealing how the neopaternalism forged on the mission field invoked certain conceptions of masculinity and femininity and reinforced certain norms of sexuality, especially female sexuality, for the Americans who participated in that mission work. Evangelical mission organizations, therefore, were institutions that in practice promoted heteropatriarchal ideologies among American conservatives. During the AIDS epidemic, for example, missionaries framed people with AIDS across the Global South as both failures at upholding sexual morality, since they had acquired a sexually transmitted disease, and yet also as willing pupils and potential supporters of heteropatriarchy, since they were straight-presenting and were more open to evangelical missionaries' abstinence-only and anti-LGBT messages than were many US audiences, especially people with AIDS and the LGBT community in the US. Relating to people with AIDS across the world as broken black and brown families that American Christians could save supported heteropatriarchal sexual norms and taught conservative American evangelicals that they should champion global AIDS relief because AIDS relief could be a conservative cause.

Studies of Christian conservatism have demonstrated that US Protestants in the mid- and late twentieth century increasingly saw secular pluralism, not Catholicism, as the biggest threat to Protestant hegemony in American public life, and many scholars have shown how conservative Protestants and some conservative Catholics built organizations to lobby for and strengthen Christian hegemony in the US public square.[28] This project adds to those findings by showing that evangelical conservatives used mission work as a vehicle for extending Protestant hegemony abroad in ways that they wanted to extend it at home. Mission organizations were institutions that strengthened Christian hegemony in public squares around the world and inspired American conservatives to apply tactics from the mission field to spread Christian hegemony in the US. The international push for abstinence-only sex education mentioned above encouraged conservatives in the US that they could expand abstinence-only education in schools across America. During the same period, international evangelism programs put devotional prayer and Bible reading into public schools across first Russia and Eastern Europe and then regions throughout the Global South. Participating in those programs abroad galvanized

[28] On Christian conservatives' fears of secular pluralism, see for example Steven Green, "Evangelicals and the Becker Amendment: A Lesson in Church-State Moderation," *Journal of Church and State* 33, no. 3 (July 1, 1991): 541–67; James Fraser, *Between Church and State: Religion and Public Education in a Multicultural America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999); David Sehat, *The Myth of American Religious Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Kevin Shultz, *Tri-Faith America: How Catholics and Jews Held Postwar America to Its Protestant Promise* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); and Tim Ruckle, "A Crenelated Wall: The Rise and Fall of Southern Baptist Institutions for the Separation of Church and State, 1936-1979" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2015). On conservative institutions that worked to strengthen Christian hegemony in the public square, see for example Anne Loveland, *American Evangelicals and the U.S. Military, 1942–1993* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996); Joel Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Winnifred Sullivan, *Prison Religion: Faith-Based Reform and the Constitution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Moreton, *To Serve God and Wal-Mart*; Darren Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt: Plain-Folk Religion, Grassroots Politics, and the Rise of Evangelical Conservatism* (New York: Norton, 2010); Axel Shafer, *Countercultural Conservatives: American Evangelicalism from the Postwar Revival to the New Christian Right* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011); Shafer, *Piety and Public Funding: Evangelicals and the State in Modern America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); and Tanya Erzen, *God in Captivity: The Rise of Faith-Based Prison Ministries in the Age of Mass Incarceration* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2017).

evangelical conservatives' resolve to exert similar control over public schools in the US and "put God back" into those public spaces.

Overall, the scholarship on American conservatism has been dedicated largely to showing how conservatives built their institutions, networks, and ideologies and ensconced their views as cultural norms and political regulations at the local, regional, and national level. This dissertation intervenes in that general trend in two ways: by bringing the transnational context of those processes into view, and by making visible how people at the grassroots level made emotional and spiritual sense of the aggressive policies that they sought to impose on American society. There is little work on the transnational context of American conservatism, and much of the existing scholarship that touches on international conservative activism uses an export model and highlights merely a top-down story of imposing fully formed conservative beliefs and policies on international sites.[29] By contrast, this project reveals the international feedback loops and networks through which evangelical conservatives' beliefs about the world and attitudes about American society were mutually constitutive. Exposing that global context makes clear what otherwise seems puzzling – why people once committed to "Segregation Forever" would integrate their schools and later found the racial reconciliation movement, why "live and let live" was and is a fundamentally indefensible philosophy for religious conservatives, and how the biggest foes of AIDS victims domestically became the face of AIDS relief internationally.

The growing scholarship on how conservatives made sense of the forceful policies that they sought to enact in US society takes two main approaches: exposing secrets and analyzing historical actors' private confessions. Both methods require some access to insider knowledge and perspectives. The exposé approach takes readers on the inside of powerful institutions to reveal the clandestine logics and justifications that especially conservative politicians and businessmen utilized as they advanced specific plans and goals for US society.[30] This project takes readers on the inside of powerful institutions that were also evangelical conservatives' most revered institutions, but not to reveal how those groups were engaged in a clandestine national or worldwide conspiracy – most of what they did they trumpeted in press releases and broadcast in living color, keeping hardly anything secret on purpose. Rather, this project uses unprecedented inside access to those institutions to show how those groups formed the international networks through which evangelical conservatives developed feelings of passion and duty to save the world and the "others" in it, including the "other" of American society. In this way, this dissertation uses the approach of analyzing the emotional and spiritual reasoning that historical actors disclosed within insider conversations. Other scholarship that follows this approach has illuminated how conservative women accepted and justified patriarchal gender

---

[29] See for example Sara Diamond, *Spiritual Warfare: The Politics of the Christian Right* (Boston, South End Press, 1989); Juan Gabriel Valdés, *Pinochet's Economists: The Chicago School in Chile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and Steve Brouwer, Paul Gifford, and Susan Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel: Global Christian Fundamentalism* (New York: Routledge, 1996). Studies of the circulation of international students through the US and their ties to conservative businesses is one exception to this unidirectional and top-down trend. See for example Bethany Moreton, *To Serve God and Wal-Mart*, 222-247 and Betsy Beasley, "Service Learning: Oil, International Education, and Texas's Corporate Cold War," *Diplomatic History* 42, no. 1 (April 2018): 177–203.

[30] See for example Jeff Sharlet, *The Family: The Secret Fundamentalism at the Heart of American Power* (New York: Harper Collins, 2008); Jane Mayer, *Dark Money: The Hidden History of the Billionaires Behind the Rise of the Radical Right* (New York: Doubleday, 2016); and Nancy MacLean, *Democracy in Chains: The Deep History of the Radical Right's Stealth Plan for America* (New York: Viking, 2017).

roles in their families and workplaces, how conservative pastors used emotional and spiritual appeals to teach their audiences that they had a duty to engage with rather than separate from American politics, and how meditative prayer meetings facilitated certain evangelical conservatives' psychological understanding of God's direction for their lives.[31] Drawing on private insider conversations that evangelical conservatives had with one another and with missionaries around the world, this project shows how evangelical conservatives remade their conceptual frameworks to produce the logics of the conservative surge of the late twentieth century, thereby demonstrating that the conservative ascendancy in American society was the product of affective responses, theological responses, and intellectual responses – responses of the heart, soul, and mind in addition to the ballot box and the legal code.

Studies of America's and Americans' engagement with the world expanded dramatically beginning in the late 1990s when historians of the US embraced the transnational turn.[32] As the older field of diplomatic and foreign relations history became the field of "America and the World," a new generation of scholars who had welcomed the cultural turn pushed the field to acknowledge the importance of and intersections between "soft" culture and "hard" politics in global power relations.[33] Inspired by scholars outside of the discipline of history who already had embraced both the transnational and cultural turn, historians of America and the World increasingly explored the centrality of race, gender, and sex to American influence around the world and the world's influence on America.[34] Most notably this change shifted debates about

---

[31] See for example Griffith, *God's Daughters*; Kintz, *Between Jesus and the Market*; Susan Harding, *The Book of Jerry Falwell: Fundamentalist Language and Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Lynn S. Neal, *Romancing God: Evangelical Women and Inspirational Fiction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Moreton, *To Serve God and Wal-Mart*; and Tanya Luhrmann, *When God Talks Back: Understanding the American Evangelical Relationship with God* (New York: Vintage, 2012).

[32] Most historians mark the official beginning of transnational US history as a subfield with the circulation of the "La Pietra Report" by the Organization of American Historians in 2000 and the publication of Thomas Bender's edited collection from the La Pietra conferences. See Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

[33] Early scholarship that began to push diplomatic history to embrace race, gender, sex, and religion before the rise of America and the World as a field include Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981); Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*; Michael Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); and Alexander DeConde, *Ethnicity, Race, and American Foreign Policy: A History* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992).

[34] The field of American Studies began focusing on American empire and culture in 1993, when Amy Kaplan and Donald Pease published their pathbreaking edited collection on culture and US imperialism, almost a decade before American history embraced the transnational turn. See Amy Kaplan and Donald Pease, eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993). For early US and the World scholarship that examined race, gender, and sex, see for example Penny Von Eschen, *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997); Kristin Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Mary Renda, *Taking Haiti*; Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Robert Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and the Making of Cold War Foreign Policy* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001); Carol Anderson, *Eyes off the Prize: African Americans, the United Nations, and the Struggle for Human Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

the Cold War era by centering the Global South and recognizing the agency of "third world" actors who worked within postcolonial and anti-imperial contexts along with the context of the US state's anticommunist geopolitics.[35] This move has highlighted the importance of decolonization and anti-imperialism and has reclassified Cold War geopolitics as not the only important global context but rather one of several during the mid- and late twentieth century. This project contributes to that shift by demonstrating how American actors who benefitted directly from the US state and its informal imperial expansion, spurred by the Cold War, nevertheless contended most of all with the global opposition, inspired by anticolonial revolutions, to Western and American structural and epistemological hegemony. Decolonization affected missionaries' quotidian lives and their biggest battles more than did the Cold War.

Scholars of US and the World have slowly incorporated analyses of religion, first by looking at religious influences upon state actors like presidents, state department officials, and congressmen.[36] This dissertation joins the new scholarship that reveals the powerful roles played by religious non-state actors in shaping American international influence in the mid- and late twentieth century.[37] In particular, this project connects with the most recent studies of American missionaries in the mid- and late twentieth century. While early studies of American missionaries spoke to questions that animated the field of women's history in the 1980s, recent scholarship on missionaries has addressed the field of US and the World and contributed to debates about the

---

2003); and Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

[35] For New Cold War studies, see for example Mark Philip Bradley, *Imagining Vietnam and America: The Making of Postcolonial Vietnam, 1919-1950* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Piero Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1976* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003); Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Matthew Connelly, *Fatal Misconception*; and Nick Cullather, *The Hungry World*.

[36] See for example William Inboden, *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945–1960: The Soul of Containment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Jonathan Herzog, *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex: America's Religious Battle against Communism in the Early Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Andrew Preston, *Sword of the Spirit, Shield of Faith: Religion in American War and Diplomacy* (New York: Knopf, 2012); and Cara Burnidge, *A Peaceful Conquest: Woodrow Wilson, Religion, and the New World Order* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016). For scholarship that examines religion's influence on rank-and-file state actors, see for example Ronit Stahl, *Enlisting Faith: How the Military Chaplaincy Shaped Religion and State in Modern America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017).

[37] Along with the scholarship on missionaries mentioned below, see for example George J. Hill, "Intimate Relationships: Secret Affairs of Church and State in the United States and Liberia, 1925–1947," *Diplomatic History* 31, no. 3 (June 2007): 465–503; Philip E. Dow, "Romance in a Marriage of Convenience: The Missionary Factor in Early Cold War U.S.-Ethiopian Relations, 1941–1960," *Diplomatic History* 35, no. 5 (November 2011): 859–95; Lauren Turek, *To Bring the Good News to All Nations: Evangelicals, Human Rights, and U.S. Foreign Relations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, forthcoming); David Swartz, *From the Ends of the Earth: Evangelical Internationalism in the American Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming); David King, *Seeking to Save the World: The Evolution of World Vision, American Evangelicalism, and Global Humanitarianism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming); and Gene Zubovich, *The Global Gospel: Christian Human Rights and the Fracturing of the Twentieth-Century United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming).

connections between US state power and the international power of private non-state actors.[38] Most directly related to this project's arguments is Melani McAlister's study of American evangelicals' global visions and political interests produced through missionary work in Africa and the Middle East in the mid- and late twentieth century. McAlister argues that American evangelicals' global experiences have given them a two-pronged framework for understanding the world. She shows how US evangelicals developed both a sense of internationalism and a sense of persecution which allowed them to identify and empathize across lines of difference with other Christians around the world. For McAlister, evangelicals' identification with the worldwide Christian community was primary, and the US state was a tool that evangelicals used to facilitate their connections with other global Christians or to defend those global Christians from what evangelicals interpreted as persecution or violations of international religious freedom.[39] This project similarly finds evangelicals identifying with a global Christian community, but also argues that evangelicals consciously disidentified from the United States and made the US an "other," an object of conversionist desire. This dissociation from American society and sense of missionary duty towards it facilitated both evangelicals' missionary internationalism and their identification with persecuted Christians around the world. Evangelicals could claim that they were "in but not of" the United States, and place the US in the category of an "other" who needed salvation, while also structurally benefitting from the US state and being one of the primary agents of American influence around the world. Similarly, othering the state and American society allowed evangelicals to claim that US society – a society with longstanding Protestant hegemony, a majority Christian population, and a large majority of elected officials who identified as Christian – was persecuting them.

Two recent works on mid-twentieth century missionaries explore how those actors became a part of the US state and shaped it from within. David Hollinger traces the work that mainline Protestant missionaries and their children performed in policymaking circles, and Matthew Sutton highlights the service that missionaries performed as spies for the US government during World War II.[40] Hollinger shows that missionaries shaped diplomacy and foreign policy for different world regions through direct connections to state department officials. This missionary influence was especially strong before the Cold War gave rise to area studies specialists; before the mid-twentieth century, missionaries held prominent positions in the US state department as the perceived experts about different regions of the world. The actors in Sutton's study achieved similarly privileged access to positions in the US government due to their perceived expertise about not only world regions but also the role of certain religions in global conflicts. Sutton highlights how missionaries became state actors and shaped the ways that the future CIA understood the relationship between religion and foreign policy. By contrast, this dissertation demonstrates the ways that American evangelical missionaries in the mid- and

[38] See Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility*; Hill, *The World Their Household*; and Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries*. Rosenberg's *Spreading the American Dream* was the exception to this trend, as her 1982 study incorporated missionaries into a diplomatic history framework.
[39] Melani McAlister, *The Kingdom of God Has No Borders: A Global History of American Evangelicals* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).
[40] David Hollinger, *Protestants Abroad: How Missionaries Tried to Change the World but Changed America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018) and Matthew Sutton, *Double Crossed: The Missionaries Who Spied for the United States During the Second World War* (New York: Basic Books, 2019).

late twentieth century shaped American international influence even without becoming state actors. Evangelical missionaries were agents of American neocolonial power even though they were not, by and large, CIA agents or future state department officials. American evangelical mission organizations were some of the world's largest NGOs, exerting tremendous financial, political, and spiritual influence across different countries and regions. And through these groups, American missionaries promoted, often unintentionally, principles – Protestant individualism, support for capitalism, the value of materialism, the supremacy of American culture – which all facilitated and sacralized the neocolonial power of the US state.

The literature on international humanitarian organizations has demonstrated the ways that American and other Western NGOs have imposed stratified power relationships and exerted structural and epistemological influence across the Global South in the postcolonial era. Studies of these powerful non-state actors have developed findings similar to those of this dissertation, which illustrates the similarities among Western development projects of many different political and religious stripes. Scholars of humanitarianism have shown that hierarchies of compassion, the culturally conditioned perception of suffering, and the "need" to help have exacerbated rather than dissolved structural inequalities at the local and global level.[41] This dissertation contributes to those findings by revealing how American evangelicals' ambitious activism was also often unreflective activism, which limited American evangelicals' attention to power, even in the face of enormous protest from communities oppressed by that power. By cultivating intense feelings of personal responsibility for all others' salvation, with the corollary of intense fear of being accountable for others' eternal damnation if evangelism programs failed, American evangelicals inculcated within themselves a sense of duty and urgency that in practice dismissed the protests of missionized communities as unimportant when compared to the pressing need to save the world.

**Structure and Summaries**

To demonstrate how American evangelicals took lessons from their efforts to save the world and applied them to their engagement with US society from the 1940s to the 2000s, this dissertation traces evangelical global activism and its domestic impact through six episodes. Chapter One charts how domestic social and political conditions after World War II enabled US evangelicals to build and expand their global missionary enterprise, how this new generation of missionaries justified their position as the leaders of the global Protestant missionary movement, and how missionaries gained such widespread support from evangelicals. Evangelical missionaries after World War II defined themselves as the dedicated conservative Protestants who would lead the global missionary enterprise back to what they insisted was its most

[41] See for example Erica Bornstein and Peter Redfield, *Forces of Compassion: Humanitarianism Between Ethics and Politics* (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2010); Didier Fassin, *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Erica Bornstein, *Disquieting Gifts: Humanitarianism in New Delhi* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012); Wanda Vrasti, *Volunteer Tourism in the Global South: Giving Back in Neoliberal Times* (New York: Routledge, 2012); Liisa Malkki, *The Need to Help: The Domestic Arts of International Humanitarianism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015); Talal Asad, "Reflections on Violence, Law, and Humanitarianism," *Critical Inquiry* 41, no. 2 (Winter 2015): 390-427; and Mary Mostafanezhad, *Volunteer Tourism: Popular Humanitarianism in Neoliberal Times* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

important task – the conversion of the entire world. These missionaries taught American evangelicals in the 1940s and 1950s that the United States' geopolitical ascendancy had provided them with a critical opportunity and personal responsibility to save the entire world, and those ideas fueled evangelicals' cultural chauvinism and unreflective activism in the mid- and late twentieth century.

Chapter Two examines how missionaries encountered critiques of American racism around the world, how they repented of their explicit racial prejudice, and how they returned to the US and pleaded with white Christians to end segregation in the US for the sake of saving black and brown souls across the world. Missionaries told US evangelicals that global evangelism was at risk, since international press coverage of American racial violence damaged the credibility of US missionaries and their gospel message. Missionaries advised evangelicals to heal racial injustices in the US by pursuing individual transformation through salvation and sanctification, and with that advice, missionaries reinforced white evangelicals' individualized social ethic that privileged personal changes over structural ones. By training white Christians to apply a logic of personal love and compassion to racial conflicts, missionaries in practice taught white Americans how to embrace racial diversity while also preserving structural whiteness in US society.

Chapter Three highlights how missionaries clashed with critics of missionization across the Global South during the era of decolonization, and how missionaries then traveled back to the US and taught evangelicals about a changing postcolonial world and about the ways that evangelicals could take their place as the outnumbered yet powerful and benevolent members of a diverse global community. Christians across the Global South attacked the hierarchical structures and methods of missionary work, as well as the supremacy of Western epistemologies in mission theologies. Missionaries and their organizations overall demonstrated a willingness to reform some of their methods and theologies, but even the most earnestly self-reflective missionaries failed to disentangle their organizations from many of the larger structural forms of Western power, which had been integral to global missions for so long. Missionaries then encouraged US evangelicals to apply this framework of accepting external changes while avoiding core foundational transformations to US politics. In the 1970s and 1980s, missionaries instructed American evangelicals not to fear the growing number of immigrants from Latin America, Asia, and Africa, but rather to embrace the racial and ethnic diversity especially in American cities as an opportunity to do mission work inside of the United States, thereby applying the hierarchical format of mission work to white Christians' relationship to people of color in the US.

Chapter Four outlines how short-term mission trips in the 1970s-2000s taught millions of US evangelicals how to use foreign people as the raw material for white Americans' self-actualization. This tourism form of mission work drastically increased the number of Americans travelling around the world each year for missionary work and created the iconic image in American airports of the church group clad in matching t-shirts for a week-long trip to Manila, Mexico City, or Mombasa. The trips gained widespread popularity and support because they facilitated American travelers' self-realization through moving experiences with foreign others in exoticized locales, though some missionaries worried that these untrained visitors were doing more harm than good. Travelers reported that the trips dramatically increased their spiritual maturity by giving them a sense of dependence upon God and feelings of compassion and

sympathy for those whom they perceived were spiritually impoverished and in need of salvation. Even when it became clear that these tourist-missionaries were not saving that many souls, American evangelicals continued to support the trips with billions of dollars and millions of participants per year by justifying the experiences as spiritual practices that matured travelers and taught them how to be more "missionary-minded" in their interactions with others back in the United States.

Chapter Five explores how the end of the Cold War gave missionaries new openings to spread Protestant hegemony abroad in ways that conservative evangelicals wanted to extend it at home, by putting Bible-based curriculum and devotional prayer in public schools. In the 1990s, mission trips to Eastern Europe and Russia taught US evangelicals that they could participate in America's Cold War victory by saving and developing moral and religious "others" in the former Soviet Union. In only seven years, American evangelicals raised 70 million dollars, trained 42,000 public school teachers in 150 cities across 10 countries, and distributed over 10 million pieces of evangelistic literature, films, and Bible-based curriculum to over 7 million schoolchildren in Russia and Eastern Europe. These mission projects shifted a key political issue – the issue of Protestant hegemony in the public sphere – into the register of mission work, and the success of these mission endeavors in the former USSR inspired American evangelicals to launch projects and build organizations that would extend Protestant hegemony in US public schools during the same period. These global projects to "put God into public school" served as containers for evangelicals' desires to save and transform "others" around the world and their desires to save and transform the "other" of American society, especially the US public square.

Chapter Six shows how missionaries reframed US evangelicals' discourse about AIDS by recasting the epidemic not as God's judgement for sexual sin but as the poignant suffering of black and brown families around the world that US Christians could relieve. Missionaries taught white evangelicals to fundamentally alter their understanding of the AIDS crisis, shifting it away from debates about LGBT civil and human rights and towards a hierarchical compassion for broken black and brown bodies around the world. These lessons from missionaries made possible US evangelicals' transformation from being the biggest foes of AIDS victims domestically to becoming the face of AIDS relief internationally. This increasing evangelical support also refocused AIDS mission work from medical relief to prevention. Missionaries did not challenge evangelical conservatives' commitment to heteropatriarchal sexual norms, but rather repackaged conservative evangelical theologies of sex and sexuality into abstinence-only sex education programs which they taught as AIDS prevention courses in public schools around the world.

**Definitions, Sources, and Methods**

The overwhelming majority of American evangelicals analyzed in this dissertation are conservative white American Protestants. Defining "evangelicals" has vexed pollsters, journalists, and scholars since the term gained wide recognition in American society in the 1970s, especially after 1976 when both presidential candidates claimed to be "born again" and Newsweek borrowed George Gallup's phrase and declared that it was the "year of the

evangelical."[42] While scholars most frequently define evangelicals using two methods – tracing beliefs and tracking denominational affiliation – this dissertation takes a more historical approach that illuminates the power dynamics involved in the use of the name "evangelical."

Historians and scholars of religion most often rely on adaptations of David Bebbington's four-point definition of evangelical beliefs. According to that quadrilateral, evangelicals are those who believe in biblicism (Biblical authority and literal interpretation), conversionism (individual conversion, a "born again" experience), crucicentrism (the centrality of substitutionary atonement, the idea that Christ's death on the cross made possible the redemption of humanity), and activism (expression of the gospel message through words and deeds, most often missionary activity and reform work).[43] All of those beliefs were important to the evangelical historical actors that appear in this study. However, just looking at the twentieth century, a definition using those beliefs also would cover many Americans who would not have identified as evangelicals: almost all fundamentalists, many black Protestants, many mainline Protestants, and some Catholics.

Social scientists have long classified religious groups like evangelicals based on denominational attendance and membership, and there are many denominations with leadership that label the denomination as evangelical and with members that largely identify as evangelical as well. But the decline of denominationalism and the proliferation of nondenominational churches and networks in the mid- and late twentieth century limits that classification method. The majority of sources for this dissertation, for example, come not from denominational bodies but from non-denominational parachurch organizations.[44] Additionally, evangelicals themselves often would disagree about which Protestant denominations counted as evangelical ones. Pentecostals often caused the most angst, since many evangelicals worried that focusing too much on acquiring the gifts of the Holy Spirit (like glossolalia) distracted from the main focus of conversion, though in evangelical missionary networks Pentecostals were always welcome, even if they did not always receive prominent speaking invitations from certain audiences.[45]

This dissertation identifies the category of American evangelicals historically, by asking who claimed the moniker and to what ends they claimed it. Beginning in the decades after World War II in the United States, the overwhelming majority of those who claimed the term "evangelical" were conservative white Protestants who wanted to exert their power to transform

---

[42] "Born Again!" *Newsweek*, October 25, 1976. *Time* made a similar pronouncement one year later. See "Back to that Oldtime Religion," *Time*, December 26, 1977. For discussions of the challenge of defining evangelicalism, see for example George Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1981); Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987) 1-11; and Conrad Hackett and D. Michael Lindsay, "Measuring Evangelicalism: Consequences of Different Operationalization Strategies," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 47, no. 3 (September 2008), 499-514.

[43] David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

[44] A parachurch is a Christian organization that operates alongside but separate from traditional denominations, and usually focus on one general area of evangelism or social work. The number of parachurches in the US increased rapidly in the decades after World War II. See Chapter One for a full discussion of the rise of nondenominational organizations.

[45] See for example the absence of Pentecostal speakers from the first international Lausanne conference. At Lausanne II in 1989, American evangelical organizers finally allowed Pentecostal speakers on the platform. See Chapter Three for a full discussion of these conferences.

American society. These historical actors took up the term evangelical to emphasize that there was a community to which they wanted to belong which was more conservative than mainline Protestantism but more activist than fundamentalism.[46] These conservative white Protestants built their own national institutions that crossed denominational lines – associations, seminaries, missionary organizations, journals, publishing houses, later political organizations – all of which were institutionally conservative, white, and Protestant. Not all American evangelicals have been conservative, not all have been white, and not absolutely all have been Protestant. But American evangelicalism is institutionally conservative, white, and Protestant, meaning that even today the power in American evangelicalism resides disproportionately in the hands of its conservative white Protestant members. In the late twentieth century, conservative white Protestants rallied around the group identity "evangelical" as a collective identifier that signaled their conservative white Protestant beliefs about not only personal faith but also politics and culture, including the belief that one should transform American politics and culture to bring them in line with conservative white Protestant principles. So examining American evangelicals and power in the mid- and late twentieth century means examining conservative white Protestants – those who constituted the overwhelming majority of people who claimed the term "evangelical" and who also had access to the institutional power of American evangelicalism to accomplish their desires and aims.

To trace American evangelicals' global activism and the impact of that activism on evangelicals' engagement with US politics and culture, this dissertation draws largely on the internal files of some of the largest US missionary organizations and networks. The majority of these sources have never been seen before by scholars, and those heretofore inaccessible records enable this project to make visible the intimate off-stage conversations that missionaries had with one another and with evangelicals across the United States through their regular correspondence, meetings, newsletters, memos, church services, and strategy sessions. Pairing those private conversations with public documents like promotional materials, publications, and press coverage reveals how messages and experiences from the mission field reached American evangelical audiences and influenced their engagement with US society.

Many different evangelical groups and institutions appear in the following chapters, but a few missionary organizations play recurring roles. One is the missionary wing of the Southern Baptist Convention, the largest Protestant denomination in the US and a key battleground for the conservative turn within late-twentieth-century American Protestantism. The SBC's Foreign Mission Board was the largest Protestant mission organization in the world during the mid-twentieth century, in terms of annual revenue and number of missionaries, and it enjoyed widespread support from millions of Southern Baptists across the US. Three parachurch organizations – Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, Campus Crusade for Christ, and the Navigators – also play central roles in this study. Each of those organizations began in the 1940s or early 1950s and built a widespread presence in the US with different national ministries, most notably those for college students, military service members, athletes, and married couples. Along with these extensive US networks, all three organizations built expansive international missionary programs that connected especially young US evangelicals to global mission work.

[46] See Chapter One for a full discussion of this process of self-definition by the first generation of evangelicals in the 1940s and 1950s.

Intervarsity also sponsored a triennial missionary conference beginning in 1946, which regularly gathered most of the major US mission organizations to talk about the central issues for missionary work around the world and to recruit tens of thousands of young American evangelical college students, who also attended the conferences. One other major network for missionary organizations appears in the following chapters – the Evangelical Foreign Mission Association, which formed in 1945 as the missionary arm of the National Association of Evangelicals. The EFMA provided channels through which mission organizations collaborated on global evangelism strategies and planned together how to enlist more US evangelicals for these global endeavors.

This dissertation covers mission work by millions of American evangelicals that spanned scores of countries on five different continents. Naturally there was heterogeneity among missionaries and among receiving communities and individuals within those communities. Studies of mission work that focus on a specific town, country, or region to which missionaries traveled offer vital insights about the fine-grain dynamics of transnational power in many different eras, including the postcolonial era.[47] As a work of American history, this project's biggest question is how mission work affected those who performed it and by extension affected the seat of neocolonial power, the sending country – the United States – so this study follows American evangelical missionaries wherever they went, rather than limiting the scope to one geographical region. While acknowledging local context, this dissertation traces the key common beliefs and practices that American evangelicals shared on the mission field and argues that those commonalities are all the more important because they spanned local differences and individual contexts. Not every American evangelical was or is the same, but evangelicals forged widely shared frameworks for understanding the world through their global activism and applied those frameworks in specific common ways as they engaged US culture and politics in the late twentieth century. Those widely shared commonalities are the focus of this study.

In their earnest efforts to save the world, millions of American evangelicals developed cognitive frameworks and emotional and spiritual motivations for their engagement with American culture and politics. Through their global activism, evangelicals developed affective attachments to and a sense of responsibility for the "others" around them, and they applied those lessons to their relationships with others in the US, including the "others" of American society and the US state. American evangelicals related to both the global and the domestic power of the US state with a missionary mindset – from the Marshall Plan to PEPFAR abroad and from *Brown v Board* to *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby* at home, American evangelicals sought to save and transform the world and save and transform the United States. Making visible these transnational feedback loops reveals the motivations and logics that led many millions of Americans to transform the cultural and political landscape of the US and fuel the conservative resurgence in the mid- and late twentieth century.

---

[47] See for example Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility*; Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*; Xi Lian, *The Conversion of Missionaries*; Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California, 2002); Erica Bornstein, *The Spirit of Development: Protestant NGOs, Morality, and Economics in Zimbabwe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005); Webb Keane, *Christian Moderns: Freedom and Fetish in the Mission Encounter* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*; and Deanna Womack, *Protestants, Gender, and the Arab Resistance in Late Ottoman Syria* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019).

Chapter One

# Completing Christ's Commission: US Evangelicals Assume the Task of Global Missions

[1940s – 1950s]

During the Christmas holidays in 1946, six hundred evangelical students traveled to Toronto for a missions conference sponsored by a new US ministry, Intervarsity Christian Fellowship. This conference soon would become an enormous triennial production with tens of thousands of attendees, but even in its infancy the event did not lack for bold predictions or ambitious appeals. The conference's 1946 theme was "Complete Christ's Commission" (fig. 1), and conference planners promised to use the event as a recruitment tool that would connect mission organizations with young evangelicals who could be "a pool of consecrated manpower for the evangelization of the world." Attendees came from over 150 different Christian colleges and secular universities, and fifty-six different mission organizations gathered to speak with these potential missionary recruits. During the conference's climactic final session, 250 students committed to become missionaries after finishing college.[1] Conference organizers celebrated these gains as crucial for what they called an opportune moment: "Although World War II is over, we do not know how much longer we shall have the unprecedented opportunities to send out missionaries. Furthermore, with new methods and improved means of transportation, we have the greatest possibility ever of fulfilling our Lord's command for the first time in 'preaching the gospel to every creature.'"[2] Conference organizers declared that in the postwar era, events like Intervarsity's missions conference would be "rallying points" for evangelicals who would "launch a new missionary offensive" around the world.[3]

American evangelicals like those who organized Intervarsity's first missions conference were eager to seize the global opportunities that they saw for themselves in the years after World War II. While many people in the US sensed that the postwar era was a historic moment of opportunity for Americans, US evangelicals interpreted the era as a divinely given chance for them to save the world, literally, by expanding international missionary work to unprecedented levels. Aided by swift economic and social changes in the decades after World War II, American evangelicals utilized vast new resources to grow their mission organizations so rapidly that evangelicals went from being a small percentage of US missionaries to becoming the majority of the world's Protestant missionaries by the end of the postwar period. Evangelical missionaries gained new supporters by emphasizing the urgent need for missionary work in an unstable postwar world, and by describing themselves as doggedly committed to the task of global evangelization. These new missionaries accused their predecessors from mainline Protestant US denominations of losing that sense of urgency and straying from the divine mandate to evangelize the world, and evangelicals declared that they would not falter as their predecessors had failed. Evangelical missionaries confidently proclaimed that they could finish their global task in only a few decades, and projected that if they continued to expand their organizations and

[1] C. Stacey Woods, "Report from Missionary Convention," January 30, 1947, Folder 7, Box 342, Collection 300, Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship 1940-1991, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois (hereafter IVCF Collection).
[2] "Information for the Staff on the Toronto Missionary Convention," Folder 7, Box 342, IVCF Collection.
[3] H. Wilbert Norton, "Convention for Missionary Advance," n.d., Folder 7, Box 342, IVCF Collection.


Figure 1. Promotional poster for Intervarsity's 1946 missions conference. Two years later in 1948, the conference moved to its longtime host site at the University of Illinois-Urbana, which also gave the conference its nickname – "Urbana." Toronto Missionary Conference Poster, 1946, in later years known as the Urbana® Missions Conference, © InterVarsity Christian Fellowship/USA®. Reproduced by permission of InterVarsity Christian Fellowship/USA from the Billy Graham Center archives.

share the Christian gospel message with others as quickly as possible, they would complete the Great Commission in the twentieth century.[4] This fervent support and enthusiasm for global missions fueled an enormous expansion of American missionary work and shaped how American evangelicals' understood their growing national and international power in the postwar era.

**Building a Postwar Missionary Enterprise**

American evangelicals were able to build and expand their mission organizations so rapidly in the 1940s and 1950s thanks to the massive economic and social transformations in US society after World War II, which directly benefitted and empowered white evangelicals by giving them more money to spend, more inclination to give to religious causes, and more tools to serve missions goals. White Americans enjoyed unparalleled economic prosperity in the postwar era due to gigantic federal spending that redistributed wealth disproportionately to whites. Veterans and their families profited from the 1944 GI Bill, which created huge federal programs that dramatically expanded the American middle class by generating wealth and economic security for former soldiers. By 1948, fifteen percent of the federal budget went to GI Bill programs, and between 1944 and 1971 the federal government spent over ninety-five billion dollars on the programs.[5] All of the GI Bill's resources – educational grants, subsidized mortgages and business loans, and job training and placement services – were administered by design at the local level, where racial discrimination and segregation shut out black veterans from many services, thereby disproportionately benefitting white men and widening the racial wealth gap in the US.[6] One GI Bill provision that particularly benefitted evangelical institutions was the bill's educational grants. In the ten years after World War II, over 2.25 million veterans attended higher education institutions with the help of federal tuition grants and stipends.[7] These new students swelled the enrollments at not only public land-grant universities but also private Christian colleges, which warmly welcomed the veterans and used those federal tuition payments to underwrite campus expansion plans. The growing number of college graduates also helped mission organizations recruit new missionaries, since a college degree was a prerequisite for most missionary careers. So in addition to helping many individual white evangelicals build their wealth, the GI Bill also enriched evangelical colleges with increased tuition funds and aided evangelical mission organizations with missionary recruitment.

---

[4] The "Great Commission" refers to Christ's command to his disciples to spread his teachings; this biblical directive appears most notably in Matthew 28:18-20. Evangelicals frequently referenced the Great Commission as a key theological justification for evangelism and missions. To evangelicals, completing the Great Commission meant spreading Christ's message to every person on earth, or, as the organizers of the 1946 Intervarsity missions conference said, "preaching the gospel to every creature."

[5] Sar A. Levitan and Karen Cleary, *Old Wars Remain Unfinished: The Veterans Benefits System* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 27, 3.

[6] Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Norton, 2005), 113-141. See also Michael Bennett, *When Dreams Came True: The GI Bill and the Making of Modern America* (McLean, VA: Brassey's Publishing, 1996); Kathleen Frydl, *The GI Bill* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); and Glenn Altschuler and Stuart Blumin, *The GI Bill: A New Deal for Veterans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[7] Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action was White*, 116.

Homeownership created the most wealth for white evangelicals and other whites in the postwar period, and a combination of several federal programs and laws made that dramatic increase in residential ownership possible. The Federal Housing Administration in the mid-1930s introduced new and far more accessible mortgages with thirty-year fixed rates and amortization that kept monthly payments small and required no large down payment or huge final payment. At the same time, the federal Home Owners Loan Corporation standardized the process of appraising real estate based on a color-coded system that, among other factors, took the racial composition of neighborhoods into account; private banks utilized this federal system, which benefitted white potential homeowners while starving black neighborhoods of investment capital through the process known as red-lining. This federal system, combined with other structural barriers like restrictive covenants, which legally required homeowners to sell their homes only to other whites, and informal discrimination by realtors and neighborhood associations restructured US geography by creating new suburban neighborhoods for white homeowners and economically depleting inner city neighborhoods for residents of color. The Interstate Highway Act in the mid-1950s further accelerated this process of white flight to the suburbs; federally subsidized freeways connected the suburbs to one another and bypassed inner-city downtown areas, thus further draining cities of commerce and middle-class white residents.[8] Supported by FHA and Veterans Administration insured loans, US home ownership jumped from forty-four percent of heads of households in 1940 to sixty-two percent in 1960.[9] And this new wealth for white homeowners did not just benefit the booming consumer economy and sprawling suburban shopping centers. White churches also followed their members to the suburbs, bought sizable tracts of land, and built expansive new campuses with enormous sanctuaries, education centers, and recreation complexes, all funded by churchgoers' increasing tithes and offerings.

At the same time that federal programs helped white evangelicals and other whites build wealth through homeownership, federal military spending provided new jobs and economic investment to the regions in which most evangelicals made their home – the US South and West. The vast increase in federal defense spending during World War II and in the early Cold War fueled a massive transfer of resources to new military bases and private businesses with government contracts throughout the South and West, areas that together formed the region known as the Sunbelt. While suburbanization expanded metropolitan areas all across the US, that growth was most pronounced around Sunbelt cities like Houston and Los Angeles, where white

[8] For studies of US postwar suburbanization, see Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988); Thomas Hanchett, "U.S. Tax Policy and the Shopping-Center Boom of the 1950s and 1960s," *The American Historical Review* 101, no. 4 (October 1996): 1082-1110; Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Knopf, 2003); Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003); Meg Jacobs, *Pocketbook Politics: Economic Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Kevin Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Andrew Friedman, *Covert Capital: Landscapes of Denial and the Making of U.S. Empire in the Suburbs of Northern Virginia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013); and Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York: Norton, 2017).

[9] U.S. Census Bureau, Housing and Household Economic Statistics Division, "Historical Census of Housing Tables," https://www.census.gov/hhes/www/housing/census/historic/owner.html (accessed October 17, 2017).

migrants in search of defense industry jobs moved into new suburban neighborhoods that sprawled farther and farther out from the cities' urban cores. Federal defense spending, like the GI Bill, funneled through the hands of local political and business leaders, so the redistribution of wealth to the Sunbelt provided economic development that accommodated Jim Crow segregation and other forms of structural racism. White workers and families benefitted comparably more from the infrastructure improvements and job opportunities that defense spending supplied to the Sunbelt.[10] Because military spending and federal programs created such major economic transformations in the postwar period, especially for whites, many white evangelicals in the 1940s and 1950s entered the expanding American middle class and enjoyed increasing wealth and financial security from new college educations, middle-class jobs, and suburban homes.

This economic prosperity in the postwar era gave white evangelicals far more expendable income, and mission organizations were eager to ask for that money. Missionaries and their organizations were tireless fundraisers, and their donation appeals after World War II yielded unprecedented windfalls. Images of and messages about missionary work were ubiquitous in American evangelical church life during this period. From children's Bible studies to adult classes, from individual church mission festivals to denomination-wide conferences, from local sermon anecdotes on Sundays to nationally broadcast radio and then television presentations, global missionaries and their stories, pictures, maps, and funding appeals were an omnipresent part of evangelicals' lives. Education about and fundraising for missions had long been a part of American Protestant churches more broadly, but in the decades after World War II as mainline Protestants decreased their foreign missions appeals, American evangelicals and their organizations only ramped up their campaigns. And those campaigns collected record donations. The Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, one of the largest missionary organizations of the postwar era, received 3.5 million dollars in tithes and offerings for foreign missions in 1945. By 1955 that annual collection had jumped to 11.3 million, and in 1965 the FMB celebrated that its yearly income had risen to over 24 million dollars.[11] These increases continued for evangelical mission organizations more broadly; on average, evangelical mission

---

[10] For studies of postwar Sunbelt economic and political transformations, see Bruce J. Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South, 1938-1980* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Eric Avila, *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Matthew Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Bethany Moreton, *To Serve God and Wal-Mart: The Making of Christian Free Enterprise* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); Darren Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt: Plain-Folk Religion, Grassroots Politics, and the Rise of Evangelical Conservatism* (New York: Norton, 2010); Michelle Nickerson and Darren Dochuk, eds., *Sunbelt Rising: The Politics of Space, Place, and Region* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011); Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); and Elizabeth Shermer, *Sunbelt Capitalism: Phoenix and the Transformation of American Politics* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

[11] *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention* (Nashville: Southern Baptist Convention, 1946), 303; *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention* (Nashville: Southern Baptist Convention, 1956), 173; *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention* (Nashville: Southern Baptist Convention, 1966), 136. The inflation-adjusted total growth is 17.9 million.

organizations' annual income jumped by 140 percent from 1959 to 1969.[12] Federal tax policies also supported this donation boom by making financial gifts to religious organizations tax-deductible and by making all income tax-exempt for nonprofit religious groups.[13] So when evangelical missionaries and local churches talked about mission work and asked for donations in the postwar period, American evangelicals drew on their growing bank accounts and gave increasingly more money to global missions in these decades.

Postwar economic prosperity not only benefitted evangelical missions through increased donations from an expanding middle-class donor base. These changes in the US economy also gifted evangelical mission organizations with war surplus materials and new technology for missions. Securing war surplus materials was one of the primary reasons that many evangelical mission organizations came together to form the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association in 1945. The EFMA was an offshoot of the National Association of Evangelicals, a cooperative organization that had formed in 1943 to unite conservative Protestant denominations and churches against the more liberal Federal Council of Churches (later the National Council of Churches). The EFMA provided logistical support to mission organizations through three offices: a Washington, D.C. office that coordinated missionaries' passports and visas, a Chicago office that operated a travel agency for missionaries, and a New York office that organized group purchases, including the purchase of war surplus materials.[14] The New York purchasing office procured discounted radio equipment, medical supplies, trucks, and even airplanes for EFMA member organizations; one member, the Assemblies of God Division of Foreign Missions, bought B-17 bombers and renovated them to transport its missionaries to Latin America.[15] Larger evangelical mission organizations acquired their war surplus materials directly from US surplus disposal centers throughout Europe and Asia. The Foreign Mission Board, for example, bought thousands of building materials and hospital supplies in Manila for just ten percent of the items' market value.[16]

These war surplus materials equipped evangelical mission organizations with more modern tools for global missions, and many organizations boasted that their modern technology would help them send the gospel message around the world more swiftly and effectively. Just as fundamentalists in the 1920s and 1930s had been innovators in the early commercial radio industry in the US and had launched hundreds of religious broadcasts, thereby debunking the stereotype that those conservative Protestants had eschewed all of modernity's trappings, so did evangelicals during the postwar period expand international radio broadcasting by introducing

---

[12] *North American Protestant Ministries Overseas* (Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1970), 7. By comparison, the rate of inflation between 1959 and 1969 was only 23 percent.
[13] Michael Hamilton, "More Money, More Ministry: The Financing of American Evangelicalism since 1945," in *More Money, More Ministry: Money and Evangelicals in Recent North American History*, eds. Larry Eskridge and Mark Noll (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000), 134-36.
[14] "Evangelical Foreign Mission Agencies Unite," 1945 Missionary Executive Meeting, Folder 26, Box 1, Collection 165, Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois (hereafter EFMA Collection).
[15] William Menzies, *Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), 206.
[16] "Purchases in Manila of War Surplus Materials," n.d. [1946], Folder 41, Box 4812, Collection AR 551-3, International Mission Board Executive Office Records, Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee (hereafter IMB Executive Office Records).

Christian radio programming around the world through missions.[17] In addition to founding World Radio Missionary Fellowship in the early 1930s in Ecuador, evangelical missionaries after World War II established major international Christian radio organizations like the Far East Broadcasting Company, which broadcast throughout China and then Southeast Asia, and Trans World Radio, which transmitted programming to Southern Europe and North Africa beginning in the early 1950s. Other new postwar evangelical organizations focused entirely on air travel. The Mission Aviation Fellowship, for example, formed in 1945 with a fleet of airplanes flown by World War II veterans (both women and men) that transported evangelical missionaries and their supplies to isolated areas like the smaller islands of Indonesia or the remote regions of the Amazon basin. MAF made US national news early in its history when several members of a small indigenous tribe killed five MAF missionaries in Ecuador in 1956.[18] Extensive press coverage of the martyrdom, including a ten-page photo essay in *Life* magazine, not only spread exoticized depictions of native peoples but also made a wide audience of Americans more aware of the ways that missionaries were using modern tools like airplanes and radios to spread the gospel message.[19] By receiving these new tools from war surplus purchases and then from flourishing aviation and technology industries, supported by military defense spending, evangelical mission organizations benefitted directly from the postwar economy and used those benefits to launch a new wave of more modern mission work.

While postwar economic prosperity gave white evangelicals more money to spend, the cultural and social transformations of the Cold War made them more likely to spend that money on religious causes. Social pressure for conformity and fears of nuclear war increased religious adherence in the 1940s and 1950s, and this climate influenced white evangelicals to get into the pews in record numbers and to contribute financially towards efforts to spread Christianity around a world that seemed increasingly unsafe and teetering on the edge of apocalypse. Anticommunism and its eager supporters in the federal government produced zealous crusades against dissent and immorality in US society during the 1940s and 1950s. These widespread crusades decimated major social movements for labor and civil rights and also suppressed "deviant" sexuality and gender roles and glorified heterosexual marriage and the nuclear family.[20] Anticommunism also energized the expansion of American civil religion, which many Christian leaders happily endorsed and from which they profited. Presidential speeches and government propaganda throughout the Cold War utilized Protestant Christianity as a symbol of

---

[17] Joel Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 23-24, 129-31.

[18] Kathryn Long, "In the Modern World, but Not of It: The 'Auca Martyrs,' Evangelicalism, and Postwar American Culture," in *The Foreign Missionary Enterprise at Home: Explorations in North American Cultural History*, eds. Daniel Bays and Grant Wacker (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2003), 223-236.

[19] See "'Go Ye and Preach the Gospel,'" *Life* 40, no.5 (January 30, 1956): 10-19.

[20] See May, *Homeward Bound*; David Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy so Immense: The World of Joseph McCarthy* (New York: Free Press, 1983); Stephanie Coontz, *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (New York: Basic Books, 1992); Joanne Meyerowitz, ed., *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994); Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); David Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); and Landon Storrs, *The Second Red Scare and the Unmaking of the New Deal Left* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

America's moral authority over the "godless communism" of the USSR.[21] And the US Congress actively conflated Protestantism and American nationalism by adding "under God" to the Pledge of Allegiance in 1954 and requiring "In God We Trust" on all US currency in 1955. Many Christian leaders sanctioned this blending of church and state; one of the most popular was the evangelical revivalist Billy Graham, who railed against communism as "a great sinister anti-Christian movement" and praised Joseph McCarthy and other federal anticommunist crusaders for "exposing the pinks, the lavenders, and the reds who have sought refuge beneath the wings of the American eagle."[22] Evangelical mission organizations capitalized on this fervor for American Christianity's power over communism by arguing that Americans who supported evangelical missionaries would help defeat communism around the world. Missionaries of the Foreign Mission Board argued that communism was a consequence of a world that had become godless, and the proper response was evangelization that would save souls lost to Marxist philosophy and crushed under tyrannical governments.[23] The EFMA's member mission organizations agreed that "Christians have the only satisfactory answer to communism" and that communism's defeat would come not through war or philosophical debate but rather by "presenting Christ to the hundreds of thousands of people that as yet know nothing about Jesus."[24]

Anticommunist moralism and the specter of nuclear war encouraged widespread religious participation and pervasive fascination with apocalyptic theories in the postwar period, and these transformations boosted American evangelicals' support for missionary work. Fears about an atomic strike on the US accelerated in 1949 when the Soviet Union successfully tested an atomic bomb, and by 1959 two-thirds of Americans believed that the possibility of nuclear war was the most urgent national problem.[25] These widespread anxieties about potential annihilation encouraged Americans' religious adherence; church membership in the US rose to its highest levels in history, with sixty-three percent of Americans claiming a church affiliation by the early 1960s.[26] And this increased religious commitment extended beyond church attendance. In addition to fueling the success of evangelists like Billy Graham, the postwar religious revival also enhanced the popularity of other Christian radio and television personalities like Bishop Fulton Sheen and pastor Norman Vincent Peale, whose book *The Power of Positive Thinking*

---

[21] For the role of religion in Cold War diplomacy, see William Inboden, *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Laura Belmonte, *Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Jason Stevens, *God-Fearing and Free: A Spiritual History of America's Cold War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010); Jonathan P. Herzog, *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex: America's Religious Battle against Communism in the Early Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); and Andrew Preston, *Sword of the Spirit, Shield of Faith: Religion in American War and Diplomacy* (New York: Knopf, 2012).

[22] Billy Graham, *Christianity vs. Communism* (Minneapolis: Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, 1951), n.p.; Graham, *Labor, Christ, and the Cross* (Minneapolis: Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, 1953), n.p. For similar statements from other postwar evangelical leaders, see Harold Ockenga, *The Answer to Communist Aggression* (Boston: Park Street Church, 1950); *What Can I Do to Combat Communism?* (Wheaton, IL: National Association of Evangelicals, n.d.); and Fred Schwartz, *You Can Trust the Communists* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1960).

[23] "Can Communism Win?" *The Commission* 10, no. 8 (September 1949): 2.

[24] "Exalting Christ around the World," 1950 EFMA Convention, Folder 31, Box 2, EFMA Collection.

[25] George Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion, 1935-1971*, vol. 2 (New York: Random House, 1972), 1434.

[26] William O'Neill, *American High: The Years of Confidence, 1945-1960* (New York: Free Press, 1986), 212.

stayed on the New York Times bestseller list from 1952 to 1956.[27] Geopolitical events also energized eschatological interpretations of the postwar period and calls for revival in the face of the potentially imminent end of the world. The sense that the end might be near extended far beyond American evangelicalism, but evangelicals in particular were interested in the possible connections between biblical end-times prophecy and postwar events like the development of the atomic bomb, the establishment of the United Nations, and the creation of the state of Israel.[28] In this climate, evangelical missionaries reassured American evangelicals that Christian evangelism provided a constant hope amid turbulent and frightening change (fig. 2) and that global missions could expand around the world with the same power as that of the arms race. Missionaries made a compelling case to postwar American evangelicals that missionary work was even more urgent in an apocalyptic world in which people needed to hear the gospel message and have the opportunity to convert to Christianity before it was too late.

The postwar religious revival especially benefitted evangelicals because they were able to sustain the growth of their churches and denominations through the end of the twentieth century, whereas mainline Protestant denominations grew in the 1950s but then started declining in the 1960s. These demographic changes paralleled similar shifts in social and political power for American evangelicals versus mainline Protestants; while mainline Protestants were the most prominent and powerful Christians in America at midcentury, by the end of the twentieth century evangelicals had overtaken their ecumenical counterparts as the public face of American Christianity. The postwar surge in religious adherence benefitted churches across the board, and all major US denominations grew in membership from 1955-1965. However, the largest mainline Protestant denominations began declining rapidly during the following ten years. From 1965 to 1975, the United Methodist Church lost ten percent of its membership, the Presbyterian Church, USA declined by twelve percent, and the Episcopal Church dropped by almost seventeen percent. During the same period, evangelical denominations swiftly expanded. The Southern Baptist Convention increased by eighteen percent, and the Assemblies of God shot up a staggering thirty-seven percent.[29] That growth continued into the 1970s and 1980s; from 1970 to 1985, the SBC added two million new members, the number of AG churches more than tripled, and the membership rolls doubled or tripled for even small evangelical denominations like the Evangelical Free Church and the Pentecostal Holiness Church.[30] These increases occurred primarily due to evangelicals' assertive evangelism, comparably high fertility rates, conservative

---

[27] See Christopher Lane, *Surge of Piety: Norman Vincent Peale and the Remaking of American Religious Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

[28] Matthew Sutton, *American Apocalypse: A History of Modern Evangelicalism* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2014), 293-303. See also Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (New York: Pantheon, 1985); Margot Henricksen, *Dr. Strangelove's America: Society and Culture in the Atomic Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Kenneth Rose, *One Nation Underground: The Fallout Shelter in American Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2001); and Angela Lahr, *Millennial Dreams and Apocalyptic Nightmares: The Cold War Origins of Political Evangelicalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[29] Jackson Carroll, Douglas Johnson, and Martin Marty, *Religion in America: 1950 to the Present* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), 15.

[30] Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith since World War II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 192-93. Most evangelical denominations did not register a membership decline until the early 2000s. The SBC, for example, reported a decrease in total members for the first time in 2007.


Figure 2. Brochure for the 1954 Intervarsity missions conference. Note how the gigantic cross dwarfs the menacing mushroom cloud and planes headed for the United States, thus reinforcing the conference's reassuring message that amid a changing atomic world, the Christian gospel message remained powerful and important. Urbana® promotional brochure, 1954, © InterVarsity Christian Fellowship/USA®. Reproduced by permission of InterVarsity Christian Fellowship/USA from the Billy Graham Center archives.

social views, and strong retention rates among young people.[31] What these growing numbers meant for evangelical mission organizations was that there were increasingly more Christians immersed in churches and denominations that emphasized the primacy of evangelism, especially international evangelism through missions. More and more potential supporters and donors for evangelical mission organizations were filling pews, listening to stories about missionaries, and writing checks to finance the expansion of global missions around the world.

The dramatic growth of independent religious organizations in the postwar period also particularly aided evangelicals, since these non-denominational bodies enabled evangelicals to develop groups with specific specialties and solicit a broad base of supporters rather than confine financial appeals to certain denominations. Some special-purpose religious organizations, such as the Young Men's Christian Association or the Women's Christian Temperance Union, had flourished long before the postwar period, but the number of those organizations swelled in the mid- and late twentieth century as donors had more disposable income to invest in additional organizations. At the same time, Protestant denominational loyalty decreased as rising

[31] The scholarship that explores how and why US evangelicals grew in demographic power, social power, and political power in the late twentieth century is vast. For the works most relevant to this chapter's focus on the postwar period, see Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion*, 173-214; Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 141-242; David Hollinger, *After Cloven Tongues of Fire: Protestant Liberalism in Modern American History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 18-55; Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt*; Sutton, *American Apocalypse,* 263-366; and Kevin Kruse, *One Nation Under God: The Invention of Christian America* (New York: Basic Books, 2015).

educational levels and regional migration produced more social and cultural similarities among members of different denominations, thereby making denominational differences less of a barrier to cooperation or collective funding.[32] These changes allowed evangelicals to form many new non-denominational organizations and enjoy support from a wide variety of denominations and churches. 125 new independent (non-denominational) mission organizations began in the two decades after World War II, so that by the 1960s there were a total of 247 non-denominational missionary organizations and only 96 denominational mission groups.[33] Evangelicals founded many of these new organizations to focus on particular areas or types of mission work, such as the radio and air travel organizations that formed in the late 1940s, rather than conducting more generalized mission work like denominational mission boards did. The growth of new technologies in the postwar period enabled these independent mission organizations to appeal directly to donors instead of going through intermediaries like denominations and churches. To be sure, mission organizations still saturated churches with messages and funding appeals, but independent organizations also contacted potential donors directly through automated direct mail, radio, television, and telemarketing.[34] These new funding sources helped independent mission organizations grow rapidly, so that by the end of the 1960s six independent organizations were among the top twenty-five largest and wealthiest mission organizations in the US, and several independent evangelical mission organizations became some of the richest nonprofits in the world by the end of the twentieth century.[35]

Benefitting from these many economic, political, and social transformations, American evangelical missionary organizations grew by leaps and bounds in the decades after World War II. Evangelical organizations expanded rapidly and soon outpaced the mainline Protestant organizations that had been the leaders of American missionary activity for over a century. The total number of American Protestant foreign missionaries climbed from 12,000 in 1940 to 29,000 by 1960, and during the same period the proportion of evangelical missionaries jumped from forty to sixty-five percent.[36] The number of evangelical mission organizations increased rapidly as well, from fifty in 1940 to over 150 by 1970 (fig. 3). The postwar power shift from mainline Protestants to evangelicals was also evident in the growth of the two US evangelical mission associations, the EFMA and its ally the Interdenominational Foreign Missions Association (IFMA), and the simultaneous decline of the Division of Overseas Ministries (DOM), which represented mainline Protestant mission boards connected to the National Council of Churches.

---

[32] Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion*, 112, 97.

[33] Dotsey Welliver and Minnette Northcutt, eds., *Mission Handbook: U.S. and Canadian Protestant Ministries Overseas*, 19th ed. (Wheaton, IL: Evangelism and Missions Information Service, 2004), 18.

[34] Barry Gardner, "Technological Changes and Monetary Advantages: The Growth of Evangelical Funding, 1945 to the Present," in *More Money, More Ministry*, 298-310. See also Christopher P Scheitle, *Beyond the Congregation: The World of Christian Nonprofits* (Oxford University Press, 2010).

[35] For 1969 statistics, see *North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*, 8. The Forbes ranking of the top 200 US charities based on annual revenue in 1999 included several independent evangelical mission organizations: Campus Crusade for Christ, The Navigators, MAP International, and Wycliffe Bible Translators, along with prominent evangelical humanitarian organizations like World Vision and Compassion International. See https://web.archive.org/web/20001218015500/http://www.forbes.com:80/charities/ (accessed November 1, 2017).

[36] Robert Coote, "The Uneven Growth of Conservative Evangelical Missions," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 6, no.3 (July 1982): 119. As Coote points out, this growth continued, and by 1980, evangelicals constituted over ninety percent of all US Protestant missionaries.


Figure 3. Number of Evangelical Mission Organizations, 1900-2000. Source: John Siewert and Dotsey Welliver, eds., *Mission Handbook: U.S. and Canadian Ministries Overseas*, 18th ed. (Wheaton, IL: Evangelism and Missions Information Service, 2001), 37.

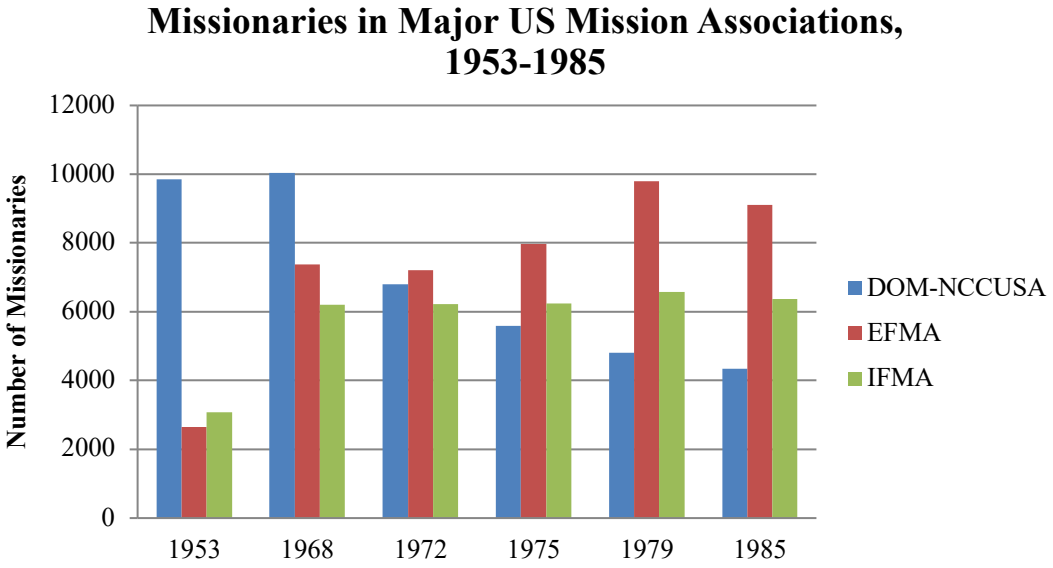


Figure 4. Number of Missionaries in Major US Mission Associations, 1953-1985. The DOM represented almost all mainline Protestant mission organizations, while the EFMA and IFMA represented evangelical and fundamentalist organizations. Some of the largest evangelical mission organizations (e.g. the Foreign Mission Board) did not belong to a mission association, so these three associations represented around three-fourths of all US missionaries in 1953 and half of all US missionaries in 1985. Sources: Edward Dayton, ed., *Mission Handbook: North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*, 11th ed. (Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1976), 61 and Samuel Wilson and John Siewert, eds., *Mission Handbook: North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*, 13th ed. (Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1986), 39.

While in the early 1950s the DOM represented the majority of American missionaries, by the late 1960s the EFMA and IFMA together sponsored the most US missionaries, and subsequently the number of EFMA and IFMA missionaries continued to increase while the number of DOM missionaries plummeted (fig. 4). This process of change from mainline Protestant dominance to evangelical hegemony paralleled the broader shifts in US denominational growth and change during the postwar period. Internationally, the decline of European mission organizations in the mid-twentieth century helped elevate American evangelical missionaries' global standing as well; in 1950, North America became the largest source of the world's Protestant missionary force, surpassing Europe for the first time.[37] Since evangelical organizations surged at a time when both European and other American Protestant mission groups were shrinking, by 1960 American evangelicals comprised both the majority of US missionaries and the majority of all Protestant missionaries around the world.[38]

**Distinctly Evangelical**

As evangelicals became the majority of the world's Protestant missionaries, they did not see themselves as merely the next American missionary generation who would seize the baton from mainline Protestants and continue the same mission work. Rather, evangelicals believed that they were rescuing global missions from mainline Protestants' errors and returning to the most important goal—the conversion of the entire world. Evangelical missionaries and their organizations were distinct from the American missionaries before them because these evangelicals were the heirs of the modernist-fundamentalist battles between liberal and conservative Protestants in the early twentieth century. As a result, postwar evangelical missionaries defined themselves as theologically more conservative than their mainline predecessors and socially warmer and more intellectual than their fundamentalist forebears. Evangelical missionaries declared that they were the dedicated conservative Protestants who would lead the global missionary enterprise back to its most vital task of preaching the gospel and converting people all over the world to the one true religion.

The trajectory of American missions divided along the lines of the split in US Protestantism between modernists and fundamentalists in the first decades of the twentieth century, and postwar evangelicals benefitted from the theological and organizational foundations

[37] *North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*, 15.

[38] What about Catholics and Mormons? The number of Catholic missionaries around the world exceeded the number of Protestant career missionaries around the world throughout the twentieth century, and US Catholics provided just a small fraction of the global Catholic missionary force. Since evangelicals and many other Protestants believed that Catholics were not true Christians, US evangelicals characterized Catholic missionaries as enemies rather than allies in the task of spreading the Christian gospel. The Church of Latter Day Saints, never considered a true Christian group by twentieth-century evangelicals, sent out around one-third as many missionaries as US Protestant organizations did in the 1960s-1990s (the LDS's membership and its missionary force grew sharply starting in the 1960s). LDS missionaries served for only two years, so they were in effect short-term missionaries rather than more traditional career missionaries. In the 1980s and 1990s, evangelical short-term mission trips multiplied rapidly, as Chapter Four discusses, and this staggering growth inflated the total number of American evangelicals working around the world for missions, even surpassing the total number of Catholic missionaries. So in the last decades of the twentieth century, American evangelicals became the majority of all Christians participating in missions around the world.

built by conservative missionaries during that period. Though the conflicts in the 1920s between liberal (modernist) and conservative (fundamentalist) Protestants were most famous for their disagreements about science and evolution, clashes about missions more seriously troubled and divided American Protestants in this period. The heated battles within the Northern Baptist and Presbyterian denominations—the two groups in which the modernist-fundamentalist disputes most erupted—focused on doctrinal issues connected to missionaries and their global work.[39] Conservative fundamentalist theologians in both denominations wrote scathing reports that accused the denominations of allowing theological liberalism to shift the focus of foreign missions away from personal conversion. According to these conservative critics, social service was becoming more important than the preaching of "Bible-believing Christianity" around the world, and the solution was to make education, medicine, and other social services subservient to the task of evangelism on the mission field. In addition, these critics insisted that mission boards should accept only new candidates who would affirm an inerrant Bible and the exclusivity of Christianity, to prevent further theological drift.[40] In 1925, treatises from several prominent missionaries laid bare the ruptures forming between liberal and conservative Protestants about the relationship between Christianity and non-Western religions and cultures. By suggesting that American and European Christians had much to learn from non-Western religions and cultures and by encouraging missions to scale back their control over local Christian converts around the world, these more liberal missionaries issued critiques of traditional missions theology and made suggestions for a more flexible global Christianity that smacked of religious relativism to fundamentalists.[41] These debates prompted by observations from the mission field brought key doctrinal conflicts to the surface and exposed the diverging opinions that liberal and conservative US Protestants held about how Christians should spread their beliefs to others, what Christian beliefs and practices were universal, and whether Christianity was the only true religion.

Mainline Protestant denominations and their mission boards, the leaders of the American missionary movement since its beginning in the early nineteenth century, continued this process

---

[39] For studies of the modernist-fundamentalist battles, see William Hutchinson, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976); George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Ferenc Morton Szaz, *The Divided Mind of Protestant America, 1880-1939* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1982); Bradley Longfield, *The Presbyterian Controversy: Fundamentalists, Modernists, and Moderates* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); and Sutton, *American Apocalypse*.

[40] See Augustus Strong, *A Tour of the Missions* (Philadelphia: Griffith and Rowland, 1918) and W.H. Griffith Thomas, "Modernism in China," *Princeton Theological Review* 19 (October 1921): 630-71. For analysis of these reports and subsequent debates, see William Hutchinson, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987), 138-45.

[41] See Daniel Fleming, *Whither Bound in Missions* (New York: Association Press, 1925); E. Stanley Jones, *Christ of the Indian Road* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1925); Frank Laubach, *The People of the Philippines: Their Religious Progress and Preparation for Spiritual Leadership in the Far East* (New York: G.H. Doran, 1925); A.K. Reischauer, *The Task in Japan: A Study in Modern Missionary Imperatives* (New York: Revell, 1926); and Mary Schauffler Platt, *A Straight Way Toward Tomorrow* (Cambridge: Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, 1926). For analyses of these missionaries and their impact on the fundamentalist-modernist conflicts, see Dana Robert, "The First Globalization? The Internationalization of the Protestant Missionary Movement between the Wars," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 26, no. 2 (April 2002): 50-66 and David Hollinger, *Protestants Abroad: How Missionaries Tried to Change the World but Changed America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 61-66.

of contentious debate and self-reflection into the 1930s and 1940s. The lightning rod for the conflicts in this period was the 1932 publication *Re-Thinking Missions*, which summarized the research findings by fifteen laymen who spent months collecting data about mission work in India, Burma, China, and Japan and then returned to the US with their analyses of the present condition of Protestant missions and their recommendations for the future of mission work.[42] The project received the formal support of six major mainline denominations, along with generous funding from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., but the final conclusions of the laymen's report shocked many mission boards and left denomination leaders scrambling to support some of the report's assertions and deny or denounce others. The report publicized the most liberal interpretations of Protestant missions at the time; missionaries should not try to convince others to become Christians, the report argued, but rather should collaborate with members of other religions for the spiritual renewal of the world (against the forces of modern secularism), and any Christian evangelism should happen not by word through preaching but by deed through a humble Christian life and social service. This indifference toward evangelism and collaborationist approach toward other religions upset many mainline Protestants, whose reactions only increased the report's visibility and popularity, sending the text through ten printings in just six months. While mainline Protestant mission leaders were happy to endorse the report's many pages of suggestions about practical training for missionaries and improving social services, leaders were careful to distance themselves from the report's affirmation of other world religions and denial of Christianity's uniqueness. During this same period, mainline Protestant missionaries faced pressure from non-Western Christians on the mission field to accept what missionaries called "indigenization," the transfer of control and autonomy to local Christian converts around the world. At the 1938 global conference of the International Missionary Council, to which most US mainline Protestant mission boards belonged, the China and India delegations especially questioned whether the category of "foreign missions" should even exist, and argued that Western missionaries should instead embrace a concept of "world mission" that elevated non-Western Christians to the same status as Western Christians for spreading Christianity and interpreting its message.[43] In these ways, mainline Protestants continued to engage in debates about what work constituted mission work, how unique Christianity was, and whose interpretations of Christianity mattered around the world.

In the decades after World War II, mainline Protestant mission boards further grappled with major theological and ethical questions and gradually embraced some of the more liberal ideas that the laymen's report had suggested in the early 1930s, especially the concepts of collaborating with non-Western groups and sharing Christianity indirectly through social service rather than directly through preaching. By founding the World Council of Churches in 1948 and then merging the International Missionary Council with the WCC in 1961, ecumenical Protestants created institutional structures that brought Western and non-Western Christians together for cooperative discussions and global planning. The WCC's international conferences

---

[42] See William Hocking, et al., *Re-Thinking Missions: A Laymen's Inquiry after One Hundred Years* (New York: Harper, 1932).

[43] Hutchinson, *Errand to the World*, 158-75; Hollinger, *Protestants Abroad*, 69-76; and Grant Wacker, "Second Thoughts on the Great Commission: Liberal Protestants and Foreign Missions, 1890-1940," in *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880-1980*, eds. Joel Carpenter and Wilbert Shenk (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990), 281-300.

focused on how to de-westernize Christianity by rejecting older distinctions between missionary-sending countries and receiving communities, and instead celebrating the ways that a "Christian presence" could have positive effects on all six continents. By the late 1960s, attendees at these conferences agreed that social service on its own, without any proselytizing, could fulfill Christians' responsibility to address human suffering and injustice. This acceptance of the service impulse's inherent good led many mainline US Protestants to pursue careers in secular educational or humanitarian organizations around the world in the late twentieth century, thereby increasingly performing international work that was not religious or missionary in a traditional sense.[44] These shifts influenced the steep decline in mainline Protestant missionaries in the late twentieth century and also heightened the contrasts between the practices of mainline missionaries and those of their evangelical successors.

While mainline Protestants wrestled with theological, cultural, and ethical issues related to missions, conservative fundamentalist Protestants took a different route by leaving mainline denominational mission boards and their debates behind and building separate independent schools, mission boards, publications, and other organizations that forged ahead with a single-minded focus on evangelism. Conservative Protestants' more isolated and separatist approach began in the 1890s, as an increase in premillennial beliefs about the imminent end of the world fueled the growth of new independent mission organizations that aimed to evangelize non-Christians while there was still time. In such an urgent apocalyptic moment, conservative Protestants reasoned, there was no time for hand-wringing about issues like social reform or cultural imperialism. This separatism amplified the animosity and division of the clashes between fundamentalists and modernists in the 1920s and 1930s.[45] When many fundamentalists abandoned mainline Protestant denominations altogether after the 1920s, they rapidly expanded their separate network of conservative institutions. Though fundamentalists gained a reputation for being backward fanatics more obsessed with the end of the world than with the building of a better world in the present, they did build a vast network of organizations that influenced both their contemporary world and the later environment in which postwar evangelicals would thrive. These new fundamentalist institutions helped recruit missionaries by emphasizing that evangelism was the utmost priority for Christians and that a missionary career was one of the most important vocations a Christian could pursue. Fundamentalist Bible conferences, magazines, radio programs, and especially Bible colleges stressed the importance of worldwide evangelization and actively recruited future missionaries.[46] The largest bible college, Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, called itself the "West Point of Christian Service," and by the mid-1930s Moody alumni alone constituted twelve percent of US Protestant missionaries.[47] These fundamentalist organizations served later as sources of support and inspiration for many postwar evangelical groups, and fundamentalists' withdrawal from the missions debates that mainline

[44] Hollinger, *Protestants Abroad*, 77-83; Hutchinson, *Errand to the World*, 177; and Grant Wacker, "Second Thoughts on the Great Commission," 297.
[45] Dana Robert, "'The Crisis of Missions': Premillennial Mission Theory and the Origins of Independent Evangelical Missions," in *Earthen Vessels*, 29-46.
[46] Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 177-86 and Carpenter, "Propagating the Faith Once Delivered: The Fundamentalist Missionary Enterprise, 1920-1945," in *Earthen Vessels*, 92-132.
[47] Joel Carpenter, "Propagating the Faith Once Delivered," 105.

Protestants so fiercely deliberated served as a precedent of unreflective activism that postwar evangelicals later emulated.

Conservative Protestants after World War II may have benefitted from the theological and organizational foundations laid by fundamentalists in the early twentieth century, but this new generation of conservatives wanted to shirk the "fundamentalist" label and its connotations of isolation, hostility, and backwardness, and instead built a broader coalition of conservative Protestants that claimed the name "evangelical." Evangelical Protestants asserted that they were different from their fundamentalist predecessors because evangelicals valued cultural participation rather than withdrawal, social warmth rather than acrimony, and intellectual engagement rather than anti-intellectual rejection of higher education. Evangelicals embraced active participation in and transformation of American society and culture, and evangelical leaders benefitted from the ties they cultivated with business leaders, politicians, and celebrities in major US cities like Chicago and Los Angeles.[48] This abandoning of isolationism extended to geopolitics, as evangelical Protestants discarded fundamentalists' isolationist stance and supported active intervention by the US state in world affairs.[49] Evangelicals also avoided what they described as cold belligerent fundamentalist preaching and instead utilized what they called "warm" evangelism that focused on positive messages that would attract people to Christianity.[50] Well-known evangelistic slogans in the US shifted from fundamentalists' ominous message "Jesus is coming soon – get ready" to evangelicals' friendlier refrains like "Find peace with God" and "God loves you and offers a wonderful plan for your life."[51] To further influence American society, evangelicals sought intellectual legitimacy by establishing new seminaries and professional organizations for theology and missiology, the study of missions. This was a sharp contrast to the approaches of fundamentalists, who had eschewed higher education and formed bible institutes that provided practical training for future preachers and missionaries rather than higher scholarly pursuits for theologians. Fuller Seminary, founded in 1947 in Southern California, was the prime example of this new evangelical push for intellectual legitimacy and engagement. Begun with funding from fundamentalist evangelist Charles Fuller, the seminary sought to be a home for what founders called "neo-evangelical" theology, particularly apologetics and missiology. Fuller established its School of World Mission in 1965, and scholars from Fuller founded the American Society of Missiology in 1973 and edited the ASM's journal, *Missiology*, which gave evangelical missiologists a professional vehicle for scholarly

---

[48] Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion*, 173-81.
[49] Sutton, *American Apocalypse*, 295-96, 310.
[50] George Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987), 31-52.
[51] The phrase "Jesus is coming soon – get ready" and variants were widespread in fundamentalist revivals during the early twentieth century. Pentecostal evangelist Amy Semple McPherson, for example, drove around the nation in 1918 with the aforementioned phrase painted on the side of her "Gospel Car" to attract crowds. See Matthew Sutton, *Aimee Semple McPherson and the Resurrection of Christian America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007). The phrase "find peace with God" was a frequent appeal that Billy Graham made during his evangelistic crusades in the 1950s and 1960s and on his weekly radio program, The Hour of Decision. See Billy Graham, *Peace with God* (New York: Doubleday, 1953). The phrase "God loves you and offers a wonderful plan for your life" was the first of Campus Crusade's Four Spiritual Laws, which were four Biblical concepts that Crusade staff outlined during evangelistic presentations, which began on US college campuses in the 1950s. See Bill Bright, *Have You Heard of the Four Spiritual Laws?* (San Bernardino, CA: Campus Crusade for Christ, 1965).

engagement.[52] With these actions, postwar evangelicals tried to distance themselves from what they felt were the unpopular aspects of fundamentalism in order to develop a conservative Protestant movement that could influence much wider segments of American society and culture.

Postwar evangelicals also defined themselves against mainline Protestants, by casting ecumenical Protestants as the enemy and insisting that evangelicals were the more theologically conservative, and therefore more dedicated and superior, Protestants in the US. Evangelicals were quick to build organizations that served as the evangelical alternatives to longstanding mainline Protestant institutions. In addition to forming the National Association of Evangelicals which sought to rival the National Council of Churches and the Evangelical Foreign Mission Association which rivaled the DOM, evangelicals also founded the magazine *Christianity Today* in 1956 as the counterpart to the mainline publication *Christian Century*, and the founder of Fuller Seminary openly aspired to make that institution into the "Princeton of the West," referencing Princeton Theological Seminary's longstanding prominence in both Christian and secular circles. Evangelical theologians like those at Fuller repudiated ecumenical theology and positioned their conservative evangelical theology as more biblically sound and their missiology as the best foundation for missionary work in the postwar period.[53] One of the first evangelicals to fire shots at ecumenical missiology was Fuller theologian and later *Christianity Today* editor Howard Lindsell, who excoriated mainline Protestant missions theory and methods in his 1949 *A Christian Philosophy of Missions*. Lindsell argued that only missions based on notions of biblical inerrancy and the uniqueness of Christianity would spread a message of salvation that could save non-Christians around the world from eternal damnation. The "weakened, watered down" theology of liberal Protestants, Lindsell claimed, did the world no good because those teachings offered no eternal salvation through Christ.[54]

Additionally, an entire school of evangelical missions theory – church growth theory – emerged from a former ecumenical Protestant missionary who grew frustrated with mainline Protestants' focus on social reform and more liberal theology. Donald McGavran, later professor and dean at Fuller's School of World Mission, wrote his first outline of church growth theory in the mid-1950s and then regularly related the theory to current events through his quarterly publication, *Church Growth Bulletin*. McGavran combined his distaste for mainline Protestants' preoccupation with social service with his embrace of social science, especially anthropology, to argue that missionaries must analyze and test everything they do on the mission field to make sure it produces the most important result – conversion. McGavran's logic of numerical results was simple: the best missions methods were those that produced the most conversions. He explained that missionaries should study the cultures of their target populations in order to better communicate the gospel message to those groups, and that any service activities on the field

---

[52] Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism*, 220-44.

[53] For studies of the formation of neo-evangelical theology and missiology in the postwar period, see Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism*; Hutchinson, *Errand to the World*, 176-202; Charles Van Engen, "A Broadening Vision: Forty Years of Evangelical Theology of Missions, 1946-1986," in *Earthen Vessels*, 203-34; Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*; Molly Worthen, *Apostles of Reason: The Crisis of Authority in American Evangelicalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 75-96, 124-47; and Hollinger, *Protestants Abroad*, 74-87.

[54] See Harold Lindsell, *A Christian Philosophy of Missions* (Wheaton, IL: Van Kampen Press, 1949). Lindsell continued this critique a few years later – see Lindsell, *Missionary Principles and Practice* (Westwood, NJ: Revell, 1955).

must be a means to the end of evangelism. In what later became the most controversial element of the theory, McGavran argued that people were most likely to convert to Christianity if they became a part of a church with others who shared the same sociocultural identity; this "homogenous unit principle" became a widely popular guideline for creating churches not only on the mission field but also throughout the US in the late twentieth century.[55] Thus by marshalling their own theological interpretations and defining themselves against both mainline Protestants and fundamentalists, postwar evangelicals argued that they were launching a distinct form of conservative and evangelism-focused missionary work that was different from the global work performed by the previous generation of American missionaries.

**Global Opportunity and Personal Responsibility**

American evangelicals in the postwar era had the means to build vast mission organizations, and evangelical mission groups in this period had the intention of shifting global missions to a more conservative focus on evangelism, but how did these new mission organizations draw so many missionaries and supporters? How did they convince people in the pews that dedicating massive outlays of time, money, and manpower for global evangelization was the most important task for American Christians in the mid-twentieth century? In the decades after World War II, evangelical missions leaders stressed that American evangelicals had a unique opportunity and responsibility to save the world. Citing the changing geopolitical landscape, which made Americans' access to certain countries and regions tenuous, missionaries told US evangelicals that they lived in an exceptional moment and they had a duty to seize the opportunity God had given them to spread the gospel to every person on earth. Reviving a bold late-nineteenth-century missions slogan, missionaries declared that it was possible for dedicated Christians to evangelize the whole world in only one generation, and argued that therefore US evangelicals had a responsibility to realize that goal. These messages from missionaries encouraged cultural chauvinism, American exceptionalism, and unreflective activism, and inspired massive funding and support for a vast expansion of missionary work, not only during the postwar era but also for the rest of the twentieth century.

Missionaries stressed to American evangelicals that the postwar world was unique and that evangelicals should seize the opportunities provided by geopolitical "openings." Many of the Foreign Mission Board's missionaries wrote home to Southern Baptist churchgoers about these opportunities through the FMB's monthly journal, *The Commission*.[56] The FMB's president asserted in 1949 that the postwar moment offered "open doors of need and opportunity" in Latin America, Africa, Europe, and Asia, and that dedicated Christians "must

[55] See Donald McGavran, *The Bridges of God: A Study of the Strategy of Missions* (London: World Dominion Press, 1955) and McGavran, "Homogeneous Unit Principle: Definition and Clarification," n.d., Folder 13, Box 52, David Alan Hubbard Presidential Papers Collection, David DuPlessis Archives, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California (hereafter Hubbard Collection).

[56] During the postwar era, *The Commission* had an average annual circulation of about 95,000, which meant that between one and two percent of SBC members received a copy of the journal. However, in addition to *The Commission*, the SBC produced five other missions journals and a wealth of church study materials, many of which recycled letters home from FMB missionaries, so the messages from these missionaries had a much wider reach than simply through the circulation of *The Commission*. For circulation statistics, see the executive committee and FMB sections of *Southern Baptist Convention Annual* for the years 1945-1960. See Chapter Two for further explanation.

stand ready to enter every opening" that the new geopolitical conditions created for missions.[57] Helen Sherer, a missionary to Tokyo, echoed this appeal when she insisted that "without adequate staff we cannot seize this opportunity" to evangelize Japan, and that "no Christian in America should feel settled in his place of service until he searches his own heart to discover if God is calling him to this field." To Sherer, it should have been all hands on deck to realize the opportunities for missions created by the US occupation of Japan.[58] Rex Ray, a missionary to Korea, even attributed the events of the Korean War to God's provision for missions; after reporting that POWs, wounded Korean soldiers, and civilians in Pusan City were converting to Christianity, Ray exclaimed, "surely the Lord is holding back the hordes of communists in the North so the people in the South may have their opportunity to find Jesus."[59]

The tumultuous events in East Asia also gave missionaries the evidence that "windows" of opportunity for missions might close, and missionaries stressed to US evangelicals that this uncertainty was a reason to evangelize certain countries as quickly as possible. Though the Korean War increased missionaries' sense of instability by terminating missionary work in what became North Korea, the evacuation of missionaries from China in 1949-1951 most shaped missionaries' messages about the tenuousness of global missions in the postwar era. China was one of the biggest destinations for US missionaries during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the disruption of missions in China during World War II intensified missionaries' statements about the significance of that country. Missionaries told US evangelicals after World War II that resuming the evangelization of "China's millions" was one of the most important duties for American missionaries in the immediate postwar years.[60] And when missionaries then had to evacuate from China after the communist takeover, the loss of such a long prioritized mission field became the prime example that missionaries used to highlight the urgency of postwar mission work to evangelical audiences back in the US.

Missionaries cautioned American evangelicals that the evacuation from China showed how international opportunities to spread the gospel might end at any time. At the Intervarsity missions conference in 1951 (Urbana 1951), former China missionary David Adeney warned thousands of US evangelical students that the communist ascendancy in China signaled a crisis for missions: "I very much doubt whether the majority of Christians in this land are aware of the urgency of the present situation. Do we realize the tragedy of doors closed to the gospel?" Adeney pressed the students to become missionaries after college, and he reassured them that though communism was a powerful and evil force, the power of God enabled missionaries to "go forth not with a spirit of defeatism, not with despair, but rather confident that 'greater is He that is in us than he that is in the world.'"[61] Intervarsity's associate director also told students at Urbana 1951 about how quickly the opportunities for missions could shift; he reminded his

---

[57] Theron Rankin, "The Hour Has Come," *The Commission* 12, no. 5 (May 1949), 1.
[58] Helen Sherer, "Epistles," *The Commission* 13, no. 3 (March 1950), 23.
[59] Rex Ray, "You are in This Story," *The Commission* 15, no. 8 (September 1952), 21.
[60] See for example the 1945-1949 issues of the monthly magazine of China Inland Mission, *China's Millions*, which reached a circulation high of thirteen million in 1948. For circulation statistics, see Anthony Miller, "Pioneers in Exile: The China Inland Mission and Missionary Mobility in China and Southeast Asia, 1943-1989" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kentucky, 2015), 62-63.
[61] David Adeney, "Proclaim Christ in a Godless Society," in *By All Means…Proclaim Christ: From Every Campus to Every Country* (Chicago: Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, 1952), 61. Adeney referenced the Apostle John's teaching (found in 1 John 4:4) about the power of the spirit of God.

audience that many students who attended the first 1946 missions conference went to China, "but today that door is closed."[62] FMB missionaries lamented their lost access to China even as they tried to reassure US churchgoers that God had not abandoned China and that evacuated missionaries were shifting to new regions of work. The FMB's president, a former missionary to China, admitted that many Southern Baptists might be feeling despondent about the spiritual fate of millions of non-Christians in China, but he encouraged readers of *The Commission* that "we have not lost in China" because US Christians could still pray for a revival in that country and could redouble support for missionary work in other regions of East Asia, which could reach Chinese populations living outside of China.[63] Baker Cauthen, also a former missionary to China and director of the FMB's missions in Asia, tried to comfort readers by explaining that "Christ is in China to stay. He will not be forced out by any government which may arise," and reported that missionaries who left China had transitioned to new fields in other Asian countries, where they were "taking the message of Christ into every place where doors are still open."[64] The EFMA's member organizations also agreed that the evacuation of missionaries from China marked a time to encourage churchgoers in the US to increase their support for global missions. During the EFMA's 1952 report at the annual meeting of the National Association of Evangelicals, the EFMA president urged a large audience of evangelical church leaders to support missionary work "through any means possible" in this tumultuous era, since evangelical missionaries needed to "reach the lost for Christ before we have lost our opportunity forever."[65]

In addition to worrying about whether US missionary work could survive the turbulent political events in East Asia, evangelical missionaries also emphasized that opposition to Christianity could close windows of opportunity for missions anywhere in the world. At Urbana 1951, Belgium missionary John Winston cautioned that "enemies of the gospel" like Catholicism and Islam threatened evangelical mission work throughout Europe, and he encouraged students to become missionaries to European countries, which he described as places with a Christian heritage but increasing religious indifference.[66] The FMB's journal warned its readers about similar threats to mission work in Africa; a profile of Nigeria described nationalism, Catholicism, and Islam as the biggest threats to evangelical mission work, and stressed that "we have no assurance that the doors will remain open to us in Africa. What we do, we must do now."[67] Kenneth Strachan, a missionary to several different Latin American countries, told evangelical students at Urbana 1957 that global competition from other religions and ideologies made evangelical mission work more important in the postwar era than during any previous age. Strachan declared that "given the mounting pressures in the world today—the conquest of Communism, the resurgence of old faiths and religions, the multiplication of new sects and new faiths, all busy propagandizing their views and introducing a hopeless confusion in the world today—in the light of that situation, we can only say that the need for missions is greater than

---

[62] Charles Troutman, "The Next Four Years," in *By All Means…Proclaim Christ*, 121.
[63] M. Theron Rankin, "We Haven't Lost in China!" *The Commission* 14, no. 3 (March 1951): 8.
[64] Baker Cauthen, "Christian Work in Communist China," *The Commission* 14, no. 5 (May 1951), 7.
[65] "Seventh Annual Report of the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association to the NAE Convention," 1952 EFMA Convention, Folder 10, Box 3, EFMA Collection.
[66] John C. Winston, "Proclaim Christ in Europe," in *By All Means…Proclaim Christ*, 80.
[67] "Your Money, Your Prayers, YOU!" *The Commission* 14, no. 5 (May 1951), 31.

ever before."[68] Because of this international competition and instability, missionaries argued, American evangelicals should support global evangelization with a sense of urgency, and embrace every opportunity that the postwar era presented for spreading the gospel around the world.

Evangelical missionaries not only stressed that American evangelicals had unique opportunities in the postwar era; they also insisted that US evangelicals were responsible for world evangelization. To highlight that sense of responsibility and mark evangelicals as the heirs of earlier global evangelism efforts, postwar evangelical missionaries revived the bold slogan once championed by US missions enthusiasts in the late nineteenth century – "The evangelization of the world in this generation." This watchword became popular in the US in the late 1880s after leaders of the Student Volunteer Movement, an organization that encouraged young Christians to support foreign missionary work, promoted the phrase through their publications and speeches on college campuses and at large conferences for Christian students, many of whom became missionaries during that era.[69] From its beginning, the slogan had two meanings, one more ambitious than the other. The modest implication was that each generation of Christians bore a responsibility for evangelizing the non-Christians of their era. The more bold and prophetic connotation was that dedicated Christians could proclaim the gospel message to every person on earth within just one generation; this interpretation had overt apocalyptic overtones, suggesting that total world evangelization would hasten the end of the world and the second coming of Christ.[70] European missions leaders balked at the prophetic meaning of the phrase, and refused to endorse it unless American leaders agreed that the watchword was just an appeal for each successive generation of Christians to spread the gospel.[71] Once American missions leaders agreed to those limitations, at least officially, the slogan made its way to the platform at the prominent 1910 World Missionary Conference, the largest gathering of missionaries and church leaders ever at the time.[72] Though the missions enthusiasm captured by the watchword ran high in 1910, by the end of World War I many Protestant organizations in the US and Europe were questioning the value and purpose of foreign missionary work. During the interwar period, the Student Volunteer Movement discarded the slogan and admitted its overconfidence. At the SVM's convention in 1928, one of the veteran SVM leaders, Sherwood Eddy, repudiated the watchword and suggested instead the phrase "world Christianization," by

---

[68] Kenneth Strachan, "Missions Tomorrow," in *One Lord – One Church – One World: A Missionary Compendium* (Chicago: Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, 1958), 77.

[69] For studies of the Student Volunteer Movement, see William Beahm, "Factors in the Development of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1941); Dwayne Ramsey, "College Evangelists and Foreign Missions: The Student Volunteer Movement, 1886-1920" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Davis, 1988); and Terrill Lautz, "The SVM and Transformation of the Protestant Mission to China," in *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900-1950*, eds. Daniel Bays and Ellen Widmer (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 3-25.

[70] The biblical passage cited by supporters of the watchword's prophetic meaning was Matthew 24:14, which suggests an order of events in which the worldwide spread of Christ's teachings would occur before the end times.

[71] Dana Robert, "The Origin of the Student Volunteer Watchword: 'The Evangelization of the World in This Generation,'" *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 10, no. 4 (October 1986): 146-49.

[72] For the most prominent American acknowledgement of these European critiques, see John Mott, *The Evangelization of the World in This Generation* (New York: Student Volunteer Movement, 1901). For the proceedings from the 1910 conference, see World Missionary Conference, *The History and Records of the Conference together with Addresses Delivered at the Evening Meetings* (New York: Revell, 1910).

which he meant spreading a gospel message that incorporated social, economic, and political reforms, much like the social gospel.[73] As the SVM and other mainline Protestants shifted their understandings of missions in the 1920s and 1930s, the once popular slogan dropped out of use by the groups that had first brandished it.

In the postwar era, evangelical missionaries proudly reasserted the watchword to claim that they were restoring the fervor for missions that had waned during the preceding decades. Just as evangelicals created their own equivalents of many other mainline Protestant institutions, so did they form their own versions of the Student Volunteer Movement. The evangelistic revival movement known as Youth for Christ flourished in the 1940s and 1950s with the twin goals of American revival and world evangelization. YFC's founding president kept in his office an enormous map of the world with the slogan, "evangelize the world in the present generation," and many YFC leaders went on to found prominent evangelical mission organizations, including Trans World Radio and World Vision.[74] During the same period, the evangelical Student Foreign Missions Fellowship spread as a campus ministry alternative for students who were dissatisfied with the Student Volunteer Movement's declining commitment to evangelism. Though Youth for Christ declined after its heyday in the 1950s, the SFMF continued to grow in subsequent decades by merging with Intervarsity Christian Fellowship in 1945 and becoming a part of the postwar campus ministry boom. This merger united the largest evangelical student organization on Christian campuses (SFMF) with one of the largest evangelical organizations on secular campuses (IVCF). Intervarsity openly portrayed itself as the new Student Volunteer Movement, most prominently by launching its own student missions conferences – the Urbana conferences – which IVCF hailed as events that "surpassed the stirring days of the Student Volunteer Movement."[75]

Intervarsity leaders and many evangelical missionaries used the watchword in the 1950s and 1960s to impress upon American evangelicals how great of a responsibility they bore for the world's salvation. At Urbana 1951, Intervarsity's director opened the conference by telling evangelical students that they were "responsible to God to proclaim the evangel to this our day and generation."[76] And Intervarsity's assistant director concluded the gathering by reminding students that "we have talked rather easily the past four days, but seriously nevertheless, of evangelizing the world in this generation."[77] FMB director and former missionary Baker Cauthen stressed to Southern Baptists in the early 1950s that they had a responsibility to reap a metaphorical harvest of souls around the world. Cauthen proclaimed, "There are times for seed-sowing and there are times for harvesting….Our generation must be a time of greater reaping than has ever been known."[78] The watchword also became a prominent part of official declarations produced by major gatherings of evangelical missionaries in the 1960s. The 1960 Congress on World Missions issued a formal resolution which stated, "We declare the need for a

[73] Joel Carpenter, "Propagating the Faith Once Delivered," 94-95.
[74] Carpenter, *Revive Us Again,* 181-82. Youth for Christ also gave Billy Graham his first national platform for radio ministry and revival crusades, as Graham served as YFC's first full-time evangelist in the mid-1940s.
[75] Woods, "Report from Missionary Convention."
[76] C. Stacey Woods, "The Impelling Motive," in *By All Means…Proclaim Christ*, 3. The evangel is the Christian gospel message. Hence evangelical, as an adjective, literally means related to the gospel.
[77] Troutman, "The Next Four Years," 121.
[78] Baker Cauthen, "Evangelism on a World Scale," *The Commission* 20, no. 4 (April 1957): 9, 31.

total mobilization of all the resources of the Church of Jesus Christ, both in terms of men and of means in that the total evangelization of the world may be achieved in this generation."[79] In 1966, the Congress on the Church's Worldwide Mission affirmed the watchword by pledging that all attendees would mobilize Christians "for the evangelization of the world in this generation, so help us God!"[80] During the same year, the World Congress on Evangelism invited all Christians to unite around the task of global evangelism, and professed, "Our goal is nothing short of the evangelization of the human race in this generation."[81] So both the modest and ambitious meanings of the watchword became a part of missionaries' messages to US evangelicals about their responsibility to evangelize non-Christians around the world.

In addition to using the watchword as an appeal, evangelical missionaries employed many other phrases, images, and biblical passages to convince American evangelicals that they bore the responsibility for the world's salvation. Evangelical organizations particularly wanted to convince men that they needed to seize their duty to evangelize the world. Evangelical missions leaders lamented that the Protestant missionary movement had relied upon women, especially single women, for the majority of its manpower, and these leaders promised that they would inspire men to join and lead the evangelical missionary cause. Organizers of the first Intervarsity missions conference in 1946 set quotas for male students by capping registration at 200 women and 300 men, urged Intervarsity's staff on college campuses to "put the pressure especially on the men to come," and argued that having more men at the conference would be "a significant blessing in a day when all mission boards are crying for men missionaries."[82] Organizers then celebrated after the conference that God "sent more men students than women" and that the majority of those who committed to become missionaries were men, though that celebratory letter didn't mention the quotas that further contextualized those outcomes.[83] During the same period, Dawson Trotman, the founder of the Navigators, an evangelical ministry to servicemen and college students, traveled to college campuses and particularly called out men for not committing to missions like women had. Trotman frequently challenged men in his audiences to justify why so few young men, in proportion to women, had volunteered to be missionaries, and he asked readers of the Navigators' newsletters to pray that God would send hundreds of male veterans into missionary service.[84] To an extent, Trotman got his wish; many soldiers' experiences around the world led them to a greater awareness of and commitment to missionary work after World War II.[85] Though women continued to be the majority of American missionaries in the mid- and late twentieth century, some male missionaries reported that they

---

[79] J.O. Percy, ed., *Facing the Unfinished Task* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1961), 211.
[80] Harold Lindsell, ed., *The Church's Worldwide Mission* (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1966), 4.
[81] Carl Henry and W. Stanley Mooneyham, *One Race, One Gospel, One Task* (Minneapolis, MN: Worldwide Publications, 1967), 5. For an exhaustive study of these conferences and other uses of the watchword by postwar evangelicals, see Denton Lotz, "'The Evangelization of the World in This Generation': The Resurgence of a Missionary Idea among the Conservative Evangelicals" (Ph.D. diss., University of Hamburg, 1970).
[82] "Information for the Staff on the Toronto Missionary Convention" and Woods, "Report from Missionary Convention."
[83] Woods, "Report from Missionary Convention."
[84] Betty Lee Skinner, *Daws, A Man Who Trusted God: The Inspiring Life and Compelling Faith of Dawson Trotman, Founder of the Navigators* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974), 225.
[85] See Richard Pierard, "Pax Americana and the Evangelical Missionary Advance," in *Earthen Vessels*, 155-79.

joined mission organizations during the postwar era because of these appeals to men specifically.[86]

Evangelical missionaries also insisted that every Christian, man or woman, missionary or churchgoer back at home, had a responsibility to support global evangelization. At Urbana 1951, Intervarsity's director declared that each person in the audience needed to obey Christ's command to spread the gospel message: "It is utterly impossible for any Christian under any circumstance to consider himself in the will of God if he is not living in terms of world evangelism….That is not to say that we are all called to be foreign missionaries but we are all called actively, personally, to participate in God's program of world evangelism."[87] Missionaries also stressed that failing to support world evangelism was creating dire global consequences; former China missionary David Adeney told students that the success of communism "is partly due to the failure within the church of the Lord Jesus Christ," and missionary linguist Eugene Nida agreed that communism "would not have arisen if we had not failed."[88] After Urbana 1951, Intervarsity sent copies of the conference's plenary speeches to attendees, and attached a note that urged students to think about missions as God's will and their responsibility. The letter told students to "pray as if world evangelization depends entirely upon Him. It does. Plan, prepare as if it depends by commandment upon us."[89] A few years later at Urbana 1957, Billy Graham spoke to the thousands of students assembled and predicted that they bore the responsibility for the last era of missions before the end of the world. He professed, "There is an opportunity and a responsibility that perhaps God never gave to any other generation of young people….I have a feeling in my heart that as God called the disciples and the early church to evangelize the world in the first century, so you and I may be the ones God has called to evangelize the world in the last generation before the corning of our Lord."[90] Graham added an apocalyptic weight to these calls for personal responsibility for the world's salvation.

Many of these explanations of evangelicals' personal obligation to evangelize were heavy and stern. Some of these grim messages appeared in the Urbana 1951 mission exhibition hall, one of the main areas of the conference where mission organizations set up displays and talked with students about becoming missionaries.[91] The display by New Tribes Mission, which sought to evangelize members of remote indigenous groups in South America, contained two posters that used Old Testament passages to argue that Christians who did not evangelize others would be responsible for those others' spiritual damnation to hell (fig. 5). One of the posters showed evangelical students that blood would be on their hands if they did not do their part to tell non-

---

[86] For statistics about the gender demographics of missionaries in the late 1960s and early 1970s, see Edward Dayton, *Mission Handbook*, 11th ed., 80; for statistics covering the late 1970s and 1980s, see Wilson and Siewert, *Mission Handbook*, 13th ed., 562. The Mission Handbook changed its survey in 1992 (for the 15th edition, published in 1993) and stopped asking mission organizations for a breakdown of missionaries' gender, so there are not comparable statistics for the 1990s.

[87] Woods, "The Impelling Motive," 7.

[88] Adeney, "Proclaim Christ in a Godless Society," 61 and Eugene Nida, "The Crisis Hour," in *By All Means…Proclaim Christ*, 107.

[89] Wesley Gustafson, "Introduction to Compendium of Missionary Convention Messages," in *By All Means…Proclaim Christ*, 2

[90] Billy Graham, "Missionary Commitment," in *One Lord – One Church – One World*, 142.

[91] In 1951, for example, there were seventy-five mission organizations with displays and missionaries on hand for discussions with students in the exhibition hall, which was in the University of Illinois-Urbana gymnasium.


Figure 5. Two Missionaries from New Tribes Mission (left) talk with students at Urbana 1951. The "Christian are these your hands" poster (upper left) warned that blood would be on the hands of those who did not share the gospel message. The "The harvest is past and we are not saved" poster (center) cautioned that time was running out and Christians would be held accountable by those with whom they did not share the gospel message of salvation. Cover of HIS Magazine, March 1952, © InterVarsity Christian Fellowship/USA®. Reproduced by permission of InterVarsity Christian Fellowship/USA from the Billy Graham Center archives.

Christians about the gospel message of salvation.[92] The other poster depicted the lamentation "the harvest is past and we are not saved," which is a phrase from the prophet Jeremiah that evangelism enthusiasts used to suggest that those who ended up in hell would accuse Christians of failing to share the gospel and thereby withholding eternal salvation from non-Christians.[93] These types of severe messages were common in missions promotional materials during the postwar period, and they conveyed that American evangelicals could not be cavalier about their duty to save the world, since others' eternal salvation or damnation was at stake.

[92] This poster and its widely used theme relied on an interpretation of Ezekiel 3:18-19, a passage which describes Ezekiel's role as a prophet that should warn the wicked about their sin.
[93] The phrase comes from Jeremiah 8:20, which is a prophecy about the sorrow of the people of Israel.

Foreign Mission Board missionaries also emphasized to Southern Baptists back in the US that they should take responsibility for the salvation of people in every country. Albert McClellan, a missionary to Guatemala, tried to convince US churchgoers of their duty by telling readers a story about a poor young boy who held his hand one day at an outdoor market, and reflected, "Somehow I wish I could put that hand in your hand and make you see your responsibility to the great, pagan, soul-hungry nation of Guatemala."[94] J.D. Ratliff made a similar appeal about Honduras when he recounted his visit to a small mountain village and described that community as "a symbol of people all over Honduras, Latin America, and the world who live over the mountain, out of the reach of that which is easily accessible, but people for whom Christ died and to whom we all have the responsibility of carrying the good news of God's love."[95] The FMB stressed the responsibility US churchgoers should feel for non-Christians in Africa when the organization's board issued a statement in 1954 which recommended that "every available means be used to lay the responsibility of evangelizing the peoples of that continent upon the hearts of the members of Southern Baptist churches," so that those members would give more money and manpower to support mission expansion in Nigeria, Kenya, and Tanganyika.[96] The FMB also asserted that the world would hold Southern Baptists accountable for their evangelism efforts, or lack thereof. Like the New Tribes Mission and other mission organizations, the FMB produced countless visual materials to supplement their messages and appeals, and in 1953 the FMB produced visuals for US churches to promote the Southern Baptist missions theme for that year – "The Eyes of the World Are upon You." The FMB argued that the theme and its visuals would remind Southern Baptists in the US of their global responsibility; the FMB described the theme poster as depicting "the peoples of other nations peering through a telescope at Southern Baptists," and told readers that the image "will make you ask, 'How well do we measure up in meeting our responsibility?'"[97] In these ways, missionaries and their organizations stated that the world needed American evangelicals to take responsibility for global missions, and that American evangelicals should feel accountable for the world's salvation and should therefore support and participate in the expansion of evangelical mission work all over the globe.

In this postwar period, evangelical missionaries became prominent global actors and shaped how American evangelicals understood themselves and their place in the world. Within just two decades, American evangelicals amassed millions of dollars, founded over 100 new mission organizations and expanded many others, and became the majority of the world's Protestant missionaries. These new missionaries set out to evangelize the entire world, and some believed they could accomplish that task in only one generation. They positioned themselves as the dedicated conservative missionaries whom the world desperately needed, and this positioning encouraged them to avoid self-reflection and debate and instead to embrace a spirit of unreflective activism. Missionaries told American evangelicals back at home that they had an unprecedented opportunity and duty to save the world, and those appeals influenced US evangelicals' sense of superiority and desire for national and international authority. By 1960,

---

[94] Albert McClellan, "Guatemala is People," *The Commission* 15, no. 6 (June 1952), 29.
[95] J.D. Ratliff, "A Visit to Rio Bonitos," *The Commission* 18, no. 3 (March 1955), 12.
[96] "Foreign Mission News," *The Commission* 17, no. 11 (December 1954), 14. Tanganyika became Tanzania in 1964.
[97] Elizabeth Minshew, "Missions Study Helps," *The Commission* 16, no. 7 (July 1953), 32.

American evangelicals believed that they were heading out into a unique world to seize the opportunities that God had given them. What they would discover in the coming decades was just how different that world would become, and just how many challenges they and their global work would receive.

Chapter Two

## White Feelings, Black Lives: Missions and the Global Revolution against White Supremacy

[1950s and 1960s]

As American evangelicals became the majority of the international missionary force and declared their readiness to shoulder the mantle of worldwide evangelization, the entire global missionary enterprise came under attack. Anticolonial revolutions swept the Global South in the decades after World War II and empowered people of color in missionized communities to condemn missionaries' complicity in oppressive colonial hierarchies, especially racial hierarchies. This changing international context created by decolonization and revolutions against white supremacy was the biggest global challenge that missionaries faced in the second half of the twentieth century. While missionaries had long encountered opposition to their methods and messages in the field, after World War II missionaries worked increasingly in countries controlled not by European colonizers but by the very people who had leveled heavy criticisms against missions. So as American evangelicals became the majority of the world's missionaries, they entered a world that was becoming increasingly opposed to missionization itself.

In the late 1950s and 1960s, American missionaries faced a particularly urgent problem abroad, as increasing international press coverage of the US civil rights movement gave people of color around the world a new powerful set of evidence with which to critique US missionaries' involvement in systems of racial oppression. Press coverage surged during this period because of the calculated actions of US black freedom movement protestors and the international contexts of the Cold War and Pan Africanism. US civil rights movement leaders strategically utilized the press to expose the brutality of American segregation and racism. Protestors conducted nonviolent direct action campaigns that aroused brutal violence from white southern officials and private citizens, and movement organizers ensured that newspaper reporters and television cameras were on hand to broadcast the shocking details of that violence to audiences across the US and the world.[1] The Soviet Union further circulated those images and stories of racial violence as propaganda against the United States, in an attempt to undermine the reputation of the US and gain allies for the Soviet Union in the Cold War.[2] Additionally, many African media outlets covered the stories of the African American civil rights movement because of pan-African identification with the shared struggle of black movements against white

[1] See Sasha Torres, *Black, White and In Color: Television and Black Civil Rights* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff, *The Race Beat: The Press, the Civil Rights Struggle, and the Awakening of a Nation* (New York: Knopf, 2006); Maurice Berger, *For All the World to See: Visual Culture and the Struggle for Civil Rights* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Leigh Raiford, *Imprisoned in a Luminous Glare: Photography and the African American Freedom Struggle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); and Aniko Bodroghkozy, *Equal Time: Television and the Civil Rights Movement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012).

[2] See Mary Dudziak *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); Azza Layton, *International Politics and Civil Rights Policies in the United States, 1941-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

supremacy.[3] Taking advantage of these global contexts, US black freedom movement protesters turned domestic injustices into international crises. And on the mission field, local people referenced the press coverage of US segregation and racial violence and confronted American missionaries about their complicity in these racist systems.

Missionaries like Maxine Law and Warren Webster encountered these criticisms of US society in the 1950s and 1960s by people of color on the mission field, and both Law and Webster pleaded with particular audiences of white US Christians back at home to address those criticisms. Maxine Law was a missionary to Tanganyika with the Southern Baptist Convention's Foreign Mission Board (FMB), the largest missionary organization in the mid-twentieth century and the missions arm of the largest Protestant denomination in the US.[4] Like many of her missionary counterparts, Law believed that segregation and racial prejudice were morally wrong, and she wrote home to the US through the FMB's monthly journal and implored her fellow white southerners to address these racial issues. Since FMB missionaries like Law were born and raised in the US South, they had intimate ties to the most intense battlegrounds of the civil rights movement, and communicating with their white southern communities back at home presented certain challenges. Could FMB missionaries tell those audiences that racism in the United States was one of the biggest obstacles to the work of global evangelization? Could missionaries use their platform to condemn segregation and promote change? Those audiences of white southern churchgoers were the ones who wrote the checks that financed missionaries' work around the world – could missionaries risk those relationships?

While missionaries like Law faced the challenge of talking with white southerners about segregation and racial violence, missionaries like Warren Webster addressed the problems of American racism with a different audience: white Christian college students from across the US, many of whom had begun to doubt mission work's significance. Webster was a missionary to Pakistan with the Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society and a regular speaker at InterVarsity's triennial Urbana missionary conferences. Much like the majority of his audiences at the Urbana conferences, Webster grew up in the Midwest and on the West Coast. Yet Webster was not a baby boomer immersed in the campus culture of the 1960s like the students at Urbana were, and as a speaker at Urbana he faced the challenge of convincing a new generation of white Christian college students to support international missions and consider careers as missionaries.

---

[3] See Penny Von Eschen, *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997); Jonathan Rosenberg, *How Far the Promised Land? World Affairs and the Civil Rights Movement from the First World War to Vietnam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Kevin Gaines, *American Africans in Ghana: Black Expatriates and the Civil Rights Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Gerald Horne, *Mau Mau in Harlem?: The U.S. and the Liberation of Kenya* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Brenda Gayle Plummer, *In Search of Power: African Americans in the Era of Decolonization, 1956-1974* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); and Carol Anderson, *Bourgeois Radicals: The NAACP and the Struggle for Colonial Liberation, 1941-1960* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[4] The FMB became the largest US missionary organization in both missionary personnel and annual income in 1961, when it surpassed several ecumenical Protestant missionary organizations and the General Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists. See *North American Protestant Foreign Mission Agencies* (New York: Missionary Research Library, 1962), 89-116. The SBC became the largest US Protestant denomination in 1966, when it surpassed the United Methodist Church in membership. See the compiled 1966 membership reports in National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA, *The Yearbook of American Churches for 1968* (New York: Round Table Press, 1968).

In the 1960s, rising numbers of young white Christians like those at Urbana eschewed commitment to the missionary enterprise and instead questioned its foundations. These college students asked whether international missionary work should be a priority for US Christians when so many racial and social problems deserved attention at home. How could missionaries like Webster convince these young white Christians that a missionary career was still worthwhile?

The challenges faced by FMB missionaries like Law and Urbana missionary speakers like Webster highlight the ways that US racial violence and segregation in the late 1950s and 1960s created a public relations problem for American missions around the world and a missionary recruitment problem back in the US. Confronted with critiques of American society by people of color on the mission field, missionaries wrote or traveled home to the US and urged white evangelicals to solve the problems of American racism. At the same time, missionaries chose their words carefully to address US racism while still preserving evangelicals' support for global missions. Though missionaries' messages about race to US evangelicals varied, most appeals emphasized two themes. First, missionaries described US racism as a credibility problem for American missions and appealed primarily to white evangelicals' concern for the evangelization of people of color across the globe. Second, missionaries urged white evangelicals to focus on individual transformation – the individual transformation of prejudiced hearts into loving ones by God, and the individual transformation of personal salvation – as the most important agent of social change. Through this individualizing language about heart transformation and personal feelings, missionaries reinforced white US evangelicals' individualized social ethic that prioritized personal relationships over structural transformation.

**White Southerners**

Missionaries often talked with each other about the specific criticisms of American society that they received from people of color on the mission field. During furloughs in the US, Foreign Mission Board missionaries held meetings to discuss with one another and with future missionaries the challenges that international press coverage of American segregation and racial violence created on the field. Missionaries working in African countries were particularly vocal about the challenges that US racism created on the mission field. John Mills, a missionary to Nigeria, lamented that on multiple occasions after critical press coverage of US racial violence, Nigerian government officials had visited churches and had promised to withhold missionaries' visas or confiscate mission property if Nigerian Christians reported any unfair practices.[5] Another missionary to Nigeria, Carl Whirley, described these visits as well, and noted that on one visit in 1957 the government officials had demanded to know whether mission schools were integrated (they were), and one of the officials had insisted, "We don't want any Little Rocks in Nigeria."[6] Mills noted with relief that Nigerian Christian leaders had defended missionaries to government officials during those visits. However, those same Nigerian church leaders expressed outrage when they learned about the segregation in Southern Baptist institutions back in the US;

[5] "Missionary Orientation (Gulfport)," January 1963, Box 001, Tape ID 5-8, IMB Audio Collection, Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee (hereafter IMBAC).
[6] "Missionary Orientation (Mars Hill)," June-July 1963, Box 001, Tape ID 6-8, IMBAC.

Mills shared that when Nigerian church leaders discovered that Baylor University would not admit Nigerian students because of their race, "it was just like a bomb had exploded."[7] Mills claimed that incidents like these showed how racism in the US hampered Southern Baptist missionaries in particular, since so much press coverage highlighted violence in the US South and segregation in Southern Baptist institutions specifically.

FMB missionaries confessed to one another that the toughest criticisms to hear came from nationals and national Christians with whom missionaries had developed close relationships.[8] Nationals' questions about formal segregation in US churches often created the most angst for missionaries, since those segregated membership policies directly contradicted missionaries' theological claims about universal equality before God. Carl Whirley admitted that when nationals asked if they could attend his home church back in the US, he felt deep pain; Whirley reflected that "the thing that hurts most is the fact that we are not able to say that throughout our Southland Negroes even are able to come in and worship with us."[9] Lloyd Moon shared similarly that in Brazil he felt frustration and sadness when nationals asked about segregation back in Moon's home state of Alabama. Moon said that he apologized to national Christians who asked him about his home state, told them that not everyone in the US or the South shared those prejudiced beliefs, and promised that some Christians in the US were trying to eliminate segregation.[10] In conversations and interactions like these, missionaries wrestled with criticisms of segregation in US churches specifically and in US society more broadly.

When they met together, Southern Baptist missionaries cautioned one another to examine and deal with the racial prejudice in their own hearts, both so they could better exemplify the love and acceptance of Christ on the field and so they could with a clear conscience call the members of their denomination in the US to address the problems of segregation and racism. Missionaries shared how they still needed to confront their own prejudice by admitting to one another the moments when their own racial prejudice had emerged on the field. Most often missionaries described the ways that their prejudice had appeared during public verbal or physical altercations, and the most heated examples came from missionaries who worked in African countries during those countries' anticolonial independence movements. A missionary to Lagos, Nigeria admitted that when a Nigerian cyclist had sideswiped his car and yelled at him during rush hour traffic, the missionary had shouted, "You better check your mouth, nigger." The Nigerian cyclist did not speak English, and the missionary had apologized in Yoruba, but the missionary reflected that the incident was a grave mistake and regretted that after twenty years of trying to purge racist language from his vocabulary, he could still lash out with racial epithets in moments of frustration.[11] John Mills described a similar event during Nigeria's independence movement; he confessed that when a Nigerian man spit on him in public, "I was within about a tenth of a second from ending my missionary career, because I had him by the front of his

[7] "Missionary Orientation (Gulfport)," January 1963, IMBAC. Baylor University did not integrate until 1964.
[8] Missionaries used the term "nationals" for residents of countries where missionaries served and "national Christians" for Christians who were nationals. Missionaries increasingly used the term "nationals" as older terms like "natives" became unacceptable, and they used the term "national Christians" to distinguish between local Christians on the field (national Christians) and themselves (Christian missionaries).
[9] "Missionary Orientation (Mars Hill)," June-July 1963, IMBAC.
[10] "Missionary Orientation (Gulfport)," January 1963, IMBAC.
[11] Ibid. The missionary is not identified by name in the audio recording of the meeting.

clothes and had one hand drawn back to hit him, when I caught myself."[12] Carl Whirley admitted that during heated moments in traffic, when he shouted and felt the urge to get out of his car and fight Nigerian drivers or cyclists, he realized "that there was in me part of my heritage" and that he still harbored "lingering prejudices" from his upbringing.[13] As missionaries divulged their own prejudices, they urged one another to confront their own racism so that they could confront US racism more broadly; most advice echoed Indonesia missionary and later FMB president Keith Parks's words: "We are acknowledging the fact that there is within us prejudice, which is inevitable I think. I do not think we have to be free of all prejudice before we can do something about it, but I do think we need to recognize the prejudice we have."[14]

FMB Missionaries encouraged one another to use their unique platform and distinct opportunity as missionaries to appeal to the US members of their denomination and speak out about segregation and racism in the South. Many missionaries stressed that US evangelicals' reverence for missions gave missionaries the latitude to address racism, especially if missionaries connected the effects of US racism to global missions. John Mills asserted that if missionaries would speak about racism to US southerners, "many people who love missions and believe in it will see the evil of what's going on here that they would not otherwise see."[15] Keith Parks emphasized that traveling missionary speakers could make bold claims against segregation and racism in local churches across the South precisely because missionaries did not have to remain in those local churches and face potential opposition to missionaries' statements.[16] Some missionaries also stressed that experiences on the mission field gave missionary speakers unique perspectives that white US southerners would not otherwise understand. Bill Dyal, a missionary to Argentina, even claimed that missionaries might be the white Americans most capable of understanding and speaking about the challenges faced by US minority communities, since missionaries on the field were in the numerical minority as white English-speaking Americans.[17] Missionaries cautioned one another to ascertain the local situation for each speaking engagement or written appeal, and to speak with love for the white communities that missionaries hoped to influence, but still to pressure white southern churchgoers to address segregation and racism. Missionaries expressed hope that this pressure would lead to positive changes in US society and would also reduce the negative press coverage that fueled criticisms of the US and created difficulties for missionaries on the field.

FMB missionaries had a privileged position and influence with the US members of their denomination due to the SBC's emphasis on mission work as one of the most important and unifying activities of the denomination. Mission work, along with white supremacy, had been central to the Southern Baptist Convention's denominational identity and structure since its origins in 1845, when one of the major founding motivations for the new denomination was to be

---

[12] Ibid.
[13] "Missionary Orientation (Mars Hill)," June-July 1963, IMBAC.
[14] "Missionary Orientation (Richmond)," January 1965, Box 002, Tape ID 9-4, IMBAC.
[15] "Missionary Orientation (Gulfport)," January 1963, IMBAC.
[16] "Missionary Orientation (Richmond)," January 1965, IMBAC. By contrast, SBC pastors often explained their reluctance to preach against segregation by noting that church members, rather than denomination leaders, held the power to hire and fire pastors. See Dale Moody, "The Shaping of the Southern Baptist Polity," *Baptist History and Heritage* 14, no. 3 (1979): 2-11 and Bill Leonard, "Southern Baptists and Southern Culture," *American Baptist Quarterly* 6, no. 2 (June 1985): 200-212.
[17] "Missionary Orientation (Mars Hill)," June 1962, Box 001, Tape ID 4-4, IMBAC.

able to appoint slave owners as missionaries, a practice that the (later named) Northern Baptist Convention did not support.[18] So in the decades after World War II, SBC missionaries and other progressive denomination leaders faced the challenge of decoupling racism from missions and arguing instead that supporting missions around the world required Southern Baptists to reject racial prejudice and segregation at home. During this period, FMB missionaries had a platform with US churchgoers that the SBC refused to give to people of color in the US. While missionaries could write and speak freely to their US denomination and had a revered position from which to do so, SBC publications did not give coverage to the civil rights movement's major events, speeches, or writings, even those that directly addressed white Christians, and many SBC churches prevented African Americans from even attending services, much less speaking from the platform about racism. Thus one of the primary sources of information for white Southern Baptists about race and people of color in the 1950s and 1960s came from missionaries who spoke about their work with people of color around the world and the impact of US racism on that global work.

When they addressed the US members of their denomination, FMB missionaries explained the criticisms of American society from people of color on the mission field by emphasizing that US segregation and racial violence damaged American missionaries' credibility and hampered global evangelization. Missionaries described these problems and appealed to the US members of their denomination through two primary channels: columns and letters in the FMB's monthly journal (*The Commission*) and speaking engagements at local churches and regional conferences. In these letters and speeches, missionaries stressed that press coverage of specific episodes of racial violence harmed missionaries' integrity and caused them shame. Joanna Maiden wrote from Nigeria that coverage of the "racial disturbance" during the desegregation of the University of Georgia in 1961 led a Nigerian coworker to ask her about Georgia, and she felt embarrassed as she tried to explain the situation back in the US.[19] Maxine Law wrote the following year from Tanganyika that coverage of the riots following the desegregation of the University of Mississippi, what she called "the race situation in Mississippi," made front-page headlines for three days straight, and in response she and her fellow missionaries could "not be proud of everything which comes from America."[20] Other missionaries working in African countries echoed Maiden and Law's messages that international press columns about US racial strife harmed American missionaries' reputations especially in countries where independence movements challenged white colonial oppression. All of the FMB missionaries in Nigeria passed a resolution on US race relations in 1957 and again in 1963, when

[18] The SBC formally apologized for supporting slavery and racism in 1995, with its "Resolution on Racial Reconciliation on the 150th Anniversary of the Southern Baptist Convention." See *Southern Baptist Convention Annual* (Nashville: Southern Baptist Convention, 1995), 80-81. For studies of the SBC and race, see especially Paul Harvey, *Redeeming the South: Religious Cultures and Racial Identities among Southern Baptists, 1865-1925* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Andrew Manis, *Southern Civil Religions in Conflict: Black and White Baptists and Civil Rights, 1947-1957* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987); and Mark Newman, *Getting Right with God: Southern Baptists and Desegregation, 1945-1995* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2001).

[19] Joanna C. Maiden, "Epistles," *The Commission* 20, no. 8 (September 1961): 23.

[20] Maxine Law, "Epistles," *The Commission* 25, no. 11 (December 1962): 11.

they wrote to caution US audiences that "relationships between the Negro and white races in America determine the effectiveness of carrying out our mission task in Africa."[21]

Several FMB missionaries warned US Southern Baptists that by damaging the credibility of American missionaries, US racism gave an advantage to Christianity's greatest global competitors: communism and Islam. Robert Culpepper, a missionary to Japan, stressed that though white southerners preferred to think about race relations as local or state issue, these problems had "tremendous international implications," especially because of communism. Culpepper asserted that "by our attitudes of white supremacy we make the communist ideal of a classless society, a society where class and color distinctions are ignored, seem mighty appealing."[22] Missionaries' arguments about communism paralleled those made by the US state department in the 1950s and 1960s when it pressured the federal government to address US segregation and racial violence and cautioned that press coverage of American racism made the US an unattractive ally to newly independent nations across Africa and Asia and might prompt those nations to align with the Soviet Union.[23] Though missionaries discussed geopolitical ramifications and were staunchly patriotic, they mostly emphasized the religious threat that communism posed as the atheist alternative to the Christian gospel. In this same vein, they also described Islam as a powerful religious threat strengthened by international press coverage of US racism. Jean Favell wrote from Ghana that missionaries sensed that "hatred toward the white man" was increasing in the region and that Muslims capitalized on that hatred by claiming that Christianity is a white religion and "Islam is the only religion fit for the African."[24] James Carty, Jr. expressed this same concern when he wrote from Tanganyika that a local farmer had told him, "The Muslims practice racial brotherhood more than do the Christians."[25] In these ways, missionaries claimed that not only did US segregation and racism harm the credibility of missionaries and their gospel message, but US racism also drove people away from the gospel and towards other religious or ideological commitments.

The idea that US racism harmed efforts to spread the Christian gospel was FMB missionaries' most passionate argument to US Southern Baptists. Missionaries asserted that they could not accomplish their primary purpose – evangelism – because reports of US racism closed potential converts' hearts to missionaries' messages about love and salvation. W. E. Wyatt shared with Southern Baptist readers that during church services in Nigeria he had received questions about US segregation, especially the segregation of US churches, and he lamented to US readers that "the price we pay for segregation is costing in human souls."[26] When Ross Coggins, a former missionary to Indonesia, led a workshop on race relations for Southern Baptists in Texas, he emphasized that missionaries' efforts to share the gospel around the world were less successful because of US racism. Coggins put the burden on his audience's shoulders

---

[21] "Foreign Mission News," *The Commission* 26, no. 9 (October 1963): 29. For similar appeals from missionaries in other African countries, see Clyde Dotson, "Epistles," *The Commission* 25, no. 2 (February 1962): 19; Sydney Pearce, "Epistles," *The Commission* 26, no. 8 (September 1963): 16; and James Westmoreland, "Epistles," *The Commission* 26, no. 10 (November 1963): 19.
[22] Robert H. Culpepper, "A Look at America after Five Years Abroad," *The Commission* 20, no. 9 (Oct 1957): 6-7.
[23] See Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*; Von Eschen, *Race against Empire*; Layton, *International Politics and Civil Rights Policies in the United States*; and Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*.
[24] Jean Favell, "Epistles," *The Commission* 24, no. 8 (September 1961): 23.
[25] James W. Carty, Jr., "The Struggle for the Soul of Tanganyika," *The Commission* 20, no. 3 (March 1957): 6-7.
[26] W. E. Wyatt, "Epistles," *The Commission* 26, no. 8 (September 1963): 16.

and argued that "we have permitted the gogmagogery of our race failures to neutralize the effectiveness of our missionaries." By using apocalyptic imagery, Coggins emphasized that just as Southern Baptists believed that Satan attacked the works of God, so they should see that US racial strife opposed the work of global evangelization.[27]

FMB missionaries claimed that they might have to abandon their work in certain countries because of rising tensions caused by American racism. The expulsion of missionaries from China in 1951 served for many decades as a vivid reminder of missionaries' tenuous position in any country, and decolonization movements and political upheavals throughout the 1950s and 1960s caused missionaries to reflect on their fragile status around the world. FMB missionaries urged US Southern Baptists to help and not hinder missionaries' efforts to remain in countries for evangelistic work. When Jean Favell wrote about her experience of racial tensions in Ghana, she expressed concern that American missionaries might have to leave and rely on trained national Christians to "carry on without us."[28] Maxine Law wrote from Tanganyika that after extensive coverage of US racial violence, one of the local newspaper editors claimed that the government might "stop admitting missionaries who come from churches in America where segregation is practiced."[29] Baker Cauthen, former missionary to China and president of the FMB, spoke with a group of Southern Baptists in North Carolina just one month after the summer-long violence had concluded in Birmingham in 1963, and though Cauthen made no direct mention of the internationally publicized protests by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the violent responses by white citizens and law enforcement officers, he addressed the "deeply troubled racial situation in our beloved land" and its impact on missions. Cauthen reported that "we are now facing the possibility we could find it necessary that some missionaries will be brought out of some countries and some mission work may have to close directly because of these racial tensions."[30] While missionaries never did abandon countries because of criticisms of US racism or related physical threats, missionaries' warnings about the possibility of ending evangelistic work appealed to the central importance of global proselytization for US Southern Baptists and argued that in order to support the spread of the gospel, US Southern Baptists had to repudiate segregation and racism.

When FMB missionaries alerted the US members of their denomination to the detrimental effects of segregation and racism, missionaries also suggested changes that US audiences could pursue to effect social transformation and solve "the race problem," especially in the South. Missionaries emphasized that individual inner change led by God would best address the longstanding racism and segregation in the US. Missionaries urged their US audiences to ask God to fill them with love for others regardless of skin color. Dr. Wana Ann Fort wrote from Southern Rhodesia and encouraged US readers to see that "the love of Jesus dispels hatred and prejudice and misunderstandings, for in his sight there are no differences" and pleaded with readers to love like Christ by focusing on a person's heart rather than their skin

---

[27] "Foreign Mission News," *The Commission* 25, no. 3 (March 1962): 23. Gogmagogery is evil force or satanic power. The term stems from a story in the book of Revelation about Gog and Magog, two evil agents that fight against God and the righteous during the end of the world.
[28] Favell, "Epistles," 23.
[29] Maxine Law, "Epistles," *The Commission* 25, no. 11 (December 1962): 11.
[30] Baker James Cauthen, "Comments on Race," *Royal Service* 58, no. 6 (December 1963): 8-9.

color.[31] Nigeria missionary W. E. Wyatt acknowledged that while he did not have the solutions to all of the problems caused by US segregation and racism, he believed God did, and he encouraged his readers to seek God's personal guidance through prayer.[32] When former China missionary and FMB president Baker Cauthen wrote to US readers after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., he asked readers to respond to King's tragic death by reflecting on their "blind spots" and identifying ways that they had failed in the past to show love or acceptance without regard for skin color. Cauthen asserted that change "is a personal matter, for it must begin in the heart of the individual," and he urged readers to "pray for such indwelling of our hearts by the Holy Spirit that the love of God may flow from us to others."[33] With these suggestions, missionaries argued that through prayer and God's sanctifying work and guidance, US Southern Baptists could personally transform and feel greater love for African Americans and thereby eradicate their former racial prejudice.

Another form of individual change that FMB missionaries promoted was personal growth through individual interpretation of general solutions. This emphasis on personal interpretation connected to longstanding SBC beliefs in autonomy and the priesthood of the believer; the SBC had long claimed that each Christian should have the independence to interpret the Bible on her or his own.[34] Though the denomination often did not champion this principle in practice, Southern Baptists continued to espouse the principle in theory. Missionaries created room for individual interpretation when they offered US audiences broad solutions to the problems of racism and segregation. Japan missionary Robert Culpepper urged his US readers to "apply the principles of democracy and the New Testament to the solution of this problem" with race relations by remembering the political ideal of "equality and liberty and justice for all" and the biblical teaching that God "is no respecter of persons."[35] Yet Culpepper's invitation offered no specific guidance about how his readers might apply those principles and teachings. Mary Catherine Brothers wrote from Nigeria to condemn the violence against activists in Birmingham in the summer of 1963 and called every act of discrimination a "dastardly, un-Christian deed" that required a spiritual solution. Brothers argued that though integration could create challenges for her readers, they should accept it and "strive for Christian action in all human relations" so that they would "work out the attendant problems in the spirit of Christ."[36] Brothers let her readers interpret for themselves what that Christian action would entail. Even strong exhortations from missionaries sometimes left much room for interpretation; in his speech to Southern Baptists in Texas, former Indonesia missionary Ross Coggins argued, "I am not saying that we should lightly cast aside our southern traditions. I am suggesting that we throw them aside with great force wherever they violate the spirit and teachings of the New Testament."[37] Yet Coggins left room for his audience to interpret for themselves which southern traditions violated the New

[31] Wana Ann Fort, "Epistles," *The Commission* 24, no. 4 (April 1961): 22.
[32] Wyatt, "Epistles," 16.
[33] Baker James Cauthen, "Toward a Better Tomorrow," *The Commission* 31, no. 6 (June 1968): 15.
[34] Alan Scot Willis, *All According to God's Plan: Southern Baptist Missions and Race, 1945-1970* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2005), 13. See also Moody, "The Shaping of the Southern Baptist Polity" and Leonard, "Southern Baptists and Southern Culture."
[35] Culpepper, "A Look at America after Five Years Abroad," 7.
[36] Mary Catherine Brothers, "Epistles," *The Commission* 26, no. 7 (July 1963): 11.
[37] "Foreign Mission News," 23.

Testament. This broad language from missionaries enabled them to walk a fine line between addressing racism and maintaining audiences' support for their global missionary work. And by providing broad suggestions, missionaries also tapped into a longer SBC tradition of inviting individuals to seek personal change by interpreting scripture and applications for themselves.

Individual transformation through education was another change that FMB missionaries promoted to US Southern Baptists, and missionaries partnered with progressive denomination leaders who had been seeking since the 1940s to alter Southern Baptists' perspectives on race through education, especially education about missions. One of the ways that the SBC highlighted mission work's importance to the denomination was through education. The SBC had large auxiliary organizations for women (Woman's Missionary Union), men (Brotherhood Commission), girls (Girls' Auxiliary and Young Women's Auxiliary), and boys (Royal Ambassadors) that each promoted the study and support of missionary work through local church chapter meetings and regularly published journals.[38] The WMU was the largest of these organizations, with a local chapter in seventy five percent of SBC churches and a monthly missions study publication that had an even wider readership than that of the Foreign Mission Board's journal.[39] All of these auxiliary organizations were major channels to large audiences, and FMB missionaries partnered with progressive SBC leaders to utilize those channels to address southern racism and segregation as a part of missions education.

FMB missionaries stressed that personal education would provide the transformation needed to address racial prejudice. Indonesia missionary and later FMB president Keith Parks challenged a class of over one hundred young people in North Carolina to educate themselves through books and journal articles about "the race problem in the United States," and cautioned the young Southern Baptists that without dedicated study they would approach the topic of race with ignorance and prejudice.[40] Jane Winchester Martin, a missionary to Tanganyika, reported that the SBC's auxiliary classes had given her an education not only about missions but also about loving others regardless of their racial background; she recalled that as early as five years old she had gained "an early awareness of missions [and] of God's love for all people" through missions education.[41]

Missions education curriculum and articles by progressive SBC leaders echoed FMB missionaries' claims that Southern Baptists needed to pursue personal transformation to address their racial prejudice.[42] The education publication *Ambassador Life* taught boys that there were similarities that transcended race; in one article, the director of Royal Ambassadors invited boys to understand that "Nigeria is filled with boys who, if transplanted to the United States of America, would be just like hundreds of Royal Ambassadors here" and that "under the skin, they

---

[38] The SBC also had a missions education program for preschool and young school-age children called Sunbeam Band.

[39] SBC agencies reported their membership statistics and SBC publications reported their subscription statistics each year at the denomination's annual convention. See the executive committee, WMU, and FMB sections of *Southern Baptist Convention Annual* for the years 1945-1970.

[40] "Missionary Orientation (Richmond)," January 1965, IMBAC.

[41] "Grown-up Sunbeams Overseas," *Royal Service* 56, no. 2 (August 1961): 13.

[42] For a comprehensive study of progressive Baptists, race, and the many types of missions (local missions, state missions, home missions, and foreign missions), see Willis, *All According to God's Plan* and Newman, *Getting Right with God*, 129-149.

are *just like you*."[43] A monthly advice column in the journal *Window* counseled young women to reduce their racial prejudice by developing personal relationships with people of different races, so that "false ideas about other races" would disappear as young women began "to personally know fine members of that race."[44] The WMU journal *Royal Service* advised mothers to help their children adjust to integration by arguing that "we have taught our children to love the Negroes in Africa. Now is the time to be specific and teach them to love the Negroes around them."[45] Numerous teachings like these populated the SBC's missions education journals and supported the pleas from FMB missionaries that Southern Baptists educate themselves to change their hearts about race and segregation. By recommending personal education, individual interpretation of scripture, and private prayer for inner transformation by God, missionaries emphasized to US Southern Baptists that personal change was the best means of addressing the larger problems of US racism and segregation.

While there were progressive members of the SBC like missions education leaders who worked alongside FMB missionaries to encourage white southerners to address racism and segregation, there were also denomination members who actively promoted and defended white supremacy, and many members who were complacent or ambivalent. FMB missionaries faced the challenge of addressing these different views within any SBC audience. The SBC counted among its members staunch segregationist politicians like Herman Talmadge and Strom Thurmond, as well as directors of white terrorist campaigns like Sam Bowers, Imperial Wizard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.[46] Many Southern Baptists defended segregation as either a biblically sanctioned tradition or a solely political issue in which churches should not intervene. Those Southern Baptists who took an ambivalent position were like Reverend Earl Stallings of First Baptist Birmingham, who allowed African Americans to attend services at his church but also joined with seven other ministers to publish an open letter criticizing civil rights demonstrators and specifically admonishing Martin Luther King, Jr.'s activism in Birmingham during the summer of 1963. Martin Luther King, Jr. rebuked those ministers and the "white moderates" like them who in their silence preferred order to justice.[47] Many Southern Baptists agreed with Stallings that a moderate pace of "law and order" and "common sense" would best address the racial conflicts in the South during the 1950s and 1960s. Since the SBC was such a large denomination with many variations among its churches and members, there were many heterogeneous audiences to whom missionaries tried to appeal. Though Southern Baptists did not agree about "the race problem," they did agree about the importance of missions, and it was that common ground that FMB missionaries tried to leverage when they discussed the problems that US racism had created on the mission field.

---

[43] J.I. Bishop, "There's No Difference under the Skin," *Ambassador Life* 7, no. 6 (November 1952): 6. Emphasis in original.
[44] Edith Huckabay, "Ask Edith," *Window* 25, no. 6 (February 1954): 22-23.
[45] Mrs. Chester F. Russell, "A Newly Given Freedom," *Royal Service* 49, no. 2 (August 1954): 7.
[46] See Ellen Rosenberg, *The Southern Baptists: A Subculture in Transition* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989); Joseph Crespino, *Strom Thurmond's America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2012); and Charles Marsh, *God's Long Summer: Stories of Faith and Civil Rights* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 49-81.
[47] Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from Birmingham Jail," in *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: New American Library, 1963), 64-84.

As they addressed a wide range of SBC audiences, FMB missionaries provoked a variety of both positive and negative responses. Two SBC colleges integrated in the early 1960s because of direct pressure from the mission field. African applicants who had converted to Christianity as a direct result of FMB missionary work challenged SBC colleges' segregated admissions policies. Wake Forest University in North Carolina integrated in 1962 after Edward Reynolds applied from Ghana with the help of a FMB missionary. In response to Reynolds's application, Wake Forest students raised money to bring future African students to the university, and faculty argued that Wake Forest should abandon its "custom of excluding Negroes" so that the admissions committee could accept the qualified African student.[48] After the Wake Forest administration voted to integrate the undergraduate student body, the administration wrote the Ghana Baptist Mission and announced the university's readiness to admit students of any race. Mercer University in Georgia went through a more tumultuous process when the school integrated in 1963 after Sam Oni applied from Ghana. The school's integration became a subject of public debate throughout the Baptist press, and only after several rounds of meetings did Mercer's trustees vote to integrate the school. The SBC churches that surrounded Mercer did not integrate, however; after Oni became a Mercer student, he was arrested for trying to attend the segregated Tattnall Square Baptist Church, which was adjacent to the university campus. This tension between US segregation and students of color from the mission field also played out at Arkansas at Ouachita Baptist College, which admitted its first black students, Mary and Michael Makasholo from Rhodesia, in 1962. While opening the school to African Christian applicants, the college maintained its segregated admissions policy for African Americans; people of color from the mission field could attend, but not people of color from the US.[49]

In addition to influencing these institutional responses, FMB missionaries elicited many positive and negative individual reactions from US Southern Baptists. When they talked with one another, FMB missionaries discussed the feedback that they received during their speaking engagements across the US South, and they shared positive examples as a way to encourage one another to continue to talk about racism and segregation with SBC audiences. Lloyd Moon, a missionary to Brazil, shared several examples of positive responses from his speaking tour through his home state of Alabama. He recalled that after speaking at a Sunday service in northern Alabama, church members had thanked him for sharing his viewpoint as a missionary on segregation and had told him, "It shows our actions here in a new light." Moon encouraged his fellow missionaries that private conversations could open opportunities to influence individuals that might not respond to a large public sermon. He shared that a young policeman in southern Alabama had confided to him that close friendships with African American soldiers in the army had opened the policeman's mind about integration, but he was afraid to share his convictions with his white community because he feared the community would reject him for his views. Moon had tried to encourage the police officer to speak up about his support for integration, and Moon reflected later with his missionary colleagues that missionaries might make the biggest impact on the US South by inspiring individual white southerners to advocate publicly for integration.[50]

---

[48] "Foreign Mission News," *The Commission* 20, no. 6 (June 1961): 12.
[49] Willis, *All According to God's Plan*, 170-71, 180 and Newman, *Getting Right with God*, 139-42.
[50] "Missionary Orientation (Gulfport)," January 1963, IMBAC.

FMB missionaries also revealed to one another the negative feedback that they received from US Southern Baptists, and missionaries advised one another about how to handle such responses. Sometimes negative feedback came from dear friends. Former Indonesia missionary Keith Parks recounted that during one Sunday sermon in which he had addressed US racism, one of his closest childhood friends had stormed out of the church while accusing Parks and other missionaries of adopting Communist ideas. Parks shared that he could only respond with grief that his friend "just couldn't help but try to find some reason to hold onto his prejudices," and Parks advised his fellow missionaries to think of racial prejudice as an emotional force that could blind people to reason. He urged his colleagues to be patient and loving as they pressured white southerners to address racism.[51] Other times negative feedback came from SBC church leaders. Lloyd Moon shared that during one Sunday night class when he was listing some examples of racial integration in Brazil, the local pastor leapt to his feet and "launched into this tirade about the amalgamation of the races and the problem of degeneration." Moon reflected with his fellow missionaries that they should accept that talking about race would invite challenging responses and difficult situations.[52]

The most hostile negative responses that FMB missionaries received, like the tirade Moon experienced, called attention to white southerners' disgust for and paranoia about interracial relationships. Keith Parks cautioned missionaries to remember the "bugaboo of interracial marriage" and warned that they would hear objections that referenced this subject more than any other. He shared that after he had delivered a speech to a large crowd at the SBC's conference center in New Mexico, one audience member had walked across the auditorium and "pushed people out of the way, and grabbed my hand and said, 'I liked what you said, but do you want white girls marrying niggers?'" Parks counseled his fellow missionaries to refute the teaching that the Bible forbids miscegenation, though he admitted that he personally did not think that interracial marriage was a wise idea, and he advised missionaries to reassure white southerners that integration would not lead to widespread interracial marriage.[53] Some US Southern Baptists also objected to interracial marriage references in missions education materials. The WMU's publication received several negative letters to the editor after the journal published a story about a Japanese woman who married a white American man and later influenced him to become a Christian. While the article primarily covered the power of a woman to evangelize her family members, some readers opposed the article's implicit acceptance of interracial marriage. One anonymous reader expressed disgust and argued that "we try to teach our youth about inter-racial marriage. God had a purpose in making people of different races and to live in different parts of the world and it is a sin to change the laws of God."[54]

FMB missionaries were white southerners, so they were not strangers to these views. Missionaries willingly navigated these racial conversations and continually appealed to US Southern Baptists' support for mission work as a way to find common ground with white southerners who held a variety of opinions about race. Missionaries rarely argued directly that white southerners should eradicate segregation purely because it was wrong. Rather, missionaries connected US segregation and racism to international missions, and thereby

[51] "Missionary Orientation (Richmond)," January 1965, IMBAC.
[52] "Missionary Orientation (Gulfport)," January 1963, IMBAC.
[53] "Missionary Orientation (Richmond)," January 1965, IMBAC.
[54] "We Get Letters," *Royal Service* 58, no. 10 (April 1964): 28.

appealed to Southern Baptists' concern for the evangelization of people of color abroad as a way to improve white southerners' treatment of people of color at home. Those improvements, missionaries argued, would happen best when US Southern Baptists educated themselves, prayed for God to fill them with love, and allowed the individual transformation of their hearts to produce the social changes needed for racial harmony in the US South.

**College Students**

While FMB missionaries discussed racism to convince white southerners to address segregation and racial violence, missionaries at Urbana talked about racism to own the problems in US society and around the world so that young white baby boomers would believe that missionary work was relevant to urgent world concerns, even in the tumultuous era of the 1960s. Missionary speakers at Urbana faced different audiences than FMB missionaries faced, but both groups of missionaries made similar arguments to US evangelicals about the problems of and solutions for white supremacy. Urbana speakers addressed young audiences of college students from mostly the Midwest and the West Coast, rather than the South, and instead of addressing groups that revered missions, Urbana speakers stood before thousands who were questioning whether missionary work was a worthwhile enterprise anymore. These young students were the next potential generation of missionaries, and students' doubts troubled missionary organization leaders. US mission organizations experienced a major decline in missionary applications in the late 1950s and 1960s; the upsurge of missionary fervor after World War II had waned by the late 1950s, and increasingly radicalized young people had replaced eager postwar missionary recruits. To address this missionary recruitment crisis, mission organizations partnered with InterVarsity leaders and restructured the Urbana conferences in the 1960s to convince baby boomers to become missionaries by discussing how mission work was a significant way to address social problems, especially racial injustices. Urbana missionary speakers lamented racism's impact on mission work and called for changes based on personal transformation and individual salvation. And when students at Urbana directly challenged whether mission work was relevant to social concerns, missionaries and Urbana conference leaders urged students to believe that important social issues did not diminish the primacy of the Great Commission and global evangelization.

In their plenary speeches and panels at Urbana, missionaries admitted that racial injustices on the mission field and back home in the US had harmed missionaries' reputations and hampered evangelistic work. Missionary speakers at Urbana had received criticisms from people of color on the mission field about American society and American missionaries' complicity in global racial hierarchies, and these missionaries had returned to the US to speak to American evangelicals about those racial problems. Urbana missionary speakers described racial hierarchies on the mission field as a part of missions' history and claimed that missionaries in the 1960s dealt with the consequences of these past problems. Eugene Nida, a missionary linguist with the American Bible Society, argued that missionaries sometimes experienced strained relationships with local people in the field because of "past associations" between missions and imperialism. In another convention speech Nida acknowledged that all too often missionaries

had transplanted Western customs along with the gospel message.[55] Arthur Glasser, associate director of Overseas Mission Fellowship and former missionary to China, asserted that because of historical connections between missions and European colonialism, missionaries in the 1960s faced a world in which words like "missionary" were charged terms associated with "white people, colonialism, imperialism, white initiative, and white control."[56] Clyde Taylor, EFMA executive secretary and former missionary to Peru and Colombia, confessed that even in the 1960s American missionaries sometimes felt superior to local people on the mission field. Taylor condemned these mindsets and asserted that "the day of paternalism, of colonialism should be passé" because "we have no time for such superiority now."[57]

Missionary speakers at Urbana also discussed how US racism was a major obstacle to missionaries' evangelistic efforts on the field. Pakistan missionary Warren Webster declared that by working with people of color on the mission field, missionaries were more conscious than other white Americans of Christianity's "failure and inconsistency in the rapidly changing area of race relations."[58] Webster detailed some of these inconsistencies by sharing examples of students from mission fields who received rejection letters from segregated US Christian colleges or who experienced segregation at US Christian hospitals and churches while visiting the US. He explained that international press coverage made it impossible to hide the truth of race relations in the US from people of color around the world in the 1960s. Missionaries in past centuries might have been able to conceal the racial prejudice in their home countries from local people on the mission field, Webster argued, but "the day is past when Christians could expect to maintain world missions abroad and racial discrimination at home." He stressed that racial prejudice harmed mission work by damaging missionaries' reputations, tarnishing the message that Christianity was a religion of love and acceptance, and strengthening the appeal of Islam and communism in the field. Webster claimed that the necessity of maintaining a good reputation on the field and at home made global evangelization more difficult in the mid-twentieth century, since "there was a day when the people to whom the missionaries went considered only the validity of the gospel message itself. But now they demand to see it validated in the lives of the missionaries who bring it, and in the lives of the churches who send the message."[59]

Other missionaries at Urbana echoed Webster's concerns and shared additional examples of US racial violence and segregation that damaged missionaries' credibility on the field. Former China missionary Arthur Glasser condemned the racial violence in the US South during 1964 by comparing it to the contemporaneous violence of the Simba Rebellion that had killed many missionaries in the Congo. Glasser told his audience that "you and I don't want to froth at the mouth over the savagery that we are witnessing there [in the Congo]. It doesn't differ in its naked bestiality from that which has snuffed out the lives of three voter registration workers in

---

[55] Eugene Nida, "Workers Together," in *Change, Witness, Triumph: The Seventh Inter-Varsity Missionary Convention* (Chicago: Inter-Varsity Press, 1965), 159 and Nida, "The National's Relationship to Missions," in *Commission, Conflict, Commitment: Messages from the Sixth International Student Missionary Convention* (Chicago: Inter-Varsity Press, 1962), 156.
[56] Arthur Glasser, "A General Survey," in *Commission, Conflict, Commitment*, 119.
[57] Clyde Taylor, "The Missionary's Personal Relationships," in *Commission, Conflict, Commitment*, 143-44.
[58] Warren Webster, "Racial Justice," in *Change, Witness, Triumph*, 77.
[59] Ibid., 79.

Mississippi this year."[60] George Taylor, a missionary in Costa Rica, discussed how white Americans' aversion to interracial relationships influenced American mission organizations' marriage policies in the field. Taylor agreed that interracial relationships were problematic, but he argued that policies against missionaries' marrying national Christians made American missionaries look racist in the field. Taylor acknowledged that many mission organizations "are not willing to let their missionaries marry nonwhite people," and that many missionaries "were sent home because they fell in love with 'a native'." Taylor suggested that mission organizations should consider the individual circumstances of each relationship to avoid making racially motivated policy decisions.[61] Former missionary Clyde Taylor pointed out another way that US segregation created moral problems for American missionaries. He confessed that mission organizations faced a dilemma when segregated churches sent financial contributions – was it wrong to accept money from segregated churches? Taylor acknowledged that many organizations did accept the funds and he hoped that those who did would take each dollar and "regenerate it, and send it out to behave itself" on the mission field. Speaking on the same panel, Warren Webster retorted, "Then why don't churches take money from distilleries? Are some dollars incapable of regeneration?"[62] Webster's and Taylor's statements highlight how some missionaries denounced the sinfulness of US segregation more strongly than others did. But all of the missionary speakers at Urbana who discussed racism stressed that racial strife on the mission field and back home in the US limited missionaries' effectiveness and disgraced the entire missions enterprise.

When missionaries at Urbana pointed out the ways that racism in the field and in the US had hindered mission work around the world, they also urged their young white evangelical audiences to tackle these social injustices by seeking personal changes and proclaiming the good news of individual salvation. Missionary speakers insisted that people who accepted God's transforming love and pursued personal humility could overcome racial prejudice. Costa Rica missionary George Taylor argued that racism was a personal sin that only God's love could heal; he stated that "it is not by rules or laws that we can remove racism. It has to be something with force, with power. Jesus Christ can give it to us, and it can eradicate racism from the hearts of men."[63] Warren Webster called on students to express God's love to others as a way to heal racial strife; he urged students to "demonstrate the love of Christ which transcends all racial and cultural lines, not merely because it is imperative for us to do so in the light of world missions, but ultimately because this is the right thing, and that which God wills for his people."[64] Festo Kivengere, a Ugandan pastor who worked with British and American missionaries, shared that the love of Christ helped local communities and missionaries resolve conflicts: "If the clash comes, we don't say, '…because he's white.' We say, 'It has come from Satan.' So we take the clash as sin, and we take it to Jesus to deal with, and then we get up, and we give our testimonies together, white and black. It's a wonderful harmony."[65] Missionary linguist Eugene Nida also

---

[60] Arthur Glasser, "Witness Unashamed, The World Scene," in *Change, Witness, Triumph*, 107-08.
[61] George Taylor, "Racial Tensions Overseas and World Evangelism," in *Christ the Liberator* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1971), 119.
[62] Paul Fromer and Ellen Welden, "The Convention at a Glance," in *Change, Witness, Triumph*, xiv.
[63] George Taylor, "Racial Tensions Overseas and World Evangelism," 115.
[64] Warren Webster, "Racial Justice," 83.
[65] Festo Kivengere, "An African's Point of View," in *Commission, Conflict, Commitment*, 162.

asserted that missionaries could transcend racial divisions on the mission field by allowing God's love to empower them to share their weaknesses and failures openly with local communities, thereby reducing any feelings of superiority and increasing missionaries' humility.[66]

Missionary speakers also suggested that proclaiming the gospel message of salvation was the most important method of solving social justice problems like racism. Donald McGavran, former missionary to India and dean of Fuller's School of World Missions, declared that only people with "reconstructed hearts" through Christian salvation could reconstruct societies and promote true justice, and therefore global evangelization addressed "the basic need of all revolutions and reformations, all social advance and increase in peace and brotherhood and justice."[67] George Verwer, a missionary to Spain, gave his personal testimony as an example and stated that he would have been leading anti-Vietnam protests if he had not become a Christian, because he had admired the teachings of Marx and Lenin and had longed to dedicate himself to a cause, and then he discovered that the greatest cause and greatest form of dedication was to the Christian mission of evangelization.[68] George Taylor cautioned students that they should not allow important social problems in the US to distract them from the urgent need for global evangelization; he referenced how widely Christ and the apostle Paul spread the message of salvation and asked, "If the apostle Paul had remained in one country until all the problems were solved there, where would we have been today? If Christ had remained in one city during his life, how many people would never have heard of his gospel and would not have been touched by his power?"[69] In these ways, missionaries at Urbana called young white evangelicals to value evangelization as both a powerful solution for social problems and a more important goal than social justice.

Students at Urbana often agreed with missionaries' claims about the relevance of mission work and individual solutions to social problems. During a small group discussion at the 1964 conference, students talked together about the difficult conditions for white missionaries in the Congo and framed those conditions as social problems in need of spiritual solutions. One student commented, "It may appear on the surface that these missionaries were killed in the Congo, that this trouble has all arisen not because of any spiritual or religious issue, or because of Christ, but because of race or color or the fact that they were foreign people. But if we as Christians really believe, then what we always have to see clearly is that the preaching of the gospel is a matter of spiritual warfare." Another student commented that focusing on social issues alone distracts from the importance of evangelism: "There's a tendency to get so involved in the social gospel that you just don't even think about the spiritual needs of the people."[70] Hundreds of students at each conference also responded to missionaries' appeals about the value of mission work by filling out missionary decision cards and pledging to pursue missionary vocations after graduation.[71]

---

[66] Eugene Nida, "Missionary Opportunities," in *Commission, Conflict, Commitment*, 192-93.
[67] Donald McGavran, "Church Growth," in *God's Men—from All Nations to All Nations: The Eighth Inter-Varsity Missionary Convention* (Chicago: Inter-Varsity Press, 1968), 92-93.
[68] George Verwer, "The World," in *God's Men—from All Nations to All Nations*, 125.
[69] George Taylor, "Racial Tensions Overseas and World Evangelism," 115-16.
[70] "Urbana 64 Film," Film F1, Collection 300, InterVarsity Christian Fellowship 1940-1991, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois (hereafter IVCF Collection). The film does not identify any students by name.
[71] "Urbana Flashback: Winter 1968" pamphlet, Folder 7, Box 68, IVCF Collection. InterVarsity's missions department did not track every student who submitted a card, but many Urbana alumni wrote to the department with

While many students at Urbana accepted missionaries' claims about mission work's relevance to social issues, some students protested against these claims and demanded that the conferences focus on structural conceptions of justice. The most direct protests from students occurred during the Urbana 1970 conference, and the intensity of those protests alarmed missionary speakers and conference organizers. By the end of the 1960s, Urbana conference directors worried that some of the thousands of college students in attendance might organize protests against contemporary political issues while at the conference. In 1967 staff guarded the stage to prevent students from accessing the platform and seizing the microphone, and in 1970 conference organizers decided not to invite evangelist Billy Graham, though he had preached at three previous Urbana conferences, due to Graham's close association with the unpopular President Richard Nixon.[72] Additionally, InterVarsity invited African American evangelists to speak at Urbana 1970 and recruited hundreds of African American students to attend the conference, in an effort to convince black US students that missionary work was not just a white endeavor but was also an important calling for black Christians. This recruitment of black US evangelists gave twelve thousand young white evangelicals the opportunity to learn from preachers who had supported the civil rights movement and embraced black liberation theology. Tom Skinner, one of the invited black evangelists, electrified the crowd with his plenary speech that attacked American evangelicalism's complicity in white supremacy and proclaimed that the Christian gospel was not a source of oppression but one of liberation and radicalism.[73] Black evangelist William Pannell recalled that the crowd's enthusiastic response to Skinner's speech frightened Urbana conference leaders: "The whole audience exploded. I'd never seen a response like that….and I think it scared some of the leadership of IV, because that was not a group of black college students, a distinct minority there, excited about a black man's sermon. The majority of those kids were white, and they heard the same thing those black kids heard, and they exploded, in rapturous applause. It was the moment. Boy, it was decisive."[74]

Student protests at Urbana 1970 happened in meetings and confrontations outside of the formal conference sessions. A group of students published a daily underground newspaper and passed it out on the streets during the conference; the paper attacked the purpose of the conference and argued that international evangelization was irrelevant during a time when the most pressing issues were in the US, in places like Harlem and Watts, and Christians needed to focus primarily on problems like racism, poverty, and the war in Vietnam.[75] African American students also gathered together at impromptu evening meetings and voiced similar critiques of the conference. Black students talked with one another and with black evangelists about how to expand their social activism in the US and integrate their Christian faith with that activism, whether or not the Urbana conferences promoted those activities as important expressions of the

---

news about their careers with mission organizations and praise for the ways an Urbana conference had inspired them to become missionaries.

[72] Keith Hunt and Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of InterVarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A., 1940-1990* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1991), 83 and Interview of David Howard by Paul Ericksen, May 21, 1993, Audio Tape 8, Collection 484, David M. Howard Papers, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois (hereafter David Howard Papers).

[73] Tom Skinner, "The U.S. Racial Crisis and World Evangelism," in *Christ the Liberator*, 189-209.

[74] Interview of William Pannell by Robert Shuster, Mar 27, 2007, Audio Tape 8, Collection 498, Interviews of William E. Pannell, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois (hereafter William Pannell Interviews).

[75] Interview of David Howard by Paul Ericksen, May 21, 1993, Audio Tape 9, David Howard Papers.

Christian gospel.[76] Some white students physically confronted the Urbana conference director and demanded that he change the conference's speakers to reflect a greater focus on poverty and racial issues in the US. The students tried to force their way into the director's room and only failed when conference security guards intervened.[77]

When confronted with students' protests, missionaries at Urbana responded by reminding students of the Great Commission's mandate and calling students to commit to global evangelization. David Howard, a missionary to Colombia, confronted the InterVarsity staff about the missions mandate in the months before Urbana 1970. Howard spoke at the staff training about the importance of global evangelism, and when staff members argued that Christians should focus on more urgent social concerns in the US, Howard replied, "What does that have to do with your response to God's commands in his scriptures to get the gospel to the rest of the world?" [78] Howard emphasized a similar commitment to global evangelization after his experience on staff at Urbana 1970; Howard became the Urbana director after 1970 and insisted that the conference not abandon its primary focus on missions like the Student Volunteer Movement had in the early twentieth century.[79] Three years later black students at Urbana 1973 called Howard into a spontaneous meeting and criticized the conference's failure to discuss urgent social problems in the US. Howard told the students, "The whole purpose of this convention is missions, is world-wide missions. Now, you're welcome to be here. You didn't have to come. We never said this was going to be a convention that deals specifically with inner-city problems of blacks. We'll deal with that to a certain degree, but that isn't the focus of the convention."[80] So even when students challenged missionaries' ideas directly, missionaries at Urbana stressed that worldwide evangelization was the most important focus for Christians. And by emphasizing that evangelization and individual spiritual transformation could remedy social problems like racism, Urbana missionary speakers petitioned young evangelicals to take their desire for social change and channel it into missions.

**Race and Religion**

Both missionaries at Urbana and FMB missionaries called white US evangelicals in the late 1950s and 1960s to identify racism as a problem because it hindered global evangelization and to seek redemption for the sin of racism through personal salvation and inner sanctification. Though they addressed distinct audiences from different regions of the US, FMB missionaries and Urbana missionary speakers delivered similar arguments to those audiences about the need for individual solutions to broad social problems. With their messages, these missionaries strengthened white evangelicals' understanding of racism as personal rather than structural, an understanding that shaped white evangelicals' responses to the moral demands made by African Americans in the US civil rights movement. White evangelicals' individualized social ethic contrasted sharply with the principles of broad structural change advocated by black Christians in the movement and white Christians who supported the movement through direct action and

[76] Interview of William Pannell by Robert Shuster, Mar 27, 2007, Audio Tape 8, William Pannell Interviews.
[77] Interview of David Howard by Paul Ericksen, May 21, 1993, Audio Tape 9, David Howard Papers.
[78] Interview of David Howard by Paul Ericksen, May 21, 1993, Audio Tape 8, David Howard Papers.
[79] Interview of David Howard, July 5, 1988, Audio Tape 144, IVCF Collection.
[80] Interview of David Howard by Paul Ericksen, May 21, 1993, Audio Tape 9, David Howard Papers.

community organizing. Even the most liberal white evangelicals who praised the civil rights movement incorporated an emphasis on individual regeneration into their support for social change. This individualism was central to the worldview of white US evangelicals, and missionaries reinforced that individualized social ethic through their accounts of American racism's impact on the mission field and their pleas for evangelicals to address racism through personal transformation.

American evangelicals had long cherished the theologically-rooted principles of individualism and relationalism, and after the modernist-fundamentalist conflict, those principles coalesced into the social views that influenced white evangelicals' perceptions of racism in the mid- and late twentieth century. Flowering in the warm revivalism of the Second Great Awakening, evangelical theology stressed the importance of an individual conversion experience and a personal relationship with Christ for salvation and Christian maturity. In the early twentieth century, amid the battles between modernists and fundamentalists, evangelical theology aligned with the fundamentalist emphasis that individual original sin was the root of social problems and personal salvation and sanctification were the remedies.[81] Applying these theologically-based principles, evangelicals viewed society as an aggregate of individuals who were independent of structures and who were personally accountable to God for their own actions. Evangelical solutions for social problems were individualistic and interpersonal: Americans should become Christians, love their neighbors, and seek forgiveness from individuals for any personal wrongs.[82] These principles shaped evangelicals' understanding of American racism's causes and solutions, and in practice, this individualized social ethic perpetuated the social status quo. Throughout the Jim Crow era, white evangelicals emphasized the need for kindness and good personal relationships with African Americans without challenging the Jim Crow system itself. And amid the civil rights movement, leading white evangelicals, including missionaries, reinforced this individualized conception of segregation and racism.

Missionaries had the power to strengthen white evangelicals' individualized understanding of race due to missionaries' prominence within evangelicalism as the revered evangelists to people of color around the world and the presumed experts about cross-cultural relationships. This respect for missionaries' expertise had not been confined to evangelical circles; before the Cold War gave birth to area studies professionals, missionaries and their children had populated the US State Department and held privileged positions as the experts about particular world regions and peoples.[83] Even after missionaries moved out of those roles in

---

[81] See George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980) and Joel Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[82] Michael Emerson and Christian Smith, *Divided by Faith: Evangelical Religion and the Problem of Race in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 76-80, 130-32. See also Rodney Stark, *Wayward Shepherds: Prejudice and the Protestant Clergy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971); David Moberg, *The Great Reversal: Evangelism and Social Concern*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Holman, 1977); and Stephen Hart, *What Does the Lord Require? How American Christians Think about Economic Justice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[83] Missionaries especially influenced US foreign policy in Asia. See Paul Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958); James Reed, *The Missionary Mind and American East Asia Policy, 1911-1915* (Cambridge: Harvard Council on East Asian Studies, 1983); Joseph Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary*

the federal government, they continued to serve similar functions within evangelicalism; missionaries were the primary agents through which white churchgoers learned about distant areas of the world. Missionaries offered white American evangelicals not only a model for how all Christians should spread the gospel but also an example of how all Christians should engage with racial and cultural others. So while missionaries were not the only prominent evangelicals promoting an individualized conception of race, they were the ones whom white evangelicals considered most authoritative on racial and cultural issues.

Missionaries' voices joined a chorus of leading evangelicals in the US who marshalled an individualized social ethic in their discussions about race in the 1950s and 1960s. Billy Graham, postwar America's most famous evangelical, addressed the sin of American racism often during his evangelistic crusades by stressing that race relations in the US would improve when sinful individuals converted to Christianity and when prejudiced Christians experienced personal revival that would purge them of their bigotry. Graham described racism as one of the most destructive flames devouring the world and argued that "there is only one solution to the race problem and that is a vital personal experience with Jesus Christ on the part of both races."[84] Graham knew Martin Luther King, Jr. and publicly urged him not to pursue social transformation through sit-ins and demonstrations, but rather to "put the brakes on a little bit" and allow gradual progress to change US society.[85] Similarly, the leading US evangelical publication, *Christianity Today*, gave little coverage to the civil rights movement and instead emphasized to readers that Christians should address their personal racial biases and stop discriminating against individual African Americans. When the publication began in the mid-1950s, its biggest donors and most prominent editors, including J. Howard Pew (head of Sun Oil) and L. Nelson Bell (Billy Graham's father-in-law), pressured the publication not to publish wide-ranging exploratory articles about the "race problem." Instead, *Christianity Today*'s editor-in-chief for the late 1950s and 1960s urged readers to understand that though social reform was important, too much emphasis on social reform would distract from the church's most important mission of saving individual souls.[86] So when missionaries supported an individualized conception of race in their

---

*Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971); and David Hollinger, *Protestants Abroad: How Missionaries Tried to Change the World but Changed America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017).

[84] Billy Graham, *World Aflame* (New York: Doubleday, 1965), 7.

[85] "Billy Graham Urges Restraint in Sit-Ins," *New York Times*, April 18, 1963, 21. See also Curtis Evans, "White Evangelical Responses to the Civil Rights Movement," *Harvard Theological Review* 102, no. 2 (April 2009): 252-61; Stephen Miller, *Billy Graham and the Rise of the Republican South* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Grant Wacker, *America's Pastor: Billy Graham and the Shaping of a Nation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014); and Randall Stephens, "'It Has to Come from the Hearts of the People': Evangelicals, Fundamentalists, Race, and the 1964 Civil Rights Act," *Journal of American Studies* 50, no. 3 (August 2016): 559-85.

[86] Carl Henry, "Perspective on Social Action," *Christianity Today* 3, no. 7 (19 January 1959): 3-16; See also Evans, "White Evangelical Responses to the Civil Rights Movement," 261-69; Mark Toulouse, "*Christianity Today* and American Public Life: A Case Study," *Journal of Church and State* 35, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 241-84; Miles Mullin, "Neoevangelicalism and the Problem of Race in Postwar America," in *Christians and the Color Line: Race and Religion after Divided by Faith*, eds. J. Russel Hawkins and Philip Sinitiere (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 15-44; and Dennis Hollinger, *Individualism and Social Ethics: An Evangelical Syncretism* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983).

appeals to white evangelicals, missionaries endorsed principles that many leading US evangelicals employed in their responses to the moral demands of the black freedom movement.

White evangelicals' individualistic understanding of race and racism conflicted with the theology of systemic transformation and calls for structural change by civil rights movement leaders. Just as people of color on the mission field confronted American missionaries with missionaries' complicity in US racial hierarchies, so did African Americans condemn white US Christians for their involvement in and support for systems of racial oppression. The US civil rights movement was a consciously religious movement with both a prophetic voice that attacked the sins of American society and a spirit of revivalism that sustained movement participants through a long and difficult struggle.[87] Movement leaders drew on the tradition of the Old Testament prophets and exposed the hypocrisy of American society's claims about universal justice and freedom and white Christians' claims about total equality before God. When organizer Fannie Lou Hamer spoke at a movement meeting in Indianola, Mississippi, she condemned American society by applying a passage from the book of Proverbs; Hamer proclaimed that "'righteousness exalts a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.' Sin is beginnin' to reproach America today, and we want what is rightfully ours."[88] In an interview with the black journal *Freedomways*, Hamer declared that the only way to bring genuine freedom to America was "to destroy this system and bring this thing out to the light that has been under the cover all these years," and she added, "That's why I believe in Christianity because the Scriptures said, 'The things that have been done in the dark will be known on the house tops.'"[89] Hamer attached the strength of biblical warnings to her demands for systemic change.

Movement leaders' appeals also used the language of missions to expose the hypocrisy of white Christians' support for racist social hierarchies. In his letter to white clergy in Birmingham, Martin Luther King, Jr. explained that he was not a problematic "outsider" coming in to disturb Birmingham's peace but rather someone compelled like the prophets of the Old Testament and like the Apostle Paul to travel to cities beyond his hometown and proclaim God's message of freedom. King stated that he was "constantly respond[ing] to the Macedonian call for aid," thereby equating his travels for the movement with the Apostle Paul's journey to preach the gospel throughout distant provinces of the Roman Empire. King challenged white Christians'

---

[87] See Dave Chappell, *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Ralph Luker, "Kingdom of God and Beloved Community in the Thought of Martin Luther King, Jr.," in *The Role of Ideas in the Civil Rights South*, ed. Ted Ownby (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 39-54; Chana Kai Lee, *For Freedom's Sake: The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Paul Harvey, *Freedom's Coming: Religious Culture and the Shaping of the South from the Civil War through the Civil Rights Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Albert Raboteau, *A Fire in the Bones: Reflections on African-American Religious History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995); and Gayraud Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism: An Interpretation of the Religious History of African Americans*, 2nd ed. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983). Religious institutions like black churches also provided essential infrastructure and networks for organizing. See Aldon Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: Free Press, 1986).

[88] "Fannie Lou Hamer, Untitled Speech, Indianola, Mississippi, September 1964," in *Rhetoric, Religion, and the Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1965*, eds. Davis Houck and David Dixon, vol. 1 (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), 788.

[89] J.H. O'Dell, "Life in Mississippi: An Interview with Fannie Lou Hamer," *Freedomways* 5, no. 2 (Spring 1965): 234. Hamer quoted a passage from Luke 12:3, in which Christ warns his followers about the hypocrisy of the Pharisees.

disapproval of movement approaches by connecting movement work with the work of missions, which white Christians held in such high regard.[90] King also attacked the theological split white Christians had created between the individual salvation and social issues, and he argued that such a split "makes a strange, un-Biblical distinction between body and soul, between the sacred and the secular" and that "social neglect" had damaged the universal church's legitimacy.[91] While missionaries insisted that racism harmed Christianity's credibility and that personal transformation could restore that integrity, King and other black Christians asserted that it was white Christians' unwillingness to confront systemic injustices that marred the credibility of the gospel and that only Christians' combatting structural racism would heal Christianity's reputation.

Some white Christians responded to these prophetic condemnations by embracing black Christians' calls for systemic change. The National Council of Churches, the ecumenical body for most mainline Protestant denominations in the US, responded by creating social action agencies that promoted direct action and organizing alongside civil rights movement leaders. On the national level, leaders from the NCC, along with leaders from Jewish and Catholic organizations, helped organize the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom and lobbied for the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.[92] On the local level in the South, the NCC funded bail bond programs, offered legal aid to civil rights workers, and sent hundreds of ministers to canvass in local voter registration campaigns and assist civil rights workers during the Freedom Summer of 1964.[93] One of the long-term NCC community projects, the Delta Ministry, provided relief, education, and community leadership development to some of the poorest communities in the US.[94] These forms of white Christian engagement across racial lines differed in significant ways from the longstanding missions model of earnest white missionaries operating in paternalist positions of authority over black and brown others. These forms of community service reflected the new missiology of ecumenical Protestants in the 1960s; the World Council of Churches in the mid-1960s mentioned the Delta Ministry as an example of a "servant" concept of mission in which local communities, rather than the church, set the agenda for ministry.[95] These NCC projects also did not prioritize evangelization as the primary focus,

---

[90] Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from Birmingham Jail," 65. The Macedonian call refers to a vision that directed the route of the Apostle Paul's second preaching journey. The story of the vision appears in Acts 16:9.
[91] Ibid., 79-80.
[92] James Findlay, Jr., *Church People in the Struggle: The National Council of Churches and the Black Freedom Movement, 1950-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 48-75. See also Michael B. Friedland, *Lift up Your Voice Like a Trumpet: White Clergy and the Civil Rights and Antiwar Movements, 1954-1973* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Mark Bauman and Berkley Kalin, eds., *The Quiet Voices: Southern Rabbis and Black Civil Rights* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997); John McGreevy, "Racial Justice and the People of God: The Second Vatican Council, the Civil Rights Movement, and American Catholics," *Religion and American Culture* 4 (1994): 221-54; and Amy L. Koehlinger, *The New Nuns: Racial Justice and Religious Reform in the 1960s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.
[93] Findlay, Jr., *Church People in the Struggle*, 76-100.
[94] Ibid., 111-39. See also Mark Newman, *Divine Agitators: The Delta Ministry and Civil Rights in Mississippi* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004).
[95] See *The Church for Others and the Church for the World: A Quest for Structures for Missionary Congregations* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1967), 116-20. For examples of the major ecumenical Protestant missiological frameworks of the 1960s, see Thomas Wieser, ed., *Planning for Mission: Working Papers on the Quest for Missionary Communities* (London: Epworth Press, 1965); Colin Williams, *Where in the World* (New

which further revealed the separation between ecumenical Protestant and evangelical Protestant mission theologies and methods during this period.

Liberal white evangelicals engaged with these larger systemic issues, but even as they praised the civil rights movement and other social movements, they still stressed the importance of individual transformation as a part of the solution for structural injustices. In the Midwest, the liberal evangelical magazine *Freedom Now* (after 1970 *The Other Side*) tried to convince its readers to fight against racial injustice first by dealing with personal prejudices and then by combatting structural inequalities. Throughout the 1960s, *Freedom Now* featured social scientists and black evangelical writers that testified to the ways racism was a part of economic, social, and cultural systems. The magazine's leadership increasingly encouraged direct action in the late 1960s; in 1968 *Freedom Now's* editor led sixty evangelical college students in a solidarity march in Chicago for the Poor People's Campaign, and after Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination, the editor told readers that "it is time for you, for your political party, for your denomination to become involved in a massive action program."[96] Small groups of liberal evangelicals in other parts of the US promoted similar ideas. On the West Coast, young white evangelicals formed a commune called the Christian World Liberation Front in the late 1960s and published a regular tabloid, *Right On*, that courted radical students in the San Francisco Bay Area by combining evangelistic outreach with support for direct action about social issues like structural racism, capitalism, and war.[97] And on the East Coast, Jim Wallis and his intentional community of liberal evangelicals, the People's Christian Coalition (with their own journal, *Post American*), moved to Washington D.C. and started the Sojourners Fellowship to address racism, war, poverty, and pollution.[98] These different groups of mostly white liberal evangelicals were tiny in comparison to the later conservative evangelical groups that became politically active, but beginning in the 1960s these liberal groups sought to influence US society by blending their individualized and relationalized spirituality with structural analyses of economic and racial justice issues. And these liberal evangelicals, along with racially progressive evangelicals like missionaries, further strengthened American evangelicals' individualized social ethic by applying it to even progressive or radical analyses of society; individualism was not just a principle for conservative or reactionary stances on social issues, but rather permeated evangelical perspectives across the political spectrum.

One way that an individualized social ethic continued to impact white evangelicals' perspectives of race beyond the 1960s was through the racial reconciliation movement. The concept of racial reconciliation began in the late 1960s with black evangelical pastors and writers who argued that God's plan was to destroy all hostile divisions in society and that any inequality or racial division was the product of sin. These black evangelical leaders explained that to achieve reconciliation, white Christians should repent of personal and historical sins, black

---

York: National Council of Churches, 1963); and Williams, *What in the World* (New York: National Council of Churches, 1964).

[96] David Alexander, "A Time to Act," *Freedom Now* 4, no. 3 (May-June 1968): 3. See David Swartz, *Moral Minority: An Evangelical Left in an Age of Conservatism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 26-46 and Brantley Gasaway, *Progressive Evangelicals and the Pursuit of Social Justice* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 75-100.

[97] Swartz, *Moral Minority*, 86-110.

[98] Ibid., 47-67 and Gasaway, *Progressive Evangelicals and the Pursuit of Social Justice*, 75-100.

Christians should extend forgiveness, and then white and black Christians should form loving friendships with one another so that they could work together to eradicate unjust social structures.[99] Black evangelical advocates for reconciliation used numerous avenues to teach white evangelicals about the theology of racial reconciliation; throughout the 1970s and 1980s black evangelicals spoke at conferences and published articles in mainstream evangelical publications like *Christianity Today* and more liberal evangelical magazines like *The Other Side* and *Sojourners*. As racial reconciliation theology became popular with many white evangelical organizations in the late 1980s and early 1990s, white evangelicals most frequently adopted the ideas of individual reconciliation and personal repentance without embracing the need to confess social sin and dismantle unjust social systems.[100] For example, one of the largest evangelical organizations that promoted racial reconciliation was the Promise Keepers men's movement of the 1990s; one of the Promise Keepers' seven promises is "to reach across any racial and denominational barriers to demonstrate the power of biblical unity," which emphasizes the importance of cross-racial friendships without mentioning that the purpose of those friendships should be to demolish structural racism.[101] This partial acceptance of racial reconciliation's individual components frustrated many black Christians who criticized white evangelical attempts at racial reconciliation as hollow; one black pastor in the 1990s told readers of *Christianity Today* that while "tears and hugs and saying I'm sorry is a good first step," the main goal should be "dealing with the systems and the structures that are devastating African-American people."[102] White evangelicals' selective adoption of racial reconciliation theology highlights the ways that individualized and relationalized understandings of race continued to shape white evangelicals' worldview through the late twentieth century.

Missionaries also continued to talk about race within an individualized framework, but after the 1960s they reduced their direct appeals to US evangelicals about American racism and instead began to emphasize the value of racial and ethnic diversity. Changes to international press coverage gave missionaries a respite from criticisms of US society on the mission field. After the US passed national civil rights legislation in the mid-1960s, international press coverage of the US shifted to America's escalating involvement in the Vietnam War, and international coverage of racial injustices shifted to conflicts in southern Africa.[103] Edgar Burks, Jr., a missionary to Nigeria, recalled that in the mid-1960s "foreign missions in Africa received a

---

[99] See for example Tom Skinner, *How Black is the Gospel?* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1970); Columbus Salley and Ronald Behm, *Your God is Too White* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1970); and John Perkins, *With Justice for All* (Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 1982).

[100] Emerson and Smith, *Divided by Faith,* 51-68. See also Nancy D. Wadsworth, "Reconciliation Politics: Conservative Evangelicals and the New Race Discourse," *Politics and Society* 25, no. 3 (Sep 1997): 341-76 and Antony Alumkal, "American Evangelicalism in the Post-Civil Rights Era: A Racial Formation Theory Analysis," *Sociology of Religion* 65, no. 3 (Autumn 2004): 195-213.

[101] A. Janssen and L.K. Weeden, eds., *Seven Promises of a Promise Keeper* (Colorado Springs, CO: Focus on the Family Publishing, 1994), 153. See Emerson and Smith, *Divided by Faith,* 51-68; J.P. Bartowski, *The Promise Keepers: Servants, Soldiers, and Godly Men* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004); and L. Dean Allen, "Promise Keepers and Racism: Frame Resonance as an Indicator of Organizational Vitality," *Sociology of Religion* 61, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 55-72.

[102] Carl Ellis quoted in Steve Rabey, "Seedbed for Revival?" *Christianity Today* 41, no. 10 (September 1, 1997): 90.

[103] These changes to international press coverage also reduced the power of the black freedom movement to turn global attention to white supremacy in the US. See Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 203-48 and Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*, 222-65.

reprieve when the United States officially declared that segregation and discrimination by race were illegal. Americans immediately stood far above Rhodesia and South Africa because we officially had said racism is wrong." Burks admitted that Christians still needed to address racism in US society, but he expressed relief that missionaries did not have to face as many direct criticisms of American racism from nationals on the mission field.[104] The climate at American colleges shifted after the 1960s as well, and this aided missionaries' efforts to recruit young white evangelicals for mission work. The opposition that missionaries had faced in the 1960s dissipated at the Urbana missionary conferences of the 1970s, as conference organizers reduced opportunities for intellectual engagement and as speakers shifted to more emotional appeals about the authentic relationships that missionaries could form with nationals on the mission field and the personal fulfillment young evangelicals could find in commitment to global evangelization. Mission organizations credited Urbana for the increasing number of missionary applications in the 1970s, a rebound after the decline in applications during the 1960s.[105] Additionally, while missionaries were relieved to encounter fewer critiques of American segregation on the mission field and more openness from potential missionary recruits in the US, missionaries after the 1960s also confronted their toughest global challenge – criticisms of missionization itself. Those criticisms also reshaped the ways American missionaries discussed race and ethnicity with white US evangelicals in the last decades of the twentieth century.

While missionaries would turn their attention to criticisms of missionization's oppressive hierarchies in the late twentieth century, during the 1950s and 60s they focused primarily on urging US evangelicals to change America's racial hierarchies. When international press coverage of US segregation and racial violence gave people of color on the mission field ample evidence with which to condemn American society, missionaries responded by writing or traveling home to the US and appealing to white evangelicals to solve the problems of American racism. Some missionaries addressed particular regions of the US, like the US South, while others spoke to national audiences. Missionaries like those with the FMB faced the challenge of appealing to audiences who actively supported segregation, while other missionaries like Urbana speakers faced the challenge of appealing to audiences who cited segregation as a reason to stay home rather than serve abroad as a missionary. Together, these missionaries utilized their platform within American evangelicalism to petition white evangelicals to support missions and address racism. Missionaries told US evangelicals that global evangelization was at risk, since American segregation and racial violence damaged the credibility of US missionaries and their gospel message. Missionaries advised American evangelicals to heal racial injustice in US society by pursuing individual transformation through salvation and sanctification, and with that advice, missionaries reinforced white evangelicals' individualized social ethic that privileged personal changes over structural ones. Some audiences responded with acceptance and gratitude for missionaries' messages, while others responded with anger or doubt about missionaries' claims. Most audiences gave missionaries the benefit of the doubt because of missionaries' privileged positions as the revered global evangelists to people of color around the world and the models for how white Christians should engage with racial and cultural others. Missionaries

[104] Edgar H. Burks Jr., "Race and Foreign Missions," *The Commission* 37, no. 2 (Feb 1974): 27.
[105] Interview of David Howard by Paul Ericksen, May 21, 1993, Audio Tape 8, David Howard Papers.

leveraged that privilege to demand change in US society for the sake of global evangelization. In subsequent decades, they would confront demands for change to global evangelization itself.

Chapter Three
**"Missionary, Go Home":**
**Diversity and Power in the Global Christian Community**
[1970s – 1980s]

"The time has come for the withdrawal of foreign missionaries," Kenyan pastor John Gatu announced to an auditorium of stunned US Protestants in 1971. Attendees had gathered at the mission festival of the Reformed Churches of America amid the malaise of increasing revelations about the failures of the Vietnam War and the signs of a stagnating US economy. The audience had hoped at least to hear some good news about Americans' accomplishments in international missions, but Gatu had a different message in mind. "The churches of the Third World must be allowed to find their own identity," Gatu declared, "and…the continuation of the present missionary movement is a hindrance to this selfhood of the church."[1] He accused missionaries and their sending Christian communities of harboring a "Vasco de Gama mentality which went out to explore the world and help the heathen," and he argued that this mindset preserved hierarchies in African churches by influencing missionaries to question whether churches could survive without missionary supervision. Gatu concluded that only a complete moratorium on missionary personnel and money would give Third World churches the opportunity to recognize and remove the "incoherencies" that missionization had embedded in Christian communities around the world.[2]

In the same month that Gatu confronted audiences in the US with his speech "Missionary, Go Home," Filipino pastor Emerito Nacpil challenged an audience of Western missionaries at an international conference in Malaysia with his address "Mission but not Missionaries." Many of these missionaries to Asian countries had seen up-close the havoc that Western imperial forces could wreak, and Nacpil insisted that soldiers were not the only destructive imperial actors around the world. He announced that "the present structure of modern missions is dead," and that "the first thing we ought to do is to eulogize and then bury it, no matter how expensive it is to bury the dead." Nacpil argued that missionaries' robust financial support from the West had created a power imbalance between missionaries and local churches around the world; in this "partnership between the weak and the strong," he explained, missionaries had become "the apostle[s] of affluence, not sacrifice; cultural superiority, not Christian humility; technological efficiency, not human identification; white supremacy, not human liberation and community."[3] Nacpil asserted that the only way to change these hierarchies was to end the present missionary system and develop a new way of sharing the gospel, in which local churches retained their selfhood and controlled any cross-cultural mission work. He urged Western missionaries to comply with this change by leaving the mission field; Nacpil insisted that "the most *missionary* service a missionary under the present system can do today in Asia is to go home!"[4]

With their messages, these two prominent pastors issued forceful calls for a moratorium on foreign missionaries and signaled the increased boldness with which Christians from the

[1] John G. Gatu, "Missionary, Go Home," *International Documentation* 63 (July 1974): 70.
[2] Ibid., 71, 72.
[3] Emerito P. Nacpil, "Mission but Not Missionaries," *International Review of Mission* 60, no. 269 (July 1971): 359.
[4] Ibid., 360. Emphasis in the original.

Global South would critique missionization in the late twentieth century. While people in missionized communities had long articulated their concerns about missions, beginning in the early 1970s leading theologians and organizations from across the Global South announced their criticisms and moratorium proposals on international stages before large Western audiences. In addition to the first two calls for moratorium from Gatu, the General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, and Nacpil, the dean of Union Theological Seminary in Manila, Philippines, support for moratorium came from other Global South church leaders like Paul Verghese, principal of Orthodox Theological Seminary in Kottaya, India, and José Miguez Bonino, the dean of Union Theological Seminary in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Leading church organizations in the Global South also issued broad condemnations of missions and calls for moratorium; one of the largest, the All Africa Conference of Churches, endorsed a moratorium proposal during its national conferences in 1974 and 1975. These were prominent voices that missionaries and their organizations could not ignore, and the number and strength of these voices only grew in the last decades of the twentieth century.

The growing power of these church leaders' voices stemmed not just from the increasing political power that decolonization brought to the Global South but also from the changing demographics of global Christianity. US evangelicals became aware of these changing statistics due to their enthusiastic sponsorship of missionary demography research. At the same time that American evangelicals were creating and expanding missionary organizations in the decades after World War II, they also founded mission research centers. Unlike the anti-intellectualist fundamentalists of the interwar years, evangelicals in the postwar era embraced scholarly pursuits and particularly supported social science research as a way to discover the most effective methods for global evangelization.[5] In 1967 Fuller Theological Seminary and the evangelical relief organization World Vision founded the Mission Advanced Research and Communication Center (MARC), which served as the evangelical equivalent of the ecumenical Mission Research Library (MRL) and assumed the MRL's biggest publishing duties when the MRL declined in the 1960s. The Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board also sponsored a research center, the World Evangelization Research Center (WERC), which had begun independently in Kenya in 1965 under the direction of a British missionary before relocating in 1985 to the FMB's US headquarters. These two entities – MARC and WERC – generated most of the statistical data that evangelical mission organizations cited when studying themselves or the populations they evangelized around the world.

Because US evangelicals had sponsored such large demographic research centers, in the early 1970s they began receiving exhaustive reports about the rapidly growing Christian populations throughout the Global South. WERC's global surveys revealed that the number of Christians in many African countries was increasing at an aggressive rate, and that Christian populations in parts of Asia and Latin America were rapidly expanding as well.[6] By the early 1980s when WERC published its first edition of the *World Christian Encyclopedia*, US

---

[5] See George Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987), 13-52, 237-44 and Molly Worthen, *Apostles of Reason: The Crisis of Authority in American Evangelicalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 123-47.

[6] See David Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa: An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968); Barrett, "AD 2000: 350 Million Christians in Africa," *International Review of Mission* 59, no. 233 (January 1970): 39-54.

evangelicals had all the statistics they needed to understand that Christians in the Global South were becoming the majority of the world's Christians (fig. 1) and, even more significantly, the majority of the world's Protestants (fig. 2). So when church leaders from the Global South announced their condemnations of missions in the 1970s and 1980s, evangelicals knew that those church leaders were speaking not from distant outposts in heathen lands but rather from the very center of the global Christian community.

Coverage of these moratorium calls in the early 1970s traveled quickly through the Christian press, and US theologians and missionaries wrestled with these public rejections of Western missionization plans. Although most American ecumenical Protestant leaders admitted that the criticisms and moratorium proposals were reasons to reorganize missionary strategies and even to scale back Western mission efforts, most US evangelical leaders sought ways to accommodate critics' concerns while still forging ahead with ambitious cross-cultural global evangelization goals. This difference between ecumenical Protestants and evangelicals was most apparent at their respective international missions conferences in the early 1970s. At the 1973 World Council of Churches world missions conference in Bangkok, Thailand, delegates proposed a temporary moratorium on foreign missionary personnel and funds so that local churches in Africa, Asia, and Latin America could have time to establish their own priorities for missions.[7] By contrast, at the 1974 Lausanne International Congress on World Evangelization, Billy Graham rejected the idea of a moratorium in his opening night address, and he emphasized the urgent need for more not less cross-cultural evangelism by citing new research from MARC that tabulated the billions of people still "unreached" by the gospel.[8] When the congress did acknowledge that missionaries might need to realign their relationships with local churches, the Western delegates at the conference emphasized that restructuring mission-church relationships should happen only in the context of continually expanding global evangelization. The Lausanne Covenant, crafted during the conference, explained in its section on the "Urgency of the Evangelistic Task" that a reduction of foreign missionary staff or finances from a region with established national churches would simply free up that mission personnel and money for redeployment to other unevangelized areas.[9] So while Western evangelical leaders accepted that the relationships between missionaries and Christians in the Global South might need to change, those leaders maintained that under no circumstances would they reduce their commitment to total world evangelization.

Though evangelical missionaries did not "go home" or embrace moratorium, they did confront the mounting criticisms of missionization and demands for change from Global South church leaders in the 1970s and 1980s. Church leaders from the Global South not only spoke at international conferences like Lausanne but also appealed to national mission associations like the EFMA and negotiated with individual missionary organizations to try to effect change. Following these three levels of conversations – at international conferences, within national US

---

[7] See World Council of Churches Commission on World Mission and Evangelism, *Bangkok Assembly 1973: Minutes and Report of the Assembly of the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches, December 31, 1972 and January 9-12, 1973* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1973).
[8] Billy Graham, "Why Lausanne?" in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, ed. J.D. Douglas (Minneapolis: World Wide Publishers, 1975), 33. For the MARC report presented at Lausanne, see Mission Advanced Research and Communication Center, *Unreached Peoples* (Monrovia, CA: MARC, 1974).
[9] "The Lausanne Covenant," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, 6.

## Distribution of Christians by Continent, 1900 – 1980

| Continent | 1900<br>Percentage of Global Christian Population | 1970<br>Percentage of Global Christian Population | 1980<br>Percentage of Global Christian Population |
|---|---|---|---|
| Africa | 1.8 | 11.8 | 14.2 |
| East Asia | 0.4 | 1.0 | 1.3 |
| South Asia | 3.0 | 6.4 | 7.6 |
| Latin America | 11.1 | 22.0 | 24.3 |
| Oceania | 0.9 | 1.5 | 1.4 |
| **Global South Total** | **17.2** | **42.7** | **48.8** |
| Europe | 49.9 | 33.3 | 29.0 |
| Northern America | 14.1 | 17.0 | 15.3 |
| USSR | 18.8 | 7.1 | 6.7 |
| **Global North Total** | **82.8** | **57.4** | **51** |

Figure 1. Distribution of Christians by Continent, 1900-2000. Source: "Global Table 2. Global Christianity: Christians on 8 Continents, AD 1900-2000," in *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Study of Churches and Religions in the Modern World, AD 1900-2000*, ed. David Barrett (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 4. Continent categories based on original "continent" designations in the 1982 text. Global South and Global North totals tabulated and added by author.

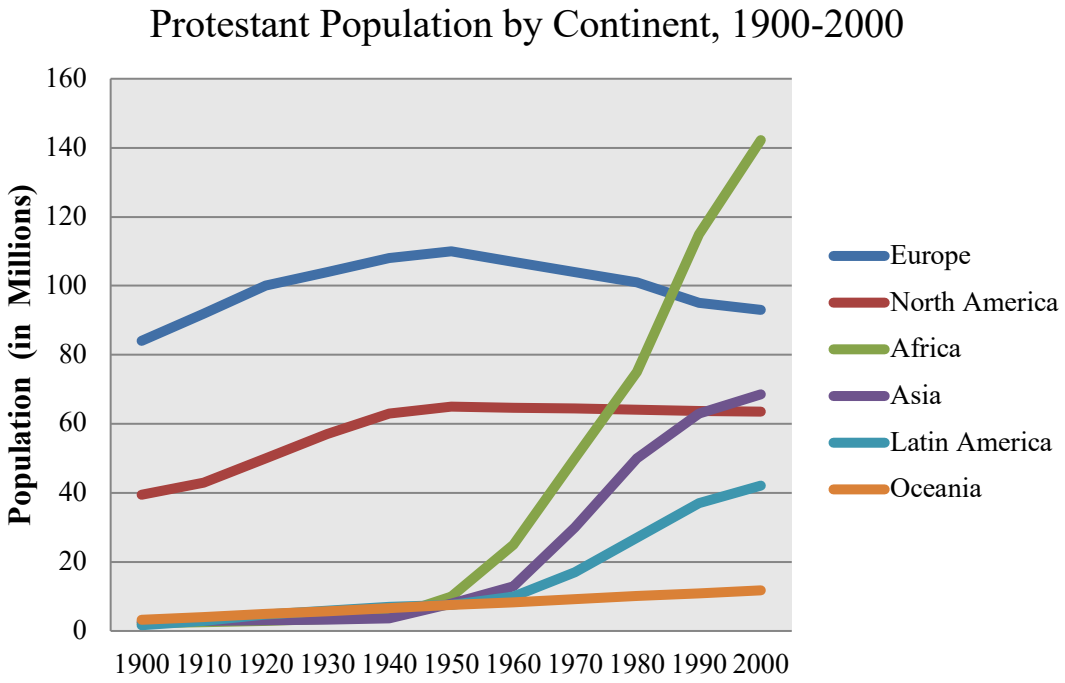


Figure 2. Protestant Population (in Millions) by Continent, 1900-2000. Source: Todd Johnson et. al., "Christianity 2017: Five Hundred Years of Protestant Christianity," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 41, no. 1 (January 2017): 43. Article data came from the World Christian Database, the archive of the WERC's research from the 1960s to the present.

association meetings, and inside individual mission organizations – reveals how Global South church leaders framed their criticisms of missions and how missionaries and their organizations responded to Global South leaders' demands for change. Church leaders from the Global South most of all attacked hierarchical mission structures and methods, as well as the supremacy of Western theologies and epistemologies within mission strategies. Missionaries and their organizations overall demonstrated a willingness to reform some mission methods and structures but expressed great reluctance about questioning mission theologies or philosophies, since evangelical missionaries held those theologies as central to their Christian identity. By accepting many external changes while avoiding core foundational transformations, missionaries and their organizations modeled for white American evangelicals how to embrace diversity yet retain secure institutional whiteness within communities in which Western white dominance was declining. These models and lessons about how American evangelicals should take their place as an outnumbered group within the global Christian community proved useful for white evangelicals facing the changing racial and cultural demographics of post-1965 US society and American Christianity.

**International Conference Conflicts**

The Lausanne Congress was both a scene of intense debate about the methods and philosophy of missions and also a site of fervent recommitment to the necessity of global evangelization. Convened by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association as a meeting that would unite evangelicals from all over the world around the common task of evangelization, Lausanne attracted over 2700 delegates from 150 countries, with more than half of the participants from the Global South. Although there had been several international evangelical missions conferences in the late 1960s and early 1970s, none were as sweeping in scope or nearly as large as Lausanne. As the delegates gathered for ten warm summer days in Switzerland (figs. 3, 4), *Time* magazine reported that the Lausanne gathering was "a formidable forum, possibly the widest-ranging meeting of Christians ever held."[10] Virtually all of the leading US evangelical missiologists and most US missionary organization leaders were in attendance; as former missionary and Fuller School of World Mission professor Charles Kraft reflected, "everyone who was anyone in evangelical missiology was at the Lausanne meeting."[11] The Lausanne Congress would become a landmark event for evangelicals that inspired ongoing meetings and committees for international cooperation and planning for missions, and the covenant formed at Lausanne would become a symbol and litmus test of "true" evangelical beliefs.[12] These later symbolic uses for Lausanne obscured the fact that the actual conference included not only unifying common expressions of commitment to the gospel but also many disagreements about the methods and theologies for sharing that gospel. Western theologians presented mission strategies and plans that differed widely from those proposed by many Global South theologians

[10] "A Challenge from Evangelicals," *Time* 104, no. 6 (August 5, 1974), 48-50.
[11] Charles Kraft, *SWM/SIS at Forty: A Participant/Observer's View of Our History* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 2005), 125.
[12] Many evangelical organizations in the US and other countries used the Lausanne Covenant as a statement of faith, and many organizations required prospective members or employees to agree with and sign the covenant as a precondition of membership or employment.

and church leaders. These many disagreements at Lausanne illustrated the growing power of Global South church leaders to challenge longtime global missions leaders and assert alternative visions of gospel propagation.

Before a Lausanne audience that included the most prominent Western theologians and missionary leaders, church leaders from the Global South attacked established mission structures and methods by criticizing missions' hierarchical systems and condemning mission programs that imposed Western metrics of success. Many Global South leaders discussed how wealth disparities maintained systemic hierarchies between Christians in the Global North and those in the Global South. Ugandan Anglican leader Festo Kivengere declared in his plenary speech that a "hoarding attitude" led "wealthy pockets of the Christian community" to stockpile resources rather than share those funds with "needy areas where good men have no facilities for training for preaching the good news." Kivengere condemned this practice and its underlying "withholding attitude" as contrary to the model of Christ's sacrifice, and he exhorted his fellow delegates to allow the Holy Spirit to inspire them to give away their wealth to Global South churches and leaders for the sake of evangelism.[13] Luis Santiago Botero, a Columbian leader with the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students (IFES), insisted in his evening address that Western missions needed to reevaluate their spending models; he argued that missions should only send a cross-cultural missionary to a region after they "make sure that national workers are not available, because often nationals are willing to serve but they lack financial and logistical backing in their country." Botero explained that because local financial support was difficult to obtain for many prospective national evangelists, mission organizations in the US and Europe needed to fund national workers rather than simply sending Western missionaries to "struggle against cultural and linguistic barriers" while trying to share the gospel.[14] In these ways Global South church leaders tried to position themselves at the center of global evangelization plans; these leaders asserted that if Western mission organizations really were committed to total world evangelization, then those organizations needed to reapportion funds to the national Christians most equipped with the cultural and linguistic tools to spread the gospel in regions across the world, rather than continually sending expensive Western missionaries to attempt that important task.

Church leaders from the Global South also condemned the hierarchical bureaucracies that Western missionaries had imposed on churches throughout the world. Global South leaders argued that these bureaucracies were Western models that did not function well in local contexts and that hampered local churches' efforts to evangelize the communities around them. Elias Cheng, the evangelism secretary for the Presbyterian Church of Cameroon, declared in his plenary presentation that bureaucratic structures begun by missionaries had burdened young national churches with so much administrative work that church leaders had no time for evangelism and discipleship. Even though Cameroon's churches had become independent of missionary control by the 1960s, missionaries had taught national church leaders that large bureaucracies were the only way to organize churches, so leading Cameroonian pastors spent most of their energy on administrative work rather than evangelism. That deficit of evangelistic work was the impetus for Cheng's position as evangelism secretary; he coordinated a national

[13] Festo Kivengere, "The Cross and World Evangelization," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, 403.
[14] Luis Santiago Botero, "A Layman Looks at World Evangelization," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, 462.

campaign of evangelism that encouraged churches to focus on evangelism and abandon cumbersome Western administration models.[15] Korean pastor and evangelist David Cho echoed this criticism that Western bureaucracies hindered evangelization by national churches. Cho advocated for what many in the 1970s called Third World missions, in which Global South churches sent their own cross-cultural missionaries to other areas of the world, and he argued that Western models would kill rather than grow these Third World missionary campaigns.[16] Cho emphasized that though Third World mission organizations would need to be nimble and dynamic to adapt to a variety of cultures and societies, Western mission leaders "who have been accustomed to see solid, concrete structure" might judge the flexibility of Third World missions as "fragile, uneasy, even dangerous." Cho warned that if "the monolithic aspirations of the Western brethren" interfered even inadvertently in Third World missions' affairs, then Western leaders would be responsible for extinguishing "the missionary fire in the Third World" and hampering global evangelization.[17]

The most frequent criticism that Global South leaders voiced about mission methods was that missionaries forced Global South churches to plan and evaluate programs according to Western metrics of "success." Church leaders from the Global South particularly complained about Western missions' obsession with statistics. Ben Wati, head of the Evangelical Fellowship of Asia, warned Western delegates that an overemphasis on statistics discouraged evangelistic workers and denied the supernatural power of God to overcome difficult odds. Wati commented that "one could say that if it has taken 2,000 years to reach only 2 per cent of Asians for Christ, it would take 98,000 years to evangelize Asia! However, we need not rely too much on this type of statistics."[18] Luis Santiago Botero also cautioned that Christians needed to rely on God's power rather than statistics; he argued that "the main motivation for our effort in evangelization must be the compassion for those for whom Christ died, not the satisfaction in statistics or in spectacular and multitudinous meetings.[19] Elias Cheng revealed to surprised Western delegates that the national evangelistic campaign in Cameroon did not collect statistics at all; Cheng explained that over-emphasizing conversion numbers would distract from the more important work of helping new converts grow in their faith, so the campaign central office "does not keep any records of statistical results. The fruits are registered in the local congregations."[20] Ecuadorian IFES leader and theologian René Padilla reproached Christians who idolized technology and statistics and warned that such idolatry "reduces the Gospel to a formula for success and equates the triumph of Christ with obtaining the highest number of 'conversions.'" Padilla accused Western Christians of imposing a "man-centered Christianity" by using technological campaigns that he

---

[15] Elias Ngum Gbai Cheng, "The National Campaign for Evangelism – New Life for All in Cameroon," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, 208.

[16] Statistics announced during an opening night speech at Lausanne reported that by the early 1970s there were 203 Third World missionary-sending organizations with over 3,000 missionaries. See Waldron Scott, "The Task Before Us," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, 21. For the original report, see James Wong, Peter Larson, and Edward Pentecost, *Missions from the Third World: A World Survey of Non-Western Missions in Asia, Africa and Latin America* (Singapore: Church Growth Study Centre, 1973).

[17] David J. Cho, "Missions Structures," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, 502.

[18] Ben Wati, "Evangelism in Asia," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, 147.

[19] Botero, "A Layman Looks at World Evangelization," 462.

[20] Cheng, "The National Campaign for Evangelism – New Life for All in Cameroon," 209.

argued manipulated the gospel to achieve successful statistical results.[21] Through criticisms like these, Global South church leaders appealed to the importance of evangelism to chastise Western missions; Global South leaders argued that Western mission systems and methods were harmful because those systems and methods hindered missionaries' stated central goal – total world evangelization. Church leaders from the Global South suggested that only by giving Global South churches and leaders the support and autonomy to develop their own ministry plans and methods could Western Christians realize their goal of fulfilling the Great Commission.

When Western leaders responded to these critiques of mission structures and methods at Lausanne, some speakers agreed with Global South church leaders' criticisms. American theologian and philosopher Francis Schaeffer admitted that in his earlier writings he should have addressed wealth as an enormous problem in Western society. Schaeffer stated that because Christians had not emphasized the importance of "compassionate use of accumulated wealth," the Western church had angered "large blocks of people" around the world, and alienation from those blocks hampered evangelization.[22] George Hoffman, British pastor and director of The Evangelical Alliance Relief Fund, exhorted his fellow delegates to abandon clunky bureaucratic structures and work together for the sake of the gospel rather than the sake of tidy programs that enabled easy fund-raising. Hoffman cautioned mission organizations to "beware of capitalizing on the plight of those who suffer for the sake of the funds we are seeking to raise," and he urged delegates to remember that their work was with real people, not with impersonal statistics.[23] Australian bishop A.J. Dain echoed this argument that missions should not idolize statistics; Dain asserted that while statistics were helpful, "these alone will not suffice," and that Christians must be willing to work together and follow the Holy Spirit's leading in evangelism.[24]

Though some Western speakers accepted and reiterated criticisms by church leaders from the Global South, leading American evangelical speakers at Lausanne acknowledged those criticisms only while at the same time promoting competing narratives about how mission methods and structures should change. Led by missiologist Ralph Winter's plenary address about "The Highest Priority" of cross-cultural evangelism, these American speakers at Lausanne emphasized the urgency of spreading the gospel to the billions of "unreached peoples" across the world. Winter charged that the biggest hindrances to total world evangelization were missionary master plans that focused on spreading the gospel to every country rather than every distinct cultural or linguistic group of people. He celebrated that Christianity was growing particularly in non-Western countries, but he cautioned his fellow delegates that this growth did not mean that "we may now abandon traditional missionary strategy and count on local Christians everywhere to finish the job."[25] Instead, Winter argued, all Christians from all countries should be mobilizing to perform cross-cultural evangelism with the goal of reaching the over two billion people who, evangelical statisticians had calculated, were "beyond the reach" of the gospel because they belonged to cultural-linguistic groups that had no Christian members. Winter insisted that the most important change to mission methods would be to shift from working so extensively with "reached" groups and instead to target these unreached groups with cross-cultural evangelism,

---

[21] René Padilla, "Evangelism and the World," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, 126.
[22] Francis Schaeffer, "Form and Freedom in the Church," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice,* 365.
[23] George Hoffman "The Social Responsibilities of Evangelization," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, 1306.
[24] A.J. Dain, "International Congress on World Evangelization," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, 14.
[25] Ralph Winter, "The Highest Priority: Cross-Cultural Evangelism," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice,* 213.

especially by redeploying existing cross-cultural missionaries to the unreached groups around the world.[26]

Several American evangelical missions leaders echoed Winter's emphasis on the urgency of reaching these "unreached people groups." SBC Foreign Mission Board president Keith Parks declared to the Lausanne audience that the growth of churches outside of the West was a wonderful development that nevertheless did not absolve Western Christians from Christ's command in the Great Commission. Parks insisted that "the command to disciple the nations is still incumbent on every existing community. The total Christian community must continue to be aggressively involved in worldwide mission endeavor until the Lord returns."[27] Waldron Scott, head of the Worldwide Evangelical Fellowship, defended the use of statistics for this most urgent evangelization goal; he argued that though there were "dangers inherent in working with figures" because God valued quality as much as quantity, statistics were important because they revealed a task's dimensions, in this case the measurement that "for every person in our world today who professes the name of Jesus, there are *two* who have never heard his name."[28] Fuller missiologist Donald McGavran asserted that because of these daunting statistics that over two billion people had "no knowledge of Christ," Christians everywhere should make world evangelism the primary focus of their attention and resources. McGavran warned that if Christians did not prioritize cross-cultural evangelism to these unreached groups, Christians would "deny the Gospel to huge populations, growing hungrier every year" and would cause the "disobedience and spiritual death" of the global church.[29]

This emphasis on urgency was one of the greatest competing forces against self-reflection and self-adjustment by US missionary organizations in response to Global South church leaders' criticisms. The plans that American evangelicals at Lausanne promoted for evangelizing unreached people groups did lead many US missionary organizations to shift the concepts that they used when strategizing; during the late 1970s and 1980s American missionary organizations increasingly planned missions to "people groups" rather than national regions. But launching evangelization efforts for unreached people groups did not require missionary organizations to change their existing methods or structures much at all. Often these new master plans relied upon precisely the methods and structures that Global South leaders had condemned at Lausanne; much large-scale mobilization for missions to new people groups utilized extensive statistical analysis, expanded mission bureaucracies, and massive infusions of Western capital. In theory, American mission organizations could have restructured to address Global South church leaders' criticisms while simultaneously retooling and mobilizing for greater evangelization of unreached groups, and some organizations tried to do that. However, in practice a sense of urgency often led mission organizations to respond quickly using the models and methods they already knew, especially the ones based on Western notions of efficiency, which seemed most expedient for the ambitious task of reaching as many people as possible. So the master plans that American evangelical missiologists and mission leaders presented at Lausanne might have acknowledged some of the concerns that Global South leaders presented, but these American speakers' plans

[26] Ibid., 221.
[27] Keith Parks, "The Great Commission," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, 489.
[28] Waldron Scott, "The Task Before Us," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, 21. Emphasis in original.
[29] Donald McGavran, "The Dimensions of World Evangelization," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice,* 99.

also stressed a competing set of concerns that when implemented often sidelined Global South leaders' demands for change.

While Global South church leaders at Lausanne critiqued mission methods and structures by appealing to the importance of evangelization, these leaders attacked evangelization directly when they criticized mission theologies and philosophies. The largest and most controversial disagreements at Lausanne covered the relationship between evangelism and what Global South leaders called "social concern." The speakers who most challenged Western evangelical theologies of missions at Lausanne were the theologians from the Latin American Theological Fraternity (FTL). Begun in 1970, the FTL was an alliance of the most prominent Latin American evangelical theologians, many of whom had trained in evangelical colleges and seminaries in the United States and worked in US-connected organizations like the IFES and Latin America Mission.[30] Founding FTL member Samuel Escobar reflected that the group formed because its members "did not feel represented by the theology made in North America and imposed through the seminaries and Bible institutes of conservative evangelicals, whose programs and literature were a servile and repetitive translation forged in a situation completely alien to ours."[31] These FTL theologians utilized their intimate knowledge of US evangelical institutions and discourses to critique North American hegemony and deconstruct US evangelical doctrine with devastating precision. In spite of their barbed attacks on North American evangelical theology, FTL members earned prominent speaking opportunities not only within the US but also at international conferences like Lausanne because US evangelical leaders saw FTL members as important allies against more liberal Protestant and Catholic theologians of the "new radical left" in Latin America.[32] While FTL members did characterize Catholic liberation theology as a "secular theology" that was overly optimistic and humanistic, they also took liberation theology seriously and supported both Catholic and Protestant theological work that called attention to poverty, injustice, and US imperialism.[33] In their own work, FTL theologians blended the biggest emphases of liberation theology and American evangelical theology; FTL theologians developed a hermeneutical approach which stressed sin in both social and personal terms and highlighted the importance of both societal redemption and individual salvation. Along with that integrated hermeneutical approach, these theologians also supported theological "contextualization," the production of theology rooted in and applied to particular social and cultural contexts. Through

---

[30] David Swartz, *Moral Minority: The Evangelical Left in an Age of Conservatism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 113-122; Daniel Salinas, *Latin American Theology in the 1970s: The Golden Decade* (Boston: Brill, 2009), 83-120; David Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant? The Politics of Evangelical Growth* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 131-32.

[31] Samuel Escobar, "La Fundación de la Fraternidad Teología Latinoamericana: Breve Ensayo Histórico," *Boletín Teológico* 59/60 (1995): 17.

[32] See for example Fuller missiologist C. Peter Wagner's judgement of the theological landscape of Latin America in *Latin American Theology: Radical or Evangelical? The Struggle for Faith in a Young Church* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970). Wagner distributed copies of his book in Spanish to Latin American evangelical theologians at a 1969 conference in Bogotá, Colombia, and afterwards FTL members excoriated the book's broad-brush assumptions in their own theological journals and in US evangelical publications. See C. René Padilla, "Teología Latinoamericana: ¿Izquierdista o Evangélica?" *Pensamiento Cristiano* 17, no. 66 (1970): 134-139; Padilla, "A Steep Climb Ahead for Evangelical Theology in Latin America," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (1971): 99-106; and Samuel Escobar, "Del CLADE I al CLADE II: Evangélicos en Busca de Una Evangelización Contextual," *Pastoralia* 2, no. 3 (1979), 25.

[33] See René Padilla, "A Steep Climb Ahead for Evangelical Theology in Latin America," 100.

these theological approaches, and by publishing their work in both English and Spanish, FTL members intended to speak back to American evangelicals about the relationship of theology and missions to questions of power and politics.

At Lausanne, FTL speakers brought their critiques of Western evangelical theology and their calls to integrate social redemption and personal salvation to the broadest international audience. While many of the FTL's members spoke during the ten days of the conference, the plenary presentations by FTL founders René Padilla and Samuel Escobar were the most confrontational. Padilla challenged established theological norms by detailing the dangers of equating the gospel with "the American Way of Life" and by explaining the inseparability of personal salvation and social transformation. He charged that US evangelicals all too often conflated Christianity with Americanism and American culture, and this conflation blinded US evangelicals to their capitulation to evil elements of American society. Padilla aimed part of this criticism directly at Fuller's missiologists, who were in attendance during his talk, when he asserted that their church growth theory and its principle of "homogeneous units" – the idea that churches will grow most rapidly if they serve only one sociocultural group – sacrilized racial and class segregation for the sake of increasing conversions to Christianity.[34] Padilla argued more broadly that the biggest apostasy by US evangelical theologians and missionaries was their syncretizing Christianity with capitalism and consequently selling the gospel like a product, watering down that product to increase sales, and idolizing numerical growth over the proclamation of the full gospel.[35]

Padilla outlined what constituted a full proclamation of the gospel by making the case that social justice and individual salvation were inseparable. According to Padilla, salvation was a change "that becomes concrete in history. It is a turning from sin to God, not only in the individual's subjective consciousness, but *in the world*."[36] This emphasis on social context extended to philosophies of missions as well; Padilla asserted that missionaries should never consider only people's spiritual condition but rather must serve people holistically by addressing their social and material circumstances. He blasted US evangelicals' view of evangelization when he insisted that "there is no place for statistics on 'how many souls die without Christ every minute,' if they do not take into account how many of those who die, die victims of hunger."[37] Padilla pleaded with his fellow delegates to cultivate the humility necessary to admit that Western theological "distortions" had harmed evangelization and to pursue "theological renewal" by allowing Global South theologians and church leaders to reshape understandings of evangelism and missions.[38] With these teachings and warnings, Padilla contended that Western evangelization was deeply flawed because it stemmed from a theology that falsely bifurcated individual salvation and social transformation.

Samuel Escobar extended Padilla's critiques by focusing more specifically on the relationship between the gospel and social justice. Escobar reminded his fellow delegates that dire problems like hunger, oppression, pollution, and violence permeated the world that Christians hoped to evangelize, and he lamented that many evangelicals believed that "we should

---

[34] René Padilla, "Evangelism and the World," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, 125, 137.
[35] Ibid., 126.
[36] Ibid., 128. Emphasis in original.
[37] Ibid., 131.
[38] Ibid., 141.

close our eyes to such ugly facts and give ourselves entirely to the task of propagating verbal summaries of the Gospel adapted for mass consumption by all the available means."[39] Rebuking that indifference to social injustice, Escobar enumerated the ways that missionaries and evangelists should actively engage social issues as a part of evangelization. He stressed that a Christian community's visible displays of social concern were just as important as Christians' verbal proclamations of the gospel. Escobar chastised evangelicals from "Anglo-Saxon countries" by accusing them of "creating a false and anti-biblical dichotomy between evangelism and social action" and "spiritualizing the Gospel to heretical extremes" instead of utilizing their money, influence, and numerical power to change their societies and address the injustices caused by Western nations and corporations around the world. To evangelicals who worried that focusing on social issues would lead down a slippery slope to ignoring evangelism altogether, Escobar countered that the real danger was that missionaries and evangelists would keep away potential new believers by being indifferent to people's social, economic, and political oppression.[40] A full theology of evangelization, according to Escobar, not only supported the proclamation of the gospel but also required the manifestation of that gospel in efforts to make societies more just and right.

Other FTL members echoed Padilla's and Escobar's criticisms of mission theologies by emphasizing the centrality of social justice. Hector Espinosa discussed his pastoral work in Mexico and warned his fellow delegates that seeing evangelization as only proselytization turned evangelism into "winning" converts rather than seeking others' full reconciliation with God. Espinosa stressed that full reconciliation changed not only a person's soul but also transformed society by enabling new believers to join Christian communities that participated in redemptive and prophetic work against social injustices.[41] Orlando Costas described his program of In-Depth Evangelism across Latin America as an example of how to integrate personal evangelism with social concern. He explained that In-Depth programs taught churches to understand evangelism as both individual and social, and he argued that "the church must take seriously the totality of the world and thus be concerned not only about the geographical penetration of the Gospel, but also about its cultural and sociological impact."[42] With appeals like these, FTL speakers made the case that evangelicals should abandon a proclamation-focused theology of missions and instead allow Global South church leaders to reorient theologies of global evangelization by merging evangelism with social concern.

Some American evangelical delegates at Lausanne disregarded these theological critiques from FTL leaders and instead reasserted the preeminence of evangelism over social action. Speakers that maintained their commitment to evangelism's primacy issued stern reminders about the urgency of "the evangelistic task" and clung to a philosophy of evangelization that defined itself against the social justice emphasis of ecumenical Protestant missions. Billy Graham thundered against the theological shifts by ecumenical Protestants during the twentieth century as he stressed the disparity between evangelical and ecumenical Protestant missions.

---

[39] Samuel Escobar, "Evangelism and Man's Search for Freedom, Justice, and Fulfillment," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, 304.
[40] Ibid., 316, 322.
[41] Hector Espinosa, "The Biblical Mission of the Church in Worship, Witness and Service," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, 1094-96.
[42] Orlando Costas, "In-Depth Evangelism in Latin America," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, 211.

Graham insisted that evangelicals bore the responsibility of continuing the theological vision of the 1910 World Missionary Conference ("The Evangelization of the World in This Generation") precisely because ecumenical Protestants had "floundered" in their attempt to fulfill that vision by shifting their focus "from evangelism to social and political action." Graham acknowledged that delegates should be enthusiastic about worship, social concern, and other work that Christian communities performed, but he asserted that missionaries and evangelists should focus on their special calling "to a specific sector of the Church's responsibility—evangelism."[43] That specific sector, according to Graham, was distinct from all of the other elements of Christian involvement in the world. Donald McGavran agreed that social reform was a good task for all Christians to undertake, but he contended that evangelism was the "first and basic task" that was separate from and superior to social action. McGavran explained that Christians' primary duty was to proclaim the gospel and convince people to accept that gospel – conversion through verbal persuasion was the main goal.[44] With these presentations, McGavran and Graham illustrated the ways that US evangelicals' commitment to a proclamation-fixated theology of missions would prove rather inflexible when challenged by Global South leaders' demands to pair evangelism with social justice. And this stubbornness stemmed largely from evangelicals' stern condemnation of and anxiety about the trajectory of ecumenical Protestants' theology. Because American evangelicals had long cast ecumenical Protestants and their social gospel as the foil characters of evangelicals and their dedication to evangelism, some US missions leaders could not let go of that duality to embrace a philosophy of missions that united evangelism and social concern as coequals.

While some American delegates persistently reasserted the primacy of evangelism over social action, many Western delegates responded by endorsing an idea of "holistic mission" and pledging to put that shifted paradigm into practice. Delegates who accepted and promoted an idea of holistic mission did so in their individual speeches and in corporate actions at the congress. British theologian John Stott, the most prominent participant at the congress after Billy Graham, gave an extensive exposition about his acceptance of and theological justification for holistic evangelization that included "social responsibility." He challenged his fellow delegates to accept that Christ's Great Commission to "go and make disciples" did not supersede his Great Commandment to "love your neighbor," and therefore Christians should synthesize evangelism and social action. Stott continued that "the Gospel lacks credibility if we who preach it are interested only in souls, and have no concern about the welfare of people's bodies, situations and community."[45] Francis Schaeffer emphasized the need for social concern when he scolded Western Christians for funding evangelism more than relief. Stating that "we have acted as if giving to missions is spiritual but using our accumulated wealth for man's needs, including the needs of our brothers in Christ, is not as spiritual," Schaeffer counseled that Western Christians should adjust their financial priorities because "both kinds of giving are needed and both kinds are equally biblical and both kinds are equally spiritual."[46] George Hoffman agreed that Western

[43] Graham, "Why Lausanne?" 27.
[44] McGavran, "The Dimensions of World Evangelization," 109.
[45] John Stott, "The Biblical Basis of Evangelism," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, 67-68. The Great Commandment refers to Christ's paraphrase of passages from Deuteronomy and Leviticus in response to a question about which commandment is the greatest. The discussion appears in Matthew 22:35-40, Mark 12:28-31, and Luke 10:25-28.
[46] Schaeffer, "Form and Freedom in the Church," 365.

Christians must use their wealth to meet human needs around the world, and he added that Western Christians must also repent for ignoring, perpetuating or exploiting "factors which create conditions that dehumanize our fellowmen and degrade the image of God in which they were made."[47]

This emphasis on repentance for past failures also emerged during an impromptu gathering of over 500 delegates who supported social concern as an integral part of evangelization. Convened about halfway through the conference by some FTL leaders and Western delegates, the meeting was a forum for attendees to urge the Lausanne Covenant drafting committee to incorporate calls for social action into the covenant. During the meeting, Australian theologian Athol Gil suggested that Lausanne should have been a forum for repentance for previous failures by international missions. The other attendees largely agreed and as a result produced a signed document called "A Response to Lausanne" that highlighted the importance of social concern and repented in detail for the wrongs that missionaries and evangelists had committed around the world.[48] The response declared that "we must repudiate as demonic the attempt to drive a wedge between evangelism and social action" and confessed to thirteen different types of theological, political, and social injustices committed in the name of global evangelization.[49] Delegates disseminated the response to all 2700 congress attendees, and though some conservative Western evangelicals balked at the document, John Stott endorsed the response, and the drafting committee attached it to the final Lausanne Covenant.[50] Since the response was only an attachment, however, it stood alone as its own document and thus did not become a part of the Lausanne Covenant's afterlife as the most prominent and widely used manifesto of evangelical beliefs.

Support for social concern and holistic mission also formally appeared within the Lausanne Covenant itself, although the covenant had far less polemical language than the Response to Lausanne did. The Lausanne Covenant was a doctrinal declaration, signed by most delegates, that coalesced the different foci of the congress into one cohesive document. The preparation of the covenant included extensive battles over the content of each portion, and the section on social concern went through several revisions. The initial version only included one brief sentence that called for concern for justice throughout all societies around the world, but the final version of the "Christian social responsibility" section was the second largest portion of the entire covenant. The section included a passage that stated, "Although reconciliation with other people is not reconciliation with God, nor is social action evangelism, nor is political liberation salvation, nevertheless we affirm that evangelism and socio-political involvement are both part of our Christian duty."[51] The passage's several qualifying statements reflected the misgivings of many Western delegates who worried about efforts to unite social action and evangelism without any caveats. In spite of these reservations, many Western delegates enthusiastically signed the Lausanne Covenant and at least verbally assented to the theological paradigm shifts that Global South leaders promoted. In these corporate responses and individual ones, many Western

[47] Hoffman "The Social Responsibilities of Evangelization," 1306.
[48] Swartz, *Moral Minority*, 124-25.
[49] "Theology Implications of Radical Discipleship," 1294, 1295-96.
[50] Salinas, *Latin American Theology in the 1970s*, 136-37.
[51] "The Lausanne Covenant," 4.

delegates were willing to agree with Global South church leaders that long held theologies and philosophies of missions needed to change.

At the Lausanne International Congress, most presentations and conversations focused, by design, on expansive theories and concepts rather than specific details or instructions, so after the congress concluded, the question remained whether missionaries and their organizations actually could or would implement the structural and theological changes that Global South church leaders had demanded. For many US evangelicals, the prophetic challenges at Lausanne inspired greater investment and participation in evangelical relief and development organizations. Several of these international agencies had begun in the late 1940s and 1950s to focus on emergency medical services and hunger relief after World War II, along with orphan sponsorship and adoption following the Korean War. In the 1970s, those organizations expanded their ministries to focus on longer-term solutions to global poverty, and with booming support from both evangelical and secular donors, including the US government, many of those agencies became the largest humanitarian organizations in the world.[52] At the same time, new evangelical relief and development organizations multiplied during the late 1970s and 1980s, and some missionary organizations began their own relief and development divisions. Leaders of these agencies convened conferences on development in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and in 1978 they founded the Association of Evangelical Relief and Development Organizations to foster mutual support, strategy sharing, and coordinated lobbying for USAID grants for AERDO members.[53] And US evangelicals were eager to underwrite these growing organizations; even amid a lackluster economy in the 1970s, evangelicals' contributions to relief and development ministries quadrupled between 1969 and 1982.[54]

Inspired by appeals from Global South church leaders, these international relief and development agencies increasingly embraced a holistic mission that combined evangelism and social concern. However, the growth of these organizations also revealed the persistent tensions between evangelism and social action for US evangelicals. As relief agencies incorporated development work in the 1970s, they began hiring professionals in marketing, development, and management rather than training and appointing national Christians and missionaries to administer programs at international sites. Both employees within these organizations and outside observers raised concerns about the trajectory that these new hiring practices suggested; many supporters worried that these agencies were diluting their Christian identity in order to expand their development work. For example, World Vision, the largest evangelical relief and development organization, only hired employees who would affirm the organization's statement of faith in the 1950s and 1960s, but as the agency expanded its development work in the 1970s, it

---

[52] See David King, "Seeking a Global Vision: The Evolution of World Vision and American Evangelicalism," (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 2012); Gary Vanderpol, "The Least of These: American Evangelical Parachurch Missions to the Poor, 1947-2005" (Th.D. diss., Boston University School of Theology, 2010); and Amy Reynolds and Stephen Offutt, "Global Poverty and Evangelical Action," in *The New Evangelical Social Engagement*, eds. Brian Steensland and Philip Goff (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 242-64.

[53] For evangelical development conference proceedings, see Carl F. H. Henry and Robert Lincoln Hancock, *The Ministry of Development in Evangelical Perspective: A Symposium on the Social and Spiritual Mandate* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1979) and Ronald J Sider, ed., *Evangelicals and Development: Toward a Theology of Social Change* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1982).

[54] Linda Diane Smith, "An Awakening of Conscience: The Changing Response of American Evangelicals toward World Poverty" (Ph.D. diss., American University, 1986), ii.

struggled to find development experts who were also committed evangelicals. So World Vision began to hire nominal Christians with specialized development experience, even as insiders worried that the organization might be sacrificing its Christian commitment in the name of expertise.[55] Professionalization exposed anxieties about how relief and development agencies could embrace social concern while retaining an evangelical identity and evangelistic commitment to spread the gospel.

As large and popular as these evangelical relief and development agencies became, their growth did not alter the bifurcation of evangelism and social action by evangelical missionary organizations. Relief and development agencies worked in parallel with missionary organizations, and as relief and development groups became the biggest channels for evangelical social action, missionary organizations could continue to focus primarily on evangelism while resting assured that someone else was taking care of social responsibility. Missionary organizations also sometimes competed with relief and development agencies, both in the US and in the field, and these conflicts did not endear the newcomers to missionaries. Mission organizations and relief agencies vied for US evangelicals' financial support, especially before relief agencies shifted to broader sources of funding through media campaigns and government grants, and missionaries worried that these new groups might co-opt donors.[56] At international sites, some mission organizations accused relief and development agencies of swooping in and "stealing" the best local pastors and missionaries for relief work by "bribing" those workers with higher salaries and land rovers. These turf wars led some missionary organizations to complain about relief agencies' growth and question their motives.[57] So while evangelical relief and development agencies embraced a holistic ministry philosophy and became a major outlet for evangelical social action, these specialized agencies did not necessarily inspire missionary organizations to follow their lead in combining evangelism with social concern.

Missionaries trying to integrate evangelism and social concern on the mission field discovered the tensions that American evangelical mission organizations had created for themselves by deeming the proclamation of the gospel and the demonstration of the gospel to be competing theological principles. One missionary's expression of this tension in the years after Lausanne came from Barbara Lynn Collins, who served with Africa Inland Mission in Kenya during the late 1970s. Collins grew up in Southern California as a self-described hippie and attended Fuller's School of World Mission before she and her husband moved in 1978 to a remote village in northeastern Kenya, just as a severe famine struck. Though Collins and her husband had the official job of translating the Bible into a local dialect, she struggled to balance her task of evangelizing through biblical translation with her desire to care for the physical needs of the community around her. "You stepped out of your door and walked across the bones of

[55] King, "Seeking a Global Vision," 220-60.
[56] For mission organizations' angst, see Wade Coggins, "The Administrator's Dilemma in Confronting Development Needs," 1978 Haiti Development Assistance Services Conference, Folder 7, Box 32, Collection 165, Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois (hereafter EFMA Collection). For relief agencies' expanding funding sources, see Ken Waters, "How World Vision Rose from Obscurity to Prominence: Television Fundraising, 1972-1982," *American Journalism* 15, no. 4 (1998): 87–89 and Rachel McCleary, *Global Compassion: Private Voluntary Organizations and U.S. Foreign Policy since 1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).
[57] King, "Seeking a Global Vision," 236, 245.

dead animals," Collins recalled, "and people were starving, people needed to be driven to the hospital in Marsabit, that sort of thing, so it was hard to stay focused" on biblical translation work.[58] When Collins and her husband moved to a different region four years later, a missionary couple from Wycliffe replaced them and continued their translation job.[59] That second couple finished more translation work, but they did less relief work as a result, and Collins remembered that choosing between translation and relief work felt like a zero-sum game for both couples: "They [the Wycliffe couple] got more done but they felt guilty because they weren't doing the other. We got the other done but felt guilty because we weren't doing the academic [translation]. So it was a continual battle." While this tension for missionaries was hardly new in the late twentieth century, especially regarding the relationship between evangelism and hunger relief, the proclamation-focused theological commitments of American evangelicals heightened that tension for US evangelical missionaries navigating international work during the 1970s and 1980s. Collins lamented that when she and her husband would visit AIM's regional headquarters in Nairobi, office staff would ask her not how she was handling the difficulties of famine but rather, "Have you got the Bible done yet?"[60]

**National Association Confrontations**

As Collins suggested, the experiences of individual missionaries depended partly on the expectations and strategies set by mission organizations. And these questions about evangelism and social action, along with questions about mission strategies and methods, not only came up within individual missionaries' field experiences but also permeated the internal conversations among mission organizations in the 1970s and 1980s. In response to the vocal criticisms from church leaders all over the Global South, US mission organizations wrestled with how they might address their institutional strategies and mission philosophies. Would the leading evangelical mission organizations restructure and restrategize to embrace the changes that Global South leaders were demanding? Could these American evangelical organizations abandon a dichotomized theology of missions and integrate evangelism with social concern?

National missionary association meetings like the semiannual ones of the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association (EFMA) were prominent spaces where those questions arose, and these meetings were also the places to which Global South leaders traveled to confront US missionary leaders directly with calls to change the methods and philosophies of their mission organizations. Each of these gatherings assembled between fifty and one hundred representatives from the leading evangelical mission organizations for several days of discussions about policies

[58] Interview of Barbara Lynn Collins by Robert Shuster, January 13, 1995, Audio Tape 1, Collection 508, Interviews with Barbara Lynn (Miner) Collins, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois (hereafter Collins Collection).
[59] Bible translation work was a major focus of several US evangelical missionary organizations, and constituted part of US evangelicals' embrace of social science as a tool for mission work. The biggest group, Wycliffe Bible Translators, began out of literacy education and linguistics work by missionaries in Mexico in the 1930s and developed into a vast network of linguistics institutes that trained US missionaries for translation work with Wycliffe and other missionary organizations. Collins and her husband studied at one of Wycliffe's Summer Institutes of Linguistics before working with AIM. See William Svelmoe, *A New Vision for Missions: William Cameron Townsend, the Wycliffe Bible Translators, and the Culture of Early Evangelical Faith Missions, 1896-1945* (Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 2008).
[60] Interview of Barbara Lynn Collins by Robert Shuster, January 13, 1995, Audio Tape 1, Collins Collection.

and strategies, as well as times for worship, prayer, and group Bible studies. The meetings were more casual and friendly than large conferences were, and participants were often very willing to share their opinions or doubts with one another during frequent question-and-answer sessions and breakout groups. Global South church leaders entered these meetings to stir up missionary leaders and prompt them to think about specific ways that they could alter their methods and philosophies of missions. Most of all Global South leaders challenged mission representatives about increasing partnerships with national Christians, addressing North American financial and bureaucratic power, and eliminating Western theological control. US missionary leaders sometimes presented examples of how they were changing in response to these criticisms, and other times offered excuses about why they were slow to change or why they mistrusted the demands that Global South leaders made.

During the mid-1970s, Global South leaders who visited EFMA meetings confronted missionary leaders about the oppression caused by US organizations' unilateral actions, staggering wealth, and bureaucratic bulk. Global South speakers like Samuel Escobar upbraided missionary leaders for paying lip service to the idea of partnership with local churches throughout the world but often ignoring that principle in practice. Escobar pinned the motivations for this stubbornness on US leaders' idolizing capitalism and corporate techniques. He complained that many mission organizations did not find out what churches were already doing in a region but rather "simply arrive, 'study the market,' and organize their sales of their particular version of the gospel with its accompanying literature, tapes, rallies, etc." Escobar mocked that creating corporate "machinery" gratified North American missionaries more than evangelism did: "If the machinery is efficient, with clear aims, lines of command and job descriptions, it will soon be operating. The program will be in action! But has evangelization taken place? That is quite another thing. There are biblical criteria other than activism or performance of a program for determining whether a work is gold or chaff."[61] Enrique Guang, rector of Alliance Bible Seminary in Ecuador, argued that these obstinate unilateral actions by US missionaries created damaging hierarchical relationships that harmed local church leaders. When missionaries controlled all of the work and assumed all of the leadership positions, Guang explained, missionaries steadily communicated in nonverbal ways that local community members were stupid, untrustworthy, and incapable of Christian leadership.[62] If missionaries really wanted local churches and Christians around the world to flourish, Guang and Escobar contended, mission organizations had to forcibly break down the vertical relationships that unilateral mission methods created between missionaries and national Christians in local communities.

One of the biggest ways that Global South leaders advised missionaries to break down hierarchical relationships and foster meaningful partnerships with local churches was by demanding that mission organizations restructure the ways they apportioned their finances. Many

---

[61] Samuel Escobar, "How Can North American Foreign Mission Agencies More Effectively Assist National Churches in the Evangelization of Their Countries?" 1973 EFMA-IFMA-AEPM Study Conference, Folder 16, Box 10, EFMA Collection. Escobar mixed his biblical metaphors by combining the scriptural juxtaposition of gold and dross with the biblical comparison of grain and chaff; his audience still would have understood his scornful intent.
[62] Enrique Guang, "Missionary Action is an 'In-the-Meantime,'" in *Evangelical Missions Tomorrow*, eds. Wade Coggins and E.L. Frizen, Jr. (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1977), 40. The proceedings of the 1976 EFMA study conference were published as *Evangelical Missions Tomorrow*.

speakers insisted that mission organizations needed to invest heavily in local theological schools, which national Christians would control and staff, and thereby expand the number of independently trained local church leaders rather than simply increasing the population of expensive American missionaries. Stephen Akangbe, president of the Evangelical Churches of West Africa, recommended that missionary leaders reallocate their funds to underwrite new seminary libraries, filled with books chosen by national Christian staff, and to partner annually with national churches to fund the salaries of local professors. Akangbe added the warning that if evangelical mission organizations did not fund autonomous theological training, local church leaders would turn to more theologically liberal training institutes funded by the World Council of Churches.[63] Andrew Furuyama, director of the Japan Overseas Missions Association, agreed that Western financial investments were most useful for the larger costs of facilities, equipment, and training that local pastors needed to expand their work.[64] Byang Kato, the director of the Association of Evangelicals in Africa and Madagascar, reasoned that US organizations should set up a percentage apportionment system that would give a certain amount to local theological training based on the number of missionaries an area. This per quota system, Kato explained, would expand theological training and thereby reduce the education disparity that perpetuated power imbalances between missionaries and local Christian leaders.[65]

Global South church leaders argued that US mission organizations should change their financial priorities because local pastors and evangelists were both cheaper and more culturally equipped than foreign missionaries. Stephen Akangbe told missionary representatives that it was "more advisable and economical" to fund "native evangelists who will cost less to maintain." He claimed that US mission organizations would make a wider impact by funding local Christian workers, since "the funds that will support one expatriate missionary could support three or four nationals preaching the same gospel."[66] Byang Kato did the math for US missionary leaders as well; he reported that the annual cost of maintaining one missionary could fund the yearly training of ten local pastors in many areas. Kato said that US Christians needed to abandon their "old philosophy" of only supporting Americans overseas and instead should reevaluate their priorities, since their "primary concern should be the building of Christ's body, whether by the national or the missionary."[67] Not all Global South leaders held the same views about Western money; while some speakers gave unrestricted endorsements of foreign funding, others discussed the importance of ensuring that local churches also paid for or otherwise invested in ministries to reduce national Christians' sense of dependence and increase their feelings of ownership and partnership. But all Global South leaders agreed that reallocating missions funding to national Christians would help correct the power imbalance between well-funded missions and

[63] Stephen Akangbe, "Three Major Ways That North American Mission Agencies Can Effectively Assist National Churches in the Evangelization of Their Countries," 1973 EFMA-IFMA-AEPM Study Conference, Folder 16, Box 10, EFMA Collection.
[64] Andrew Furuyama, "How Can North American Mission Agencies Effectively Cooperate with and Encourage Third World Mission Sending Agencies?" 1973 EFMA-IFMA-AEPM Study Conference, Folder 18, Box 10, EFMA Collection.
[65] Byang Kato, "Evangelical Structures That Should Affect the Church Nationally and Internationally," 1973 EFMA-IFMA-AEPM Study Conference, Folder 16, Box 10, EFMA Collection.
[66] Akangbe, "Three Major Ways That North American Mission Agencies Can Effectively Assist National Churches in the Evangelization of Their Countries."
[67] Kato, "Evangelical Structures That Should Affect the Church Nationally and Internationally."

financially limited national churches. This reallocation also would dramatically expand the number of trained evangelists and pastors capable of ministering to communities all over the world, Global South church leaders argued, and if US mission organizations wanted to evangelize the world in the quickest way possible, then they needed to fund national Christians to do that work.

Dismantling Western-imposed bureaucracies and diversifying mission leadership boards were other practical changes that Global South leaders proposed would shift power from missionaries to national Christians. Pablo Perez, director of the Evangelistic Institute of Mexico, accused missionaries of imposing hulking ministry bureaucracies that "devour our time and energies but produce little in terms of evangelization." Perez pleaded with missionary leaders to restructure their systems of governance and policy making, and especially to free national churches to build new organizational forms that looked nothing like North American models.[68] Byang Kato told missionary representatives that they not only must refrain from imposing their bureaucracies on national Christians in the field but also must give national Christians authority over mission bureaucracies in the US, most of all by putting national Christians on the governing boards of mission organizations. Kato insisted that "it is time for mission executives to stop deciding the fate of the work overseas from London, Paris, or New York without leading personnel from the 'field' present. A church executive should be an active bona fide member of the highest council of every mission board."[69] With recommendations like these, church leaders from the Global South outlined specific concrete steps that US mission organizations could take to begin rectifying the hierarchical relationships between Western missions and local churches.

During these EFMA meetings, US missionary representatives met with one another in small groups to talk over the topics that Global South church leaders had presented, and participants also shared their individual reflections by filling out surveys before leaving the multi-day gatherings. These responses illuminated some of missionary leaders' initial reactions to the criticisms and demands delivered by Global South leaders. In small group discussions, many missionary leaders raised questions about the potential ramifications of structural changes. Several groups asked about the consequences of reapportioning money. Would reallocations of foreign money create dependency? Could missions afford to reapportion their budgets amid the monetary and energy crises of the 1970s? Were requests for missions' finances even valid, or should only national churches fund national Christian workers and projects? Groups also wrestled with the potential logistical challenges of putting national Christians on mission leadership boards. One group asked, "How can Western missions have representation on their boards when some large missions may be serving in more than 20 countries?"[70] Some missionary leaders expressed concerns in their personal survey reflections as well. "It appears to me that we are trying to throw out all done in the past as ineffective," one participant protested, "and we must steer a middle, balanced path and not swing the pendulum extremely to the left." Another participant complained that increasing national Christians' influence would devalue US missionaries: "We neglected the Third World possibly, but now we are tending to downgrade the

---

[68] Pablo Perez, "Identification for Evangelization," in *Evangelical Missions Tomorrow*, eds. Wade Coggins and E.L. Frizen, Jr. (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1977), 31.
[69] Kato, "Evangelical Structures That Should Affect the Church Nationally and Internationally."
[70] "Questions on Cooperation in Evangelization," 1973 EFMA-IFMA-AEPM Study Conference, Folder 17, Box 10, EFMA Collection.

N.A. [North American] missionary. I believe in dialogue with Third World, but let's not have monologue from the Third World." Several other attendees reported that they simply felt uncertain about whether they could successfully implement so many changes across the board, from policy alterations to leadership restructuring, field staff training, and donor education.[71]

In spite of these doubts and questions, most missionary leaders endorsed Global South church leaders' demands for structural change and expressed commitment and even enthusiasm about pursuing changes within their own organizations. Many missionary leaders admitted that they had not realized how "capable" and "mature" national churches and leaders were. One participant confessed, "My paternal and patronizing attitudes are exposed. I gained new respect and compassion for the maturity of Third World national leaders." Numerous US leaders promised to educate themselves and their missionaries about national churches in their fields and to encourage missionaries to build better relationships with national church leaders. Other missionary leaders shared that they wanted to let go of total control and learn to work on teams with national Christians and churches. One attendee said that national church leaders had increased his belief that God could "accomplish his mission without Western guidance." Another participant revealed that "I have felt that our relationship to the new national church should be of a 'fatherly' concern. I feel now that it should be 'brotherly.'" US leaders pledged that they would facilitate partnerships with national churches by putting national Christians on regional leadership committees in the field and seeking national churches' help with long-range planning and problem solving.[72] Through these promises, American missionary leaders indicated that they were eager to begin working alongside national churches and to change some of their mission structures to give national Christians greater influence over evangelization programs.

Many of these US leaders followed through on their commitments. Most American mission organizations implemented at least some structural changes and initiated partnerships with local churches around the world in the 1970s, and during EFMA meetings in the 1980s, US missionary leaders were eager to share their success stories from the field. Harold Fuller of Sudan Interior Mission described his organization's partnerships with national churches in West Africa and extolled the benefits of collaborating with national Christians. SIM had funded several national churches' ministry projects and had offered extra manpower for some of those projects at national churches' request. SIM also had provided training to prepare national Christians for cross-cultural ministry. Fuller admitted that he was surprised when national churches had asked SIM to lead cross-cultural training for "indigenous missionaries": "I couldn't understand this because I was 'Western' and these were black missionaries, and surely they knew how to be black missionaries to black people." But, Fuller had learned, many national churches in West Africa wanted SIM missionaries to draw on their experience with cross-cultural communication and offer orientations about how to cross ethnic and religious lines for Christian ministry without committing cultural offenses that might "block the transmission of the gospel." Fuller told his fellow missionary directors that partnering with national churches had provided many benefits to SIM, though partnership also required some adjustments. He praised the different strengths that "non-Western" and Western Christians brought to evangelistic work –

[71] "Study Conference Outcomes," 1973 EFMA-IFMA-AEPM Study Conference, Folder 19, Box 10, EFMA Collection.
[72] Ibid.

he categorized non-Western Christians as experts in local knowledge and Western Christians as those with ministry experience and funding – and he expressed gratitude that partnerships allowed Western missionaries and national churches to hold one another accountable to common goals and standards. Fuller admitted that these partnerships required greater flexibility by Western missionaries, who needed to accept different ministry styles and not compete with national Christians for projects or personnel, but he encouraged his fellow missionary directors to pursue these alliances with national churches and realize the asset that such cooperation would be for world evangelization.[73]

Mennonite missions director Peter Hamm also urged his fellow missionary leaders to embrace "internationalization," the process of making mission work less Western through partnerships with national churches, as the "sina que non of contemporary missions."[74] Hamm shared the different models of collaboration that Mennonite missionaries had established with national churches in Paraguay, Brazil, and Ecuador. In each case, the workers' country of origin was different than the country funding and overseeing the work. For example, a team of Brazilians worked in the German department of a Christian radio station based in Ecuador, with funding and supervision from Americans. Hamm explained that many types of internationalization were feasible, but he cautioned that US missionary organizations had to be willing to eliminate older models of Western dominance. He specified that missionaries had to reject "our understanding of missions from the vantage point of power—from our privileged positions of wealth, education, and expertise." Internationalization served as a check on that power, Hamm argued, when US mission organizations were willing to enter into truly mutual and interdependent partnerships in which all members had equal power to allot money and place personnel, regardless of which country provided the money or the personnel. He warned that US missionaries' biggest temptation would be to stop the process of internationalization at the point at which they had the most control, in the "cooperation of unequal partners" phase, when North American decision makers controlled the priorities for US money that funded national Christian personnel. Full internationalization, in which a representative international board decided how to distribute resources, would have its disadvantages, Hamm conceded, because international meetings were expensive and American partners would often not feel satisfied by a more protracted decision making process that lacked "neat and tidy" efficiency. But these forms of partnership with national churches, he insisted, would bring mission organizations unparalleled "international good will and Christian brotherhood" and powerful new methods for reaching many "unreached" areas of the world.[75]

Ted Noble, director of international ministries for Campus Crusade for Christ, described how his organization had tried to internationalize evangelism campaigns. He outlined a program that Crusade had piloted with national churches in Uganda and Kenya to combine community health education with evangelism. With World Vision's financial support, Crusade staff worked with national churches and another US mission focused on community health to train national

---

[73] "Emerging Missions: Comments, Models, Discussion," 1987 Missions Executives Retreat, Audio Tape 166, EFMA Collection.

[74] Peter Hamm, "The Internationalization of Missions," EFMA Convention 1980, Folder 7, Box 56, EFMA Collection. Emphasis in original. "Internationalization" was an American evangelical missions buzzword during the 1980s and 1990s.

[75] Ibid.

Christians in community health education and evangelism techniques. These "community health evangelists" then committed to conduct house-to-house evangelism and health education, lead Bible studies, and assist with special evangelism campaigns in their communities. Noble reported the statistical results after one year: in one of the pilot towns, twelve trainees had helped 350 people become Christians, and ten of the twelve trainees were leading Bible studies. He stated that further internationalization plans included turning over all of the training and expansion work to national Christians, so that former trainees would became the trainers and thereby multiply the number of national Christians prepared to be community health evangelists.[76] Crusade's projections estimated that through ambitious multiplication techniques, these community health evangelists could reproduce themselves many times over, eventually producing 50,000 trained evangelist health educators who could share the gospel with 50 million people in a mere eight years.[77] Noble thus argued that internationalized partnerships for evangelism could produce dramatic numerical results for global evangelization.

These different attempts by US organizations at internationalization satisfied some of Global South church leaders' demands, most notably by no longer pursuing totally unilateral actions, but these efforts also failed to address many of Global South leaders' larger criticisms. By transferring some funding to national churches and sharing some decision making, these examples of internationalization all reduced the concentration of power in US mission organizations' hands. However, all of these examples also preserved forms of Western control and Western understandings of missions. All of the examples incorporated national Christians into local and regional bodies but not into the highest international governing bodies, which allowed some diversity at the local level but maintained larger institutional whiteness and Americanness at the top of these organizations – a problem that Global South speakers like Byang Kato had decried specifically. SIM's training example illustrated how partnership requested by national churches could still perpetuate Western mission strategies, in that case by instilling in national Christians cross-cultural ministry techniques based on Western philosophies of missions. And Crusade's example of evangelism internationalization relied on replication methods like those of US direct selling companies; applying business techniques to evangelism was a strategy that Crusade particularly championed, but Global South leaders like Samuel Escobar criticized that approach within international missions as an imposed American fixation. So while internationalization increased the number of partnerships between US organizations and national Christians and churches, those partnerships alone did not eradicate many of the hierarchies intrinsic to Western mission methods and philosophies.

When Global South church leaders visited EFMA meetings during the first years of the 1990s, they pointed out the ways that these new efforts to "internationalize" missions had not eliminated the power differentials between Western mission organizations and national Christians and churches. Samuel Escobar scolded missionary leaders who employed national Christians within American-designed programs and then applauded themselves for their internationalized ministries. "Internationalization does not mean that North American churches or parachurches should say, 'Come join us and learn how we've devised it,'" Escobar explained,

[76] Ted Noble, "Missionary Joint Work in Evangelism," 1983 Mission Executives Retreat, Folder 7, Box 57, EFMA Collection.
[77] Stan Roland, "Community Health Evangelism Summary," 1983 Mission Executives Retreat, Folder 7, Box 57, EFMA Collection.

"but rather we should see North American churches and parachurches saying, 'Let's join what God is doing with you.'" He declared that it was time for American Christians to accept that national Christians not only could lead their fellow countrymen but also could and should lead Westerners; only when that happened, he argued, would there be real internationalization.[78] Nigerian theologian Yusufu Taraki echoed Escobar's critiques by attesting that two decades of internationalization efforts still had not purged "western cultural baggage," bulky Western bureaucracies, or capital-intensive Western projects from the mission field. Taraki questioned whether Western organizations' huge budgets and intensive fundraising were focused on "soul-winning" or rather "maintenance of the system," especially when organizations continued to fund many expensive American missionaries long after national Christians were qualified to perform the same ministry work.[79] With assessments like these, Global South speakers in the early 1990s warned US missionary leaders not to pat themselves on the back and believe that everything was fine simply because there were national Christians sitting in planning meetings or working alongside missionaries at field sites. Genuine redistribution of power and cooperation in ministry, Global South speakers argued, would require much deeper structural and philosophical transformations.

At EFMA meetings, Global South church leaders confronted US missionary leaders not only about the hierarchies inherent in mission structures and methods but also about the power disparities caused by US mission theologies. Global South speakers most criticized missionaries for forcing Americanized theologies onto the rest of the world and refusing to give theological autonomy to national Christians. Speakers from the Latin American Theological Fraternity (FTL) had first-hand experience with the fight for theological autonomy, in conflict with the EFMA specifically; in 1972, the EFMA had threatened to withdraw its financial support for an FTL conference if the FTL had invited liberation theologian (and FTL member) José Miguez Bonino to speak at the conference. The FTL had replied that it would not accept any funding with strings attached, and the group diversified its financial backers in the following years.[80] Several FTL speakers who came to EFMA meetings in the mid-1970s condemned US leaders for imposing American theological molds onto national Christians. René Padilla complained that far too many mission organizations considered it their theological responsibility to export "theologies elaborated in the West" and to overwhelm national churches and Christians with a "continual bombardment of doctrinal formulations and predigested 'Christian answers.'" Padilla contended that these imposed Western theologies harmed national churches: "This imposition of Western cultural molds, often supported by economic power, cannot but retard indefinitely the growth of indigenous churches, rooted in their own culture and capable of making their own theological contribution."[81] Samuel Escobar instructed missionary leaders to stop exporting North American theologies to the mission field and instead to support national Christians as they developed their own theological emphases. "We do not need apologetics or systemic theology

[78] Samuel Escobar, "Internationalization of Missions and Leadership – N/S/E/W," 1991 EFMA Convention, March 5, 1991, Tape 249, EFMA Collection.
[79] Yusufu Turaki, "An African Response to Missions," 1993 EFMA/IFMA/EMS Retreat, September 1993, Tape 305, EFMA Collection.
[80] Salinas, *Latin American Theology in the 1970s*, 111 and David Swartz, *Moral Minority*, 120.
[81] René Padilla, "The Contextualization of the Gospel (Excerpts)," 1975 Missions Executives Retreat Report, Folder 3, Box 19, EFMA Collection.

developed in answer to the challenges of the affluent society," he told his American audience, "but we do need Bible scholars who will help us to forge our own apologetics, answering to the problems of our own intellectual milieu."[82]

Many Global South speakers agreed with Escobar that national Christians needed theological autonomy so that they could contextualize the gospel message to their specific social and cultural situations. Some US theologians and missionaries worried that contextualization was heretical syncretism that distorted the gospel by blending it with secular or non-Christian cultural messages, but Global South leaders maintained that all theology, even Western theology, was contextual. René Padilla challenged US evangelicals' belief in the "absolute objectivity" of biblical interpretation by demonstrating how certainty about scientific objectivity is itself a Western idea based not in the Bible but in the "Cartesian divorce between subject and object." Since all patterns of thinking stemmed from cultural and social contexts, Padilla explained, missionaries should celebrate rather than fear national Christians' contextualizing the gospel and enabling people in many different social and cultural situations to understand and accept Christianity.[83] Korean theologian Bong Rin Ro reasoned that the best way for missions to support contextualization was by supporting autonomous theological seminaries. He talked about the level of autonomy at liberal seminaries by comparison to provoke US evangelicals; he wondered aloud why liberal seminaries in Asia were independent and creating contextual theology while Asian evangelical seminaries still had all-Western faculties who were imposing "traditional paternalistic practices of the past century."[84] Emilio Nunez, director of the Central American Theological Seminary, reassured missionary leaders that contextualization did not change the gospel message but rather enabled national church leaders to proclaim the gospel in terms that were meaningful to audiences in a particular social and cultural situation. Nunez characterized the immense disparity between middle-class America and many lower-class communities in Latin America as a chasm that only contextualized theology could cross. Without contextualization, he emphasized, Latin American church leaders were singing music and preaching sermons with "a strong foreign flavor" that did not resonate with "the feelings of the Latin American masses."[85] Appealing to the importance of convincing audiences to accept the gospel, Global South church leaders argued that missionaries would advance global evangelization most by giving national Christians the theological autonomy to contextualize the gospel and thus convey the Christian message in ways that would persuade people to believe that message.

In breakout groups at these EFMA meetings, US missionary leaders talked with one another about their reactions to Global South speakers' criticisms of North American theological control. Many missionary leaders endorsed theological autonomy and contextualization, while other leaders voiced concerns about how to retain theological absolutes and avoid syncretism. One group of missionary leaders agreed that biblical interpretation relied on a conceptual grid

---

[82] Escobar, "How Can North American Foreign Mission Agencies More Effectively Assist National Churches in the Evangelization of their Countries?"
[83] Padilla, "The Contextualization of the Gospel (Excerpts)."
[84] Bong Rin Ro, "Contextualization: Asian Theology," 1975 Missions Executives Retreat Report, Folder 3, Box 19, EFMA Collection.
[85] Emilio Nunez, "Latin American Theology," 1975 Missions Executives Retreat Report, Folder 3, Box 19, EFMA Collection.

and that it was okay for other Christians in different societies to use culturally disparate grids.[86] Other groups confessed that US missionaries arrogantly had labeled North American theology as the only "biblical theology" and unjustly had criticized national Christians for wanting to contextualize theology for local communities. These groups also agreed that bringing national Christians to US evangelical colleges and seminaries might subject national Christians to the "shortsightedness" of North American theology, and that mission organizations might do more theological good by encouraging theological education in national Christians' home countries.[87] Many groups of missionary leaders gave themselves practical to-do lists and pledged to educate missionaries in the field about the value of contextualization, to fund scholarships for national Christians to attend local seminaries in their countries of origin, and to reform the theological teaching that missionaries offered their partner national churches.[88] These groups acknowledged that contextualization was an important and relevant process for all Christians, even Western Christians, to perform so that the gospel would be pertinent to the biggest social and cultural concerns of the moment.

When missionary leaders disagreed with Global South leaders' calls for theological autonomy and contextualization, they most worried about how to prevent "cultural accommodation" and how to maintain theological absolutes. Some groups of mission leaders expressed doubts that contextualization could avoid capitulating to "unbiblical" cultural values; one group emphasized that "the Word of God must always stand above and judge culture. In this sense, Christianity is always counter-culture."[89] Another group stressed that the parts of a culture "incompatible" with the gospel must "give way" to biblical principles that transcend cultural contexts.[90] These groups worried that national Christians might accidentally blend the gospel with cultural or social principles that contaminated the gospel message. Other groups demanded that all Christian theology should retain certain "unconditional constants," though different groups came to different conclusions about what those constants were. One group tried to brainstorm concepts with "transcultural application," and discussed how the concept of "God Himself" might be an absolute that would assume different forms depending on a local culture; as an example, they explained that "the Latin American emphasizes relationship to God while the North American tends to see God as the God of efficiency and success."[91] Another group stressed that all theology should emphasize the universality of Christ and the Bible as applicable

---

[86] Arno Enns to Wade Coggins, October 24, 1975, Folder 32, Box 11, EFMA Collection.
[87] Horace Fenton to Wade Coggins, October 21, 1975, Folder 32, Box 11, EFMA Collection and Eugene Ponchot, "Notes for Group D," Folder 32, Box 11, EFMA Collection.
[88] Duane Reahm to Wade Coggins, November 6, 1975, Folder 32, Box 11, EFMA Collection; John Kyle to Wade Coggins, October 2, 1975, Folder 32, Box 11, EFMA Collection; and A. Leonard Tuggy to Wade Coggins, November 17, 1975, Folder 32, Box 11, EFMA Collection.
[89] Arno Enns to Wade Coggins, October 24, 1975.
[90] Earl Musser, "Contextualization of Theology Notes," Folder 32, Box 11, EFMA Collection. These comments about culture reflected US evangelical leaders' fascination with the main theories of Richard Niebuhr's *Christ and Culture*, which outlined the five main ways that Christians could relate to the culture around them – opposing the culture, being intertwined with the culture, transcending the culture, embracing the tension of Christianity and culture, or restoring the culture through Christianity. See H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper, 1951).
[91] Arno Enns to Wade Coggins, October 24, 1975.

to "every culture and every area of the world."[92] These groups still endorsed contextualization as a good idea in theory, but missionary leaders in the groups expressed apprehension about whether national Christian leaders in practice could contextualize the gospel without jettisoning key "unchangeable absolutes" and without absorbing unbiblical cultural principles.

Questions about which principles were theologically absolute and which were variable continued to shape struggles between missionaries and Global South church leaders through the end of the 1980s and into the early 1990s. By the end of the twentieth century, US missionary leaders understood that Global South leaders wanted theological freedom, but many missions leaders were still unsure about how to create that autonomy or still unsure about whether that freedom was a good idea. Some mission organizations continued to use funding as a mechanism of theological control. For example, after the Foreign Mission Board's top governing body became more conservative during the 1980s due to the broader conservative takeover of the SBC denomination, the FMB pulled its funding in 1991 for a large seminary in Switzerland because the seminary had appointed a visiting professor whom the FMB board of trustees believed was too liberal.[93] Several FMB missionaries resigned in protest, and when the FMB director resigned one year later he issued a scathing letter to all FMB missionaries that characterized the board's rulings as "decisions increasingly shaped by ultra-conservative theological interpretations rather than tested and adopted mission principles."[94] This fracture within the FMB highlighted the disagreements even within US mission organizations about what theological autonomy meant and which theological doctrines were essential and which were non-essential.

Other missionary leaders in the early 1990s expressed doubts about contextualized and holistic theology on the mission field. When the EFMA's director Paul McKaughan hosted a discussion about the changes that US mission leaders needed to embrace in 1990, he talked about how holistic theology still made many US leaders nervous but it nevertheless was a philosophy of missions embraced widely by both younger US evangelicals and national Christians around the world. McKaughan warned that unless US mission organizations adopted holistic theology and combined evangelism with social concern, US missions would cause "a repeated cycle of schism, in which the social gospel is going to go off that way, and fundamental and evangelical thought is going to go off the other way." During the group discussion after McKaughan's talk, one audience member complained that the push for changes to missions theologies and methods

---

[92] Horace Fenton to Wade Coggins, October 21, 1975.

[93] The SBC's president has the power to appoint members to boards of trustees. That power was one mechanism that conservative SBC presidents after 1979 utilized to transform the SBC's many bodies into agencies run by conservative boards. By the early 1990s, SBC presidents had replaced all of the FMB's trustees with conservative members. See Nancy Ammerman, *Baptist Battles: Social Change and Religious Conflict in the Southern Baptist Convention* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990); Ammerman, ed., *Southern Baptists Observed: Multiple Perspectives on a Changing Denomination* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1993); Arthur Farnsley, *Southern Baptist Politics: Authority and Power in the Restructuring of an American Denomination* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994); Barry Hankins, *Uneasy in Babylon: Southern Baptist Conservatives and American Culture* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2002); and Julie Ingersoll, *Evangelical Christian Women: War Stories in the Gender Battles* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 47-60.

[94] R. Keith Parks to Missionary Colleagues, October 23, 1992, quoted in William Estep, *Whole Gospel, Whole World: The Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1845-1995* (Nashville: Broadman and Holman Publishers, 1994), 373.

in the 1970s and 1980s felt like a big spinning merry-go-round, and he and other missionary leaders did not know "how to jump on it." He asked the EFMA to provide better instructions for how organizations could adopt new changes, and he admitted that "many of us need to be spoon-fed." Another audience member disclosed that the biggest challenge of "getting on the merry-go-round" was the time required to reflect and determine "what it is that I need to change, and how to construct a step-by-step plan to bring about those changes in my organization."[95] With these comments and actions, some US missionary leaders revealed that they were still not sure how or whether to adopt the many changes that Global South church leaders had been demanding for decades.

**Individual Organization Challenges**

When US missionary organizations did adopt changes in line with Global South church leaders' demands, many internal struggles emerged over missions methods and theologies. One prominent EFMA participant organization, the Navigators, embraced far-reaching methodological and theological changes during the 1970s and 1980s, and the organization's process of deliberation and transformation revealed the kinds of in-house tensions that often arose when mission organizations attempted to alter such longstanding mission strategies and philosophies. Founded in 1933 primarily as an outreach to US servicemen, the Navigators organization grew rapidly after World War II and expanded into US college campus outreach, community evangelism, and international missions. The Navigators were most well-known for their emphasis on scripture memorization and mentoring for new Christians; while groups like the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association or Campus Crusade focused primarily on evangelism (with the goal of conversion), the Navigators focused mainly on what they called "follow up" (with the goal of spiritual growth). The Navigators' institutional culture changed significantly after the organization's founder died suddenly in 1956; the organization then transformed from being oriented around the vision of one strong charismatic leader, as several of the largest US evangelical organizations were at the time, to being more broadly organized within an expanding bureaucracy. One part of that bureaucracy, the International Team, bore the primary responsibility for global missions planning, and the team's many changes and debates during the 1970s and 1980s revealed the internal challenges that US mission organizations faced when attempting to transform their strategies and philosophies of missions.

The Navigators began the 1970s like most US mission organizations did – by launching an ambitious global master strategy designed at their headquarters. The Navigators' "Strategy for the Seventies" was a plan to help fulfill the Great Commission by the year 2000, a popular aim for US mission organizations at the time, through multiplying the number of Navigator ministries around the world and expanding the number of national Christian staff members and leaders for those ministries. To accomplish these multiplication and internationalization goals, the Navigators' strategy divided the world into twelve ethno-racial "zones" and outlined a ten-year plan to build a large ministry in each zone, so that by the mid-1980s those new ministries could begin sending out their own missionaries. The global strategy devised criteria that ranked the

[95] Paul McKaughan, "Change in Missions," Missions Executives Retreat, September 20, 1990, Tape 245, EFMA Collection.

world's countries in order of ministry priority and set yearly benchmarks for overall growth of the Navigators' international staff and finances. The strategy also outlined how to secure additional funds, since such sizeable growth objectives would raise the Navigators' ten-year budget by sixty-six million dollars, a twenty percent increase.[96] These ambitious and expensive goals set by the International Team stemmed from the global vision established by the Navigators' director in the late 1960s, when he announced to the Navigators' staff, "We're going for broke! The Navigators aim to make a significant impact on the whole world in our time."[97]

The Navigators' International Team quickly realized that this method of centralized master planning was not consistent with the demands from Navigator ministries around the world, and as criticisms and concerns poured into the headquarters, the International Team paused all global strategy planning and entered a period of reevaluation in the mid-1970s. While many US mission organizations had long utilized centralized planning, this type of master strategizing was new for the Navigators. The organization had expanded its international missions gradually in the 1940s-1960s, and during that period Navigator offices around the world had negotiated independently with one another and with the US headquarters, so there was an established pattern of international autonomy. As national Christians joined the Navigators' international staff increasingly in the 1960s, they utilized that autonomy to set some of their own ministry priorities rather than simply replicating the methods used by American and other Western staff members. Because of the jarring shift that rigid centralized planning represented, both for American staff and for the increasing number of national Christian staff, most Navigator personnel around the world resisted the Strategy for the Seventies and disparaged its micromanaged quota system and demands for rapid multiplication.

The conflicts created by the Navigators' centralized global strategy exposed several in-house tensions about the best methods for international missions. At International Team meetings, filled almost entirely with Americans and other Westerners, the Navigators' top international leadership tried to work through these tensions and find ways to grow globally without fragmenting the organization. One of the biggest challenges was international funding. There were increasingly more national Christian staff members and new ministries launching in "economically restricted countries," and the International Team wrestled with the question of how to support financially those staff members and ministries. Some team members encouraged inter-dependence and argued that using foreign funding recognized wealth disparities and enhanced a sense of international teamwork, whereas other members asserted that financial independence was essential so that local Christians would develop a sense of responsibility to their local ministry and so that foreign money would not create foreign control.[98] Other leaders questioned why full-time salaried workers were even necessary and suggested instead that bivocational workers might better establish Navigators ministries in new countries while

[96] 1972 Global Strategy Conference Proceedings, Box 12, Conferences Collection (M019), The Navigators Archives, Colorado Springs, Colorado (hereafter Conferences Collection).
[97] Lorne Sanny to Navigators Staff, quoted in 1972 Global Strategy Conference Proceedings, Box 12, Conferences Collection.
[98] Waldron Scott, "Financing Nationals," 1971, Box 2, Navigator Writings and Papers Collection (M009), The Navigators Archives, Colorado Springs, Colorado (hereafter Navigators Writings and Papers Collection).

receiving financial support from a second job.[99] By the mid-1970s the International Team concluded that it could not impose one global financial policy that legislated what percent of a ministry's funding had to be local and what could come from foreign sources, so instead the team agreed it would develop broader financial principles that local Navigator leaders could follow as they judged was best for their ministries.[100] Even after that decision, International Team members still wrestled in their meetings with the questions of whether foreign money created dependency and whether encouraging local financial "independence" perpetuated global financial disparities and ignored basic needs.[101]

As the International Team confronted issues related to international funding, it also addressed tensions about planning power, particularly the power to decide how fast and in what way a ministry should grow. The International Team began collecting national strategies from national directors in the 1970s, and the team quickly recognized that there were large discrepancies between the goals and methods of the Strategy for the Seventies and those of the national strategies.[102] In the mid-1970s the International Team's members admitted that "we have been found to be poor prophets," and the team decided to "lay aside blueprints" with elaborate metrics and ambitious benchmarks and instead rely on individual national strategies as a foundation for global planning.[103] Many International Team leaders also questioned whether centralized aggressive goals forced national ministries to expand in a "Western fashion" to meet quotas. One leader argued that "it is more important for a national work to grow indigenously and reproducibly than for it to grow quickly" and that the Navigators' leadership "should be prepared to accept varying styles of ministry and administration in different countries."[104] Other team leaders countered that new ministries would not grow if they were fully independent from the beginning, and that perhaps a "pattern of developing responsibility" would offer new ministries around the world strong guidance and mentorship and then, eventually, autonomy.[105] The International Team agreed to promote "freedom of form" for national ministries while retaining certain centralized monitoring metrics such as statistical "progress indicators," which the team justified as important tools that offered "some quantitative perception of our progress."[106] In these ways the Navigators' International Team tried to negotiate between the desire to encourage broad growth, in line with US mission leaders' emphasis on the urgency of reaching as many people as possible with the gospel, and the desire to foster national ministries with the capacity to flourish independently in different local contexts.

---

[99] "Foreign Financial Support," 1974 International Strategy Conference Proceedings, Box 12, Conferences Collection.
[100] "Financing Nationals Committee Report," 1974 International Strategy Conference Proceedings, Box 12, Conferences Collection.
[101] See for example 1985 International Ministry Leadership Team Proceedings, Box E, Donald McGilchrist Personal Papers, The Navigators Headquarters, Colorado Springs, Colorado (hereafter McGilchrist Papers).
[102] "Sending Country Concept: Critical Issue," 1974 International Strategy Conference Proceedings, Box 12, Conferences Collection.
[103] International Leadership Team Meeting Proceedings, February 1976, Box C, McGilchrist Papers.
[104] "Financing Nationals Committee Report," 1974 International Strategy Conference Proceedings.
[105] "Foreign Financial Support," 1974 International Strategy Conference Proceedings.
[106] "Strategic Planning," International Leadership Conference Proceedings, February 1980, Box D, McGilchrist Papers.

Building off of the lessons learned from their failure to implement a global master strategy, the International Team in the 1980s tried to devise a new structure through which the Navigators' different national ministries would relate to one another – a structure the team eventually named the "Global Society." International Team members hoped that the Global Society would help the Navigators "shed perceived US dominance" and become "truly international" by creating a global team of equal members. The development of the Global Society was a more decentralized process that included exhaustive surveys conducted with local leaders in every Navigator national office and a task force comprised of mostly Americans and Westerners but also including several staff members from the Global South. The task force designed a loose confederation of national ministries which would collaborate for larger supranational goals and share finances and personnel with one another. The society would operate not with rigid policy requirements but with broad principles, such as the financial suggestion that a staff member's salary should come from local funding but larger ministry funds could come from foreign financial support.[107] The International Team expected that the Global Society would create an "interdependence of resources" with the "bond of common commitment," even as the team also worried that the society would be too broad and diffuse to hold together so many different national ministries.[108]

As the International Team celebrated the accomplishments of the Global Society in the 1990s, the team also admitted that tensions remained about how national ministries and staff from all over the world should and could work together harmoniously. Though national Christians had moved into leadership positions throughout Navigator ministries around the world, leaders from the Global South were not moving into middle-management and top leadership positions very frequently, in part because the older generation of American and Western leaders had not retired yet. The International Team reported that by the mid-1990s, twenty three percent of the Navigators' 3400 international staff members were from the Global South, but only one Global South leader was on the International Team itself; the top leader for Africa was British, the leaders for Asia were American and Australian, and only the top leader for Latin America was Brazilian.[109] In the late 1990s, the International Team launched an initiative to raise five million dollars for the International Leadership Fund, which would allow Global South leaders to assume top international positions in the future with the assurance that the fund would cover all travel and administrative expenses that those positions required, thereby creating a structural mechanism to help shift top management power to Global South leaders over time.[110] As one International Team leader urged, "Our international leaders must become more balanced in composition, reflecting the true face of our very diverse and multiethnic work."[111]

---

[107] 1987 Global Society Task Force Meeting Proceedings, November 1987, Box E, McGilchrist Papers.
[108] 1984 International Navigator Council 3 Proceedings, Box D, McGilchrist Papers.
[109] Overall staff statistics in Donald McGilchrist, "A Day in the Life of the International Team," n.d. [1994 or 1995], Box 3, Collection M020, Navigator Country Newsletters Collection, Navigators Archives, Colorado Springs, Colorado (hereafter Navigator Newsletters Collection); International Team statistics in International Team Meeting Proceedings, February 1994, Box F, McGilchrist Papers.
[110] "International Leadership Fund," International Team Meeting Proceedings, December 1997, Box G, McGilchrist Papers.
[111] Donald McGilchrist, "Responses to Questions from Ray Hoo," US International Missions Council, November, 19, 1993, Box 3, Navigator Newsletters Collection.

Another lingering problem amid the Navigators' celebration of their Global Society's internationalization was the legal status and influence of the Navigators' General Director, who had an international leadership position but a US office. Though the General Director was accountable to the International Team in the chain of command, that top position also had a legal relationship with the US board of directors as the board ratified the top leaders and held them accountable for the management of the US Navigators Corporation.[112] Many Navigators staff members questioned how the Navigators organization could coexist as an internationalized ministry and as an American corporate entity, and the General Director's position was a lightning rod for those reservations. Several International Team members insisted that the General Director, who was an American, should try to gain a more international perspective through reading different materials from different national leaders, and by traveling to meet with leaders throughout the world instead of just talking with the US leaders in his home office. Other team leaders wondered whether the General Director should have a US office at all, and suggested that future non-American General Directors should seek home offices outside of the US.[113] So even after constructing an internationalized Global Society, the Navigators' leadership discovered that putting leaders with different nationalities around the same table or on the same team did not automatically dissolve the power disparities created by institutional history, global wealth gaps, or legal structures.

While the Navigators' International Team was addressing its methods and structures of ministry around the world, it also embraced a period of reflection and change to its philosophy and theology of missions. During the fallout over the Strategy for the Seventies, the International Team admitted that the Navigators had spent too much time asking "what is required of us" instead of asking "who are we." The Navigators' general director launched a season of introspection for the organization, during which he traveled to Navigator offices around the world and solicited feedback from Navigator staff about what the organization's philosophy of ministry and core values should be. The result of those travels was a large summary document issued to all staff in 1978 called the Fundamentals of Ministry (FOM); the FOM drew on the comments from Navigator staff and outlined the main sense of identity, calling, and values that Navigator leaders believed were important for the organization at that moment in time. The Navigators' leadership intended the FOM to be an evolving document that could reflect the changing convictions of future staff members and leaders who would interpret the Navigators' philosophy in new contexts. The International Team learned during the process of creating the FOM that soliciting input from local staff around the world "unified us in ways that objectives had failed to do," and that lesson inspired the International Team to begin incorporating surveys with local staff into all major Navigators' projects, such as the formation of the Global Society.[114] The process of collecting responses for the FOM also revealed to the Navigators' leadership how national ministries contextualized broader theological concepts to their specific situations, and the International Team further encouraged this contextualization by launching in the late 1980s the Scriptural Roots of Ministry (SRM). The SRM was a study guide that national

[112] Donald McGilchrist to Jerry White, April 18, 1986, in Global Society Task Force Meeting Proceedings, November 1987, Box E, McGilchrist Papers.
[113] "Global Society: The Way Forward," International Council Meeting Proceedings, February 1989, Box F, McGilchrist Papers.
[114] 1987 Global Society Task Force Meeting Proceedings, November 1987.

offices could use to conduct a theological seminar with local staff, so that staff members within each national ministry could collaborate and produce "a statement of sphere, functions, and values which is locally developed and owned."[115] By the late 1990s, 40 out of the 93 Navigator national ministries had conducted SRM forums and crafted mission statements for their specific social and cultural contexts, and the International Team applauded that Navigator staff were forming "hermeneutical communities" that would "interact upon relevant issues with the Scriptures and their contexts."[116]

Developing the Fundamentals of Ministry and inviting national ministries to generate their own Scriptural Roots of Ministry brought up tensions between contextualized theology and overarching philosophies of missions. In combination with the loose confederation of the Global Society, the SRM illuminated how there was a "widening diversity of approaches" to ministry, and the International Team wrestled with how to hold differing contextualized philosophies together around common commitments.[117] The International Team recognized that it was difficult to have central aims "with different expressions" at local levels, and the team noted that the biggest challenge of the Global Society and the SRM was that a wide variety of national ministry philosophies made the Navigators' "basis for unity unclear."[118] The Navigators' leadership in the late 1990s launched a new round of revisions to the FOM and started collecting survey responses for other "fundamentals" (e.g. Fundamentals of Leadership, Philosophies of Missions), but those efforts to clarify a reason for unity did not resolve fully the ongoing conflict between locally contextualized theologies and larger common philosophies of missions. In their struggles to alter their mission theologies and methods, the Navigators demonstrated that even when US mission organizations implemented extensive changes in line with some of Global South leaders' biggest demands, power disparities persisted and in-house tensions over the new methods and theologies threatened to undermine those transformations.

The tensions and problems experienced by US mission organizations like the Navigators and other EFMA organizations when they tried to change their mission strategies and theologies reflected the difficulty of disentangling missions from the methods and philosophies of Western modernity. Separating missions from the structural and epistemological forms of Western power proved problematic, especially when US leaders tried to direct the separation process. US mission organizations' largest methods and strategies were inherently modernist, and this modernism was most on display in US mission leaders' penchant for statistical management and mapping on a global scale. The belief that scientific and technical methods could reorder the world and produce boundless progress became ascendant in the mid-twentieth century, as both government agencies and non-governmental organizations sought to control and "improve" certain physical spaces and populations. While Western actors did not oversee all of these projects, all modernist schemes relied upon Western notions of development and modernity. Through large-scale endeavors like combatting diseases and malnutrition, regulating birthrates, or designing vast urban and rural landscapes, modernist technocrats and administrators tried to

---

[115] International Team Meeting Proceedings, February 1994.
[116] "Scriptural Roots of Our Ministry: Sphere Statements," International Team Meeting Proceedings, December 1997.
[117] International Team Meeting Proceedings, February 1994.
[118] Global Society Task Force Meeting Proceedings, November 1987 and International Team Meeting Proceedings, December 1997.

create their version of a better world, in which chosen experts could simplify, manage, and develop the people and environments around them. Modernist projects exerted not just physical control but also discursive power – the power to draw the map, devise the criteria, and remake reality according to certain defined categories.[119] A love for these technocratic strategies linked US missionaries with their more secular contemporaries in development and modernization agencies; these different government and non-governmental actors in the mid- and late twentieth century relied on metrics and master strategies to realize particular Western visions of improvement and progress.[120] For missionaries, that improvement was the salvation of individual souls, made possible on a global scale through elaborate strategies to identify and contact every person on earth who had not yet accepted the message of the gospel.

US mission leaders used biblical justifications to sacralize their projects of rendering populations legible and targetable. Champions of the "unreached peoples" concept drew their scriptural inspiration from Christ's promise that his disciples would tell others about him in Jerusalem, Judea, Samaria, and "the ends of the earth."[121] Many US leaders interpreted that Christ had categorized and charted world evangelization with that promise; missiologist Ralph Winter explained at Lausanne that "Jesus does not merely include the whole world. He distinguishes between different parts of that world and does so according to the relative distance of those people from his hearers." Therefore, Winter reasoned, Christians who wanted to reach the whole world should categorize people into groups (Winter selected 17,000 groups) as Christ had done, in order to reach those people more effectively.[122] Other US missions leaders rationalized statistical tracking and benchmarks by augmenting scripture. Waldron Scott, one of the Navigators' International Team leaders, gave a plenary talk at Lausanne about the "dimensions" of global evangelization. During that speech, he justified practices of quantification by reciting the Apostle Paul's famous reasoning about evangelism – how could new people hear and believe the gospel unless others went out and preached it – and by amending that reasoning with a final question about those who went out and preached: "And

---

[119] See Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), James Ferguson, *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); James Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, and Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); and Tania Murray Li, *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

[120] See Nils Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2003); Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Michael Adas, *Dominance by Design: Technological Imperatives and America's Civilizing Mission* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006); Matthew Connelly, *Fatal Misconception: The Struggle to Control World Population* (Harvard University Press, 2009); Larry Grubbs, *Secular Missionaries: Americans and African Development in the 1960s* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009); David Ekbladh, *The Great American Mission: Modernization and the Construction of an American World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); Michael Latham, *The Right Kind of Revolution: Modernization, Development, and U.S. Foreign Policy from the Cold War to the Present* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011); and Nick Cullather, *The Hungry World: America's Cold War Battle against Poverty in Asia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013).

[121] This promise appears in Acts 1:8.

[122] Winter, "The Highest Priority: Cross-Cultural Evangelism," 217.

how are they to go if they do not have the facts?"[123] Rather than emphasizing that a missionary initially must receive a divine call and a commission to preach the gospel, Scott stressed that first a missionary must gather the right statistics. Scott was the architect of the Navigators' Strategy for the Seventies, so he put that reasoning into practice by dividing the world into zones, devising the criteria that prioritized certain countries over others, and calculating how quickly the Navigators' staff would have to multiply in order to help complete the Great Commission by the year 2000. Though that strategy failed for the Navigators, many US mission organizations continued to use centralized modernist strategies for planning global evangelization while relying on certain interpretations of scripture to sacralize those master plans.

Christian theology had long sanctified Western colonial projects, and Protestant Christianity in particular had served as the moral authority of Western modernity. Protestantism's sanctification of the autonomous individual especially undergirded the philosophy of Western modernist projects. Protestant theology provided the moral character for modernity by giving special ethical value to agency and autonomy, thereby supporting the creation of modern subjects who bore individual responsibility for their self-transformation and who by necessity were abstracted from their material and social contexts.[124] Especially after the modernist-fundamentalist split in the early twentieth century, evangelicalism's emphasis on individualism further reinforced these personalized conceptions of transformation and progress and resisted more capacious understandings of the connections between the individual and the social. Christian missions also reinforced the binaries upon which colonialism and modernity rested; even as missionaries sought through conversion to make the "other" into the "same," missionaries also often defined themselves against the others they evangelized throughout the Global South, thus strengthening the dualisms of modernity (white/black, Christian/heathen, modern / non-modern).[125] Due to these powerful interconnections between missions and the epistemologies and methods of Western modernity, it was very difficult for even earnestly self-reflective US missionary leaders to extract the institutionalized forms of Western power from their organizations and reverse the Western hegemony long integral to missions.

**Translating Global Lessons for US Audiences**

As missionaries wrestled with the transformations that Global South leaders were demanding around the world, they returned to the US and encouraged American evangelicals to embrace internationalization and accept the international communities around them. At the same time, however, missionaries also taught US evangelicals to apply Western mission methods and philosophies to new "unreached people groups" in the US. The chief message that missionaries

[123] Waldron Scott, "The Task Before Us," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, 21. The passage Scott referenced comes from Romans 10:14-15.

[124] Webb Keane, *Christian Moderns: Freedom and Fetish in the Mission Encounter* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 49-54. See also Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, Vol. 1, *Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution,* Vol. 2, *The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

[125] Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, Vol. 2, *The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 5-8. See also Vol. 1, *Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

gave American evangelicals about US society in the 1980s was that global migration had "brought foreign missions home" and that white evangelicals needed to understand US cities not as dangerous places filled with black and brown criminals but as promising mission fields full of people groups who had not yet heard the gospel. Missionaries had talked with one another about rising urbanization around the world in the 1970s, as missionary demographers reported the rapidly growing populations in the world's biggest cities, and mission organizations shifted their strategies from focusing mainly on rural "frontier" regions and began sending more missionaries to large urban areas across the Global South.[126] So one purpose of missionaries' messages to US evangelicals about cities was to change white evangelicals' understanding of missions, by debunking the stereotype that all missionaries lived in mud huts in remote villages and suggesting that more and more mission work happened in high rise urban apartments or slum communities in the world's metropolises. But by the 1980s, missionaries were not just telling US evangelicals about missions to cities around the world; they also stressed that white evangelicals needed to change their understanding of US cities and develop a sense of missionary concern for the people groups in urban America.

These pleas for white evangelicals to develop a sense of evangelistic care for US cities in the 1980s responded to the larger context of white Americans' anxieties about immigration from Latin America and Asia after 1965, and whites' disregard for US cities after deindustrialization and white flight devastated urban areas in the decades after World War II. After the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act replaced national-origins quotas, which had favored northwestern European immigrants, with more generous country quotas, hemispheric quotas, and quota-free family reunification policies, the number of immigrants entering the US from Latin American and Asian countries increased dramatically.[127] Between 1965 and 1995, eighteen million new documented immigrants moved to the US, along with several million undocumented migrants, and whites fell from eighty-four percent to seventy-two percent of the US

---

[126] See George Peters "Tomorrow in Missions," 1975 Mission Executives Retreat Report, Folder 3, Box 19, EFMA Collection and "Group C Report: Urban Strategies for Evangelism," Folder 32, Box 11, EFMA Collection. Global South church leaders in the 1970s also stressed to missionaries the importance of establishing ministries in major cities. See Stephen Akangbe, "Three Major Ways That North American Mission Agencies Can Effectively Assist National Churches in the Evangelization of Their Countries" and Enrique Guang, "Missionary Action is an 'In-the-Meantime,'" 42. This missions strategy shift from rural to urban areas was the opposite of the shift that mission organizations made in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when new "inland" faith missions like China Inland Mission, Africa Inland Mission, and Sudan Interior Mission began sending missionaries away from major port cities and into rural inland areas. See Dana Robert, "'The Crisis of Missions': Premillennial Mission Theory and the Origins of Independent Evangelical Missions," in Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880-1980, eds. Joel Carpenter and Wilbert Shenk (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990), 29-46.

[127] For studies of late-twentieth-century immigration to the US, see David Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Aihwa Ong, *Buddha is Hiding: Refugees, Citizenship, the New America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Roger Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants since 1942* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004); Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Leo Chavez, *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008); and Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America: A History* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 2015).

population.[128] The increased racial and ethnic diversity caused by this new wave of immigration threatened white Americans' power to form a clear majority and enjoy unquestioned racial dominance within various institutional contexts, thereby stirring whites' apprehensions about and sometimes antagonism towards immigrant communities.[129] During the same period in the 1970s and 1980s, racial minority communities in US urban areas endured the structural racism of police violence, job and housing discrimination, deteriorating city infrastructure, and declining social services, while most middle-class whites lived comfortably in racially homogeneous and comparably affluent suburban communities.[130] Influenced by the alarmist depictions of urban areas peddled by conservative political campaigns for law and order beginning in the late 1960s and extending through the 1980s war on drugs, many white Americans understood US cities to be crime-ridden spaces inhabited by black and brown drug dealers and "welfare queens" who lacked personal responsibility. This idea of the city as a dangerous den of iniquity was hardly new; many of the beliefs that 1980s white Americans held about inner cities resembled earlier stereotypes used by middle-class whites who had anxieties about the industrial cities of the Progressive era. So missionaries who sought to change white evangelicals' perception of urban America in the late twentieth century echoed some of the messages that eager white Protestant reformers had used in the early twentieth century to convince their fellow middle-class white Americans to develop compassion for inner-city populations.[131]

The late-twentieth-century call to minister to urban communities, much like the call for racial reconciliation, came first from people of color whose communities had endured the institutional racism that constrained them within increasingly underfunded and over-policed urban neighborhoods. Only later did growing numbers of white evangelical leaders, including missionaries, seize the idea of ministering within US cities and reinterpret that vision as one of "returning" to the city for an evangelistic purpose. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, black pastors spoke from the platform at Urbana missions conferences to call white evangelicals to repent of their disregard for US cities and to work alongside existing urban churches to serve and

---

[128] Pew Research Center, "Modern Immigration Wave Brings 59 Million to U.S., Driving Population Growth and Change Through 2065: Views of Immigration's Impact on U.S. Society Mixed" (Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center, September 2015). This was the Pew Center's report about the fifty years of demographic changes initiated by the 1965 Hart-Celler Act.

[129] See Howard Winant, *Racial Conditions: Politics, Theory, and Comparisons* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994) and Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

[130] See Thomas Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Arnold Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Robert Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); Christopher Klemek, *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal: Postwar Urbanism from New York to Berlin* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2011); and Elizabeth Hinton, *From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime: The Making of Mass Incarceration in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016).

[131] See Elizabeth Clapp, *Mothers of All Children: Women Reformers and the Rise of Juvenile Courts in Progressive Era America* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State Press, 1998); Michael McGeer, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Daniel Burnstein, *Next to Godliness: Confronting Dirt and Despair in Progressive-Era New York City* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006); and Lisa McGirr, *The War on Alcohol: Prohibition and the Rise of the American State* (New York: Norton, 2015).

minister to people in inner-city communities. Baptist pastor and former Massachusetts state representative Michael Haynes told the seventeen thousand students at Urbana 1979 that white churches had robbed urban communities and abandoned them. He condemned white churches and religious institutions that sold their city buildings to black and immigrant churches, which could only acquire the buildings with "exorbitant mortgages," and then took those property-sale profits to the suburbs and built "colossal, expansive modern structures" while leaving the city to die. Haynes protested that "for three decades the inner city of urban America has been stricken from a place of top priority on the agenda of evangelical Christianity. It has wrongly been advertised as being less important on the church's agenda of mission work as compared with so-called foreign or international ministries."[132] San Diego pastor George McKinney also called white evangelicals to repentance for abandoning America's cities; if the white church wanted to minister to US cities, he argued, it must first "apply to itself its teachings regarding forgiveness, healing, and redemption before it can respond constructively to the desperate cry of the larger society for direction and meaning." McKinney advised young white evangelicals at Urbana to equip themselves for urban ministry by training under the leadership of churches that were already "representing Christ in a multicultural, multiethnic, multireligious environment." He gave his audience ten different examples, all inner-city ministries led by African American churches.[133] Thus black pastors' calls for urban ministry demanded repentance and humility by white Christians and recognized the leadership of existing churches and communities of color in urban areas.

When missionaries and missiologists began emphasizing the need for urban ministry, they trumpeted the value of embracing international communities and encouraged white evangelicals to see different racial and ethnic groups as potential members of a diverse Christian community that white evangelicals could help build at home and around the world. And simultaneously, missionaries and theologians also taught evangelicals to apply Western missions methods and philosophies to ministry in US cities. In this way, missionaries acknowledged to US evangelicals some of the changes to missions that Global South church leaders had demanded, such as ministry partnerships and holistic theology, but missionaries still taught white evangelicals certain strategies and theologies that Global South leaders had condemned. Global South leaders themselves had traveled to places like Urbana in the 1970s and 1980s to insist that a new era of missions had arrived, which required American evangelicals to reject their longstanding hegemony and embrace holistic theology and international partnerships.[134] However, missionary speakers at Urbana did not make such pronouncements about all the ways that mission organizations had tried to incorporate Global South Christians' concerns in the 1970s and 1980s, even when missionaries gave entire talks about the logistics of how mission

---

[132] Michael Haynes, "That City Dwellers Might Believe and Obey," in *Believing and Obeying Jesus Christ: The Urbana 79 Compendium*, ed. John Alexander (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1980), 183, 185.
[133] George McKinney, "Professing Christ in the City," in *Confessing Christ as Lord: The Urbana 81 Compendium*, ed. John Alexander (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1982), 219, 223.
[134] See Luis Palau, "The Unfinished Task," in *Declare His Glory Among the Nations*, ed. David Howard (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1977), 203-12; Palau, "Working Together," in *Believing and Obeying Jesus Christ*, 111-32; Isabelo Magalit, "The Messenger's Qualifications," in *Believing and Obeying Jesus Christ*, 133-42; Magalit, "The 'Receiving' Church," in *Confessing Christ as Lord*, 107-18; and Samuel Escobar, "Characteristics of a Witness," in *Confessing Christ as Lord*, 133-46.

organizations functioned.[135] What missionaries told US evangelicals was new and important in missions was the urgency of reaching unreached people groups, especially the unreached groups in the world's cities and in urban America.

Rather than inviting white Christians to repent of their disregard for US cities, missionaries and missiologists taught US evangelicals at Urbana to reeducate themselves about urban America by treating demographic data as exciting rather than threatening, and to classify and chart the people groups of the city so as to reach them more effectively with the gospel. By teaching these methods for urban ministry, missionaries and missiologists encouraged warm acceptance of and partnership with different racial and ethnic groups, while also urging US evangelicals to apply modernist planning techniques to city populations. Missiologist Raymond Bakke stressed that evangelicals needed to "recover our biblical roots" and "discover our historical roots" in the city. He argued that cities were places that had long mattered to God, according to a litany of examples from the Old and New Testament, and that Christians had ministered in urban areas for centuries. He highlighted ministries in past centuries by white Christians in European and American cities as examples of the type of work evangelicals needed to perform in the late twentieth century, thereby framing the city as a place to which white evangelicals could return and reclaim their heritage as ministers to urban areas.[136] Bakke also told evangelicals to see changing national and global demographics as a missions opportunity. He addressed the "exploding birthrate" around the world and the rapidly growing immigrant populations in US cities, and he asserted that these changes had brought global missions home to the US: "For two thousand years we have had the Great Commission to go into all the world to preach the gospel to all peoples and make disciples of the nations. Now we know where they are—in my neighborhood [Chicago], in the cities, in Los Angeles, in Miami." He instructed evangelicals to celebrate these changes by going into US cities and participating in what God was "already doing" there.[137] Missions theologian Harvie Conn was more explicit with his suggestion about partnership with people of color in US cities; he told white evangelicals that "if you come to the city, put yourself under the discipleship of a Black church or Hispanic church to learn what it really means to be a servant of Jesus in the city. If you can't do that, it raises some questions of your coming."[138]

Though missions leaders encouraged partnerships with people of color for urban ministry in the US, these leaders also reduced people of color and other groups in US cities into neatly defined categories for systematic evangelization. Missionary speakers championed modernist cataloguing and charting of urban populations by explaining, "You can't reach what you can't see."[139] Only by classifying the city's people groups, missions speakers reasoned, could evangelicals effectively minister to urban America. Though the concept of "unreached people groups" originally denoted ethno-linguistic groups around the world, over time missionaries and

---

[135] See for example Warren Webster, "The Messenger and Mission Societies," in *Believing and Obeying Jesus Christ*, 199-208.
[136] Raymond Bakke, "Faithful to the Cities of the World," in *Faithful Witness: The Urbana 84 Compendium*, ed. James McLeish (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1985), 95, 96.
[137] Ray Bakke, "Overcoming the Real Barriers to Urban Evangelism," in *Urban Mission: God's Concern for the City*, ed. John Kyle (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1988), 72, 76.
[138] "Panel on Urban Mission," in *Urban Mission*, 101.
[139] Harvie Conn, "The City and Unreached Peoples," in *Urban Mission*, 88.

missiologists expanded the category to include any social, cultural, or vocational group that evangelicals wanted to reach with the gospel message. MARC director Samuel Wilson specified that "there are people groups in our own universities and cities that are cut off from understanding a witness to the gospel of Christ because no one lives Christianity in their kind of life. The group may not be racial. It may not be linguistic. It might be vocational. It might be a neighborhood. There are hundreds of ways that a group might be formed, and a Christian witness tailored by the Holy Spirit's leading to that particular group is necessary."[140] Missions leaders identified and explained some examples of the unreached people groups in urban America. Harvie Conn described his missionary work in Korea with "the country's prostitute population of over 50,000," which he identified as an important "people group" that he had evangelized. Conn also commended a ministry that evangelized biker gangs, "another unreached people group," in the cities of the US Midwest. As a missions professor, Conn sent his students out into Times Square to identify the unreached people groups of New York City; he reported that his students frequently classified dozens of people groups, including "sidewalk vendors, tourists, police, gays, theater people, teenage runaways, bag ladies, the homeless, and store owners."[141] Categorizing people groups was important, Conn and Raymond Bakke argued, so that Christians could target those groups specifically with the gospel. Both missions leaders used overt militaristic analogies to explain people-group evangelization in US cities. Bakke asserted that evangelicals should learn from the Vietnam War's bombing campaigns that "You cannot blitz the cities and expect to win the battle" for salvation in urban America; only through personal outreach on the ground to specific people groups, Bakke insisted, would urban evangelization be effective.[142] Conn reflected that when his students categorized urban people groups, "We found all sorts of gospel targets and no sharpshooters. And we were also discovering that if you aim at everything, you will hit nothing."[143] So missions leaders justified modernist categorization of urban populations by contending that ministry to defined "targets" was the best strategy for reaching people in US cities with the gospel message.

By highlighting the sensational characteristics of particular people groups, missionary speakers crafted narratives about the dichotomy between white evangelicals who ministered in the city and the dangerous or scandalous urban populations that evangelicals encountered there. Missions leaders connected urban ministry to long held philosophies of missions by describing urban areas as dark sinful places in need of the gospel's light. Raymond Bakke compared his ministry work in Chicago to his cousin's missionary work in Zambia by noting that while his cousin often found "pythons and cobras in his garden," Bakke regularly came across "Pythons and Cobras and Latin Kings in my yard." Bakke advised that since evangelicals admired his cousin for facing danger as a part of mission work, then they should be just as willing to face similar dangers in urban America for the sake of spreading the gospel there.[144] Floyd McClung, Jr. detailed his urban missions work in the city of Amsterdam by listing the people groups around his home in the red-light district: "There are sixteen thousand prostitutes who live and work in that neighborhood and twelve thousand drug addicts. There are also six thousand male

[140] "Faithful to the Unreached Peoples," in *Faithful Witness*, 164.
[141] Conn, "The City and Unreached Peoples," 89-90.
[142] Bakke, "Overcoming the Real Barriers to Urban Evangelism," 77.
[143] Conn, "The City and Unreached Peoples," 90.
[144] Bakke, "Overcoming the Real Barriers to Urban Evangelism," 77.

prostitutes. When we moved into the red-light district, two doors to the right was a Satanist church. Four doors to the right of us was a homosexual brothel. And two doors to the left of us was a twenty-four-hour porn cinema." McClung also noted that "on Saturday, believe it or not, we have a Bible study for normal people," thereby making clear the division he perceived between a large number of deviant people groups and a small number of "normal" people in his urban environment.[145] Bakke warned evangelical students that they would be outsiders in US cities. "You will always be a minority in the city—racially, spiritually, ideologically, politically, and almost every other way," he explained, suggesting that white evangelicals should permanently identify urban populations as groups of racial others, religious others, or political others.[146] In these ways, missionaries and missions theologians taught US evangelicals that they should develop a sense of evangelistic concern for American cities by embracing immigrants and people of color and categorizing city populations into unreached people groups, just like foreign missionaries did in countries all over the world.

When white evangelicals moved into American cities for ministry work or, more frequently, as a part of urban gentrification in the 1990s, one outcome was that many white evangelicals founded self-consciously multiracial churches and embraced diversity as a part of ministry to urban America. These churches celebrated and strived for racial and cultural diversity, and yet still retained major forms of institutional whiteness. White evangelicals in multiracial churches celebrated their religious communities as places where there could be unity amid diversity and where people from disparate racial and cultural backgrounds brought different yet equally valuable "gifts" into the congregation. However, multiracial churches that tried to feature or include these different racial and cultural "gifts" relied on racially essentialist ideas and stereotypes about the identities and interests of churchgoers from racial minority or immigrant communities.[147] Church music was the biggest example of this diversity rooted in essentialism; multiracial churches regularly featured different musical selections and performers based on assumptions that certain musical forms would appeal to particular racial or cultural groups – black Christians would like gospel music, and Latino Christians would prefer salsa music, for example. Church music in multiracial churches also often relied on stereotypes of African Americans as uniquely worshipful and therefore ideal worship leaders or choir members.[148] Additionally, while multiracial churches applauded their diversity, they hardly ever talked about race. Pastors of multiracial churches described the purpose of their churches not by discussing racial justice or racial reconciliation but rather by stressing the value of "cross-cultural missions" and expressing the desire to "reach the neighborhood for Christ."[149] The official mission statements of multiracial churches frequently used the words "ethnicity" and "culture" rather than "race," which allowed churches to highlight the value of individuals from

[145] Floyd McClung, Jr., "The Streets of Amsterdam," in *Urban Mission*, 79.
[146] Bakke, "Overcoming the Real Barriers to Urban Evangelism," 77.
[147] Gerardo Marti and Michael Emerson, "The Rise of the Diversity Expert: How American Evangelicals Simultaneously Accentuate and Ignore Race," in *The New Evangelical Social Engagement*, eds. Brian Steensland and Philip Goff (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014)," 179-85.
[148] Ibid., 186-87; Gerardo Marti, *Worship across the Racial Divide: Religious Music and the Multiracial Congregation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); and Curtis Evans, *The Burden of Black Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).
[149] See Edward Ming Lee, "Case Studies of Three Multiethnic Churches: Their Motivations and Strategies in Being Multiethnic" (Ph.D. diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 2011).

different backgrounds while avoiding larger discussions of group inequality or power differentials connected to the concept of race and racial integration.[150] In the 1990s, these dynamics played out in a relatively small number of American congregations; by 1998, only seven percent of US churches were "multiracial," defined as a congregation with at least twenty percent of congregants who are not of the church's dominant racial group.[151] But the number of multiracial churches would balloon in the first decades of the twenty-first century, and those new congregations would follow similar patterns of diversity with institutional whiteness.[152] So even when white evangelicals embraced diversity within their churches, those churches still maintained institutional whiteness and perpetuated understandings of racial and cultural difference rooted in notions of cross-cultural missions to essentialized racial and cultural "others."

White evangelicals' celebrating diversity and ignoring larger institutional power disparities in multiracial churches in the 1990s mirrored the larger shifts in American culture and politics as the rising popularity of "diversity" and "multiculturalism" diminished the power of calls for systemic racial justice and institutional affirmative action. Though federal affirmative action policies had emerged in the 1960s as a structural response to entrenched systems of segregation and white supremacy, extensive white resistance to (non-white) race-conscious policies prompted federal marginalization of and judicial restriction of affirmative action programs in the 1980s and 1990s.[153] In place of language about systemic restructuring to correct entrenched social inequalities, rhetoric about diversity in the 1980s and 1990s increasingly encouraged institutions like companies and colleges to increase racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity to generate new markets and higher profits, or to enhance the educational experience through a student body with a wide variety of worldviews.[154] Diversity rhetoric also gradually equated all social differences, which eventually made even differences among white men as significant as disparities between racial groups within an institution. So the language of diversity and the celebration of multiculturalism in the 1990s as a marketable commodity within organizations increasingly obscured the reality of enduring major structural inequalities,

---

[150] Marti and Emerson, "The Rise of the Diversity Expert," 191-92.

[151] See Mark Chaves, *National Congregations Study – 1998* (Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, 2002) and Michael Emerson and Rodney Woo, *People of the Dream: Multiracial Congregations in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 177.

[152] See for example Korie L. Edwards, *The Elusive Dream: The Power of Race in Interracial Churches* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Brandon Martinez and Kevin Dougherty "Race, Belonging, and Participation in Religious Congregations," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 52, no.4 (December 2013): 713–32.; Nancy Wadsworth, *Ambivalent Miracles: Evangelicals and the Politics of Racial Healing* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014); Ryon Cobb, Samuel Perry, and Kevin Dougherty, "United by Faith? Race/Ethnicity, Congregational Diversity, and Explanations of Racial Inequality," *Sociology of Religion* 76, no.5 (June 2015): 177–98; and Jessica Barron, "Managed Diversity: Race, Place, and an Urban Church," *Sociology of Religion* 77, no 1 (February 2016): 18-36.

[153] See Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States* and Nancy MacLean, *Freedom is Not Enough: The Opening of the American Workplace* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

[154] See Sharon Collins, *Black Corporate Executives: The Making and Breaking of a Black Middle Class* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997) and Ellen Berrey, *The Enigma of Diversity: The Language of Race and the Limits of Racial Justice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

especially power imbalances based on race.[155] And American evangelicals contributed to this process with their own rhetoric of sanctified diversity that disregarded persistent structural injustices within their own institutions and within society more broadly.

As white evangelicals in the US tried to embrace an international and multiracial Christian community in America through initiatives like urban missions and multiracial churches, US evangelical missionaries set their sights on mobilizing that international Christian community to evangelize the whole world by the year 2000. After years of criticisms and demands from Global South church leaders and some changes by US mission organizations in the 1970s and 1980s, American missionaries joined Global South church leaders again in 1989 for another huge international conference on world evangelization, called Lausanne II. 3600 delegates from 173 countries gathered for over a week in Manila (figs. 3, 4) for a series of plenary talks, group discussions, and committee meetings to develop a cohesive statement about global evangelization, this time called the Manila Manifesto. The conference featured certain new elements that reflected how US and Western missions leaders had tried to respond to Global South church leaders' concerns. Lausanne II had a more internationalized leadership committee and slate of speakers, and even included speakers and participants from the Pentecostal and charismatic movement for the first time, after Western evangelical leaders admitted that they could no longer discredit and reject such a large and evangelistic group of the global Christian community simply because of doctrinal disagreements over the supernatural gifts of the Holy Spirit. The conference also contained more presentations about social justice and holistic theology, with plenary talks about the injustice of poverty, international wealth disparities, and the debt crisis. The Manila Manifesto contained more language of repentance for past complicity in injustice and theological "narrowness," though the manifesto's section on social responsibility still identified evangelism as "primary."[156] Conference presentations and the manifesto also recognized the importance of theological contextualization and situating the gospel message within particular social and cultural situations.

At the same time, Lausanne II also displayed the persistence of Western mission methods and philosophies, even after two decades of critiques and demands for change from Global South church leaders. The biggest example of this persistence was the launch at Lausanne II of the AD2000 Movement, which became the largest global missions initiative of the 1990s by aiming to coordinate national task forces that would "proclaim the whole gospel to the whole world with the whole church by the year 2000."[157] Spurred on by the statistical updates at Lausanne II that the number of unreached people groups had fallen from 17,000 to 12,000 in only fifteen years,

---

[155] See Joyce Bell and Douglas Hartmann, "Diversity in Everyday Discourse: The Cultural Ambiguities and Consequences of 'Happy Talk,'" *American Sociological Review* 72, no.6 (December 2007): 895-914; Amir Marvasti and Karyn McKinney, "Does Diversity Mean Assimilation?" *Critical Sociology* 37, no.5 (March 2011): 631–50; Cedric Herring and Loren Henderson, "From Affirmative Action to Diversity: Toward a Critical Diversity Perspective," *Critical Sociology* 38, no. 5 (September 2012): 629-43; and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*, 5th ed. (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2017).

[156] "Manila Manifesto," in *Proclaim Christ Until He Comes: Calling the Whole Church to Take the Whole Gospel to the Whole World*, ed. J.D. Douglass (Minneapolis: World Wide Publications, 1990), 30.

[157] Luis Bush, "The Challenge before Us," in *Proclaim Christ Until He Comes*, 62.


Figure 3. The Philippines International Conference Center, the site of the Lausanne II conference. Courtesy of the Billy Graham Center Archives.

Figure 4. Lausanne II participants take communion in the in the main assembly hall at the Philippines International Conference Center. Courtesy of the Billy Graham Center Archives.

the AD2000 Movement sought to finish the task of global evangelization in a mere ten years.[158] The movement's ambitious goals and eschatological overtones, accompanied by the major geopolitical transformations of the early 1990s, gave missions in the last decade of the twentieth century a spirit of urgent mass mobilization for an imagined brief evangelistic opportunity, as Chapter Five will detail. But the AD2000 Movement also revealed the enduring forms of Western power in missions in the 1990s. The movement exhibited some diversity and internationalization; a Chinese evangelist had founded the movement, an Argentinian president led the board of directors, and an internationalized leadership structure coordinated the movement's projects. However, the movement still relied upon Western-style master strategies, statistical measurements of success, massive amounts of Western capital and manpower, as well as the philosophy of evangelism's primacy. For example, the AD2000 Movement was most famous for inventing a geographical region, the "10/40 window," which stretched from ten to forty degrees north of the equator in the eastern hemisphere and contained most of the people groups that evangelicals hoped to reach with the gospel message. This selective mapping of missions priorities, though planned by an internationalized committee, reflected Western modernist practices for identifying and targeting specific populations. The AD2000 Movement's strategies and philosophies more broadly highlighted the ways that global missions maintained Western methods and philosophies through organizations that proudly displayed diversity yet retained institutional forms of Western power.

By the 1990s, most US mission organizations had attempted to incorporate some of Global South church leaders' biggest demands for change, yet these organizations still preserved certain elements of American hegemony and Western power within their structures, methods, and theologies. Global South church leaders had confronted US missionaries for two decades at international conferences, in national mission association meetings, and from within mission organizations themselves, and these Global South leaders had most criticized the hierarchical structures and methods of missions, as well as the Western philosophies that undergirded mission theologies, and had demanded power redistribution to and theological autonomy for national churches and Christians. US missionary leaders had expressed varied levels of support for these demands, and most had tried to transform their mission methods by partnering with national churches, while also attempting to change their mission theologies by at least acknowledging the value of social concern and contextualized theology. By the end of the 1980s, Global South church leaders held positions on many US mission organizations' subcommittees and often worked in ministry cooperation with these large and wealthy American organizations around the world, yet Global South leaders warned their US partners that not all power hierarchies had disappeared just because people of different nationalities were working together and sitting around the same tables. Even earnestly self-reflective US missionary leaders had struggled and

[158] See "Video Presentation: The Challenge Before Us," in *Proclaim Christ Until He Comes*, 55 and Luis Bush, "The Challenge before Us," 60. These statistical reductions were primarily a result of recalculations by missionary demographers at WERC, MARC, and the US Center for World Mission, and not a result of successful foreign missionary campaigns with 5,000 groups. However, videos and plenary speakers at Lausanne reported the statistics as evidence of evangelization's progress since 1974, and no one corrected those claims from the platform. For corrections and explanations of the statistical changes, see "The Amazing Countdown Facts," *Mission Frontiers* 11, nos. 4-5 (April-May 1989): 17 and Robert Coote, "Lausanne II and World Evangelization," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 14, no.1 (January 1990), 16.

failed to disentangle their organizations from many of the larger structural and epistemological forms of Western power, which had been integral to global missions for so long. American missionary leaders continued to express their eagerness to partner with Christians around the world, and encouraged evangelicals back at home to connect with international communities in the US through urban missions in the 1980s and 1990s. US evangelicals who took missionaries' advice often formed multicultural churches, which celebrated diversity yet retained considerable institutional whiteness, much like mission organizations of the period did. These transformations made American missionary work in the late twentieth century a more diverse enterprise, an endeavor that more self-consciously recognized and supported local Christians throughout the Global South, and yet still a powerful international force that maintained forms of Western hegemony around the world.

Chapter Four
**Saving the World in a Week**:
**The Rise of the Short-Term Mission Trip**
[1970s and 1980s]

In the late twentieth century, a totally new method of missions participation emerged and dramatically altered the face of American missionary work. Millions of American evangelicals took part in global missions via a novel route – a short-term mission trip. Begun after World War II and expanded dramatically in the 1970s, short-term mission trips created an entirely original form of global involvement and radically increased the number of US evangelicals on the mission field. By the end of the twentieth century, over 1.6 million Americans were participating in short-term mission trips each year, and those short-term volunteers annually outnumbered long-term missionaries by a ratio of thirty-six to one.[1] This influx of "short-termers" transformed mission work from a job performed by a select group to a consumer experience available to anyone who could pay for it. For American evangelicals, missions became not just something that they heard about in church every Sunday; increasingly, it was something that they could go out and see for themselves. And these fresh eager volunteers offered mission organizations vast resources of manpower and money, but they also presented many problems. Most of all, they raised foundational questions about the purpose of mission work and the potential for short-term visitors to help or hinder long-term goals. Could temporary volunteers really help save the world?

Missions leaders like Herbert Kane believed that short-term missions could strengthen the work of long-term "career" missionaries, but also worried that if not managed properly, short-term missions might do more harm than good. A former missionary to China, Kane became a prominent missiologist in the 1970s as short-term missions were becoming increasingly popular. When he surveyed the effects of this new trend, he celebrated that short-termers were assisting career missionaries in major ways. He reported that temporary volunteers were supplementing the missions workforce by relieving career missionaries of "extra chores," thereby freeing up missionaries for more important tasks. And he noted that young volunteers were providing youthful enthusiasm, initiative, and idealism that encouraged veteran missionaries. However, Kane also cautioned that these visiting short-termers might hinder global mission work due to their inexperience. He described how volunteers' lack of training and language skills burdened career missionaries with the tasks of overseeing and translating for short-termers, which sometimes prevented missionaries from focusing on more vital mission work.[2] He concluded that while short-term missions had great potential, the new trend was not a

[1] The first estimates of total participation by US churchgoers in short-term mission trips came in 2005 with sociologist Robert Wuthnow's Global Impact Survey. For specific stats (including the 1.6 million estimate), see Robert Wuthnow, *Boundless Faith: The Global Outreach of American Churches* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 170-71. Short-term volunteers began outnumbering career missionaries in the early 1990s. See Linda Weber, ed., *Mission Handbook: U.S. and Canadian Protestant Ministries Overseas*, 21st ed. (Wheaton, IL: Evangelism and Missions Information Service, 2010), 46.

[2] J. Herbert Kane, *Winds of Change in Christian Mission* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1973), 140-44.

"panacea," and he warned missionaries that if they did not closely manage the influx of these new volunteers, "the whole program is likely to get out of kilter."[3]

Like Kane, many missionaries were both optimistic and apprehensive about the potential impacts of short-term missions. Mission organizations created this new phenomenon and heralded it as a useful infusion of temporary global manpower, a valuable recruitment tool for future long-term missionaries, and a surefire way to increase US support for missions. And short-term missions participants gushed about their global experiences and insisted that their international trips had strengthened their faith in God and awakened their compassion for other people's spiritual needs. But as the number of volunteers ballooned in the 1970s and 1980s, missionaries debated whether these myriad temporary visitors did more harm than good, and whether short-term volunteers could serve long-term global evangelization goals. Ultimately, missionary leaders accepted short-term missions by developing distinct theological justifications for them. Missions leaders framed the short-term trip as a spiritual practice that primarily benefitted American travelers, and characterized short-term volunteers as potential supporting cast members within the larger vital project of worldwide evangelism. So as short-term mission trips became both very popular and sometimes very problematic, they shaped US evangelicals by giving millions of people firsthand experiences on the global mission field, and also transformed American missionary work by prompting adjustments to some of the central goals and methods of evangelical missions.

Short-term missions created a completely new type of international Christian worker. These temporary volunteers typically had no language skills, no theological training, and little to no orientation before their trip. This was a tremendous lack of preparation, especially when compared to the groundwork that career missionaries completed before starting mission work. Prior to the advent of short-term missions, going onto the mission field required years of preparation. Aspiring missionary candidates obtained formal theological training, since mission organizations wanted to ensure that missionaries would spread only sanctioned beliefs to converts.[4] Candidates also completed an exhaustive application and review process, usually including a written life history, a spiritual testimony, a physical and psychological examination, and numerous letters of recommendation. If they passed that review process, many candidates then conducted lengthy fundraising campaigns to raise their salaries from individual and church donors. And all candidates attended an orientation program conducted by their mission organizations in the US. New missionaries then moved abroad and began intensive language training, which usually lasted one to two years. This entire process stemmed from the theological belief that while all Christians should support missionary work, only certain Christians received a call from God to become missionaries. Mission organizations used the procedures of application and preparation to discern who had that call and who could develop the skills to

[3] Ibid., 147, 146.

[4] By the mid- and late twentieth century, missionaries did not have to be ordained. In earlier centuries, many Protestant mission organizations preferred to employ ordained pastors as missionaries, but by the early twentieth century both US and European mission organizations were sending mostly laypeople out onto the mission field. While in 1868, laypersons were 52 percent of the American and European missionary force, by 1910 laypeople were 70 percent of all Protestant missionaries. One major cause of this shift was the rising number of women, especially single women, in the missionary force. See William Hutchinson, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 101.

fulfill the call. But with the advent of short-term mission trips, volunteers could bypass this extensive process and go onto the mission field with little to no training.

So who were these short-term volunteers? In general, they were young people or skilled professionals. These two groups bolstered mission organizations' workforces with personnel who had youthful energy or specific skills that career missionaries lacked. Young volunteers were typically college students or recent college graduates, and in the late twentieth century high school students also joined the short-term missions labor force. Skilled professionals included doctors, nurses, and engineers; while some missionaries had these skills, temporary infusions of professionals strengthened existing mission projects or relieved missionaries who went home to the US on furlough. Importantly, short-term volunteers had the means and time to travel abroad for an extended period. While no standard definition existed for the length of a short-term mission trip, in the first decades after World War II, short-term programs were typically several months to two years in length.[5] The necessity of taking time off from work and raising substantial funds for such a lengthy global experience meant that short-term workers were almost all white and middle-class.[6] In the late twentieth century when shorter trips by church groups became popular, middle-aged white adults from US suburbs also became major participants in short-term missions.[7] But in the early decades of short-term programs, white young people and skilled professionals comprised the majority of volunteers out on the mission field. Mission organizations made hard distinctions between these volunteers and career missionaries, and consciously avoided conflating the two categories. Organizations cast short-term workers as apprentices, helpers, and assistants, rather than as full-fledged missionaries.

---

[5] More broadly, during the mid- and late twentieth century mission organizations counted anything between a few days and two years as a "short-term" trip. There were three most common trip lengths: one to two weeks (for church trips or spring break trips), two to three months (for summer trips, especially for students), and one or two years (for established programs with mission organizations). During the first decades of short-term missions programs, summer-long and year-long trips were most common. But by the early 2000s, the average short-term mission trip was eight days in length, which shows that by that point, most US evangelicals went onto the mission field via a very short church trip or vacation-length experience. See Wuthnow, *Boundless Faith*, 171. For a detailed discussion of how mission organizations used widely varying definitions for "short-term" missions, see Robert Coote, "Good News, Bad News: North American Protestant Overseas Personnel Statistics in Twenty-Five-Year Perspective," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 19, no.6 (January 1995), 7-8.

[6] This fundraising requirement created structural barriers for not only short-term missions but also career missionary work, since most nondenominational mission organizations required missionaries to raise their own salaries. For studies of these structural conditions in US evangelical ministries more broadly, see Barry Gardner, "Technological Changes and Monetary Advantages: The Growth of Evangelical Funding, 1945 to the Present," in *More Money, More Ministry: Money and Evangelicals in Recent North American History,* eds. Larry Eskridge and Mark Noll (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000), 298-310; Christopher Scheitle, *Beyond the Congregation: The World of Christian Nonprofits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Lisa Keister, *Faith and Money: How Religion Contributes to Wealth and Poverty* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Samuel Perry, "Social Capital, Race, and Personal Fundraising in Evangelical Outreach Ministries," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 52, no. 1 (2013): 159-78; and Mark Chaves and Sharon Miller, eds., *Financing American Religion* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira, 1999).

[7] By the early 2000s, 64 percent of short-term participants were ages 30-59, and 57 percent lived in US suburbs. In these ways, the majority of short-term volunteers closely resembled the majority of church members in the US. See Wuthnow, *Boundless Faith*, 294n35.

**Short-Term by Design**

In spite of the relative youth and inexperience of short-termers, many mission organization directors launched short-term programs with the confidence that these new participants would enhance mission work in important ways. Mission organization leaders argued that short-term programs would increase manpower on the mission field, recruit future long-term missionaries, and heighten US Christians' support for global mission work. The Foreign Mission Board was one of the first mission organizations to implement short-term programs, and FMB leaders celebrated the ways that short-term workers would boost worldwide missions. In 1947, the FMB started its "summer missionary" program that paired Southern Baptist college students with career missionaries around the world.[8] Summer missionaries performed duties like playing music for church services, assisting with youth programs and Vacation Bible School classes, and providing tutoring and childcare for career missionaries' children.[9] In the 1940s and 1950s a few dozen summer missionaries traveled abroad each year, and by the mid-1960s the FMB was sending out almost 100 students every summer.[10] In response to the success of the summer missions program, and in recognition of the growing popularity of longer overseas opportunities like the Peace Corps, the FMB expanded its short-term offerings in 1965 by starting a two-year program called the Journeyman Program. Journeymen (and women) were college graduates in their early and mid-twenties who worked under the supervision of career missionaries and filled positions such as English teachers, youth workers, medical technicians, and secretaries.[11] Founders of the Journeyman program consciously designed it as the evangelical version of the Peace Corps. FMB leaders consulted Peace Corps directors for advice about advertising, application processing, and training procedures, and the Peace Corps' public relations director, a lifelong Southern Baptist, drafted early promotional materials for the Journeyman program.[12] In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the FMB sent out around 50-100 Journeymen each year, and the program continued to grow in succeeding decades and became, along with the summer missions program, the main channel for Southern Baptist young people who wanted to serve overseas for a short term.

The FMB promoted its short-term opportunities to Southern Baptists as valuable experiences through which young people would contribute to global missions and use their youthful energy for a good cause. The FMB's director explained that though career missionaries were the core and majority of Southern Baptists on the mission field, short-term workers filled an

[8] Other organizations that began short-term programs in the 1940s and 1950s included the Methodist Board of Missions (1948), Oriental Mission Society International (1949), Operation Mobilization (1957), the Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society (1958), and the Seventh-day Adventist Church (1959). Small precursors to postwar short-term programs included those of the Church of Latter Day Saints, which began sending some fixed-term missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century, and programs by Mennonites, United Presbyterians, and American Friends, which all instituted a few short-service terms in the 1920s.

[9] Vacation Bible School (VBS) was a week-long (sometimes longer) set of Bible classes and activities for children, usually hosted at a local church. In the US, VBS was a summer church activity, and on the mission field, VBS events happened at many different times of the year.

[10] "Students Get Ready for Summer Work," *The Commission* 28, no.5 (May 1965), 25.

[11] "Missionary Journeyman Program," *The Commission* 27, no. 8 (September 1964), 3. The maximum age for a Journeyman applicant was 26.

[12] Jane Robinson, "Journeymen Coming of Age," *The Commission* 40, no. 11 (November 1977), 3.

important "auxiliary role" in global mission work.[13] Early descriptions of the Journeyman program specified that these young people were useful for world missions because they were "laymen with a journeyman's competence in performing a task and a Christian commitment to serve for two years overseas."[14] The FMB stressed that these short-term programs gave young people a way to perform worthwhile tasks for foreign missions instead of channeling their youthful passion into disruptive social protest. A 1967 profile of new Journeymen reassured readers that "while some youths in their 20's—by placards, protests, and talk—make noisy headlines, these journeymen—by action—quietly write mission history."[15] The FMB's director made a similar contrast when he promised that if Southern Baptists became discouraged "as they read the tragic stories in the daily press of disturbed, erratic youth, they can find their spirits lifted by taking a close look" at youth serving in short-term missions.[16] The FMB invited young people to see short-term programs as the most significant cause to which they could give their time. A 1968 advertisement for the Journeyman program asked young readers, "Looking for a cause?" and under a photo of Journeymen the ad declared, "These young people have found one. And they're doing something about it." The ad explained that the Journeymen's "consuming cause is the gospel of Christ" and told young readers that they too could find a cause by applying for short-term overseas service.[17]

Promotions for FMB short-term programs also emphasized that through these missions experiences, young people would discover whether God was calling them into a full-time missionary career. The FMB celebrated this connection when making announcements about new career missionaries who were beginning their service overseas; a short bio for each new missionary detailed any previous short-term service. By the 1970s, between five and ten percent of new career missionaries had experience with either summer missions or the Journeyman program.[18] While the summer missions program explicitly touted its recruitment purpose, the Journeyman program's recruitment function was an unplanned but applauded outcome. Originally, FMB leaders designed the two-year program as a stand-alone experience that college graduates could undertake before returning home and starting a job in the US. However, after the first five years of the program, FMB leaders happily discovered that over half of returned Journeymen had considered a long-term career in missionary work, and a handful had already begun careers as full-time FMB missionaries.[19]

Though most summer missionaries and Journeyman did not pursue long-term careers as missionaries, the FMB taught short-term participants that their job for missions did not end when they returned home to the US. Rather, FMB leaders explained, returned short-termers should speak frequently at local churches and colleges to increase US Southern Baptists' knowledge

---

[13] Baker Cauthen, "Missionary Journeyman Program," *The Commission* 33, no. 9 (September 1970), 27.
[14] "Missionary Journeyman Program," 3.
[15] "'67 Missionary Journeymen," *The Commission* 30, no. 10 (October 1967), 1.
[16] Baker Cauthen, "Missionary Journeyman Program," 27.
[17] *The Commission* 31, no. 9 (October 1968), back cover.
[18] The FMB appointed new missionaries almost every month, and published those appointees' bios a few months later. See for example "New Missionary Personnel," *The Commission* 33, no. 9 (September 1970), 32-33; "New Missionary Personnel," *The Commission* 34, no. 1 (January 1971), 28; "New Missionary Personnel," *The Commission* 38, 10 (October 1975), 42, 45; and "New Missionary Personnel," *The Commission* 41, no. 7 (July 1978), 36, 38, 40.
[19] Leland Webb, "Surveying the Journeymen," *The Commission* 36, no. 11 (November 1973), 21.

about and support for foreign missions. The official Journeyman handbook instructed participants that their biggest purpose after the end of their two-year term was "to aid the local church in gaining world concern."[20] And at an orientation session for summer missionaries in 1965, the FMB's personnel associate argued that participating in short-term missions gave students "the responsibility to share their experiences in missions when they return to their campuses and home areas."[21] The FMB's director told Southern Baptists to expect these young people to promote missions in local churches; he told Baptist readers that returned short-termers would have the experience necessary to "become a part of the supporting base for the world mission task."[22] And many short-term participants did give presentations about their experiences; when the FMB surveyed returned Journeymen in the mid-1970s, FMB leaders were pleased to discover that four out of five returnees had addressed churches and other groups to encourage audiences to pray for and financially support missionary work.[23] So the Foreign Mission Board aimed to use its short-term programs to promote missions in the US, boost manpower on the mission field, and recruit future career missionaries, and the FMB framed short-term missions as a tool for those three purposes in both its internal communications and its widespread publications.

While some organizations like the FMB began short-term programs in the postwar era, the rapid growth of short-term missions started in the 1970s, as mission organizations, Christian colleges, and churches began sending waves of US evangelicals out for global experiences. More than eighty mission organizations were utilizing short-term programs by the early 1970s, and from 1970 to 1979, the number of short-termers traveling each year through mission organizations grew from 3,200 to almost 18,000 (fig. 1). Short-term participants began as a small percentage of mission organizations' personnel but grew rapidly in the 1970s and 1980s. While in the mid-1960s short-term volunteers were just two percent of mission organizations' workforce, by 1975 that figure had jumped to sixteen percent, and by 1985 short-termers were over forty-two percent of mission organizations' global labor force.[24] So while some key short-term programs launched in the two decades after World War II, it was in the 1970s and 1980s that short-term missions became increasingly prevalent and that US evangelicals became more and more involved in these opportunities to travel abroad for mission work.

Amid this rapid growth, organizers articulated aims for short-term missions that echoed those goals from the postwar era – short-termers would increase manpower, recruit future missionaries, and expand US support for global missions. Two organizations that trumpeted those objectives as they founded their own short-term programs in the 1970s were Intervarsity

---

[20] Policy Book, Missionary Journeyman Program, June 1, 1970, Folder 12, Box 4522, Collection AR 551-3, International Mission Board Executive Office Records, Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee (hereafter IMB Executive Office Records).
[21] "Students Get Ready for Summer Work," 25.
[22] Baker Cauthen, "Missionary Journeyman Program," 27.
[23] Leland Webb, "Surveying the Journeymen," 21.
[24] Meredith Long, "The Increasing Role of Short-Term Service in Today's Mission," in *Mission Handbook: North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*, ed. Edward Dayton (Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1973), 16-23 and Samuel Wilson, ed., *Mission Handbook: North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*, 12th ed. (Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1980), 26.

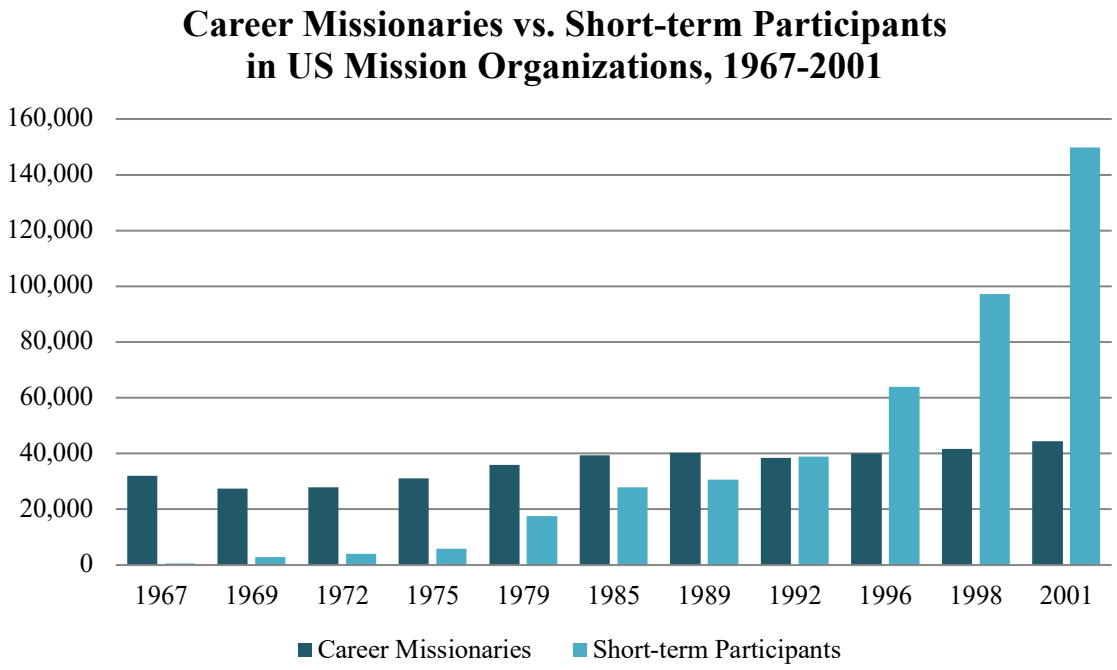


Figure 1. Number of career missionaries and short-term participants in US mission organizations, 1967-2001. These statistics only count Americans who went on short-term trips through the formal channels of mission organizations, and does not account for the millions of volunteers (by the early 2000s, over 1.6 million per year) who went on trips through their local churches, unconnected to mission organizations. Sources: Samuel Wilson, ed., *Mission Handbook: North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*, 12th ed. (Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1980), 26; Wilson and and John Siewert, eds., *Mission Handbook: North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*, 13th ed. (Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1986), 573; and Linda Weber, ed., *Mission Handbook: U.S. and Canadian Protestant Ministries Overseas*, 21st ed. (Wheaton, IL: Evangelism and Missions Information Service, 2010), 46.

and Campus Crusade for Christ.[25] Intervarsity had been increasing evangelical students' knowledge about and interest in missions for decades through the triennial Urbana conferences, and in the early 1970s Intervarsity developed annual summer programs to boost students' involvement in global missions. As a college campus ministry, Intervarsity had over six hundred chapters at public and Christian colleges across the US, and those local chapters became the main hubs for recruiting short-termers.[26] In 1970 Intervarsity leaders started the Overseas Training Camp (OTC), which sent groups of students to work alongside career missionaries

[25] Campus Crusade changed the name of its US organization in 2011 to Cru. During the mid- and late twentieth century, however, the organization used interchangeably the names Crusade, Campus Crusade, and Campus Crusade for Christ.

[26] During the 1970s, Intervarsity had on average 761 chapters operating on college campuses each year, and from 1970 to 1979, the number of students involved in those chapters increased from 7800 to over 27,000. See Keith Hunt and Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of InterVarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A.,*

while attending classes about missions theology and methodology. Originally based only in Central America, OTC multiplied in the 1980s to numerous sites around the world.[27] Intervarsity's other short-term program, Student Training in Missions (STIM), began sending students in 1972 to assist career missionaries from many different mission organizations in over twenty countries. STIM sent a few dozen students each summer during the early 1970s, and by the early 1980s over 200 students were traveling abroad through the program every year.[28] Through OTC and STIM, Intervarsity encouraged college students to gain firsthand experience on the mission field so that they could decide whether to become career missionaries and so that they would return to their colleges as passionate advocates for missions.

OTC and STIM coordinators intended for these global short-term experiences to help students discern whether long-term overseas service was God's will for them. One of the three main objectives of STIM was to "help students evaluate missionary service as a potential career," and program leaders explained that short-term missions would give students "an introduction to the realities of missionary life" through "opportunities to live and work with missionaries in other cultures."[29] Intervarsity leaders asserted that these short-term opportunities were "the best strategies for helping an individual develop an awareness of God's Plan, a vision for his or her role in that plan, an understanding of the options available, and the commitment to go."[30] Intervarsity leaders also stressed to students that one major purpose of short-term missions was investigating a possible long-term missionary career. One promotional brochure told potential applicants that they must have an "eagerness to know God's will for [your] life with respect to serving abroad," and letters to prospective applicants promised that short-term participants would gain direct knowledge about a long-term missionary career by experiencing the same "joys, problems, anxieties, and labors" that career missionaries did.[31] After short-termers' returned home from their summer experiences, Intervarsity leaders conducted debriefing sessions that asked students to decide whether to pursue long-term missionary service and whether to change or augment their current educational training to give them more preparation for a future "ministry in another culture."[32] In these ways, OTC and STIM directors designed Intervarsity's short-term programs to confront participants repeatedly with the question of whether that short-term experience was inspiring them to commit to a long-term missionary career.

---

*1940-1990* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1991), 402-07. The growth of Intervarsity's chapters was a part of the broader growth of evangelical campus ministries in the 1960s and 1970s. For studies of this campus ministry boom, see for example John Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008) and Larry Eskridge, *God's Forever Family: The Jesus People Movement in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[27] Interview of David Howard by Paul Ericksen, May 21, 1993, Audio Tape 8, Collection 484, David M. Howard Papers, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois (hereafter David Howard Papers).

[28] Dick Crespo to IVCF Staff, September 1974, Folder 5, Box 44, Collection 300, Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship 1940-1991, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois (hereafter IVCF Collection) and "Intervarsity Missions Department Evaluation," January 30, 1984, Folder 1, Box 375, IVCF Collection.

[29] Jim Worden and Dick Crespo to Keith Hunt and Yvonne Vinkemulder, November 5, 1974, Folder 4, Box 377, IVCF Collection.

[30] "Intervarsity Missions Department Evaluation," January 30, 1984.

[31] STIM Brochure, 1975, Folder 4, Box 377, IVCF Collection and Dick Crespo to IVCF Staff, September 1974, Folder 5, Box 44, IVCF Collection.

[32] Jim Worden and Dick Crespo to Keith Hunt and Yvonne Vinkemulder, November 5, 1974.

In addition to trying to augment global missions by recruiting more career missionaries, Intervarsity leaders also aimed to increase US evangelicals' support for mission work by using returned short-termers as recruiters and advocates for missions. STIM directors told Intervarsity staff members that their local campus chapters would benefit immeasurably from students with short-term missions experience. Only students who would return to campus could apply for STIM, so that those students would "contribute a certain urgency to the issue of world missions" on campus and would motivate other students to become more aware "of their responsibility to the world mission of the church."[33] Intervarsity leaders also expected returned short-termers to influence far more groups than simply other college students. One of the listed qualifications for short-term applicants was a willingness to share their stories from the mission field with local churches, families, and friends.[34] STIM directors boldly declared that students with short-term missions experience "are the most vital tool…for making a significant impact on the Church in North America for the cause of world outreach for Christ."[35] So with its short-term programs, Intervarsity intended to increase US support for global missions while also boosting the number of young people interested in long-term missionary careers.

Campus Crusade for Christ had comparable aims to those of Intervarsity when starting short-term missions in the late 1970s. Crusade was an organization that began its work on US college campuses, like Intervarsity, and then expanded into broader community evangelism in the US and around the world during the 1970s. The organization was most well-known for its big outreach events, which incorporated splashy billboards and stadium-rocking festivals, and its methods of evangelism, which included prepared presentations that resembled sales pitches.[36] Crusade prioritized evangelism when developing its two short-term missions programs – International Summer Project and Stop-Out for Christ. Beginning in 1976, International Summer Projects sent students to various countries where they assisted long-term Crusade staff with evangelism efforts, especially evangelism with young people.[37] Stop-Out for Christ began in 1979 as a more extended international project; students would take a year off from school to work abroad with long-term Crusade staff to evangelize communities and mentor new Christian converts. Stop-Out began in Guam and Micronesia, and spread a few years later to many other locations around the world. When these programs began, around 150 students went abroad every year, and by the mid-1980s over 700 students were taking part in Crusade's short-term missions

---

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Dick Crespo to IVCF Staff, December 17, 1974, Folder 5, Box 44, IVCF Collection.

[36] Crusade's biggest outreach events of the 1970s were Explo '72 in Dallas, Explo '74 in Seoul, South Korea, and the Here's Life, America campaigns in many major US cities. See Turner, *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ,* 149-72 and Eskridge, *God's Forever Family,* 170-178. Prepared presentations like the "Four Spiritual Laws" were a regular part of Crusade's evangelism at big events and in one-on-one outreach on college campuses. Crusade self-defined its evangelism method as "aggressive evangelism," which meant that Crusade staff members should "take the initiative" to talk with people, "assume that people are open and interested in the gospel," "share the message straightforwardly," and "keep it simple and direct." See "Essential Characteristics of Campus Crusade for Christ," June 2, 1972, Box 1329, International Ministries Collection, Cru Archives, Cru International Headquarters, Orlando, Florida (hereafter International Ministries Collection).

[37] Crusade had local employees (national Christians) on its international staff, as well as American staff who served abroad as "International Representatives" – the in-house term for a Crusade missionary. Short-termers would assist both national Christians and American international representatives around the world.

each year.[38] Through Stop-Out and International Summer Projects, Crusade intended for students to become a powerful part of the global missions workforce, to consider a long-term missionary career, and to develop into ardent missions supporters in the US.

International Summer Project and Stop-Out leaders stressed that through short-term missions, participants would make a direct contribution to global evangelism. Early explanations of Stop-Out made clear that participating in the program meant "taking a year off from your studies to help reach the world for Christ."[39] An advertisement for International Summer Projects echoed that global purpose by inviting students to "quench" the world's thirst for the gospel message.[40] Other advertisements told students exactly how they could provide manpower for global missions. One promotion given to over ten thousand students at Crusade's 1979 Christmas conferences told potential applicants about short-term opportunities in over sixteen different countries and regions, and specified how students could make an impact in those places.[41] For example, the promotion described Brazil as a country "ripe for a fresh wave of evangelism" and told students that they would do person-to-person evangelism in major cities and would also train Brazilian church members how to evangelize their communities.[42] The promotion also highlighted three unnamed countries in the Middle East, "where Christianity has its roots," and explained that students would reach out to local Muslims there by mailing evangelistic literature in a massive direct mail campaign and then mentoring any new Christian converts.[43] Out on the mission field, short-term program leaders would keep track of participants' evangelism work during the trip, and would celebrate the statistical results of that evangelism in summary reports.

---

[38] "Students 'Stop Out' for Micronesia," *Worldwide Challenge* 06, no. 12 (December 1979), 37; Minutes of International Summer Project and Stop-Out Meeting, September 23, 1982, Box 91, Agape International Collection, Cru Archives, Cru International Headquarters, Orlando, Florida (hereafter Agape International Collection); "International Summer Projects: Opening People's Eyes to the Needs of the World," *Worldwide Challenge* 13, no. 1 (Jan / Feb 1986), 40. In the mid-1980s Stop-Out for Christ became STINT (Short-Term International Project). See "Stop-Out Redefined: A Proposal," n.d. [1985], Box 212, International Ministries Collection.

[39] Project Stop-Out for Christ, Inter-Ministry Memo, n.d. [1980 or 1981], Box 91, Agape International Collection.

[40] See "Quench a Thirst," *Worldwide Challenge* 13, no. 1 (Jan / Feb 1986), 39.

[41] Christmas conference was an annual Crusade event for students held between Christmas and New Year's in several cities around the US. The conference included worship services with prominent evangelical speakers, breakout sessions, and small group Bible studies.

[42] By the late 1970s, Brazil was experiencing a boom of charismatic Catholicism and Protestantism, and many US evangelicals saw this change as a promising sign of revival, even though many evangelicals had major doctrinal disagreements with charismatic and Pentecostal Christians about the supernatural gifts of the Holy Spirit. This religious transformation in Brazil and other parts of South and Central America had many home-grown causes, and was not simply a byproduct of US missionary efforts. See David Martin, *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1990); David Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant? Politics of Evangelical Growth* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Elizabeth Brusco, *The Reformation of Machismo: Evangelical Conversion and Gender in Colombia* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995); John Burdick, *Looking for God in Brazil: The Progressive Catholic Church in Urban Brazil's Religious Arena* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Virginia Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism in Guatemala: Living in the New Jerusalem* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998); R. Andrew Chesnut, *Competitive Spirits: Latin America's New Religious Economy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); David Smilde, *Reason to Believe: Cultural Agency in Latin American Evangelicalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); and Todd Hartch, *The Rebirth of Latin American Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[43] John Jones to John Douglass, n.d. [January 1980], Box 485, International Ministries Collection.

During the first year of Stop-Out in Guam, for example, sixty participants reported that they spent nine hours each week on direct evangelism and that 100 people each week "prayed to receive Christ," or became evangelical Protestants, as a result of that evangelism.[44] That totaled approximately 5,000 reported conversions from one year of Stop-Out work in one country. So while short-term participants sometimes performed administrative office work or other support work for conferences and large evangelism campaigns, Crusade designed its short-term programs to give all participants regular opportunities to evangelize people personally and thereby directly further worldwide evangelization.

Crusade promoted these opportunities to contribute to global evangelism as exciting adventures in which students would see God working through them to save other people around the world. The 1979 promotion passed out to thousands of Christmas conference attendees opened with a rousing description of short-term missions: "Adventure! Excitement! Exotic locations! A cast of thousands! (or at least hundreds). Sound like a promo for a new Hollywood spectacular? It's not. It's a description of what may be in store for <u>you</u> in the next six months."[45] A 1983 International Summer Project advertisement, which went out to 17,000 students at a Crusade conference in Kansas City, MO (called KC '83), asked potential applicants, "Are you ready to step out in faith for an unforgettable adventure?" The ad described different situations that students might experience around the world, like "a crowd of 2,000 Zairians weeping" while watching an evangelistic film, or "a Ugandan child who looks at you with eyes that say, 'I've never heard that name—Jesus—before," and told readers that such situations awaited them if they applied for a short-term trip.[46] The first Stop-Out leader to Guam reflected that these stirring promotions would capture students' interest and then leaders could supplement that interest and enthusiasm with dedication and training in the field. "I feel that you have to sell the adventure part," he told missionary leaders at the EFMA, "so whereas you might not get enough people excited about going to Tijuana, or other border places along the United States, I do believe you could sell the Sahara desert, you could sell Central America, you could sell the Amazon river, you can sell going behind the Iron Curtain, and you work on their dedication and whatever they don't have after you get them out there."[47] Stop-Out and International Summer Project trips promised students adventure as they became a temporary part of the workforce for global evangelism.

Crusade leaders also celebrated when these temporary short-term participants chose to return to the mission field as long-term missionaries. Stop-Out leaders proudly reported that two years after that program began, two-thirds of former participants had "gone overseas full time," most of them as long-term Crusade staff.[48] One of the International Summer Project directors

---

[44] "Guam: Stop-Out for Christ Project, 1979-1980," Report to CCC US Area Director's Conference, March 10, 1980, Box 91, Agape International Collection. Evangelical theology stressed the importance of a personal conversion experience through prayer, described as becoming "born again," "receiving Christ," or "becoming a believer."

[45] John Jones to John Douglass, n.d. [January 1980]. Emphasis in original.

[46] "Summer Fun," Kansas City '83 Program, 19. Program included as insert in *Worldwide Challenge* 11, no. 1 (Jan / Feb 1984).

[47] Warren Willis, "Short Terms, Session 2," September 27, 1984, EFMA / IFMA Study Conference, Audio Tape 124, Collection 165, Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois (hereafter EFMA Collection).

[48] "Students Still Have a Mission," *Worldwide Challenge* 8, no. 8 (August 1981), 17.

explained that short-term trips were valuable because through them students could "see the tremendous opportunities that exist overseas so that you can then more intelligently consider how you could go and be used internationally for a longer period of time."[49] In the mid-1980s Crusade did a study of its new long-term staff and discovered that short-term participation had increased many individuals' desire to join Crusade staff and return overseas for long-term service.[50] So while neither Stop-Out nor International Summer Project repeatedly emphasized the recruitment function of short-term missions, as Intervarsity's programs did, both of Crusade's programs had a recruitment function in practice and Crusade leaders praised this outcome.

While some short-term participants became long-term missionaries, Stop-Out and International Summer Project leaders argued that all participants should become passionate supporters for missions in the US. Crusade told its long-term staff around the world that after short-termers saw international ministries firsthand, those students would return to the US to build a bigger "prayer-base and giving potential" for international missions.[51] And Stop-Out directors promised long-term Crusade staff that short-term participants would recruit future missionaries from the US by "challenging their stateside friends to join them in having an impact on the world."[52] One of the International Summer Project directors explained that these short-term programs increased US support for missions by providing a direct connection to the mission field: "Even those who don't go back overseas full time will have a long-term impact on the whole body of Christ. Thousands of Christians in the churches will have not just sat back and prayed a passing prayer or two for a missionary overseas, but they will have physically been there and known the challenges and the opportunities of cross-cultural ministry."[53] Thus as the intentions of Crusade, Intervarsity, and FMB leaders demonstrate, short-term missions began because of missionary leaders' desires to shore up US support for global missions, recruit future career missionaries, and increase the international missions workforce. Once mission organizations launched so many of these programs in the 1970s, and once Christian colleges and churches joined in on the effort, the number of short-term volunteers on the mission field began to skyrocket.

**Travel Narratives**

Those volunteers who went overseas for a short term raved about their experiences, and their reflections illustrate how short-term trips shaped US evangelicals' understanding of missionary work, and why these trips became so popular. This new form of missions participation gave American evangelicals direct access to the mission field, which meant that evangelicals increasingly formed their views about missions through exciting first-hand experiences rather than just through church classes, Sunday sermons, and special presentations by career missionaries. Short-term international trips offered US travelers moving experiences

[49] "International Summer Projects: Opening People's Eyes to the Needs of the World," 46.
[50] Terry Sparks, "Is Short-Term Worth It Over the Long-Term? A Critical Evaluation of Short-Term Missions," February 3, 1984, Box 212, International Ministries Collection.
[51] Paul McKean, Report of International Summer Projects and Stop-Out, Director of Affairs Meeting, June 1-5, 1981, Box 91, Agape International Collection.
[52] "From the Desk of Bailey Marks, Asia at a Glance (August 1980), Box 485, International Ministries Collection.
[53] "International Summer Projects: Opening People's Eyes to the Needs of the World," 47.

among foreign others in distant locales, and participants declared that these events had changed their spiritual lives and altered their feelings about the world. Short-termers most testified that their trip had deepened their faith in God and developed their compassion for the spiritual needs of others across the globe. Testimonies by participants in Foreign Mission Board, Intervarsity, and Crusade programs highlight the ways that short-termers emphasized these common themes when explaining why short-term trips had been so meaningful for them.

Participants in short-term missions during the 1960s-1980s stressed that their international experiences had strengthened their faith in God by exposing them to difficult circumstances, humbling situations, and meager physical conditions that made them realize their need for supernatural help. Participants identified language and cultural barriers as the most difficult challenges, which created feelings of loneliness and taught participants to depend on God. One STIM traveler to Costa Rica recalled that since she did not speak Spanish, she felt very alone and learned to rely on prayer with God as her source of encouragement and friendship.[54] Another STIM participant similarly remembered that she felt disoriented and lonely during her summer in South Africa, and she learned to trust that God would comfort her during those lonesome times.[55] One student who traveled to Kenya with STIM recounted that upon arrival he felt afraid and alone when he realized that he was 8,000 miles away from his home in Maryland. What soothed him was a time of personal prayer, during which "God brought to my mind a passage" from the Bible "that encouraged me and reassured me that I was not there on another one of my impulsive escapades, but that the Lord had led me there."[56] And another short-termer purposefully chose a STIM location that seemed foreign and disorienting, since he felt that disorientation would strengthen his dependence on God. "I decided to go to Nigeria," the student recalled, "because I wanted to be placed in a culture unfamiliar to me so that I might learn to completely trust in God."[57]

Language barriers often made short-term participants feel inadequate at their jobs, and participants indicated that those feelings of inadequacy deepened their reliance on God for their self-worth. A student who traveled to Truk for an international summer project recalled that on many days he felt insecure while teaching Christian classes to young people, especially on the days when his translator was not there. The student remembered that "I learned creative ways to communicate, but I also learned that God is my best friend. I could laugh with Him and cry with Him."[58] Another summer project participant revealed that she had felt foolish in Brazil because she did not speak Portuguese and often had faltered in her attempts to communicate with local townspeople. "But," she testified, "that taught me to depend on the Lord. No selfish ability of my own was able to accomplish anything. God had to do it all."[59] A summer project participant in Guam admitted that she had placed her sense of worth in her relationships and ministry success,

---

[54] STIM Brochure, 1975.
[55] "His Glory in My Life: Six Testimonies," in *Declare His Glory Among the Nations*, ed. David Howard (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1977), 241.
[56] "Nine Messengers: Their Own Stories," in *Believing and Obeying Jesus Christ: The Urbana 79 Compendium*, ed. John Alexander (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1980), 243.
[57] "How I Heard God's Call," in *Urban Mission: God's Concern for the City*, ed. John Kyle (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1987), 188.
[58] Sara Anderson, "The Raw Fish, Bic Mac Experience," *Worldwide Challenge* 8, no. 2 (February 1981), 10.
[59] Ken Sidey, "How I Spent My Summer Vacation," *Worldwide Challenge* 8, no. 12 (December 1981), 24.

but when she went overseas, "God took all that away [and] showed me that, in this world, I could only be sure of His love for me and my relationship with Him."[60] A student who traveled to Palau for his summer project shared a similar experience. He confessed that he had placed his sense of security in his relationships and in how much others accepted him, but amid language barriers in Micronesia, he had trouble building relationships and finding acceptance. Those challenges, he reported, taught him that "God loves me and accepts me as I am," and with that revelation he felt assured and no longer dependent on others' recognition.[61] In these ways, participants expressed gratitude for uncomfortable and challenging experiences overseas, which, participants argued, drove them to rely on prayer, reading scripture, and communing with God to endure the difficulties, thereby deepening their personal faith.

Short-termers acknowledged that they did not have many skills for global missions, and participants expressed that seeing God work through them in spite of their shortcomings increased their faith in God's power. A journeyman to India explained that she felt overwhelmed by the needs of students at the school where she taught, and that over time she realized that though she might not feel equipped to meet all of those needs, "even if I'm weak, [God] can use me."[62] A STIM participant in South Africa relayed a comparable experience when she declared that her summer had been "astounding" because in spite of how "young and inexperienced and insecure" she had been in her job at a university in Johannesburg, she believed that God had worked through her to impact students there.[63] A summer project participant in Argentina also shared that he was amazed that God could work through his inadequacies: "I can't speak the language, I stumble through the Spanish…I say nothing brilliant, and yet people receive Christ. I've learned it's totally God who brings people to Himself, so all the glory is His."[64] Short-termers also were impressed by how "normal" career missionaries seemed to be, and imagined that if God could work through those "regular people" on the mission field, then maybe God could work through short-term participants as well. A journeyman to the Philippines recalled that working with missionaries gave him a new appreciation for God's power in the world, since he realized that those whom he had idolized as superheroes were actually regular people who were "facing many of the same problems that other people face: frustration, anxiety, boredom."[65] An OTC participant made a similar discovery; he recalled that in Guatemala he learned that "missionaries don't walk on water" and "they are people like you and me, who live as faithfully as they can, who have some victorious times, and some days when it's hard to get the right shoe on the right foot." The OTC student reflected that his experiences with missionaries taught him that he too could listen for God's call and be faithful to follow it.[66] So when short-term participants sensed that God was working through them in spite of their weaknesses, or through missionaries in spite of their ordinariness, short-termers understood those situations as evidence

---

[60] Sara Anderson, "The Raw Fish, Bic Mac Experience," *Worldwide Challenge* 8, no. 2 (February 1981), 10.
[61] Loralee Holdahl, "Finding Acceptance," *Worldwide Challenge* 9, no. 11 (Dec 1982): 36.
[62] "Journeyman Interviews—Training 1972—Meredith College," July 16, 1972, Tape ID 1642, Box 39, International Mission Board Audio Collection, Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee (hereafter IMAC).
[63] "His Glory in My Life: Six Testimonies," 241.
[64] "International Summer Projects: Opening People's Eyes to the Needs of the World," *Worldwide Challenge* 13, no. 1 (Jan / Feb 1986), 43.
[65] Philip Caskey, "As I See It Now," *The Commission* 30, no. 10 (October 1967), 5.
[66] "His Glory in My Life: Six Testimonies," 237.

of God's power to determine certain outcomes, which increased short-termers' belief in God's omnipotence around the world.

Participants in short-term missions frequently described the social and economic conditions that they encountered in foreign countries, and short-termers emphasized that those conditions, and especially local Christians' spiritual practices amid those conditions, taught them that a relationship with God was more important than material possessions. A student who worked in Nigeria with STIM expressed that living without certain physical resources, "such as electricity, running water, privacy, or food to our liking," taught him to "rely on God for daily needs" and to appreciate "the simplicity of life that many people around the world lead."[67] A summer project student shared a similar lesson that he learned in Guam. He characterized his food and housing as "less than ideal," and concluded that those conditions "taught me that the meaning for my life was going to come from an intimate relationship with the Father and not from whether or not I had a mattress to sleep on."[68] Another summer project participant worked in what he called "really depressing conditions" in East London, and he reflected that even in those conditions he felt that God "not only sustained me as a person and met my needs, but also gave me joy and peace." Through that experience, the student argued, he "saw beyond a doubt that His grace was sufficient for me."[69]

Short-termers often expressed how much they admired and learned from local Christians around the world who practiced their faith amid what short-termers considered to be poor social and economic circumstances. A summer missionary to Malawi recalled that attending Sunday church services in a "small building with mud brick walls and a straw roof" had made her realize that "people, not a building, make a church."[70] Two journeymen to Israel remembered that their experiences in church services taught them that Christians should worship together to build warm personal relationships rather than to maintain social divisions or meet social expectations. One journeyman reflected that "in Israel, missionaries, Americans, Jews, Arabs, find themselves very close together through one common bond, the Christian faith, since the Christian faith is a minority faith." And the other journeyman insisted that in the US, "we've forgotten about fellowshipping with each other and sharing the joy of Christian living," whereas in Israel, "that joy is evident in people who worship under conditions that are different."[71] A summer project participant to Argentina also noted how much she admired local Christians' joy. "Many people have absolutely nothing," she contended, "yet when they have Christ, they are excited and happy." She stated that local Christians' excitement and happiness taught her "what it means to be a Christian and how much joy is in the Christian life."[72] Short-termers reflected on these

---

[67] "How I Heard God's Call," 189.

[68] "The Raw Fish, Bic Mac Experience," 10. "Father" is one way that evangelicals and other Christians referred to God. Using that name for God imitated the ways that Christ referred to God as "father" or "the father" in the New Testament.

[69] Ken Sidey, "How I Spent My Summer Vacation," 24. This phrase about the sufficiency of God's grace references 2 Corinthians 12:9, in which the Apostle Paul explained the spiritual value of weakness. He taught that God's power could be expressed mightily even through human weakness, and therefore he claimed paradoxically, "when I am weak, then I am strong."

[70] "A Summer in Malawi," *The Commission* 29, no. 6 (June 1966), 3.

[71] "Journeyman Interviews—Training 1972—Meredith College," July 16, 1972.

[72] "International Summer Projects: Opening People's Eyes to the Needs of the World," 44.

different lessons about faith amid difficult circumstances when explaining how short-term mission trips had strengthened their personal faith in God.

Short-term participants not only emphasized the ways that these international trips had deepened their personal faith, but also stressed how overseas experiences had awakened their compassion for the spiritual needs of others around the world. Emotionally moving experiences with local people led short-termers to express concern about people's spiritual lives and to articulate a desire to share the gospel message with others. Short-termers explained that their compassion most grew when they reflected on others' physical or spiritual conditions and when they formed personal connections or "fell in love" with local people. One summer missionary to Malawi confided in her diary that she felt stunned and troubled by the number of people around her who were not Christians. After working with children during her summer assignment, she shared that she wanted to become a career missionary because she felt that she would "never be satisfied to live in the States after seeing so many thousands of people who have never heard of my Lord Jesus Christ." This burden for others' spiritual lives developed during her short-term trip and drove her future commitment to long-term missionary service.[73] A journeyman to Gaza stated similar feelings when she voiced concern for what she saw as others' spiritual lack and misfortune. "I want to go where people have never heard the good news of Jesus, where conditions are primitive," she said, "so that I can be used in spreading the gospel to those who have not been as fortunate as I."[74] A summer project participant likewise reflected that his experiences in Brazil taught him about "the needs there" and revealed to him the ways that "God can use me to help fulfill the Great Commission throughout the world."[75]

Sometimes short-termers told stories about a single moment that led them to think about others' spiritual condition. One OTC participant reported that her visit to a center for orphaned children in Guatemala taught her to become aware of people's spiritual needs. "At first," she explained, "I didn't want to eat with, associate with or love the kids at the center. They were dirty, dressed in ill-fitting clothes and might have carried diseases I'd somehow catch." But then, she claimed, God spoke to her and "brought to mind the verses in 1 Samuel where God said, 'Man looks at the outward appearance, but the Lord looks at the heart.'"[76] She reflected that through her experience that day, she learned that "Christ desires me—all of us—to get past the appearances and the barriers we put up to reach out in love to those around us. I am to serve others, to learn to understand them and to communicate in a personal way the gospel so 'that all nations might believe and obey Jesus Christ.'"[77] A STIM participant who spent his summer in Tunisia said that a morning hike transformed his understanding of others' spiritual poverty: "One morning God led me to climb a large hill in the city of Tunis. After a time of private worship and prayer I looked out over the city. Seeing no churches, the Word of God began to echo in my

[73] "A Summer in Malawi," 1.
[74] "Journeyman in Gaza," *The Commission* 30, no.4 (April 1967), 1.
[75] "How I Spent My Summer Vacation," 23.
[76] The referenced biblical passage is 1 Samuel 16:7, in which the prophet Samuel received a divine warning not to anoint a tall and physically impressive young man as the future king of Israel. Later in the passage Samuel anointed the man's smaller and younger brother, David, instead.
[77] "Nine Messengers: Their Own Stories," 241, 242. The quoted phrase – 'that all nations might believe and obey Jesus Christ' – was the theme of Urbana 1979, at which the student spoke about her short-term trip to Guatemala with OTC.

mind: 'Everyone who calls on the name of the Lord will be saved. How, then, can they call on the one they have not believed in? And how can they believe in the one of whom they have not heard? And how can they hear without someone preaching to them?'" He argued that this meditation awakened his desire to address people's spiritual impoverishment by spreading the gospel message.[78] Short-termers insisted that through specific moments like these, they gained special insight into others' spiritual needs and developed the conviction that they should help meet those needs.

Participants in short-term missions also asserted that they gained more compassion for others by getting to know or "falling in love" with local people. "By living and working in another culture, I began to develop a deep love and concern for other people," a STIM participant in South Africa insisted, "and that concern has expanded into a conscious awareness of the many people beyond my little 'world' who daily try to live a godly life and are daily making decisions about their relationship to God. He cares immensely about them. And I feel that I've only just begun to be aware of their living, breathing humanity."[79] Her love and concern for others grew during her short-term experience and informed the ways that she thought about the spiritual needs of others back in the US. A student who traveled with STIM to Malta indicated that going overseas gave him loving feelings for Muslims. Before his trip, he had tried to cultivate that love by praying for Muslims around the world, but he discovered that it felt "difficult to love people you have only met in diagrams." However, once he traveled overseas, he was pleased to meet hundreds of Muslims and "develop friendships" with a dozen Muslim college students. He expressed his admiration for those students who, he felt, had "a hunger for truth," and he hoped that his words had encouraged Muslims in Malta to find truth in the gospel message.[80]

Short-termers sometimes related their love for local people to their enjoyment of the beautiful physical surroundings in foreign places. A summer missionary to Gaza reminisced about her experience and recalled first "the beautiful sunsets, the time of Bible study on the Mediterranean, the sand dunes," and then explained that "engraved more deeply on my being are the Muslim Bedouins." She declared that her summer spent with those people in that beautiful location had given her a desire to become a career missionary.[81] A summer project participant in rural northwestern Kenya described her awe for her surroundings by writing in her journal, "I couldn't help but feel I'd stepped into a page of *National Geographic*. The people seemed unreal." By the end of her summer, she shared how she had grown to care about these local people. During one of her last nights in Kenya she wrote, "While furiously swatting the swarming insects off my face in the sweltering night, I felt my throat tighten as I thought how I would miss this place, these people." And when she composed a reflective essay about her short

---

[78] "Seven Witnesses Tell Their Stories," in *Confessing Christ as Lord: The Urbana 81 Compendium*, ed. John Alexander (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1982), 257-58. The quoted biblical passage is Romans 10:14-15, in which the Apostle Paul commended those who taught about Christ's life and the salvific power of faith in Christ. Evangelicals frequently cited Romans 10:14-15 as a justification for evangelism and missionary work. The student's story also would have evoked (for the evangelical audience at Urbana) another biblical passage – Luke 19:41-44 – in which Christ looked out over the city of Jerusalem and expressed sorrow for the spiritual condition of the city's people.

[79] "His Glory in My Life: Six Testimonies," 241.

[80] "Seven Witnesses Tell Their Stories," 257.

[81] Leslie Parkman, "Being His Hands," *The Commission* 43, no.1 (January 1980), 11.

term trip, she labeled a photo of villagers with the caption, "these are the faces of Africa we grew to love."[82] By describing situations like these, short-termers indicated how they developed compassion for others around the world through moving experiences in which they cultivated personal connections and in which they felt burdened by others' spiritual impoverishment. Short-termers insisted that their own personal spiritual growth and their growing compassion for others' spiritual needs were the most meaningful and important outcomes of their brief overseas mission trips. These were the two outcomes about which participants most gushed in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s as they told others how short-term mission trips had changed their lives, and these enthusiastic testimonies illuminate one key reason why such rapidly increasing numbers of US evangelicals signed up and paid for short-term trips in the late twentieth century.

Short-termers' enthusiastic stories from the mission field not only increased US evangelicals' interest in these new overseas trips but also influenced how evangelicals understood the purpose of mission work and the role that evangelicals should play in the world. After the advent of short-term missions, information about mission work came not just from the stories by career missionaries in magazines, church classes, and sermons but also, increasingly, from these accounts by returned short-termers who raved about their global trips. And these short-termers were having very different global experiences than were career missionaries during the same period. In the 1970s and 1980s, career missionaries and their organizations were grappling with major sustained opposition to the longstanding power dynamics of their global work and were trying to figure out how and to what extent they would alter their core methods and theologies to respond to those criticisms. Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of US short-termers visited mission sites all over the world for a few weeks or months at a time, and those visitors' biggest takeaways were not lessons about larger power struggles but rather stories about how foreign experiences had facilitated their own personal development. Returned short-termers taught US evangelicals that going overseas would make them better and more compassionate Christians, and those lessons shaped American evangelicals' understanding of how they should relate to the world in the late twentieth century.

This emphasis on compassion and on short-termers' moving encounters with foreign peoples in practice reinscribed some of the hierarchies that Global South church leaders had most demanded that Western Christians dismantle. Expressions of compassion and sympathy have long been forms of power for Western actors. Those with the authority to express sympathy and compassion frequently have framed the meaning of others' suffering and designated the ethical, spiritual, or political issues at stake.[83] When short-termers articulated their sympathy for what they perceived was the spiritual poverty of people or whole cities around them, they joined a long tradition of white Westerners' using compassion to frame the meaning of their emotional experiences with foreign people in distant locales. Expressions of compassion and sympathy were central to the narratives by nineteenth-century European travelers and the accounts by short-term humanitarian workers and volunteer tourists in the twentieth and twenty-first

---

[82] Cristi Robertson, "'Lord, May These People Come to Know You…'" *Worldwide Challenge* 13, no. 6 (November / December 1986), 23, 35, 33.

[83] See for example Lauren Berlant, "Compassion (and Withholding)," in *Compassion: The Cultural Politics of an Emotion*, ed. Lauren Berlant (New York: Routledge, 2004), 1-14; Elizabeth Spelman, *Fruits of Sorrow: Framing Our Attention to Suffering* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997); and Talal Asad, "Reflections on Violence, Law, and Humanitarianism," *Critical Inquiry* 41, no. 2 (Winter 2015): 390-427.

centuries.[84] For these different travelers, including short-termers, temporary emotional experiences overseas created feelings of intimacy and understanding without revealing or dismantling the larger systemic inequities upon which international travel and activism have relied. And when travelers narrated those experiences, they used sympathy and compassion to explain their relationship to those whom they perceived to be suffering or somehow impoverished others. So when short-termers recounted their emotional encounters and moments of connection, their frameworks of compassion in practice reinforced the hierarchy between American travelers and local people around the world, and taught American evangelicals that developing one's own compassion was one of the main agendas of global engagement.

**Goals, Realities, and Justifications**

Mission organizations were aware of these moving experiences that short-termers were having overseas, but missionary leaders were unsure if those experiences of personal development were sufficient justifications for such large and costly circulations of Americans around the world. Though short-termers became an enormous part of the global mission workforce in the 1970s and 1980s, missionaries were not entirely thrilled with that rapid change, and many missionary leaders questioned how and to what extent these short-term visitors fulfilled important and long-held missions goals. This angst from missionary leaders centered around two questions: did short-term missions fulfill their original aims (increasing manpower, recruitment, and US support for missions), and did short-term missions help or hinder the biggest aim of all – total world evangelization? Missions leaders wrestled with these questions through research with short-termers and discussions with one another, and they ultimately made their peace with short-term trips by justifying them as vital for the spiritual formation of US evangelicals and as potentially useful for global evangelization, as long as trip leaders used the

[84] For studies of European travel narratives, see for example Mary Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992); David Spur, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993); Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); and Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). For studies of humanitarian work and notions of compassion and power, see for example Erica Bornstein and Peter Redfield, eds., *Forces of Compassion: Humanitarianism between Ethics and Politics* (Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2010); Didier Fassin, *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); and Liisa Malkki, *The Need to Help: The Domestic Arts of International Humanitarianism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015). Volunteer tourism is a type of vacation in which the traveler volunteers in social, environmental, or economic development projects for several weeks or months. This type of tourism began in the 1980s and expanded dramatically in the 2000s. For studies of volunteer tourists and the hierarchies of compassion, see for example Barbara Vodopivec and Jaffe Rivke, "Save the World in a Week: Volunteer Tourism, Development and Difference," *The European Journal of Development Research* 23, no.1 (February 2011): 111-128; John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2011); Wanda Vrasti, *Volunteer Tourism in the Global South: Giving Back in Neoliberal Times* (New York: Routledge, 2012); and Mary Mostafanezhad, *Volunteer Tourism: Popular Humanitarianism in Neoliberal Times* (New York: Routledge, 2016). For studies of short-term missions and notions of compassion, see for example Melani McAlister, *The Kingdom of God Has No Borders: A Global History of American Evangelicals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 195-212 and Mary Hancock, "Short-Term Youth Mission Practice and the Visualization of Global Christianity," *Material Religion* 10, no.2 (1994): 154-181.

right techniques. These conclusions encouraged missionary leaders to acknowledge that mission work was partly for the benefit of Americans rather than receiving communities, and also inspired missions leaders to experiment and try to find the best methods for "maximizing" short-term workers to achieve long-term global evangelization goals.

As the number of short-termers on the mission field skyrocketed, missionary leaders reported that these volunteers did boost the manpower available for missions, but leaders also admitted that short-termers sometimes represented a problematic workforce. Missionaries who celebrated the growing number of short-termers testified that they had accomplished considerably more work, often described as years of work, by delegating some tasks to short-term volunteers. After the Foreign Mission Board sent 600 volunteers from Texas to assist evangelism campaigns in Tokyo in the mid-1960s, missionaries and national Christians in Japan declared that those volunteers had helped local ministries achieve ten years' worth of growth in just a few months.[85] One of the directors of Youth with a Mission (YWAM), an organization that focused entirely on providing short-term mission trips for young people, recounted similarly that during the 1970s career missionaries offered glowing reports of the work accomplished by YWAM's short-termers. He explained that career missionaries would often tell him that YWAM's visiting volunteers had enabled missionaries to conduct as much as eight years of work in only three to five weeks.[86] And the director of the first Stop-Out program to Guam exclaimed that in four years, 150 short-termers had completed more work than he ever could have done on his own: "These people had put in 220 years of what I consider I could have done. I couldn't have done what they did in a lifetime."[87] By claiming that short-term volunteers accomplished a lot of work in a short amount of time, missionary leaders sometimes obscured the differences between the work that volunteers could do and the work that career missionaries and national Christians performed around the world.

Missionaries who criticized short-termers were very clear about those distinctions between the work conducted by untrained volunteers and the work that missionaries could do, or rather could not do because they were constantly supervising the visiting volunteers. In the early 1970s former missionary Herbert Kane warned that while short-termers brought youthful energy and enthusiasm, they also had no experience, acculturation, or communication skills, so mission organizations should be careful with short-term assignments so as not to exhaust career missionaries with short-term visitors who were more burdensome than helpful.[88] Missionaries in the 1970s and 1980s disclosed that, indeed, short-termers could sometimes be very burdensome. At an EFMA gathering, YWAM's assistant director admitted to his fellow mission organization directors that career missionaries occasionally complained that the amount of work required to supervise short-termers was far greater than the total assistance provided by those volunteers.[89] At another EFMA national conference, one short-term trip leader confessed that sometimes

---

[85] George Peters, "Church, Mission and Evangelism," 1973 EFMA-IFMA-AEPM Study Conference, Folder 18, Box 10, EFMA Collection.
[86] Jim Rogers, "Short Terms, Session 1" September 27, 1984, EFMA/IFMA Study Conference, Audio Tape 123, EFMA Collection.
[87] "Stop Out for Christ – Warren Willis," March 2011, video, 6:09, http://legacyccc.com/2011/03/warren-willis-stop-out-for-christ/
[88] J. Herbert Kane, *Winds of Change in Christian Mission*, 142-44, 147.
[89] Jim Rogers, "Short Terms, Session 1" September 27, 1984.

short-termers were rebellious and harmful for missions. He described one example from a trip to a missionary radio station during which some of the young volunteers broke their tools because they did not want to perform manual labor. Unsurprisingly, the career missionaries at that station were wary about accepting any more short-term visitors.[90] The director of a US counseling center for furloughed missionaries also advised missions leaders to recognize the burden that short-termers could create for career missionaries. He explained that his missionary clients often felt that "five weeks every summer they are invaded by a group, half of which ought not to have been allowed to come in the first place," and that managing those inexperienced groups frequently damaged missionaries' productivity and well-being.[91] In these ways, missions leaders increasingly realized that while short-termers did increase the missions workforce, they also increased the workload for career missionaries and others who managed these untrained and sometimes uncooperative volunteers.

Many missions leaders argued that though short-termers required supervision, the time invested in that supervision was worthwhile because short-term trips prepared and recruited US evangelicals for future career missionary service. But did short-term missions create more career missionaries? While some missions leaders in the 1970s and 1980s insisted that short-term programs aided missionary recruitment, and those leaders marshalled much survey data to substantiate their claims, by the early 1990s missions leaders began acknowledging that short-term missions maintained but did not increase the US missionary force. The first broad survey of returned short-termers from many organizations in 1972 concluded that fifty-five percent of respondents believed that "God is definitely calling me to be a foreign missionary."[92] Such a large percentage thrilled mission directors and suggested that a multitude of new missionary applications would arrive soon. Accounts from individual mission organizations indicated even larger potential gains from short-term missions; OMS International, for example, testified in 1975 that sixty percent of their short-termers had become career missionaries, and OMS leaders proposed that if other organizations followed their model, the overall number of career missionaries would surge drastically.[93] In the mid-1980s, EFMA member organizations reported that, on average, twenty-five percent of their long-term missionaries had previous short-term missions experience, and the IFMA, the other major evangelical mission association, indicated that thirty-eight percent of its member missionaries had been short-termers.[94] Those statistics showed a correlation between short-term participation and long-term missionary commitment,

---

[90] Paul Borthwick, "Enhancing the Short Termer's Impact on the Constituency," March 7, 1989, EFMA Annual Convention, Audio Tape 215, EFMA Collection.

[91] John Holzmann, "Short Terms: Factors Not Often Considered," *Mission Frontiers: The Bulletin of the U.S. Center for World Mission* 10, no. 3 (March 1988), n.p.

[92] Thomas Chandler, "A Statistical Study of Short Term Missions" (M.A. thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1972), 13.

[93] "Surveys Made by EFMA Boards," *Emissary* 6, no. 2 (July 1975): 9. The Emissary was the publication of the Evangelical Missions Information Service, which distributed its newsletter to EFMA member organizations and other evangelical missionary leaders. The same report by OMS International formed part of the materials given to all missionary leaders at the 1975 EFMA national convention. See "OMS International, Short Term Program, 1949-1974," 1975 EFMA Convention, Folder 23, Box 11, EFMA Collection.

[94] Jason Kyle, "Short Terms, Session 1" September 27, 1984, EFMA/IFMA Study Conference, Audio Tape 123, EFMA Collection. The IFMA was the Interdenominational Foreign Missions Association. See chapter one for further explanation of the relationship between the EFMA and IFMA.

and mission directors accepted the data as a positive sign that short-term missions could perform a recruitment function. Since mission organizations lacked studies that utilized standard research methods, such as control groups, pre- and post-trip surveys, and standardized questions, missionary leaders for decades relied on limited information when trying to determine whether short-term missions could produce long-term missionaries.[95]

By the early 1990s, missions leaders began to acknowledge that since the number of career missionaries was not significantly increasing overall, it was doubtful that short-term trips served a major recruiting function. Every four or five years, missions leaders received the new edition of the Missionary Handbook, which compiled statistics about US missionaries serving around the world. So missions leaders were well aware that the number of career missionaries grew from 30,000 to 40,000 during the 1970s and 1980s and then held steady at 40,000 in the 1990s.[96] These were the decades during which hundreds of thousands and then millions of evangelicals participated in short-term trips, so if even five percent of short-termers had become long-term missionaries, then the number of career missionaries would have exceeded 100,000 by the early 1990s.[97] Missiologist Robert Coote pointed out these sobering numerical realities in the mid-1990s when he told missions leaders that they should only take "limited satisfaction" in the popularity of short-term trips, since there had not been a proportional increase in long-term missionary commitments and, Coote reasoned, "there is no substitute for the career missionary."[98]

Some missionary leaders wondered if this data proved that recruitment through short-term missions was a lost cause or even a counterproductive endeavor. Missionary Leslie Pelt told mission directors that short-term trips often gave participants the wrong impressions of missions, which, she suggested, was why so few short-termers chose missionary careers: "If we encourage people to go out and test the field, to see if they like it, they end up conforming to minimal expectations, rather than being challenged to a life of sacrifice and self-denial….It seems to me that mission agencies are trying to compete in the marketplace, trying to attract the 'consumer' with, among other things, short term programs requiring limited commitment."[99] The director of the Caleb Project, an organization that coordinated short-term mission trips, similarly suggested that short-term missions failed to recruit career missionaries because short-term trips did not often teach participants about sacrificial commitment to God's will. He explained that short-term

---

[95] For a detailed discussion of the incomplete research methods utilized in most short-term missions studies, see Kurt Alan Ver Beek, "Lessons from the Sapling: Review of Quantitative Research on Short-Term Missions," in *Effective Engagement in Short-Term Missions: Doing It Right!* ed. Robert Priest (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2008), 475-502.

[96] See Figure 2 in this chapter. The relevant *Mission Handbook* editions were published and distributed in 1970, 1973, 1976, 1980, 1986, 1989, 1993, and 1997. The Missionary Research Library, an ecumenical Protestant research center, published the 1st – 8th editions of the Mission Handbook, and then starting with the 9th edition in 1970, MARC (the Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center) assumed the research and publishing duties for the Mission Handbooks for the rest of the twentieth century. See chapter three for a larger discussion of MARC's role as a research arm for US evangelical missions.

[97] By the late 1990s, when 1.6 million Americans were going on short-term trips each year, a five percent recruitment rate would have increased the career missionary force by 80,000 every year.

[98] Coote, "Good News, Bad News," 6.

[99] Leslie Pelt, "What's Behind the Wave of Short-termers?: Questions about Motives Focus on Both Baby Boomers Themselves and the Agencies," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (October 1992), 385-86.

experiences regularly made participants aware of others' physical and spiritual needs without emphasizing the importance of a missionary calling. If short-termers with that limited awareness became career missionaries, he warned, "We won't have people going out because that's what God wants them to do. They'll go because it makes them feel good to 'meet a need.'"[100] So as the number of career missionaries held steady while the number of short-term participants climbed into the millions, missionary leaders acknowledged that short-term trips were not recruiting career missionaries in substantial ways, and some leaders doubted whether short-term trips effectively educated participants about career missionary service at all.

When mission organizations founded their short-term programs, many directors claimed that the most widespread outcome would be that US evangelicals would increase their support for global missions after going out and seeing the mission field for themselves. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, missions leaders tried to measure whether US support for missions was indeed increasing, and while they gathered many positive survey responses, they could not determine definitively if short-term trips were the cause of support increases, and some leaders worried that short-term trips actually siphoned off support that otherwise would have gone to long-term missionaries. Surveys of returned short-termers in the 1970s and 1980s provided encouraging findings. The broad survey of former short-termers in 1972 reported that ninety-two percent of respondents had a supportive and favorable attitude toward foreign missions after their trip.[101] Some surveys tried to gauge if short-termers increased their prayer and financial giving after their international trip. Campus Crusade's 1983 survey of some former short-termers found that thirty-one percent prayed "most regularly" for those whom they had met on the mission field; the survey coordinator noted that this percentage of regular prayer support seemed "significant when one considers that both the nationals and the country are out of sight but definitely not out of mind."[102] In 1986, STEM Ministries, a short-term missions organization, polled its returned short-termers and discovered that eighty percent of returnees felt that they were praying more for missions, and fifty-six percent indicated that they were giving more money to missions.[103] Missionary leaders knew, thanks to regular Mission Handbook reports, that donations to missions were growing steadily during the 1970s and 1980s. The total yearly income for US mission organizations rose from 350 million in 1969 to over two billion in 1992, an increase of fifty-three percent when adjusted for inflation.[104] But because studies of short-termers lacked formal research methods, missions leaders could not definitively conclude whether short-term missions caused the increase in US support, or whether other causes, such as the steadily increasing population of US evangelicals, had greater influence on the growing financial support for global missions.

---

[100] John Holzmann, "Short Terms: Factors Not Often Considered," n.p.
[101] Chandler, "A Statistical Study of Short Term Missions," 13.
[102] Terry Sparks, "Is Short-Term Worth It Over the Long-Term? A Critical Evaluation of Short-Term Missions," February 3, 1984.
[103] Roger Peterson and Timothy Peterson, *Is Short Term Mission Really Worth the Time and Money? Advancing God's Kingdom through Short-Term Mission* (Minneapolis, MN: STEM Ministries, 1991), 2.
[104] See *North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*, 9th ed. (Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1970), 4 and John Siewert and John Kenyon, eds., *Mission Handbook: USA/Canada Christian Ministries Overseas*, 15th ed. (Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1993), 56.

Some missions leaders fretted that short-term trips might take away support that otherwise would have gone towards career missionaries and long-term global evangelization. Missiologist Miriam Adeney challenged US churches directly when she insisted in *Christianity Today* that "something is awry in the mission commitments of many congregations," since numerous churches were donating more money to short-term trips than to long-term missionaries.[105] Other missionary leaders worried that short-termers might stop supporting missions after completing their international trips. STIM's director admitted that some short-term participants felt that they had fulfilled their responsibility to global evangelization simply by going on a short-term trip. He confessed that "I've had students honestly come back from a summer overseas and say I've done it all now…I've reached it, all I have to do now as a Christian is retire," and he challenged missions leaders to instill in returnees the conviction that their support for missions still was needed.[106] The director of the Caleb Project made a similar observation when he acknowledged that some short-termers were "giving themselves deferments or 'honorable discharges' from future service because, supposedly, they've enlisted and 'already done' their tours of duty." He argued that if missionary leaders did not guide short-termers to support missions in the future, then short-term missions would become merely "a rite of passage" that would not provide any lasting connection to global mission work.[107] In these ways, some missions leaders cautioned that short-term trips might actually decrease US support for long-term missions. Thus missionary leaders arrived at mixed conclusions about the impacts of short-term trips on US support, recruitment, and manpower for missions. Through their research with short-termers and their conversations with one another, missionary leaders realized that while short-term trips produced some positive results, they failed to expand long-term mission work in all of the ways that leaders had hoped they would.

As missions leaders scrutinized whether short-term trips accomplished their original goals of increasing manpower, recruitment, and US support for missions, missionary leaders also grappled with the pressing question of whether short-term missions contributed to the central goal of global evangelism. Since World War II, American evangelical missionaries had claimed that they were the rightful leaders of global mission work because they were unshakably committed to the task of evangelizing the entire world. Evangelical missionaries pledged that they would not stray from that primary duty as had, they claimed, their mainline Protestant predecessors. But as short-term missions became increasingly popular, missionaries wondered if in fact they had wandered off course by supporting and investing in a major global endeavor that, perhaps, was not actually helping to save the world. Missionary leaders identified short-termers' high costs and low levels of experience as the main obstacles that might prevent those temporary volunteers from furthering global evangelism. Some leaders argued that even if short-termers did not advance worldwide evangelism, short-term missions were still worthwhile because of the spiritual development they provided for US travelers. And other missionary leaders contended that short-termers truly could play an important role in global evangelization, if short-term trip leaders would employ the right techniques.

---

[105] Miriam Adeney, "McMissions: Short-Termers Have Their Place, But Not at the Expense of Career Missionaries," *Christianity Today* (Nov. 11, 1996): 14.
[106] Bill Goheen, "Short Terms, Session 2," September 27, 1984.
[107] John Holzmann, "Short Terms: Factors Not Often Considered," n.p.

Since short-termers lacked experience and their international travels were very expensive, missions leaders questioned whether short-term missions hampered global evangelism by squandering both money and time. Missiologist Herbert Kane estimated in 1973 that a short-termer's monthly costs were three times those of a career missionary, when including airfare, since short-termers and career missionaries required the same expensive international flights, but short-termers only remained in a country for a few months whereas career missionaries stayed for years at a time.[108] Two decades later, missionary Leslie Pelt made a similar calculation when she projected that the cost of one short-termer's airfare could pay for the yearly salaries of six national evangelists in Nigeria. She asserted that "the money spent for such short periods of time could be better spent in more strategic ways."[109] Other missionary leaders worried that short-termers would hamper world evangelism by wasting career missionaries' time and performing ineffective or shoddy work on the mission field. Missiologist Robert Coote recalled the revered "missionary pioneers" of the nineteenth century who dedicated their lives to "the cross-cultural challenge of communicating the love of God in Christ," and he contrasted that celebrated nineteenth-century mission work with the temporary and limited work done by short-termers. Coote scoffed, "It is difficult to imagine a compilation of the biographies, a century from now, of 'great short-termers' who advanced the cause of Christ in the late twentieth century."[110] Missiologist Ralph Winter insisted that short-term missions had created an "amateurization" of US missionary work. Winter cautioned missions leaders that the influx of so many untrained volunteers was creating "serious setbacks" for the larger project of worldwide evangelization, since some short-termers were "woefully lacking in the rudiments" and were making "silly, tragic" mistakes that hampered existing mission work.[111]

While acknowledging the detrimental effects that short-termers' high costs and low experience levels might have on worldwide evangelism, some missionary leaders maintained that short-term missions still served a vital purpose because the trips provided spiritual development for US travelers. Making this argument required missionary leaders to concede that mission work in the late twentieth century was partly for the benefit of American volunteers rather than entirely for the evangelization of the world. Michael Pocock, an assistant director of TEAM (The Evangelical Alliance Mission), told his fellow EFMA mission directors that short-term missions were necessary because many young people in the late twentieth century lacked the spiritual maturity needed for career missionary service. In earlier decades, Pocock asserted, young people received spiritual development and education about missions from their families and churches, but many young people in the 1970s and 1980s had grown up in non-Christian or nominally Christian homes. "Thus," he explained, "a strategy is needed to bridge this gap," and he suggested that short-term trips were the most effective way to give young people the maturity they needed to become career missionaries in the future.[112] One of Campus Crusade's short-term program coordinators similarly described 1980s college students as ill prepared for missions. He

---

[108] Kane, *Winds of Change in Christian Mission*, 144.
[109] Pelt, "What's Behind the Wave of Short-termers," 387.
[110] Coote, "Good News, Bad News," 6.
[111] Ralph Winter, "The Greatest Danger: The Re-Amateurization of Mission," *Missions Frontier Bulletin* 5 (March-April 1996), np.
[112] Michael Pocock, "The Personnel for Our Generation," October 1, 1981, EFMA Missions Executives Retreat, Audio Tape 22, EFMA Collection.

declared that "the values and attitudes of today's college student do not match up with the needs of today's missionary," and recommended that short-term missions would instill in students the values and skills that they would need for future career missionary service.[113] YWAM's director praised this spiritual development function of short-term missions, even as he admitted that sometimes short-term trips created problems. He compared short-term experiences to dating, and said that "having a bad short-term experience is about like flunking out on your first date, or having your first date flunk out on you. You don't go and write off the whole institution of marriage." Even though short-term trips could create problems on the mission field, he reasoned, the trips also could "be like a honeymoon" for some short-termers who would develop their spiritual leadership skills, their prayer abilities, and their compassion for the world.[114] These missions leaders thus defended short-term missions by claiming that even if short-term trips did not contribute directly to global evangelism, the trips still performed a valuable function by maturing and developing young US evangelicals.

Many missionary leaders promised that they could fix the problems that short-termers created and could utilize short-term missions to benefit global evangelization by simply designing better techniques and methods for short-term trips. Discovering how to "maximize" short-termers for global evangelization became a major focus for many mission organizations and US evangelical church leaders in the last decades of the twentieth century. Dozens of dissertations and theses by evangelical seminarians in the 1980s and 1990s scrutinized case studies of short-term programs and suggested possible changes that would mitigate problems and better assist global evangelism.[115] On top of those seminary studies, a cottage industry of short-term missions advice literature sprang up in the 1990s and 2000s to provide US churches with how-to guides for their short-term mission trips. Some of the most popular books provided sobering warnings like "When Helping Hurts" or offered upbeat assurances like "Doing it Right!"[116] Since short-term mission trips in the 1980s and 1990s increasingly became the projects of individual US churches, untethered from the formal channels of mission organizations, these seminary studies and popular publications tried to counsel short-term trip leaders directly by offering advice to evangelical pastors and lay leaders throughout the US.

Missions directors created guidelines and policy books in the 1980s and 1990s to help their own short-term programs better assist worldwide evangelization. The Foreign Mission

---

[113] Sparks, "Is Short-Term Worth It Over the Long-Term? A Critical Evaluation of Short-Term Missions," February 3, 1984.

[114] Bryan Bishop, "Short Termers: The New Wave," *World Christian* 2, no.5 (November/December 1983), 27-28.

[115] See for example James Cecil, "A Critical Analysis of the Foreign Mission Board's Procedures for the Involvement of Short Term Volunteers in Personal Presence Overseas Ministries" (Th.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1981); Douglas Millham, "Short-Term Mission: A Model for Mobilizing the Church" (Th.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1988); Ivy Beckwith, "Youth Summer Mission Trips: A Case Study" (Th.D. diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1991); and Duane Anderson, "The Role of Short Term Mission Trips in the Discipleship of a Congregation in World Missions" (M.A. thesis, Columbia Biblical Seminary, 1992).

[116] See for example Steve Corbett and Brian Fikkert, *When Helping Hurts: How to Alleviate Poverty without Hurting the Poor…or Yourself* (Chicago: Moody Publishers, 2009); Robert Priest, ed., *Effective Engagement in Short-Term Missions: Doing it Right!* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2008); David Forward, *The Essential Guide to the Short Term Mission Trip* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1998); Roger Peterson et al., *Maximum Impact Short-Term Mission: The God-Commanded, Repetitive Deployment of Swift, Temporary, Non-Professional Missionaries* (Minneapolis: STEM Press, 2003); and Michael Wilder and Shane Parker, *TransforMission: Making Disciples through Short-Term Missions* (Nashville: B&H Publishing, 2010).

Board created a handbook for its missionaries in 1990 that outlined how best to utilize temporary volunteers for evangelism on the mission field. The manual emphasized that while short-termers in no way replaced career missionaries, volunteers could perform a useful function by supporting "the extension of Christ's kingdom" around the world. The FMB clarified that visiting volunteers' primary purpose should be to enhance existing "programs of gospel proclamation" led by missionaries or national Christians. The FMB particularly encouraged missionaries to establish programs of "partnership evangelism" and "partnership mission," which incorporated some of the changes that mission organizations were making internally in the 1970s and 1980s as they tried to partner with and relinquish some power to national Christians around the world. Partnership evangelism and partnership mission programs involved matching up US churches with overseas churches for evangelism campaigns. The US church provided funding support and sent some short-termers to perform manual labor and participate in the campaign through singing or giving a presentation (with a translator). The national church designed and directed the evangelism campaign, and FMB missionaries served as the on-the-ground liaisons and interpreters.[117] One prominent evangelism partnership occurred in Brazil, where churches from the largest Brazilian cities connected with churches from the largest cities in Texas. The churches conducted several years of coordinated campaigns, and Texas Baptists provided over two million dollars and 2,000 volunteers for the evangelism programs in different Brazilian cities. Praising this use of short-term volunteers, the FMB celebrated that "two peoples of differing languages and cultures are working together in a common quest" to spread the gospel message.[118]

Intervarsity also implemented guidelines for its STIM program in the 1980s to help short-termers contribute more directly to global evangelism. Under the new procedures, missionaries would assign STIM participants to one of several specific tasks that would assist evangelism efforts. Some short-termers performed in music and drama groups, which drew crowds that national Christians and missionaries could talk with and evangelize. Other STIM participants tested out new ministry methods, such as clown or puppet performances, and provided feedback that national Christians used when implementing those methods in local evangelism campaigns. And some STIM students conducted literature evangelism by passing out flyers, tracts, and surveys that helped missionaries and national Christians identify people who wanted more information about Christianity or wanted to join a Bible study. In addition to placing their own short-termers in more assignments that would directly advance world evangelism, STIM directors also participated in annual meetings with other short-term missions coordinators to discuss how together they could mobilize short-termers for global evangelization.[119] So though some missionary leaders worried that short-termers could harm global evangelization, other missions leaders promised to fine-tune short-term missions and ensure that it benefitted world evangelism goals.

---

[117] "A Guidebook for Utilizing Southern Baptist Volunteers in Foreign Missions," 1990, Folder 17, Box 32, Collection AR 837, Research Reports Collection, Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee (hereafter Research Reports Collection).
[118] Orville Scott, "Partnership: Texans Flock to Brazil," *The Commission* 44, no. 7 (September 1981): 48, 51.
[119] Bill Goheen, "Short Terms, Session 1" September 27, 1984, EFMA/IFMA Study Conference, Audio Tape 123, EFMA Collection.

By the early 1990s, American mission organizations stood to benefit from a gigantic volunteer workforce, if only missionaries could figure out how best to utilize those volunteers for worldwide evangelism. What had begun as an effort by mission organizations to supplement their missionary personnel, recruit future missionaries, and boost US support for missions had swelled into a flood of over one million American evangelical visitors to the mission field each year. The rise of short term missions had created the increasingly prevalent scene in US airports of a group of churchgoers or students wearing matching t-shirts and eagerly waiting to head off on an international mission trip for a few weeks. Short-termers had raved for decades about those international trips, and by declaring that their overseas experiences deepened their faith in God and awakened their compassion for others, they revealed how short-term trips shaped American evangelicals' understandings of mission work and global engagement more broadly. Missionaries knew about short-termers' tales of rapid spiritual development, and some missionary leaders believed that increasing US evangelicals' spiritual maturity was sufficient justification for short-term missions. But many other missionaries worried that short-termers did more harm than good, and as missionary leaders admitted that short-term programs did not achieve all of the larger goals that once had justified the programs, these leaders vowed to solve the existing problems and to discover the best strategies for using short-termers to aid global evangelization. In subsequent years, some of those missionary leaders would launch one such strategy, by interpreting 1990s geopolitical events as a divine opportunity to use short-term volunteers to help save the world.

Chapter Five
**Seizing the Moment:**
**Missions in the Post-Cold War Era**
[1990s]

"Today, the Iron Curtain has crumbled," the brochure announced, "and one of the last bastions of atheism is filled with a fresh, new hunger for truth." Glossy promotional pages summoned the reader to "spend the next year in the former Soviet Union and help change the course of history." The brochure claimed that after seventy years of "believing that God does not exist," the people of the former Soviet Union were "in a state of moral and spiritual crisis" and, consequently, were "inviting you to introduce them to the life changing power of God's Word." Providing evidence for that invitation, the brochure explained that ministries of education throughout the former Soviet Union had taken "a dramatic step" by opening their public schools "to the teaching of Biblical principles and values." In response, US mission organizations rapidly were deploying short-term volunteers across Eastern Europe and Russia, in what allegedly would be "the greatest movement of Christian people and resources in history." Volunteers would have to move quickly, however, because "the doors that are so open today will begin to close, and if the spiritual vacuum left by seventy years of communism is not filled with Christian values, it will be filled with something else." But most importantly, the brochure asserted, this short-term missions trip would be the "opportunity of a lifetime for you." "Will you go," it asked. "Can the people of the former Soviet Union count on you?"[1]

In the early 1990s, over eighty evangelical organizations, including Campus Crusade, The Navigators, and the Foreign Mission Board, came together to publicize these messages and recruit short-termers for an enormous missions project – the evangelization of the former Soviet Union. This project, called the CoMission, was the first coordinated effort by many mission organizations to use short-term missions for large-scale evangelism. And while many religious groups flocked to Russia and Eastern Europe during the 1990s, the CoMission formed the largest coalition of US religious organizations working within the former USSR in this period.[2] In just five years, these CoMission organizations together raised over seventy million dollars, sent 4,800 short-termers, and recruited 200,000 US evangelicals to pray for the project's success. On the mission field, short-termers conducted conferences for over 42,000 teachers in 136 towns throughout ten countries, established 1,500 local Bible studies for 11,000 adults and children in fifty different cities, and provided 7.5 million schoolchildren with Bible-based curriculum and

[1] "For Years, You've Prayed that God would Open the Door for You to Make a Difference in the World" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993, Box 3, CoMission Collection, The Navigators Archives, Colorado Springs, Colorado (hereafter CoMission Collection).

[2] For studies of the religious groups that flooded into the former USSR during the early and mid-1990s, see for example John Anderson, *Religion, State, and Politics in the Soviet Union and Successor States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); John Witte, Jr. and Michael Bourdeaux, eds., *Proselytism and Orthodoxy in Russia: The New War for Souls* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1999); Catherine Wanner, *Communities of the Converted: Ukrainians and the Global Evangelism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007); David Foglesong, *The American Mission and the "Evil Empire": The Crusade for a "Free Russia" since 1881* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 196-218; Mathijs Pelkmans, ed., *Conversion after Socialism: Disruptions, Modernities, and the Technologies of Faith* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2009); and Joseph Kellner, "The End of History: Radical Responses to the Soviet Collapse" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2018).

evangelistic films.[3] By any metric, this was a massive utilization of short-term volunteers for international evangelism.

This enormous project gained widespread support from US evangelicals and served as a model for future large-scale mission work with short-termers, but the project's gigantic infusion of American capital, materials, and workers also provoked criticisms like those that Global South church leaders had been marshalling against Western missions for decades. Evangelical mission organizations that had developed in the climate of the early Cold War now emphasized the urgency of seizing every missionary opportunity presented by the Cold War's conclusion, and they invited US evangelicals to understand this geopolitical transformation as their chance to remake the world, spiritually and politically, in their image. Promotional messages from the CoMission told evangelicals that the people of the former Soviet Union were both desperate for evangelicals' spiritual guidance and eager to pray in school. These appeals shifted a key political issue for the rising US Christian Right – the issue of Protestant hegemony in the public sphere – into the register of missions, by encouraging evangelicals to establish Protestant devotional practices in the public schools of Russia and Eastern Europe. And evangelicals who became short-termers and traveled to the former USSR gushed about their experiences of evangelizing people whom evangelicals saw as their former enemies in places which evangelicals understood to be former strongholds of atheism and communism. Along with much excitement, the CoMission's work also elicited many critiques, not only from national church leaders but also from within the US mission organizations involved. Critics most questioned the CoMission's centralized master planning and its lack of contextualization; both of these concerns pointed to the ways that the CoMission's sense of urgency fostered unreflective activism that sidestepped key longstanding criticisms of the hierarchies within American missions in the name of speed. So this attempt to utilize short-termers for large-scale evangelism in the former USSR provided American evangelicals with a form of global activism that combined international evangelism with major late-twentieth-century conservative political priorities, while also compelling many mission organizations to grapple again with the power dynamics imbedded in their methods and models of global work.

The CoMission formed when a few mission organizations obtained unique access to public schools in the former Soviet Union and recruited eighty other evangelical organizations, including many mission organizations, to team up for an ambitious evangelism campaign. In 1990, the JESUS Film Project, a Campus Crusade ministry that translated and disseminated a film about Christ's life based on the gospel of Luke, screened its film in thirteen Soviet republics and invited prominent government officials to the premieres.[4] Ministers or deputy ministers of

[3] The total amount of money raised includes the 10.6 million raised for the International School Project convocation trips and the 60 million raised for CoMission trips. The total number of short-termers includes the 3,300 volunteers who went on multi-week trips with the International School Project, and the 1,500 people who traveled on one-year stints with the CoMission. The ten countries were Russia, Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria, Belarus, Estonia, Albania, Latvia, Moldova, and Lithuania. For comprehensive statistics, see "The International School Project," December 20, 1996, Box 2124, Jesus Film Collection, Cru Archives, Cru International Headquarters, Orlando, Florida (hereafter Jesus Film Collection) and "The CoMission: Many Voices, One Calling," December 20, 1996, Box 2124, Jesus Film Collection.

[4] Campus Crusade sponsored the JESUS film in the late 1970s and released it in US theaters in 1979. In 1980 Crusade translated the film into Hindi and showed it to 21 million people across India. By 1984, the film was available in 100 languages, and when the CoMission was beginning in the early 1990s, the JESUS film had been

education often attended these screenings, and many of those officials subsequently invited the JESUS Film Project to show the film in public schools. Eager to make the most of this opportunity, the directors of the JESUS Film Project formed the International Schools Project (ISP) in 1991, and proposed that this new organization would provide a complementary curriculum about Christian morals and ethics to teachers, who could teach a voluntary class with the curriculum after school and in coordination with JESUS film screenings. To the delight of ISP and JESUS Film Project directors, the Ministry of Education in Russia and several other countries accepted that proposal, thereby giving ISP official authorization to provide Bible-based materials and conferences for public school teachers.

The International Schools Project launched four-day teacher convocations across Russia and other former Soviet republics in 1991 and 1992, but ISP directors wanted to spend more than just four days with these teachers, many of whom were converting to evangelical Christianity as a result of seeing the JESUS film and talking with leaders at the convocations. To create a more extensive outreach program, not only to teachers and schoolchildren but also to people in the surrounding communities, ISP directors knew that they would need more manpower and far more money. To accomplish these bigger goals, directors from the JESUS Film Project partnered with leaders from a US evangelical school association (the Association of Christian Schools International) and directors from a US evangelical Bible education organization (Walk Thru the Bible) to found the CoMission, a group of organizations that would send teams of volunteers from the US to the former Soviet Union for one-year terms.[5] In only a few months, the CoMission gathered sixty member organizations: fifty supporting organizations, which pledged to promote the project with their constituents, and ten sending organizations, which each promised to recruit and coordinate the teams of short-termers, called "CoMissioners."[6] In November of 1992, officials from the Russian Ministry of Education and the directors of the

---

dubbed into more than 200 languages. In 2012, the JESUS film entered the Guinness Book of World Records as the most translated film in history with over 1,100 translations. See "The History of Jesus Film Project," Jesus Film Project, Cru, accessed March 19, 2018, https://www.jesusfilm.org/about/history.html. The JESUS Film Project gained access to different Soviet republics by building connections over time with government film agencies, which could make money by screening the film. The JESUS Film Project debuted its film in Hungary in 1985, showed the film in Georgia in 1989, and then held screenings in thirteen different Soviet republics in the fall of 1990. See Paul Eshleman, *The Touch of Jesus* (Orlando, FL: New Life Publishers, 1995), 29-35.

[5] The CoMission received its name from this founding meeting in October of 1991, when one participant suggested that the name would indicate how different organizations were cooperating to fulfill the Great Commission. See Eshleman, *Touch of Jesus*, 217. The CoMission teams would visit towns in which ISP already had held a convocation. According to the missions jargon of the time, CoMissioners were doing "follow-up" work, by connecting with teachers who converted during teacher convocations, inviting more teachers to show the JESUS film and use the Christian morals and ethics curriculum, and forming small group Bible studies for teachers and members of the surrounding communities.

[6] By the end of the CoMission in 1997, there were eighty-two member organizations: seventy-two supporting organizations and ten sending organizations. Both Campus Crusade and The Navigators were sending organizations, and the Foreign Mission Board was a supporting organization. The other sending organizations, all mission organizations, were BCM International, Christian Missionary Alliance, European Christian Missions, Gospel Missionary Union, OMS International, SEND International, Wesleyan World Missions, and Worldteam. Other prominent supporting organizations included Focus on the Family and Moody Bible Institute. Not all supporting organizations were mission organizations – some were Christian colleges, aid organizations, or counseling organizations. See Paul Johnson, ed., *The CoMission: The Amazing Story of Eighty Ministry Groups Working Together to Take the Message of Christ's Love to the Russian People* (Chicago: Moody Publishers, 2004), 283-285.

CoMission held a press conference in Southern California, before an audience of 8,000 Christian teachers, to announce formally this partnership for Christian morals and ethics education.[7] National publications like *Newsweek* and *USA Today* covered the press conference, as did many Christian magazines and over one thousand Christian radio stations and television networks across the US.[8] One month later, CoMission directors signed a Protocol of Intention with the Russian Ministry of Education, which gave the CoMission formal government approval for five years.[9] With the press conference and official paperwork complete, all that was left to do was to raise millions of dollars, recruit thousands of short-termers, and coordinate between dozens of organizations to put CoMission teams in place across Eastern Europe and Russia, all within a short five-year window.

**Maximizing the Opportunity**

Focusing on these ambitious aims and this limited timeline, directors of the CoMission emphasized the enormous possibilities available to them and the urgency of seizing those opportunities as quickly as possible. The themes of opportunity and urgency pervaded the internal conversations that CoMission leaders had with one another and the formal policies that the CoMission adopted for its projects across the former Soviet Union. Organizers stressed that God had opened the former Soviet Union and provided US Christians with the opportunity to evangelize there. One director commented that it seemed strange that God would use unlikely authorities, like KGB officers, to give opportunities for showing the JESUS film in places like the republic of Georgia, but "on the other hand, God opens doors and He determines who He will use to accomplish His will."[10] In its official strategy statement, the CoMission listed divine opportunity as the first "guiding value" of the program: "God has opened the door of opportunity in the former Soviet Union and The CoMission must move as quickly as possible as long as that door remains open."[11] One associate director explained to another that working within this divine opportunity was like working with dynamite, and that the CoMission needed to "set the charges, then get out of the way" so that "the Holy Spirit will control the direction and chain reaction of the explosion."[12]

Though CoMission directors argued that God had created this "open door" for evangelism, they also insisted that the chance to evangelize the former Soviet Union would not last for long. The formal CoMission strategy statement highlighted the volatile political situation

[7] See "The CoMission Press Conference," November 5, 1992, Box 2124, Jesus Film Collection.
[8] See K. L. Woodward with C. O'Brian, "Iisus Kristos Loves You: U.S. Evangelicals Put God Back in Russian Schools," *Newsweek*, January 4, 1993, 45 and Dennis Kelly, "New Russia Welcomes US Religious Educators," *USA Today*, November 10, 1992. Christian magazines like Christianity Today and Moody Monthly covered the press conference, and Christian TV and radio networks that represented 1,643 stations and over 6.7 million viewers and listeners aired coverage of the CoMission's launch. See Mary Anthony and Noel Wilkerson to The CoMission Executive Committee, November 17, 1992, Box 2124, Jesus Film Collection.
[9] See "Protocol of Intention Between the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation and the Executive Committee of the Christian Social Project 'The CoMission,' USA," December 1992, Box 2492, Jesus Film Collection.
[10] Eshleman, *The Touch of Jesus*, 35.
[11] "The CoMission: Many Voices, One Calling," 1995, Box 3, CoMission Collection.
[12] Rex Johnson to Jerry Franks, March 28, 1994, Box 2497, Jesus Film Collection.

in many countries and concluded that the outcome of these "fluid and unpredictable" conditions was simply in God's hands, so the CoMission should "continue to move forward unless God sovereignly closes the door." Speed was important in light of these conditions, and the formal strategy was that "the CoMission should move as quickly as possible to present the Gospel and build meaningful relationships with as many people and institutions as possible."[13] This emphasis on rapidity created a sense among CoMission leaders that there was no time to debate details or argue about adjustments to this enormous project. As one director reflected, "None of us believed the door of opportunity in the Soviet Union would stay open long. Therefore, we realized we'd better not quibble about policies and procedures. We'd better just get on with the task as quickly as possible."[14] And leaders on the ground in Russia and Eastern Europe wrote home to CoMission directors in the US and reinforced the idea that time was of the essence. One of the first US team leaders in Russia wrote to the CoMission directors with an opening phrase in Russian, which he clarified was not a greeting but rather a warning. "We hear it daily on the subways and trains," he explained, "and it haunts us by its constant repetition. I've started awake in the middle of the night with it running through my brain. What does it mean? What a simple phrase, what deep meaning: 'Caution – beware – look out – the doors are closing.'"[15]

Motivated by this sense of urgency, directors of the CoMission reasoned that the best plan would be to use whatever resources were available to evangelize the people of the former Soviet Union as rapidly as possible. The two biggest and most available resources to the CoMission were public schools as entry points and short-termers as a workforce, and CoMission and ISP directors aimed to utilize those resources to the fullest possible extent. Access to public schools offered the CoMission major gateways for mass evangelism, but the terms of that access also created some obstacles that CoMission leaders had to overcome in order to further their rapid evangelization goals. The biggest constraint, set by the ministries of education and the Russian Orthodox Church, was that the curriculum only could cover broad concepts about Christian ethics and morality shared by Orthodox Christians, Catholics, and Protestants. To meet that requirement and still present an evangelistic gospel message, the curriculum writing team framed the materials as interconfessional and stressed that any conversion should be the result of purely voluntary commitment by a student or teacher.[16] The textbooks specified that the lessons were "not designed to discriminate between different Christian denominations such as Orthodox, Catholic, or Protestant" but rather would "present the core of common belief that has

---

[13] "The CoMission: Many Voices, One Calling," 1995.
[14] Eshleman, *The Touch of Jesus*, 227.
[15] Tom Enyon to Jerry White, February 19, 1993, Box 3, CoMission Collection.
[16] As an added challenge, ISP gave the writing team a mere ninety days to produce two full sets of curriculum, one for primary schools and another for secondary schools. This was because ISP wanted to disseminate the curriculum to teachers as soon as possible. See Perry Glanzer, "A Critical Analysis of the CoMission: A Study in the Loss, Replacement, and Establishment of an Ideology of Moral Order" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1998), 82. Most of the curriculum writers and editors worked for various ministries of Campus Crusade, including the JESUS film project, International Ministries, Here's Life America, the International School Project, and the International School of Theology. See Paul Eshleman and Nelson Hinkson, eds., *Christian Ethics and Morality: A Foundation for Society*, field test copy, 1992, Box 1469, International Ministries Collection, Cru Archives, Cru International Headquarters, Orlando, Florida (hereafter International Ministries Collection) and Vernie Schorr, ed., *International School Project Elementary Character Development Curriculum* (Laguna Nigel, CA: Children of the World, 1993), inside cover.

traditionally been held by all branches of Christianity down through the ages," since, the writers declared, "there is a substantial majority of all the Christian traditions which agree."[17] Every textbook contained an introductory essay about the "Importance of Voluntary Choice," which stressed that teachers should create "an atmosphere where belief is optional and voluntary" so that students could choose freely to convert to Christianity.[18] This logic connected to the central argument of the curriculum, which was that by converting to Christianity, voluntarily, individuals would become far more ethical and moral than they would by simply studying and applying ethical and moral principles. "When people freely choose to follow Christ," the writers asserted, "they are transformed from within in a way that surpasses the effects of any imposed ethical system."[19] So although the writers emphasized the importance of interconfessionalism and voluntarism, they also made their evangelistic aspirations clear within the curriculum itself.

Curriculum designers hoped that although the materials presented a message that they thought was broadly Christian, students and teachers would still find an evangelical gospel message in the materials and convert as a result. The writers expressed this desire forthrightly at the beginning of each textbook: "The writers of this curriculum hope you will discover a Christian world view as you teach this course. We hope you will recognize its logic, its truth, its historicity and its life-changing reality found in a personal relationship with God through Jesus Christ."[20] This emphasis on individual conversion and developing a personal relationship with Christ was a central and distinctive component of evangelical theology, and the writers highlighted the importance of that personal relationship with Christ not just in the preface but also throughout the curriculum lessons. For example, the first lesson included a presentation of the JESUS film to students; the movie itself was openly evangelistic and invited viewers to make a personal conversion at the close of the film.[21] In spite of these different overtly evangelistic elements, two sets of these materials, one for primary schools and another for secondary schools, received formal approval from ministers of education in Russia and Eastern Europe and from the Metropolitan (Bishop) of Moscow in 1992 and 1993.[22]

At the conferences for public schoolteachers, directors for ISP similarly tried to find a balance between teaching broad principles about education, ethics, and morality and evangelizing teachers directly. ISP directors wanted to earn credibility as education specialists to win over audiences and satisfy visiting ministers of education or local clergy, who sometimes attended the convocations. As a result, the conferences included plenary speakers with formal academic positions, such as professors from US evangelical colleges and seminaries, and featured sessions on "active learning methods" and other popular Western pedagogical

---

[17] See Paul Eshleman and Curt Mackey, eds., *Foundations of Christian Ethics, Part II: The Moral Person: An Asset to Society* (San Clemente, CA: International School Project, 1995), 19.
[18] Vernie Schorr, ed., *Foundations of Christian Ethics, Part I: Building Character* (San Clemente, CA: International School Project, 1995), 5.
[19] Ibid.
[20] See Schorr, ed., *International School Project Elementary Character Development Curriculum*, 10 and Paul Eshleman and Nelson Hinkson, eds., *Christian Ethics and Morality: A Foundation for Society*, field test copy, 1991, Box 1311, International Ministries Collection.
[21] See Schorr, ed., *International School Project Elementary Character Development Curriculum*, 1, 11-14 and Eshleman and Hinkson, eds., *Christian Ethics and Morality*, field test copy, 1991.
[22] Glanzer, "A Critical Analysis of the CoMission," 94, 297-98.

techniques that teachers could employ in their classrooms.[23]At the same time, evangelism was a central part of the conferences. Teachers saw the JESUS film, heard a plenary lecture about the "Four Spiritual Laws" (Campus Crusade's official evangelism presentation), and attended another plenary session about "The Crucifixion and Resurrection" that included an invitation to convert. Teachers also learned how to help students convert; primary schoolteachers received two training sessions about "leading a child to Christ" and "teaching children to pray."[24] In their summary reports, conference directors made clear that conversions were the most prized outcomes of the four-day convocations. When reporting statistics from the first six conferences, attended by 2000 teachers total, directors rejoiced that forty-eight percent of teachers indicated that they had "made decisions for Christ" during the conference.[25] So though formal access to teachers and public schools presented some obstacles, ISP and CoMission directors aimed to work around those difficulties and thereby take advantage of the opportunity to evangelize schoolchildren, teachers, and local communities across the former Soviet Union.

In order to evangelize as many people as possible, CoMission directors adopted a strategy of "rapid deployment of resources," including manpower. While short-term volunteers provided the CoMission with a potentially large workforce, short-termers also had no training or language skills, so CoMission directors adopted justifications for a short-term labor force and outlined plans to equip inexperienced volunteers with the skills necessary to conduct mass evangelism across Eastern Europe and Russia. CoMission policies described how the magnitude of the CoMission's task necessitated the use of a large workforce, and reasoned that "the largest group of Christians available to meet the need" was the "Christian lay community," which could deploy rapidly for short-term mission trips.[26] The CoMission aimed to recruit 12,000 volunteers, who would form teams of ten and travel to each of the 1200 school districts in Eastern Europe and Russia for one-year terms. Internally, directors admitted that the goal of 12,000 was more of a "faith objective" for recruiting and that, given the time-crunch, they more likely would enlist around 3500 short-termers, who would travel in teams to each of the 150 school districts in which ISP had held a convocation.[27] Both estimates required the swift deployment of thousands of workers, and CoMission directors insisted that only through short-term missions could they achieve that speed and scale.

CoMission leaders planned to compensate for volunteers' lack of experience and language skills with ongoing training, personal interpreters, translated materials, and procedures to promote local Christians into leadership positions as soon as possible. Before and during the short-term trips, CoMission directors intended to train volunteers in evangelism, spiritual mentoring, and how to implement the CoMission's main strategies. After an initial training session focused mostly on fundraising – each volunteer had to raise over twenty thousand dollars from donors to cover the costs of the one-year trip – short-termers would attend a three-week orientation in the US and a three-day orientation in Moscow that would familiarize volunteers with the main goals of their work and how to accomplish them. Then the short-termers would

---

[23] "Description of Talks Given at Convocations," in Blair Cook to Paul Eshleman, January 20, 1993, Box 2124, Jesus Film Collection.
[24] Ibid.
[25] "The CoMission 1992-1997 Concept and Strategy," n.d., ca. 1993, Box 3, CoMission Collection.
[26] "The CoMission: Many Voices, One Calling," 1995.
[27] "Realistic CoMission Recruiting Numbers," September 1993, Box 2495, Jesus Film Collection.

receive further instruction each week and also would attend periodic conferences; directors estimated that short-termers would spend about twenty percent of their year in training sessions. This regular guidance, CoMission leaders asserted, would prevent short-termers from being "merely Christian tourists" and would instead make the volunteers into "effective ambassadors for Christ" throughout the former Soviet Union.[28]

In addition to emphasizing the value of ongoing training for short-termers, CoMission directors also argued that interpreters, translated materials, and a quick transition to local leadership would mitigate the effects of short-termers' inexperience and language barriers. Every short-termer would hire an interpreter who would assist during all meetings with teachers, schoolchildren, and local community members. CoMission leaders reasoned that interpreters would be widely available and affordable due to the number of local college students who studied English and the "desperate economic crisis and the value of the dollar in Russia."[29] Short-termers would also use translated materials. Several US evangelical organizations provided books and videos that short-termers could study in English and then present to groups in the local language. Most of the gatherings led by short-termers would involve playing a dubbed video and then discussing the videotape with the assistance of an interpreter. In addition to showing the JESUS film, short-termers also would host multi-week discussions of several video series, including Walk Thru the Bible's series about teaching based on biblical principles, Campus Crusade's series about the uniqueness of Christ, and Focus on the Family's video series on marriage and parenting.[30] Though short-termers initially would lead these classes, CoMission directors insisted that short-term volunteers would need to prepare local Christians to lead the discussion groups and use the materials as soon as possible. In the official covenant that short-term participants signed, they agreed to ensure the CoMission's long-term success by "identifying, training and equipping national leaders" and giving them "ownership and responsibility for CoMission activities."[31] In these ways, CoMission directors laid out their plans to utilize short-termers as a workforce, and public schools as an entry point, to accomplish the chief goal of evangelizing as many people as possible within a window of opportunity that directors feared was closing quickly.

**Recruiting the Workforce**

With these central aims and plans in place, the directors of ISP and the CoMission produced a flurry of brochures, posters, and bulletin inserts, and called on all eighty-two CoMission member organizations to disseminate these advertisements and promote these new short-term mission trips to evangelicals across the US. Through promotional messages to

---

[28] "The CoMission Information Packet," December 1993, Box 0595, Publications Collection, Cru Archives, Cru International Headquarters, Orlando, Florida (hereafter Publications Collection).
[29] "The Ministry of Education of the Former Soviet Union Has Invited American Believers to Help Rebuild the Moral Base of Their Country" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1994, CoMission Collection.
[30] The Walk Thru the Bible video series was "The Seven Laws of the Learner," the Crusade video series was "A Man without Equal," and the Focus on the Family videos included "The Strong Willed Child," "Christian Fathering," "The Origins of Self-Doubt," "Peer Pressure and Sexuality," and "The Lonely Housewife." See "CoMission Integrated Strategy: Novgorod, Russia," n.d., ca. 1993, Box 2124, Jesus Film Collection.
[31] "The CoMission Covenant: Agreement of Participation for Workers in The CoMission," n.d., ca. 1993, Box2124, Jesus Film Collection.

evangelicals, CoMission leaders stressed how urgent the evangelistic task was, how little experience volunteers needed, and how eager the people of Russia and Eastern Europe were to meet American Christians and hear evangelistic teachings. These marketing appeals not only played to American evangelicals' assumptions about the former Soviet Union, but also directly referenced and aroused evangelicals' increasingly prominent conservative political and social positions, which had become influential in US politics by the 1990s, and which CoMission directors explicitly invited US evangelicals to export across the world. While calling American evangelicals to help save the former USSR, CoMission directors also promised them the chance to remake Russia and Eastern Europe in the image of the US Christian Right.

CoMission advertisements stressed that God had opened the Soviet Union for Christian evangelism, and contrasted this new openness against both the former "tyranny" of atheism in the USSR and the contemporary limitations in the US due to court rulings about prayer in schools. Promotional materials for the CoMission described the end of the Cold War with vivid biblical imagery to invite evangelicals to understand this geopolitical transformation in spiritual terms. "3,000 years after God parted the Red Sea, He rolled back the Red Army," one brochure announced.[32] Another proclaimed that "God's spirit has breached the Berlin Wall and is now marching triumphantly across the former Soviet Union."[33] "The God that crushed the walls of Jericho reached out His hand toward Moscow," an additional pamphlet declared, "and suddenly 300 million hearts were flung wide open to God's Word."[34] These international changes created new opportunities for US Christians, and CoMission advertisements emphasized that those new openings were gifts from God. As one brochure with the headline "Russia is the land of opportunity" claimed, "there are the ministries you've trained for, and there are the ones that God throws in your lap."[35]

Marketing materials for the CoMission distinguished the new period of openness to evangelism in Russia and Eastern Europe from earlier decades of "spiritual darkness" in the USSR. One pamphlet used an image of daffodils' blooming amid a snowy field full of barbed wire as a symbol of the ways that the gospel message suddenly was breaking into the formerly inaccessible Soviet Union. The pamphlet celebrated that "now hearts that were locked tighter than any prison are suddenly wide open to God's Word."[36] Another advertisement testified that "for seventy-five years, the former Soviet Union stood as a bastion of communism and atheism" but then God's intervention created "the greatest open door in history!"[37] Some promotions spoke directly to the reader's assumed relationship to the USSR and its people. "You've always thought of the former Soviet Union as a land cloaked in spiritual darkness," a brochure remarked, "so imagine your surprise when you discover that God's light is already there.

---

[32] "For Years, You've Prayed that God would Open the Door for You to Make a Difference in the World" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993, Box 3, CoMission Collection.
[33] "You'll Be Amazed When You Find out Who's Going to Russia to Help Change the Course of History" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1992, Box 3, CoMission Collection.
[34] "For Years, You've Prayed that God would Open the Door for You to Make a Difference in the World" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993, Box 0595, Publications Collection.
[35] "Russia is the Land of Opportunity" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1994, Box 3, CoMission Collection.
[36] "Suddenly, Being 'Sent to Siberia' Has Taken on a Whole New Meaning" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993, Box 3, CoMission Collection.
[37] "For Years, You've Prayed that God would Open the Door for You to Make a Difference in the World" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993, Box 0595, Publications Collection.

Working in lives. Changing hearts. Preparing the way."[38] Another brochure acknowledged that "only yesterday we thought they were our enemies. But suddenly, God reached out His hand and broke their chains."[39]

These depictions of the former Soviet Union as an "atheistic empire" resonated with the characterizations of the USSR that American evangelicals had promulgated since the beginning of the Cold War. Evangelicals contributed to and profited from the discourses of US civil religion, which held up Protestant Christianity as the evidence of America's moral authority over the Soviet Union with its "godless communism."[40] In the early decades of the Cold War, evangelical missionary organizations had argued that their international evangelism was the antidote to worldwide communist oppression. Missionary leaders had cast citizens of the USSR as victims, "souls lost to Marxist philosophy and crushed under tyrannical governments," and had asserted that "Christians have the only satisfactory answer to communism."[41] Later in the 1980s, President Ronald Reagan revived this rhetoric about US moral superiority in a speech to the National Association of Evangelicals, in which he declared that the Soviet Union was the "evil empire" and, by contrast, the United States had "sought and humbly accepted" the "blessings of God." He told evangelicals that they were the people "keeping America great by keeping her good," and that only through "your work and prayers" would the United States "hope to survive this perilous century and keep alive this experiment in liberty."[42] When many evangelical leaders, including CoMission directors, interpreted the end of the Cold War as something that God had accomplished, they reinforced this discourse of America's moral authority over the former Soviet Union.[43] So through CoMission promotions, eighty of America's largest evangelical organizations harnessed those longstanding characterizations of the former Soviet Union to emphasize the opportunity of the new post-Cold War era and to invite US evangelicals to enter into a formerly evil empire and fill the "spiritual vacuum" there.

---

[38] "Russia is the Land of Opportunity" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1994

[39] "You'll Be Amazed When You Find out Who's Going to Russia to Help Change the Course of History" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1992.

[40] For examples of these early Cold War declarations from evangelical leaders, see for example Harold Ockenga, *The Answer to Communist Aggression* (Boston: Park Street Church, 1950); Ockenga, *What Can I Do to Combat Communism?* (Wheaton, IL: National Association of Evangelicals, n.d.); Billy Graham, *Christianity vs. Communism* (Minneapolis: Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, 1951), n.p.; Graham, *Labor, Christ, and the Cross* (Minneapolis: Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, 1953), n.p; and Fred Schwartz, *You Can Trust the Communists* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1960). See Chapter One for further discussion of how evangelicals participated in American civil religion in the early Cold War.

[41] "Can Communism Win?" *The Commission* 10, no. 8 (September 1949): 2 and "Exalting Christ around the World," 1950 EFMA Convention, Folder 31, Box 2, Collection 165, Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois (hereafter EFMA Collection).

[42] "Ronald Reagan, 'Evil Empire Speech' (8 March 1983)" transcript, Voices of Democracy: The U.S. Oratory Project, University of Maryland, accessed May 7, 2018, http://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/reagan-evil-empire-speech-text/.

[43] In addition to the CoMission promotions above, see for example Charles Colson, 'If Communism Fails, Do We Win?', *Christianity Today*, October 6, 1989, 64; Ken Sidey, 'US Soviet Scholars Study Ten Commandments,' *Christianity Today*, March 5, 1990, 34; Edward Plowman, 'Glasnost Opens Way for Graham,' *Christianity Today*, September 8, 1990, 61; Philip Yancey, "Praying with the KGB," *Christianity Today*, January 13, 1992, 21, 25; and Charles Colson, "Tyranny by Any Other Name," *Christianity Today*, December 14, 1992, 54-55.

Promotional materials for the CoMission also contrasted the opportunities to evangelize through public schools in Russia and Eastern Europe with the concurrent limitations on prayer in schools in the US. These messages spoke directly to many evangelicals' anger over certain restrictions in US public schools and invited evangelicals to vent that frustration by exporting Christian devotional practices and prayer to public schools in the former USSR. One brochure described how education officials in the former Soviet Union "have given us the task of laying a foundation of Christian morality and ethics by teaching the Bible and the life of Christ in their schools," and then invited the reader to "think of the irony. Here in the U.S., you can no longer pray in school. There, they can't wait to start."[44] Another brochure projected a similar sense of eagerness for prayer in schools onto the people of the former USSR. The pamphlet promised the reader, "If you believe in prayer in public schools, there are 43 million kids who can't wait to meet you."[45]

Devotional practices in public schools were a key issue for conservative evangelicals and their political organizations in the late twentieth century. The US Supreme Court's rulings on prayer and the Bible in public schools – most notably in the 1962 *Engle v Vitale* and the 1963 *Abington v Schempp* decisions – became lightning rods for political mobilization by conservative evangelicals who saw the cases as a de-Christianization of America, by which they meant a restriction of Protestant hegemony in the US public square. Evangelicals in previous eras had strongly supported the separation of church and state to limit the power of the Catholic Church, but in the late twentieth century the enemy of Protestant hegemony shifted from Catholicism to secular pluralism. Since conservative evangelicals also constructed formidable political organizations in the late twentieth century, these battles over public schools played out not only in local but also national arenas. Conservative congressmen in the 1960s promised to pass a constitutional amendment that would overturn the *Engle* and *Schempp* decisions, and in succeeding decades national politicians cited the need to "put God back in the schools" as a strategic signal to evangelical voters.[46] CoMission promotions specifically referenced these charged political views about Protestant hegemony in public life, and invited evangelical readers to see the former Soviet Union as a land of opportunity not only for evangelism but also for putting prayer and God "back" into schools.

While CoMission advertisements highlighted the immense opportunities available in the former Soviet Union, the ads also emphasized that those opportunities would not last for long. These promotional messages told evangelicals that since time was of the essence, readers should respond by supporting the CoMission as much and as quickly as possible. The biggest reason for

---

[44] "You'll Be Amazed When You Find out Who's Going to Russia to Help Change the Course of History" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1992.

[45] "Join the Team of 12,000 and Help Change the Course of History" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993, Box 3, CoMission Collection.

[46] For studies of evangelicals' political mobilization about prayer in schools, see for example Steven Green, "Evangelicals and the Becker Amendment: A Lesson in Church-State Moderation," *Journal of Church and State* 33, no. 3 (July 1, 1991): 541–67; James Fraser, *Between Church and State: Religion and Public Education in a Multicultural America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999); David Sehat, *The Myth of American Religious Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Kevin Shultz, *Tri-Faith America: How Catholics and Jews Held Postwar America to Its Protestant Promise* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); and Tim Ruckle, "A Crenelated Wall: The Rise and Fall of Southern Baptist Institutions for the Separation of Church and State, 1936-1979" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2015).

urgency, promotions argued, was the stiff competition from other religious groups, "cults," and immoral "profiteers" that were flooding into Russia and Eastern Europe. "If the CoMission doesn't help to fill the spiritual vacuum in the former Soviet Union," one brochure warned, "there are plenty of deceptive cults that will gladly take our place."[47] Another brochure cautioned that if evangelicals did not "seize the day" by joining the CoMission, then the people of Eastern Europe and Russia would instead receive "a bellyful of materialism, pornography, and other Western sins."[48] One pamphlet reported that "international ministry experts" had estimated that people in the former Soviet Union "will remain hungry for Biblical truth for only a short time" due to "the influx of the cults, the pornographers and profiteers."[49] These messages depicted the former Soviet Union as a place full of new competing ideas, and asked evangelicals to travel there and show the people of Eastern Europe and Russia which beliefs were the right ones. One flyer spelled out this request explicitly: "Now that the Russians have the right to choose, will you help them choose what is right?"[50]

Marketing messages for the CoMission also stressed that evangelical readers should act quickly because the people of the former Soviet Union soon would grow tired of the new ideas flooding in from the West. One pamphlet suggested that even though the CoMission's campaign would only last for five years, the opportunities for evangelism might not even last that long. "In even less time than that," the pamphlet warned, "the Russian people will begin to grow weary of Western influence. And the doors that are so open today will begin to close."[51] Another brochure told readers that "this is not an opportunity to ponder or put off." Evangelicals should act immediately, the brochure insisted, because "it is virtually certain that the Russian people will grow tired of being barraged by new ideas, both good and bad. You must act before they start running, like shell-shocked soldiers, for the nearest foxhole."[52] In these ways, CoMission advertisements stressed that the task of evangelizing the former Soviet Union was urgent and that evangelicals needed to support this large-scale mission project as soon as possible.

This emphasis on urgency and opportunity mirrored the language common in the messages that missionaries utilized to enlist American evangelicals' support at the beginning of the Cold War in the 1940s and 1950s. Especially after the evacuation of missionaries from China in 1949-1951, the specter of closed doors haunted missions leaders' stories from the mission field and their appeals for missionary recruits and finances. Missions leaders in the early Cold War era stressed that geopolitical conditions could shift quickly, and therefore American evangelicals should seize every opportunity to evangelize the world while there was still time. Missionaries summoned US evangelicals to help carry the gospel message "into every place where doors are still open" and to undertake that vital mission "before we have lost our

---

[47] "Now That the Russians Have the Right to Choose, Will You Help Them Choose What Is Right?" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993, Box 3, CoMission Collection.
[48] "You'll Be Amazed When You Find out Who's Going to Russia to Help Change the Course of History" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1992.
[49] "Help Shape the Destiny of a Nation" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993, Box 3, CoMission Collection.
[50] "Now That the Russians Have the Right to Choose, Will You Help Them Choose What Is Right?" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993.
[51] "Join the Team of 12,000 and Help Change the Course of History" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993.
[52] "You'll Be Amazed When You Find out Who's Going to Russia to Help Change the Course of History" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1992.

opportunity forever."[53] "We have no assurance that the doors will remain open to us," evangelical missionaries warned US supporters, "What we do, we must do now."[54] These messages about opportunity and urgency inspired widespread support from evangelicals for US mission organizations, which grew rapidly amidst the geopolitical changes of the early Cold War period. So in the early 1990s, amid the similarly massive geopolitical shifts at the end of the Cold War, evangelical missions leaders again utilized messages about unpredictable global transformations to encourage US evangelicals to invest and participate in the evangelization of formerly inaccessible regions of the world. Some CoMission appeals even referenced previous decades of opening and closing doors. One brochure invited evangelicals to "help us take advantage of this season of open doors" and reminded readers that "we already know how suddenly they can close."[55]

Accentuating the opportunities in the former Soviet Union and the urgency of seizing them, CoMission advertisements argued that practically any evangelical was qualified to become a short-termer and contribute to this vital large-scale evangelism campaign. Promotional messages assured evangelicals that their lack of experience and language skills were not obstacles, and that evangelicals' main asset was their commitment to their faith and their willingness to go. One brochure promised readers, "If you know how to hug a child, pray with a friend or play a VCR, congratulations. You're halfway there." The brochure went on to explain that evangelicals' very presence as committed Christians in Russia and Eastern Europe would change people's lives. Through the CoMission, the brochure insisted, short-termers would "transform the heart and soul of a nation. Not through high-powered evangelism or silver-tongued debate. But simply by being you."[56] Another brochure told readers that a "special calling" was waiting in the former Soviet Union for every Christian that had prayed for God "to single you out from the crowd. Grasp you by the hand. And say, 'I've got a job for you.'"[57] What qualified short-termers for these trips, advertisements asserted, was not expertise but divine support, powered by the prayers of other Christians. One ad pledged that "no less than one million individual Christians are being mobilized to support your efforts in prayer. In other words, you are being sent by nothing less than the Body of Christ. And it's hard to imagine any credentials more impressive than that."[58]

CoMission promotions reassured evangelicals that training sessions, personal interpreters, translated materials, and local Christians would compensate for whatever skills short-termers might lack. "If the prospect of living in the former Soviet Union seems intimidating now, it won't for long," one brochure vowed.[59] Most promotional materials detailed how short-termers

---

[53] Baker Cauthen, "Christian Work in Communist China," *The Commission* 14, no. 5 (May 1951), 7 and "Seventh Annual Report of the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association to the NAE Convention," 1952 EFMA Convention, Folder 10, Box 3, EFMA Collection.
[54] "Your Money, Your Prayers, YOU!" *The Commission* 14, no. 5 (May 1951), 31.
[55] "You'll Be Amazed When You Find out Who's Going to Russia to Help Change the Course of History" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1992.
[56] Ibid.
[57] "Russia is the Land of Opportunity" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1994.
[58] "You'll Be Amazed When You Find out Who's Going to Russia to Help Change the Course of History" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1992.
[59] "Now That the Russians Have the Right to Choose, Will You Help Them Choose What Is Right?" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993.

would receive their training and assured potential volunteers that they would get the "training, tools, and encouragement you need, every step of the way."[60] Many brochures explained that every short-termer would have an interpreter and that group Bible study materials would consist of dubbed videotapes. "In other words, if you can find the 'play' button on a VCR," one pamphlet explained, "you can probably find a place in the CoMission."[61] And many promotions made clear that short-termers would train and pass leadership roles to local Christians, "who will ensure that their nation moves forward on the truths of the Bible rather than the lies of Lenin and Stalin."[62] What short-termers would do to equip those local Christians would be to provide mentorship and encouragement as a "Christian friend" who would "be a source of hope, an inspiration, and a living example" of Christian devotion.[63] In these ways, CoMission advertisements insisted that any committed and willing evangelicals were eligible to join this urgent evangelism campaign across Eastern Europe and Russia.

In addition to stressing how many opportunities were available in the former Soviet Union and how little experience short-termers needed, CoMission promotions also emphasized how much the people of the former Soviet Union both wanted and needed evangelicals' help. Marketing materials for the CoMission depicted Russians and Eastern Europeans as people who desired personal relationships with American Christians and who suffered from dire spiritual poverty and thus deserved evangelicals' compassion. These two themes resonated with popular tropes in American evangelical discourse about the value of short-term missions in general.[64] Many CoMission advertisements reported how eager people in the former Soviet Union were to build friendships with and learn from US evangelicals. One brochure explained that people in Russia and Eastern Europe had not invited "the world's greatest preachers, teachers or evangelists" to teach them about God. Rather, the brochure stated, "They invited a friend. Someone they could relate to. Someone who would live with them, walk beside them and show them what it means to be a Christian….In other words, they invited you."[65] A promotional poster described evangelicals' friendship as the solution to Russians and Eastern Europeans' confusion and doubt: "They don't know who to trust, where to turn, or what to believe. But they might just believe you. If you would only go to them, live with them, and be their friend."[66] Marketing materials insisted that these new friendships with Russians and Eastern Europeans would be life-long. One brochure told potential short-termers that they would "develop deep, abiding

[60] "Suddenly, Being 'Sent to Siberia' Has Taken on a Whole New Meaning" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993.
[61] "You'll Be Amazed When You Find out Who's Going to Russia to Help Change the Course of History" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1992.
[62] "Help Shape the Destiny of a Nation" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993.
[63] "You'll Be Amazed When You Find out Who's Going to Russia to Help Change the Course of History" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1992 and "For Years, You've Prayed that God would Open the Door for You to Make a Difference in the World" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993, Box 3, CoMission Collection.
[64] See Chapter Four for a full discussion of how evangelicals cited personal relationships and feelings of compassion as evidence for the effectiveness and importance of short-term missions.
[65] "For Years, You've Prayed that God would Open the Door for You to Make a Difference in the World" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993, Box 3, CoMission Collection.
[66] "Now That the Russians Have the Right to Choose, Will You Help Them Choose What is Right?" promotional poster, n.d., ca. 1993, Box 3, CoMission Collection.

friendships with people who will remain loyal and loving as long as you live."[67] These promotions cast people in the former Soviet Union as those who eagerly anticipated evangelicals' arrival. As one pamphlet told readers, "300 million people are anxiously awaiting your reply."[68]

CoMission advertisements also portrayed the people of the former Soviet Union as those in severe spiritual poverty and therefore those who merited evangelicals' compassion. Promotions explained to evangelical readers that Russians and Eastern Europeans were people whose "only idea of Scripture is the gospel according to Marx," who "have never even held a Bible in their hands," and who "don't even know what a Christian is."[69] Marketing materials summoned evangelicals to go "be an example" and "share the living Word" with people whose spiritual state was akin to blindness; one brochure explained to readers that the people of the former Soviet Union were "like a blind man just given his sight" and were "drinking in strange sights and exotic, new ideas."[70] Many brochures also emphasized that people in Russia and Eastern Europe had long endured spiritual repression and bondage, and evangelicals had the opportunity to bring them freedom. "Communist or not, Siberia will always be a place of bondage," one brochure explained, "until the truth sets them free."[71] Two other brochures told readers that the people of the former Soviet Union "are now seeking the God they were forbidden to believe in for almost three-quarters of a century" and "are inviting you to help them undo seven decades of deep-rooted indoctrination."[72] These promotions stressed that evangelicals bore the responsibility for alleviating Russians and Eastern Europeans' dire spiritual poverty. "There are millions of eager minds and open hearts whose future depends on us," one pamphlet insisted, "not just for the rest of their lives. But for all of eternity."[73] With powerful imagery and depictions like these, CoMission promotional materials told US evangelicals that everyone in the former Soviet Union wanted and needed their help, and that every committed and willing evangelical was qualified to go as a short-termer and seize the urgent opportunities for evangelism throughout Eastern Europe and Russia. These messages played to evangelicals' expectations about short-term missions, their assumptions about the former USSR and its people, and their political views about Protestant hegemony in public life. These were the messages that

---

[67] "For Years, You've Prayed that God would Open the Door for You to Make a Difference in the World" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993, Box 3, CoMission Collection.

[68] "You'll Be Amazed When You Find out Who's Going to Russia to Help Change the Course of History" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1992.

[69] Ibid., "Join the Team of 12,000 and Help Change the Course of History" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993, and "Now That the Russians Have the Right to Choose, Will You Help Them Choose What Is Right" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993.

[70] "You'll Be Amazed When You Find out Who's Going to Russia to Help Change the Course of History" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1992 and

[71] "Suddenly, Being 'Sent to Siberia' Has Taken on a Whole New Meaning" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993. This statement references John 8:32, in which Christ told his followers that by obeying his teachings, they would know the truth, and the truth would set them free.

[72] "Help Shape the Destiny of a Nation" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993 and "If You Believe in Prayer in Public Schools, There Are 43 Million Kids Who Can't Wait to Meet You" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993, Box 3, CoMission Collection.

[73] "If You Believe in Prayer in Public Schools, There Are 43 Million Kids Who Can't Wait to Meet You" promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1993

CoMission leaders thought would best recruit American evangelicals' support and investment for this international evangelism campaign.

**Converting Former Enemies**

Almost 5,000 evangelicals responded to these promotional messages by joining short-term trips to ISP conferences or CoMission groups throughout Russia and Eastern Europe from 1992 to 1997. Several thousand short-termers traveled abroad for two weeks at a time and worked as discussion group leaders (with an interpreter) at ISP conferences, and 1500 volunteers moved to Russia and Eastern Europe for year-long stints of leading Christian classes for teachers, children, and local townspeople. During the five years of these campaigns, short-termers reported both wholehearted enthusiasm about their experiences in the former USSR and, sometimes, disappointment and frustration with the CoMission's strategy. Evangelicals who traveled to the former Soviet Union gushed about their personal growth and compassion in the same ways as did Americans who went on short-term mission trips to any destination in the late twentieth century. What was unique about CoMission short-termers' testimonies was their assertion that the most meaningful experiences involved evangelizing people whom short-termers perceived to be their former enemies and conducting evangelical activities in places which short-termers understood to be former strongholds of atheism and communism. Through those experiences, CoMission volunteers understood themselves to be contributing to the dramatic geopolitical and spiritual shifts of the post-Cold War era, especially the growing global ascendancy of American Protestantism. At the same time that they expressed this excitement, some CoMission volunteers admitted that their trips also caused them disillusionment and aggravation. Many volunteers who served one-year terms expressed frustration with the gap between the messages in the CoMission's promotional materials and the realities of executing the CoMission's strategy in local towns. Even as they were enthusiastic about their work, these short-termers argued that the CoMission leadership had sold them on one experience but had assigned them to a far more difficult one, which required more skills, resources, and patience than short-termers had expected.

CoMission volunteers asserted that their most significant experiences included evangelizing people whom they understood as not only spiritually poor but also formerly hostile to the US and to Christianity. Seeing people in the former Soviet Union express an interest in evangelical Christianity provoked strong emotional responses from CoMission volunteers. Short-termers often described how moved they were when they passed out Bibles and conducted Bible studies with people who, volunteers imagined, had long endured communist and atheist indoctrination. A mother and daughter pair who worked in St. Petersburg rejoiced that they had been able to "watch teachers for the first time hold the Word of God, for the first time hear that there is a God who loves and cares about them. It has been heart-touching to see the excitement as they discover the truth—the truth that is setting them free!"[74] Another short-termer similarly recalled from her weeks at several convocations across Russia that "it is a thrill to help them open a Bible for the first time, to watch their eyes as they soak in the scriptures."[75] One

[74] "Ministry Testimonials from Staff," March 1993, Box 3, CoMission Collection.
[75] Donna Bahler, "One Day Our Children Will Thank Us," *Worldwide Challenge* 20, no. 1 (Jan/Feb 1993), 17.

CoMission volunteer celebrated that while "Communist regimes taught that the Bible is foolishness," the Russian teachers who attended his weekly class seemed "thrilled to be examining the Bible for themselves, discovering its validity and truthfulness."[76] Another volunteer expressed similar delight that she and her fellow short-termers had been able to host a class for older Russians in one town: "We thought the Lord had given us the honor of working with individuals who were in the heart of the communist period, people who had little opportunity to learn or study about Him. We thought God was reaching out to them in their final years, giving them an opportunity to accept Him."[77]

Short-termers with the CoMission also highlighted specific moments when they most realized that they were evangelizing those who just a few years prior had been their enemies. One volunteer who was a US veteran worked with a translator whose father was a former Soviet army officer, and during one evening the volunteer met that father at a local dinner party. The volunteer later recalled that "it was a very emotional time for me to sit with my former enemy and to enjoy each other."[78] Another US army veteran had an interpreter who was a Soviet military veteran, and the US veteran's fellow CoMission volunteer noted her surprise that though the US veteran "knew Soviets as the enemy" and the Russian veteran "was trained to fight and hate Americans," the two men in 1993 traveled to schools together "to tell Russians about the love of Jesus."[79] One short-termer referenced this history of enmity to teach forgiveness to his convocation group. When some of his group members questioned whether forgiveness was possible, he told them that he had travelled to Ukraine to work "with people whom I had grown up all my life fearing and had 'fought against' (as a nation). But God had worked in my heart, brought me to this Convocation to meet and to begin to know and love these wonderful people." The short-termer recalled that when he shared his story, "there were many eyes with tears in them, including my own and other men in my group."[80] Another CoMission volunteer expressed her surprise that she had traveled halfway around the world to work with former Soviets. "If you'd told me a year ago that I'd be teaching the Bible to a group of atheistic former Communists," she confessed, "I'd have laughed in your face. Yet this is the opportunity God is opening to us!"[81]

CoMission short-termers celebrated the moments when they found themselves worshipping God or evangelizing others in spaces that they understood as longstanding strongholds of atheism and communism. Two volunteers at a convocation in Magadan, Russia registered their shock and joy when they were able to sing Christian hymns inside the local Hall of Indoctrination of the Communist Party. One reflected, "I was excited to see that this possession of the 'Evil Empire' was being used to the glory of God. To think that 55 American Christians were standing on the stage in the main hall…and singing 'Amazing Grace' is mind boggling. Praise God for his mighty power." The other volunteer recalled that singing Amazing Grace in the great hall with "an audience that for years has been unreachable" was a "gripping

[76] "Ministry Testimonials from Staff," March 1993.
[77] "Ordinary People Reach Those Who Haven't Heard," *One to One: A Ministry Report from the Navigators* 20 (Winter 1996), 5.
[78] "Khabarovsk Stories," n.d., ca. 1992, Box 2540, Jesus Film Collection.
[79] April Jurgensen, "CoMission – Vladimir: Year-End Report," 1993, Box 1470, International Ministries Collection.
[80] "Minsk-Novgorod Convocation Comments," March 1992, Box 2507, Jesus Film Collection.
[81] "Ministry Testimonials from Staff," March 1993.

and emotionally rewarding experience."[82] One short-termer indicated his amusement that the CoMission training in Moscow took place at a conference center "in which people from all over the world had been trained in communist doctrine." He explained the delight he experienced when he watched evangelical speakers in the main hall: "On the front wall was a huge painting centered on Lenin raising his arm to the listening throng. Surrounding Lenin were paintings of numerous symbols of Communism, the worker's revolution, etc. It was thrilling to see our speakers, with Bibles in hand, unconsciously assuming Lenin's pose as they brought forth the Word in this previously atheistic setting."[83] Another volunteer shared his emotional response when he recognized that he was working at a convocation on the grounds of a former Soviet pioneer camp. As he walked through the camp for the first time, he reflected that "this had been the place, one of the places, where thousands of kids were indoctrinated into communism," and he realized that "we would be sharing the gospel with some of their teachers" in that very same location. In response to his realization, he fell to his knees along the shore of the Black Sea and began weeping; he recalled that he felt overwhelmed by "the sense that I was in the middle of something God was doing" and "the sense that God had something very special for me."[84] In these ways, CoMission short-termers argued that their most meaningful experiences occurred when they sensed a contrast between their American Christianity and the formerly atheist and communist spaces and people around them. And with their descriptions of these experiences, CoMission volunteers depicted themselves as a part of dramatic post-Cold War shifts through which American Protestantism was spreading and gaining global influence over formerly communist or atheist countries and individuals.

Even as CoMission short-termers raved about their experiences in the former USSR, some volunteers also confessed that the CoMission's strategy disappointed and frustrated them. Short-termers who served on year-long trips insisted that logistical problems and administrative red tape hampered volunteers' efforts to implement the CoMission strategy in local schools. Since the CoMission expanded so rapidly and urgently across Russia and Eastern Europe, there was little time to work out glitches and difficulties in individual towns before short-termers arrived. Volunteers objected that they did not have the resources or supplies they needed for living or working in their assigned communities. Many CoMission teams had trouble finding housing, and the housing they did acquire was often more "rigorous" than short-termers had expected. Domestic appliances promised by the CoMission, like washing machines, sometimes never arrived. One team that worked near Chernobyl expressed frustration that they could not acquire the water purifiers (to filter out radioactive particles) that CoMission offices had guaranteed them.[85] Similarly, materials for schools and community classes sometimes did not arrive on time or at all. A team in Bulgaria reported that there were no translated materials available, and another in Kiev, Ukraine received materials in the wrong language.[86] Even teams that did obtain their materials on time often had problems utilizing those resources because they

[82] "Magadan Stories," n.d., ca. 1992 Box 2540, Jesus Film Collection.
[83] Howard Getz, *The CoMission: One View* (self-pub., 2002), 24.
[84] Rex Johnson, "Convocation Stories," n.d., ca. 1994, Audio Tape, Box 2540, Jesus Film Project. The pioneer camp was camp Orlyonok, which was located on the shore of the Black Sea.
[85] Vance Nichols, "A CoMission Evaluative Field Report from Ukraine," July 1, 1994, Box 2495, Jesus Film Collection.
[86] Ibid. and Russ Teubner, "Kiev 6 Week Conference, October 5-9, 1993," Box 2124, Jesus Film Collection.

had not read or watched the materials prior to their arrival. One team in Odessa, Ukraine recounted how difficult it was to meet with local teachers and school administrators to promote a curriculum that short-termers had not read and a film (the JESUS film) that they had not yet watched.[87] Volunteers explained that these problems cost them vital time; many short-termers spent long hours dealing with logistical hurdles or administrative headaches instead of devoting that time to evangelism in local schools and the community.

Related to these concerns, some short-termers argued that the CoMission's advertisements exaggerated how easy it would be to live in the former USSR and how straightforward the CoMission's strategy would be. The language barrier was a key complaint. Though interpreters worked with short-termers during meetings with teachers and adults in the community, volunteers were on their own for shopping and navigating their neighborhoods. Many short-termers admitted that they did not know enough of the local language to "buy food and get back to their flat." A CoMission team in Ukraine reflected that many volunteers "had understood from the start that 'language would not be a problem.' Their view now is that the language IS a problem."[88] Volunteers also observed that they needed many administrative skills to implement the CoMission's strategy; short-termers poked fun at the promotional materials' promise that over half of the work would involve hugging children and playing a VCR.[89] A team in Bulgaria insisted that while "recruitment and screening were done on the premise that anyone can do it," not just anyone "can walk into a Bulgarian school and expect to have credibility."[90] Several teams in Russia suggested that recruitment materials needed to be more realistic and should emphasize that "all of your time will not be spent in evangelism and discipleship. A considerable amount of time is spent on logistics."[91] These logistical challenges meant that CoMission teams worked at a slower pace, and thus were not able to execute the CoMission's strategy of establishing 100 Bible studies per year in each town. One US visitor who interviewed CoMission teams near Rovno, Russia explained to CoMission leaders that the goal of establishing 100 Bible studies in one year was "unattainable." "Quite frankly," the interviewer commented, "you might as well tell each CoMission team to 'jump over the moon.' The likelihood of the team accomplishing either is about the same."[92] So short-termers who worked with the CoMission articulated their concerns about the feasibility of the CoMission's master strategy, even as they expressed their excitement about living and working in the former USSR and seeing American Protestantism flourish within formerly communist and atheist spaces and communities.

---

[87] Teubner, "Kiev 6 Week Conference, October 5-9, 1993."
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid. The interviewer of the Odessa, Ukraine and Sophia, Bulgaria teams observed that the quote "If you can hug a child and push the play button on a VCR, you're halfway there" was "a source of great amusement among many CoMissioners."
[90] Ibid.
[91] King Crow, "Summary of Recommendations and Observations from Trip to Russia," June 1993, Box 2495, Jesus Film Collection.
[92] Bill Marty to Stacy Rinehart, May 30, 1994, Box 1181, Various Ministries, Projects, Events Collection, Cru Archives, Cru International Headquarters, Orlando, Florida (hereafter Various MPE Collection).

**Challenging the Campaign**

As the CoMission executed this master strategy by pouring millions of dollars and thousands of workers into the former Soviet Union, criticisms of this mission project and its methods emerged from both local church leaders and also from US missionaries working in these regions. These critiques resonated with the criticisms that Global South church leaders had been leveling for decades against Western and American hegemony in mission methods and epistemologies. Critics of the CoMission most decried two key issues – the CoMission's centrally controlled master planning and the lack of contextualization in the CoMission's materials and methods. Those who most called attention to these issues were leaders from the Russian Orthodox Church, from other US mission organizations, and even from CoMission member organizations.

The CoMission faced criticisms from Orthodox leaders in many countries, but the greatest opposition came from leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church, who sought to secure their own hegemony across Russia and therefore criticized the CoMission as an imposition of American Protestantism.[93] This criticism related to the concept of contextualization; many Russian Orthodox leaders argued that the CoMission taught Russians about Americanized Christianity and did not offer any connections to Russian history, culture, or theology. While key Russian Orthodox leaders had endorsed the International School Project's curriculum, and while many priests had attended local convocations and issued favorable reports about ISP's activities, many other local priests and top church leaders opposed the CoMission and sought to undermine its standing with the Russian government and Ministry of Education. Opposition on the local level came through criticisms in local newspapers and outright rejections of ISP and CoMission materials. In Krasnodar, a town in southwestern Russia near the Black Sea, the regional archbishop declared in a local newspaper that he considered it his duty "to warn our teachers, school administrators, and leaders of educational departments against relationships with Protestants, and especially this program. It will have bad consequences for every person, and for the future of our children and state." The archbishop insisted that "it is very easy to understand that all of this program is very Protestant," and that the result of CoMission and ISP programs in schools would be the "destruction of young Orthodox plants."[94] And in Rybinsk, a city in northwestern Russia, 540 local townspeople published an open letter to their local bishop, asking him to intervene and stop the CoMission: "We ask you to shield us from their penetrating in our culture, our history, and our lives."[95]

In the Komi Republic in northern Russia, the regional bishop rejected a delivery of CoMission books and films because, he asserted, they were harmful to local schoolchildren. The Ministry of Education in the Komi Republic had given the local diocese the power to determine what materials schools could and could not use, so the bishop had full authority to refuse the CoMission's materials for that region. The bishop also sent the CoMission his detailed

---

[93] For a discussion of the opposition ISP and the CoMission faced in Bulgaria, Albania, and Ukraine, see Glanzer, "A Critical Analysis of the CoMission," 294-306. In Bulgaria, for example, one CoMission team discovered that the Orthodox Church had sponsored local television commercials that told parents that "Protestantism will cause your children to commit suicide." See Teubner, "Kiev 6 Week Conference, October 5-9, 1993."

[94] "Sovereign Warns Teachers," *Krasnodar Isvestia*, May 22, 1994.

[95] "An Open Letter," *Rybinsk Isvestia*, May 20, 1994.

assessment of the materials; in this evaluation, he spelled out his main criticisms of the CoMission's lack of contextualization and, he argued, resulting irreverence. The bishop insisted that the CoMission's Christian ethics and morality curriculum lacked contextualization because it taught children about America rather than Russia. "The curriculum is full of stories about pious Americans," he stated, "but any Russian student would be much more interested to know about the life of the Russian heroes and saints….since Russian children do not really need American patriotism." He also opposed the particular version of the Bible that the CoMission utilized. The CoMission used a version of the Bible that had been translated into Russian via English, and the bishop condemned this version as the "awkward imitation of the Western translations." Rather than an indirect and "rough American" translation of the Bible, he declared, Russians needed "the poetical, exalted, and refined style of the Greek Slavic (or Canonic) translation of the Scriptures," which was the translation utilized by the Russian Orthodox Church.[96]

Because the CoMission's materials lacked contextualization, the bishop of the Komi Republic insisted, those books and films were irreverent by Russian Orthodox standards. He took aim at the curriculum's songs, which he equated to Russian bar songs (*chastooshkas*) and stated that "for the christened people it is a blasphemy" to sing such limericks. One song he particularly condemned as irreverent was a set of verses that compared prayer to using a stoplight and looking for "green," "yellow," or "red" responses from God. Commenting on this song, the bishop scoffed that "God Almighty, the Creator of the world, who in the person of His Son and Word voluntarily suffered for all mankind, deserves more, let's say, exalted hymns." The bishop also denigrated the JESUS Film by calling it "the Gospel of Hollywood" and denying that a dubbed American movie could be an effective tool for enriching the spiritual lives of Russians. He contrasted the film with older icon paintings in Russia and asserted that while imagery rooted in Russian history and culture could be tools for God's grace, the "noisy multicolored Hollywood, this Babylon of cinematography, with all its daydreams is not worthy of just one touch of the Holy Spirit."[97] Through criticisms like these, different Russian Orthodox leaders in regions throughout Russia challenged the CoMission's presence, materials, and methods.

In addition to issuing local criticisms and challenges, leaders from the Russian Orthodox Church also opposed the CoMission at a national level by lobbying for legal restrictions and seeking to end the CoMission's formal relationship with the Russian Ministry of Education. In 1993 the Russian Orthodox patriarch and the director of the Russian Orthodox department of religious education heard concerns from Russian Orthodox officials in the US that the CoMission was seeking to strengthen the Protestant church in Russia. As a result, the patriarch and other leaders lobbied the Russian Parliament and President Boris Yeltsin to amend Russia's 1990 religious freedom law to restrict the actions of foreign religious organizations. Those new restrictions almost passed during the constitutional crisis in the fall of 1993, when temporary acting President Alexander Rutskoy signed the restrictions into law, but then Yeltsin's forces recaptured the Russian White House, thereby nullifying all laws that Rutskoy had signed. In 1995, the archbishop of Nizhny Novgorod reported to the Ministry of Education that a CoMission team had been teaching the Christian ethics and morality curriculum during school hours, instead of during voluntary after-school sessions. That action violated the CoMission's

[96] Kostya to Esther Cowan, October 3, 1998, Box 2540, Jesus Film Collection.
[97] Ibid.

Protocol of Intention, and as a result the minister of education revoked the protocol, thereby officially terminating the formal relationship between the CoMission and the Ministry of Education over two years ahead of schedule.[98] While the premature end of this formal relationship limited the CoMission and ISP, CoMission leaders reassured US evangelical supporters and short-termers that the mission project could still continue; CoMission teams and ISP convocations simply would negotiate with regional ministries of education and local school districts in Russia, instead of working through the national Ministry of Education.[99] And at the local level, CoMission teams continued to reach out to Russian Orthodox leaders and attempted to secure their support for ISP convocations and CoMission outreach efforts. But the Russian Orthodox Church's opposition had hampered the CoMission's strategy to an extent. Both nationally and locally, Russian Orthodox leaders had leveled criticisms against the CoMission's methods, by calling them impositions of American Protestantism that ignored and threatened Russian culture and history, and effectively had undermined the CoMission's biggest guarantee of access to towns and regions across Russia.

As the CoMission encountered criticisms and opposition from national church leaders like those from the Russian Orthodox Church, the project also received critiques from directors of other US mission organizations, who questioned the CoMission's centralized planning and its lack of contextualization. Paul McKaughan, the EFMA's director in the early 1990s, expressed his concern that in the hurry to enter the former Soviet Union, many mission organizations, including those involved in the CoMission, were bypassing the existing Protestant communities in those regions. "What concerns me is the way everybody's rushing in," he told a gathering of US mission directors, "and I sense as I talk with people that a lot of times there's not much of a connection with the church that's been there surviving and growing in the midst of persecution, over all these years."[100] McKaughan worried that instead of partnering with and giving power to existing churches – key steps that Global South church leaders had been demanding from US missionaries since the 1970s – US mission organizations in their urgency were launching programs in the former USSR unilaterally. Though Russia and Eastern Europe were not part of the Global South, US mission organizations in those regions were enacting power dynamics similar to the ones that Global South church leaders had accused missionaries of perpetuating for so long in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Howard Brant, one of the directors of Sudan Interior Mission (SIM), expressed similar worries about the consequences of the CoMission's spirit of urgency. Brant wrote to CoMission leaders in late 1991 to warn them that a lack of contextualization in the Christian ethics and morality curriculum would make the materials seem foreign and even off-putting to audiences in Russia and Eastern Europe. He pressed the CoMission leaders with questions about the

---

[98] Perry Glanzer, *The Quest for Russia's Soul: Evangelicals and Moral Education in Post-Communist Russia* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2002), 166-69, 175-77.

[99] See "ISP Prayer Alert," February 3, 1995, Box 1502, International Ministries Collection and Bruce Wilkinson, "Memorandum to CoMission Community on February 11, 1995," in Getz, *The CoMission: One View*, 185-86. For coverage of the protocol's revocation by the US evangelical press, see Kim Lawton, "CoMission Agreement Cancelled," *Christianity Today*, April 24, 1995, 52.

[100] Paul McKaughan, "Change in Missions," Missions Executives Retreat, September 20, 1990, Tape 245, EFMA Collection. For a similar warning to US missions leaders by an evangelical missiologist, see Walter Sawatsky, "After the Glasnost Revolution: Soviet Evangelicals and Western Missions," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 16, no.2 (April 1992): 54-60.

curriculum's development: "Was there any Russian participation in setting up this curriculum? Did anyone realize how Christians in Russia teach ethics to their children – or how the Russian evangelicals teach morals and ethics in their churches? How was it determined that the items for teaching were the most important in a Russian setting?" Brant suggested that the CoMission should "pay the price of getting it right up front" by taking the time to indigenize (involve Russian writers) and contextualize (adapt the materials for a Russian context) the curriculum before distributing it widely across Russia and Eastern Europe. He warned that if the CoMission did not make those curriculum changes, "you may wind up inoculating them [Russians and Eastern Europeans] against Biblical morals and ethics training. That would be a disaster."[101] When CoMission directors circulated Brant's letter to one another, they noted that hopefully future revisions of the curriculum would incorporate his suggestions about contextualization.[102] But the second edition of the curriculum, released in 1995, utilized the same teams of US authors and offered an expanded but not significantly altered version of the original lessons.[103] Both Brant and McKaughan, as fellow US missions leaders, cautioned CoMission directors that a sense of urgency could lead to unreflective activism that would limit the CoMission's effectiveness and alienate both potential converts and existing Protestants in Russia and Eastern Europe.

Some CoMission member organizations also dealt with criticisms from within their own ranks. The Navigators, one of the main CoMission sending organizations and the agency responsible for training all CoMission volunteers, faced several internal groups of critics and tried to alter some policies and methods as a result. Navigator missionaries in Eastern Europe and Russia and the Navigators' International Leadership Team offered the strongest critiques of the Navigators' involvement in the CoMission. These groups had major reservations about whether participating in the CoMission was compatible with the Navigators' decades-long process of internationalization, decentralization, and contextualization within their organization. Navigator career missionaries who had been working in parts of Eastern Europe and Russia since the 1970s were skeptical about the CoMission's large scale and frantic pace. The Navigators' director for Eastern European missions lamented that although national Christians and some "low-profile" missionaries were contextualizing evangelism and spiritual teachings to local cultures and situations, those small efforts "get snuffed out by the sheer momentum and resources of the current western missionary movement" with its "uncritical transmission of western theological concerns and formulations into non-western cultural situations."[104] Navigator missionaries in the former Soviet Union viewed the CoMission as a distraction from the more localized and long-term work that the Navigators' had prioritized by transforming into a more decentralized organization (a "Global Society") in the 1980s.[105]

---

[101] Howard Brant to David Hartz, December 31, 1991, Box 2124, Jesus Film Collection.
[102] See for example David Hartz to Blair Cook, Vernie Schorr, Alan Scholes, Bob Bradberry, and Jerry Franks, February 21, 1992, Box 2124, Jesus Film Collection and Bob Bradberry to Paul Eshleman, n.d., Box 2124, Jesus Film Collection.
[103] See Schorr, ed., *Foundations of Christian Ethics, Part I: Building Character* and Eshleman and Mackey, eds., *Foundations of Christian Ethics, Part II: The Moral Person: An Asset to Society*.
[104] Al Bussard, "Tension in Mission: The Dilemma of Western Energy" (paper presented, Regent College, Vancouver, British Colombia, March 5, 1990).
[105] Donald McGilchrist, "The CoMission: History Project Text," n.d., ca. 2014, Donald McGilchrist Personal Papers, The Navigators Headquarters, Colorado Springs, Colorado (hereafter McGilchrist Papers). See Chapter

The Navigators' International Leadership Team expressed similar reservations about the CoMission's divergence from the Navigators' ostensible goals of decentralization and internationalization. International Team directors worried that the CoMission violated these goals because CoMission volunteers and programs would receive no supervision by existing Navigator staff in Eastern Europe and Russia. According to the policies of the Navigators' Global Society, Navigator staff (many of whom were national Christians) in each country and region should have had ultimate responsibility and oversight of all work by visiting Navigator missionaries and volunteers from other countries. By contrast, the Navigators' US leadership team, the group that committed the Navigators to the CoMission, insisted that these new short-termers would not flout existing policies because the short-termers technically would work under the CoMission rather than under the Navigators organization. In response to this disagreement, the Navigators made two long-term internal changes. The board of directors began requiring board approval for any new project in which the Navigators would be under another organization; obtaining board approval ostensibly would slow down the process and create time for deliberation with Navigator staff in different countries and regions. And the US leadership team acknowledged that it had to coordinate with regional and national leaders within the Navigators organization, and could no longer work unilaterally in global missions.[106] These changes recognized that the Navigators' partnership with the CoMission challenged the Navigators' priorities of internationalization and contextualization, and tried to prevent similarly autonomous commitments to global mission projects by the US Navigator directors in the future.

As the Navigators made some internal changes in response to criticisms of the CoMission, the organization also tried to alter some of CoMission's methods by incorporating contextualization into short-termers' training. Since the Navigators led the orientation for all CoMission volunteers, the Navigator members of the CoMission Training and Materials Committee tried to include more contextualization in the training materials that short-termers used.[107] The committee conducted a quantitative survey in St. Petersburg in 1992 and a larger qualitative survey across Russia and Ukraine in 1994, and compiled the results into a training pamphlet called "The Russian Soul."[108] Through this document, the committee sought to give CoMission volunteers an understanding of Russians as a "people group," meaning a distinct ethno-linguistic group that missionaries should categorize and understand so as to better evangelize.[109] The committee argued that short-termers most needed information about Russian history, worldview, psychology, "feelings orientation," cultural notions of pride and respect, and

---

Three for a discussion of how the Navigators changed from a centralized US agency to a more decentralized and internationalized organization in the 1970s-1990s.

[106] McGilchrist, "The CoMission: History Project Text," n.d., ca. 2014.

[107] Navigator staff members constituted 15 of the 34 members of the Training and Materials Committee, and the Navigators' US president chaired the committee. See Johnson, ed., *The CoMission*, 288-89.

[108] The 1992 survey interviewed 254 respondents, and the 1994 survey interviewed over 460 people. The Training and Materials Committee designed the surveys with two purposes: to provide CoMission leaders with insights about how to develop "godly leaders" among local people in Russia and Eastern Europe, and to equip CoMission volunteers to relate to the local people they would encounter on their short-term trip. See "Russian / Ukrainian Survey," Fall 1994, Box 3, CoMission Collection and Ralph Ennis, Jennifer Ennis, and Paula Rinehart, "An Introduction to the Russian Soul," 1995, Box 3, CoMission Collection.

[109] See Chapter Three for a discussion of the development and use of the "people group" concept by missionaries and missiologists in the 1970s and 1980s.

methods of finding significance and security. These elements, the committee contended, would give short-termers a sense of Russians' "desired identity" and a "gateway" to their spirituality.[110] And the committee admitted that this contextualization was a partial corrective for the overwhelmingly American materials that the CoMission had been utilizing due to time constraints. "In order to go through the open door presented us," the committee explained, "we had to use mostly Western materials which had not been re-written for a Russian audience," and so "there was little attempt to contextualize the CoMission at the beginning."[111] Thus these Navigator leaders joined other US missionary directors and national church leaders in pointing out and contesting the CoMission's lack of contextualization and its centralized urgent strategy. Those two issues, critics argued, exposed the ways that the CoMission furthered Western and American hegemony in global missions.

While the CoMission as a formal project lasted for only five years, the International Schools Project and the models of missions that ISP and the CoMission utilized had a long afterlife. The CoMission as an organization formally dissolved in 1997, and several of its member organizations sent CoMission-like teams to the former USSR until the summer of 1999, so the full life of the CoMission's campaign covered almost the entire final decade of the twentieth century.[112] In 1997, Russia adopted major new religious liberty legislation, heavily supported by the Russian Orthodox Church, which considerably limited the activities of foreign religious groups; most significantly, the new law required all groups to be founded by Russian citizens and to be registered with the government for fifteen years before distributing any literature and materials or holding public services.[113] So while many CoMission member organizations recruited career missionaries to work in the cities where CoMission teams had served, those organizations also turned over most of their work to local Christians, both to internationalize that work and to comply with new legal restrictions.[114]

The International Schools Project spread from Russia and Eastern Europe to other countries across Latin America, Africa, and Asia, and the model of using public schools as entry points for mission work became a popular strategy for other global mission campaigns. ISP began holding convocations for public schoolteachers outside of Russia and Eastern Europe even as ISP and the CoMission were still working in the former USSR. In 1993, ISP held convocations in Venezuela, and in 1994 the group hosted conferences for teachers in Malawi.[115] While the CoMission disbanded in 1997, the International Schools Project continued and

---

[110] "The CoMission Training and Materials Committee Ministry Plans," May 1, 1995, Box 3, CoMission Collection.
[111] Ibid.
[112] There were ten cycles of CoMission teams – two per year from 1992-1997. Each cycle was one year in length. When the CoMission Executive Committee disbanded in 1997, several member organizations ran two more cycles of teams in 1998 and 1999. The final teams left Russia in June 1999. See Getz, *The CoMission*, 179-80.
[113] For full text of the 1997 law, see "Federal Law No. 125-FZ of September 26, 1997 on the Freedom of Conscience and Religious Associations," Legislation Online, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, accessed May 11, 2018, http://legislationline.org/download/action/download/id/4379/file/RF_Freedom_of_Conscience_Law_1997_am2008_en.pdf.
[114] Getz, *The CoMission*, 180.
[115] See "Rolando Justiniano to Paul Eshleman," January 7, 1994, Box 2124, Jesus Film Collection; Vernie Schorr, "Report on the Venezuelan Teacher Training," September 23, 1993, Box 2124, Jesus Film Collection; "Malawi Schools Project Report," n.d., ca. 1994, Box 2122, Jesus Film Project.

expanded its work. Since the late 1990s, ISP has sent teams of short-termers to train over 50,000 teachers in 24 different countries across Eastern Europe, Asia, and Latin America.[116] ISP and the CoMission's model of producing curriculum and classes for public schools also continued through other mission projects. Most notably, as the following chapter will detail, this strategy became an effective method for launching Bible-based abstinence education classes in public schools in over seventy countries across Africa, Asia, and Latin America in the wake of the global AIDS epidemic.

So though only a five-year project, the CoMission vividly illuminates how American evangelicals expressed their desire for urgent global evangelization and grappled with opposition to their unreflective activism and hegemonic mission campaigns in the 1990s. While an emphasis on seizing windows of opportunity had long been central to evangelical missions discourse, in the 1990s that rhetoric intensified with the fall of the Soviet Union and the opening of vast new mission fields. US mission organizations created a coalition of over eighty groups that together recruited evangelicals by telling them that God had opened the opportunity for evangelism through public schools in Russia and Eastern Europe, that any committed and willing evangelical was qualified to become a short-termer in this vital project, and that the people of the former Soviet Union both wanted and needed evangelicals' help. These messages appealed to American evangelicals' enthusiasm for short-term missions, their assumptions about the former USSR, and their conservative political commitments to Protestant hegemony in the US public square. Evangelicals who became short-termers and traveled to Russia and Eastern Europe raved about their experiences evangelizing those whom short-termers understood as former enemies and conducting evangelical practices in spaces that short-termers saw as former strongholds of atheism and communism. As this enormous campaign unfolded, national church leaders and US mission leaders challenged the CoMission's methods, by arguing that the project was too centrally controlled and lacked contextualization for the different communities across Russia and Eastern Europe. These criticisms effected a few changes in the CoMission's materials and methods, but the scale and breakneck pace of the campaign limited its ability to incorporate extensive modifications. More broadly, these criticisms pointed to the ways that even after decades of confrontation and demands for change by Global South church leaders in the 1970s and 1980s, in both a postcolonial era and a post-Cold War era American mission organizations were still launching large-scale global projects that rushed to save the world while also replicating the structures and epistemologies of Western hegemony within that world.

[116] The countries are Albania, Armenia, Belarus, Bulgaria, Estonia, Grenada, Guatemala, Honduras, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Mongolia, Romania, Russia, Taiwan, Ukraine, and multiple undisclosed countries in the Middle East. See "About ISP," International Schools Project, accessed April 2, 2018, http://www.isponline.org/about/.

Chapter Six

# Missionary Positions: How American Evangelicals Learned to Love Global AIDS Relief

[1980s – 2000s]

In the late 1980s, missionaries got AIDS. Blood transfusions from unscreened blood supplies in western and southern Africa exposed several missionaries to HIV, and the news of their condition touched off not only a health crisis for mission organizations but also a public relations emergency. These cases brought missionaries face to face with the discourses about sex and sexuality that evangelicals had weaponized during the AIDS crisis in the United States. According to those discursive frameworks, anyone on the mission field who contracted AIDS proved that he or she had fallen from the most exalted Christian role of a missionary to the most debased position of an abominable sexual sinner. And by extension, any organization that employed a missionary-cum-AIDS-victim deserved to have its moral standing called into question as well. Those assumptions led to tangible consequences; several mission organizations took financial hits after news of missionaries with AIDS caused US donors to pull funding from those organizations.[1] So the threat of financial collapse forced many mission organizations to confront the moral discourses that evangelicals had promulgated about AIDS in the US, at the same time that these organizations were trying to design responses to the epidemic around the world. In the 1980s and 1990s, missionaries rushed to develop strategies that would change both the public health outcomes on the field and the public opinion outcomes in the US.

Richard Crespo was one of the missionaries leading this two-prong response to the global AIDS epidemic. An assistant director for a medical missions organization, Medical Assistance Programs International (MAP International), Crespo spent the late 1980s teaching missionaries from many different organizations about their duty to address AIDS on the mission field and to reeducate US evangelicals about AIDS, in order to raise evangelical support for AIDS relief and prevention programs around the world. At a 1989 EFMA gathering with his fellow missionary leaders, Crespo made the urgency of these tasks and their challenges clear. He told missionaries that "we who work overseas" have a "responsibility to respond" to the AIDS epidemic because the disease was rapidly spreading and threatening millions of people whom missionaries had hoped to evangelize across the world. But dealing with AIDS on the mission field was "complicated," Crespo admitted, because of "the social stigma and the fact that it's not understood well, especially because in the North America context AIDS and homosexuality are often regarded as synonymous terms, when they're not." He acknowledged that for many missionaries and US evangelicals, the issue of AIDS "strikes at the core of our being, because naturally we have an abhorrence to homosexual activity, I suspect personally as well as theologically," but he urged missionaries to overcome those aversions with education, especially regarding the high rates of heterosexual transmission around the world. In light of such high global rates of heterosexual transmission, Crespo concluded, missionaries should design sex education programs that would teach especially young people that "HIV is imminently

[1] Richard Crespo, "Developing Organizational Policies Regarding AIDS," March 9, 1989, EFMA Annual Convention, Audio Tape 219, Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies Collection, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, IL (hereafter EFMA Collection).

preventable" if individuals will resist "pressures to violate what we believe are moral principles" of sexual abstinence before monogamous heterosexual marriage.[2] In these ways, Crespo taught his fellow missionaries that it was their obligation to educate themselves and their US supporters about the global AIDS epidemic, and it was their duty to combat the epidemic on the mission field with education programs about sexual morality.

When the AIDS epidemic began in the 1980s, US evangelicals were some of the most implacable foes of AIDS victims domestically, but by the early 2000s evangelicals had become the face of AIDS relief internationally. This dramatic shift was possible because missionaries like Crespo reshaped American evangelicals' understanding of AIDS in the 1990s. Missionaries made AIDS a meaningful and even appealing issue for US evangelicals, by stressing how the epidemic afflicted heterosexual families across the world and how the health crisis created a new urgency to evangelize millions of people who had little time left on earth. According to missionaries, the AIDS crisis was not primarily about God's condemnation for sexual sin but rather was about the suffering of black and brown families overseas that US Christians could relieve. Missionaries also did not challenge evangelicals' conservative discourses about sex and sexuality, but rather reinforced them by incorporating the main ideas of the US purity movement into new abstinence-only sex education programs, which missionaries taught as AIDS prevention lessons around the world in the 1990s and 2000s. Missionaries thus uncoupled the AIDS crisis from domestic fights about LGBT civil and human rights and shifted the evangelical discussion about AIDS into the register of global missions. Those changes enabled American evangelicals to move from ignoring or condemning domestic AIDS victims to underwriting and advocating for international AIDS relief and prevention through mission work.

During the 1980s, most American evangelicals responded to the growing AIDS crisis with dismissal, disdain, or disinterest. Prominent evangelical leaders blamed gay men for the AIDS crisis and condemned people with AIDS as sinners who were receiving the God-given punishment that they deserved. Jerry Falwell, evangelical pastor and founder of the Moral Majority, proclaimed that gay men and US society were facing divine judgement via AIDS: "AIDS is not just God's punishment for homosexuals. It is God's punishment for the society that tolerates homosexuals."[3] Pat Robertson, Southern Baptist pastor and president of the Christian Broadcasting Network, declared during his campaign for the Republican presidential nomination that research on AIDS was unnecessary because if gay men simply stopped their "aberrant lifestyle," then "there wouldn't be any more AIDS epidemic."[4] Even self-described liberal evangelicals cast AIDS as divine judgement against homosexuality. Ron Sider, founder of the social justice organization Evangelicals for Social Action, asserted that "if the Bible teaches that homosexual practice is wrong, as I think it does, then it is right to suppose that violating God's law in this area will have negative consequences."[5] Messages like these relied upon several

---

[2] Ibid.

[3] Quoted in Hans Johnson and William Eskridge, "The Legacy of Falwell's Bully Pulpit," *Washington Post*, May 19, 2007. See also Susan Harding's analysis of a 1986 sermon in which Falwell made similar pronouncements about AIDS: Susan Harding, *The Book of Jerry Falwell: Fundamentalist Language and Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 160-62.

[4] Robertson made these comments during a 1987 press conference in Florida during his campaign. See William Gibson, "Robertson: Stop AIDS by Altering 'Aberrant' Habits," *South Florida Sun-Sentinel*, October 22, 1987.

[5] Ron Sider, "AIDS: An Evangelical Perspective," *Christian Century* (January 6-13, 1988), 11.

longstanding streams of political and theological discourse, such as Christian jeremiads (political sermons) against moral depravity in a society, political rhetoric that cast homosexuality as a menace and a disease, and hermeneutical techniques that linked biblical denunciations of Sodom to twentieth-century understandings of homosexuality.[6] While evangelicals did not invent those discourses in the late twentieth century, they harnessed them to describe AIDS as the wrath of God and to label people with AIDS as depraved sinners who deserved their fate.

Leading evangelical organizations joined their mainline Protestant and Catholic counterparts in issuing formal calls for compassion for people with HIV/AIDS in the late 1980s, but most evangelical churchgoers persisted in their indifference towards the AIDS crisis. Groups like the National Association for Evangelicals and the Southern Baptist Convention encouraged local churches to minister to AIDS patients "with Christian compassion." At the same time, the NAE and SBC used the bulk of their official statements to warn against conferring "special 'civil rights'" on people with AIDS and to insist that HIV/AIDS was a moral problem with a solution provided by "biblical standards of decency and morality."[7] Evangelical leaders also admitted to their congregations that the most common response to the AIDS epidemic was apathy. The Women's Missionary Union confessed to its Southern Baptist readers in the early 1990s that "some Christians just don't seem to care" about the AIDS crisis, and reassured readers that feelings of fear or repulsion towards people with AIDS were normal as well.[8] And one of Campus Crusade's AIDS ministry directors acknowledged US evangelicals' apathy towards AIDS by describing the 1980s and 1990s as a period with "two plagues: HIV/AIDS and indifference."[9] While evangelicals were not the only people responding to the AIDS crisis with apathy or condemnation, evangelicals and their leaders gave moral authority to the opposition and indifference towards people with HIV/AIDS in the 1980s and 1990s.

---

[6] For studies of the jeremiad in US Christianity, see for example Sacvan Bercovich, *American Jeremiad* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987); Thomas Long, *AIDS and American Apocalypticism: The Cultural Semiotics of an Epidemic* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 63-106; and Harding, *The Book of Jerry Falwell,* 153-81. For studies of anti-gay rhetoric, see for example David Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); and Douglas Charles, *Hoover's War on Gays: Exposing the FBI's "Sex Deviates" Program* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2015). For studies of the twentieth-century construction of homosexuality and heterosexuality, see for example Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality,* vol. 1*, An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1990) and Jonathan Ned Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007). For studies of the ways Christians blended eleventh-century constructions of sodomy with twentieth-century conceptions of homosexuality, see Mark Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Jordan, *Recruiting Young Love: How Christians Talk about Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Heather White, *Reforming Sodom: Protestants and the Rise of Gay Rights* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); and Anthony Petro, *After the Wrath of God: AIDS, Sexuality, and American Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[7] National Association of Evangelicals, "Statement on AIDS," in *The Churches Speak on AIDS: Official Statements from Religious Bodies and Ecumenical Organizations*, ed. J. Gordon Melton (Detroit: Gale Research Inc, 1989), 114 and Southern Baptist Convention, "On AIDS," in *The Churches Speak on AIDS*, 129-30.

[8] Cathy Butler, "When AIDS Hits Home," *Royal Service* 88, no. 7 (January 1994), 6.

[9] E. Bailey Marks, Jr., "Book Proposal," n.d., ca. 2005, Box 701, CrossRoads Collection, Cru Archives, Cru International Headquarters, Orlando, Florida (hereafter CrossRoads Collection).

**Medical and Moral Crises**

As the AIDS crisis was unfolding in the US and American evangelicals were reacting mostly with disinterest and scorn, missionaries became aware of the AIDS epidemic around the world primarily through medical mission work and through missionaries who contracted the disease. In response, mission organizations first addressed how they would respond to the epidemic on the mission field through medical precautions and education for missionaries. Many organizations expanded their policies regarding health protections for missionaries by mandating that missionaries carry their own gloves, syringes, and needles in case they required emergency medical procedures. Mission organizations in countries with unscreened blood supplies tested all missionaries' blood and established "walking blood banks," groups of people with a shared blood type who could donate blood for one another during situations like emergency surgery or childbirth.[10] Missionaries also instituted policies about physical protection in non-medical situations. For example, a regular practice missionaries performed was praying while "laying on of hands" and touching sick individuals, and mission organizations established guidelines that both encouraged missionaries to touch people with HIV/AIDS and outlined in what late-stage situations missionaries should wear gloves for prayer sessions.[11] While mission organizations had long addressed health concerns for communicable diseases like tuberculosis and malaria, the rapid global spread of HIV/AIDS prompted organizations to expand significantly their existing procedures and add new precautions.

The AIDS epidemic also called into question mission organizations' policies regarding health coverage costs and confidentiality for missionaries or national Christian staff that contracted a life-threatening communicable disease. At a 1987 gathering of thirty-five US mission organizations for a "consultation on AIDS for international missions," missionary leaders addressed these ethical questions. Missionary directors agreed that their organizations should cover all healthcare costs for any personnel who are HIV-positive, regardless of whether those employees were missionaries or national Christians. There should be no disparity between the healthcare coverage for American missionaries and national Christians, these leaders reasoned, because "a single group of people should not be given preferential treatment solely on the basis of culture or profession." Healthcare coverage should also include mental health counseling for HIV-positive personnel, missionary leaders declared, and no employee should lose his or her job as a result of contracting HIV, unless that employee violated an organization policy by exhibiting "moral turpitude," meaning unless that employee had premarital or extramarital sex.[12]

---

[10] For examples of these new policies, see "AIDS Update for MAF Staff," August 1987, Folder 2, Box 123, Collection 136, Mission Aviation Fellowship, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, IL (hereafter MAF Collection); Kenneth Gamble and Kenneth Derksen, "Facing the AIDS Crisis: Guidelines for Missions" (Paper Presented, Africa Committee at EFMA-IFMA Conference, Orlando, Florida, September 24, 1987), Folder 5, Box 105, Collection 81, Africa Inland Mission, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, IL (hereafter AIM Collection); and "Guidelines to AIM International Members on AIDS," April 1988, Folder 5, Box 105, AIM Collection.

[11] Crespo, "Developing Organizational Policies Regarding AIDS," March 9, 1989. The practice of "laying on of hands" derives its inspiration from the many passages in the New Testament in which Christ and his followers placed their hands on those they healed and for whom they prayed.

[12] *AIDS and the International Organization: Policy Development Guidelines for Organizations with Overseas Staff* (Brunswick, GA: MAP International, 1988), 7-9.

While missionary leaders agreed about health care coverage for personnel with HIV, they quarreled over whether a person's HIV status should remain confidential. Some missionary directors insisted that public health was more important than individual privacy, and referenced passages from the New Testament about the moral value of upholding the interests of a group or congregation, as well as passages from Leviticus about containing infectious diseases. Other missionary leaders argued that confidentiality was essential to protect people with HIV against "unjustified recrimination" and that mission organizations should model the actions of Christ by not isolating people with HIV but rather protecting them "from being overwhelmed by the group or 'corporate' sense of self-righteousness."[13] Many missionary directors also pushed back on the idea that harsh Levitical passages were good guides for the AIDS epidemic by asserting that "care must be taken to avoid selective application of such legal codes. The same code demanded stoning people for adultery."[14] Missionaries and US evangelicals did believe that certain severe Levitical codes were applicable in the late twentieth century; Leviticus 18:22 was one of the primary passages that conservative Protestants used to condemn homosexuality and cast it as an immoral perversion. But regarding the treatment of AIDS victims, missionaries reached differing conclusions about whether biblical passages led them to mandate testing and reporting of all missionaries' HIV status. These debates about confidentiality on the mission field paralleled those in American courts, legislatures, and society about whether compulsory testing and reporting was necessary for public health, or whether personal privacy laws prevented such invasive procedures. In those debates in the US, evangelical organizations were some of the strongest advocates for mandatory testing and reporting; the National Association for Evangelicals called for mandatory testing and reporting in its official "Statement on AIDS" in 1988, and evangelical groups such as Americans for a Sound AIDS Policy (ASAP) testified before Congress and lobbied lawmakers to mandate testing and reporting in the late 1980s and early 1990s.[15]

Mission organizations also relied on biblical references when explaining the physical precautions that missionaries should take to avoid getting HIV/AIDS. Missionary leaders argued that conservative sexual morality was an effective form of protection from HIV and AIDS. Directors from the 35 mission organizations that gathered for the AIDS consultation in 1987 recommended that each organization should require "adherence to a moral life-style among its staff" including faithfulness within marriage, abstinence before marriage, and "a moral perspective on acceptable sexual behavior."[16] Directors from the Missionary Health Institute similarly suggested in 1987 to fellow EFMA groups serving in Africa that "avoidance of

---

[13] Ibid., 5.
[14] Ibid., 6.
[15] For the NAE's statement, see National Association of Evangelicals, "Statement on AIDS." For ASAP's policy positions, see Shepherd Smith and Anita Smith, *Christianity in the Age of AIDS: How We Can Be Good Samaritans Responding to the AIDS Crisis* (Washington, D.C.: Americans for a Sound AIDS / HIV Policy, 1990). ASAP was one of the first eleven grantees of the "America Responds to AIDS Program" in 1987; the organization received 300,000 dollars from the CDC to conduct HIV prevention work in "faith-based communities." ASAP's advisory board included Bruce Sonnenberg, who directed the national conversion therapy organization He Intends Victory, and Robert Redfield, who conducted research at Walter Reed to develop an AIDS vaccine and was a strong proponent of mandatory testing. ASAP's founders later worked on the advisory committee to the director of the CDC and the Advisory Council on HIV and AIDS during the George W. Bush administration.
[16] *AIDS and the International Organization*, 8.

fornication and/or adultery should be sufficient" protection for missionaries against HIV/AIDS.[17] And when Africa Inland Mission gave official guidelines on AIDS to its personnel in 1988, the organization's directors stressed that "the single most effective way to control the spread of AIDS is for people to maintain lifelong marriage faithfulness. In actual fact the Gospel is the answer through the transforming power of the Holy Spirit and adherence to the Biblical ethic. Let us be faithful in proclaiming it."[18] In these ways, missionary directors emphasized that conservative sexual morality, which they reasoned that the Bible supported, would guide missionaries in the behaviors that they should practice to avoid contracting HIV/AIDS on the mission field.

As mission organizations developed new policies and recommendations about physical protections for missionaries, these organizations also designed education sessions that would teach missionaries about the AIDS epidemic and offer guidance about how to minister to people with HIV/AIDS. Missionary directors attempted to address missionaries' ignorance, misconceptions, and fears about the epidemic through training. Directors from the Missionary Health Institute warned missionaries in Africa that ignorance and prejudice were preventing missionaries from serving people with HIV/AIDS: "While many suffer in anguish, others sit back complacent – content because they are convinced it is a problem of lifestyle. Some believe it is a long-awaited visitation of God's judgement. Others live with fear – perpetuated by myths that have quickly taken root in our society." The directors cautioned missionaries that they could no longer be complacent about AIDS because the epidemic was spreading rapidly and eventually all missionaries in Africa would have to "face the consequences of AIDS" in the communities in which they worked.[19] Richard Crespo from MAP International advised his fellow EFMA mission directors that missionaries' prejudices and fears might persist even after training sessions, and that organizations therefore should provide continuing education to deal with those lasting misconceptions. He described a training session that he had conducted at MAP and relayed that immediately afterward some coworkers had remarked, "Well, it's obviously God's judgement on homosexuals," and Crespo retorted, "I thought we just dealt with that in the education program!" He explained to EFMA leaders that teaching missionaries about AIDS would require repetition in order to address prejudices and reservations which he called irrational: "Men and women, professionals who otherwise are very rational, thoughtful people, when confronted with the issue of AIDS suddenly become irrational and not very thoughtful."[20]

Missionary directors displayed some of these reservations and prejudices when Crespo taught them about the AIDS epidemic during the 1989 EFMA meeting. During the question and answer session, one director complained that AIDS was a difficult disease to deal with, unlike other communicable illnesses like tuberculosis and malaria, because "we are struggling with civil rights and issues like that" due to "the strong homosexual community that's engulfed all of the newspapers" in the United States. Another missionary director voiced similar criticisms when he protested that screening for HIV status and reporting results should be open and easy, but because "the homosexual community is so strong in America…they control the system of reporting and the whole system of handling this." These directors accused the gay community

[17] Gamble and Derksen, "Facing the AIDS Crisis: Guidelines for Missions," September 24, 1987.
[18] "Guidelines to AIM International Members on AIDS," April 1988.
[19] Gamble and Derksen, "Facing the AIDS Crisis: Guidelines for Missions," September 24, 1987.
[20] Crespo, "Developing Organizational Policies Regarding AIDS," March 9, 1989.

and supporters of LGBT civil and human rights of controlling US politics and media and thereby making it more difficult for American missionaries to deal with the AIDS epidemic around the world. Crespo responded to those allegations by stressing that on the mission field "the greatest source of transmission is not homosexual – it's heterosexual," so the tensions that US-based mission directors felt regarding the AIDS crisis would be very different from the issues that missionaries would face across the world when confronting the AIDS epidemic.[21]

This emphasis that the AIDS epidemic around the world was distinct from the AIDS crisis in the US was one of the key lessons that missionary leaders taught rank-and-file missionaries around the world. This distinction allowed missionaries to separate their global relief and outreach work from fights over LGBT human and civil rights in the US and to associate the global AIDS epidemic with heterosexual families harmed by extramarital sex and with hypothetical future heterosexual families ruined by premarital sex. Directors of the Missionary Health Institute instructed missionaries in Africa that AIDS had two distinct epidemiological patterns: the North American pattern in which gay men and intravenous drug users were the high-risk groups, and the pattern in Africa "where the primary source is among the heterosexual sexually-active population."[22] Mission Aviation Fellowship noted a similar division in its training materials for missionaries; MAF directors told missionaries that while transmission in North America was primarily among gay men, the mode of transmission in Africa and the Caribbean was heterosexual, as were the "routes of infection" in Asia and the Middle East.[23] By framing the global AIDS epidemic as a result of heterosexual sex that transgressed missionaries' conceptions of sexual morality but did not flout heteronormativity, these educational messages set up missionaries to conduct AIDS work through familiar methods of shoring up heterosexual families, and reassured missionaries that conducting global AIDS relief would not require them to engage the debates about LGBT human and civil rights that had become central to the AIDS crisis in the US.

Addressing situations that defied conservative notions of sexual morality was not a new experience for missionaries during the 1980s and 1990s. Missionaries had long grappled with issues related to sex and marriage, and in the mid- and late twentieth century mission organizations most wrestled with their stances on divorce, homosexuality, and polygamy. Overall, missionaries maintained conservative views and policies about sex and sexuality, though in some cases they also exhibited flexibility regarding context. Mission organizations adhered to firm policies about divorce in the decades after World War II; no divorced person could become a missionary, and organizations turned away applicants who pleaded for exceptions to this policy in the 1950s-1970s.[24] However, as the US divorce rate climbed in the

---

[21] Ibid.

[22] Gamble and Derksen, "Facing the AIDS Crisis: Guidelines for Missions," September 24, 1987.

[23] "AIDS Update for MAF Staff," August 1987.

[24] See for example Baker Cauthen to Carolyn Evans, September 9, 1961, Folder 3, Box 4516, Collection AR 551-3, International Mission Board Executive Office Records, Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, TN (hereafter IMB Executive Office Records); Velma N. Huckabee application, 1966, Folder 25, Box 6, Collection 179, Records of Short Terms Abroad, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, TL (hereafter STA Collection); Marie A. Thompson application, 1969-1970, Folder 54, Box 3, STA Collection; Mr. and Mrs. Wallace J. Smith application, 1969-1970, Folder 81, Box 7, STA Collection; Baker Cauthen to Charlotte Martin, March 15, 1974, Folder 18, Box 4524, IMB Executive Office Records; and Irving Philgreen to Lynn Barnett, September 9, 1975, Folder 13, Box 10, STA Collection.

1970s, many organizations examined whether considering context might clear an applicant for acceptance. What if a person got divorced before becoming a Christian? What if a person's spouse was not a Christian and that non-Christian spouse filed for divorce? By the late twentieth century, several organizations had begun commissioning divorced missionary candidates, and the rise of short-term missions provided another route to the mission field that divorced evangelicals could utilize.[25] Mission organizations were particularly strict about homosexuality, and dismissed applicants and missionaries who admitted to having same-sex relationships.[26] It wouldn't be until the early twenty-first century that a US mission organization would attempt to incorporate openly LGBT Christians as missionaries, and that attempt would be abandoned rapidly for financial and public relations reasons – US evangelical donors would cancel 10,000 child sponsorships, the equivalent of 4.2 million dollars, in only a few weeks in protest of World Vision's short-lived plan to include openly LGBT Christians as personnel.[27] Out on the mission field, missionaries debated how to handle converts who were in polygamous relationships. Should churches require individuals within polygamous marriages to obtain divorces? Could people in polygamous marriages get baptized or become deacons? Many missionaries accepted converts in local churches who continued polygamous marriages while remaining unbaptized and ineligible for leadership. Missionaries reasoned that church participation, even in limited form, was more important than adherence to monogamous marriage standards.[28] So mission organizations had confronted different questions about sex and sexuality throughout the mid- and late twentieth century, and while they adapted to certain contexts, they still upheld many conservative beliefs and policies regarding marriage and sex. The AIDS epidemic forced organizations to grapple with their longstanding stances about sexual morality in new ways by linking those stances to the exigencies of a global public health emergency.

**Saving Suffering Families**

To provide relief and combat the global AIDS epidemic, missionaries knew they would need immense funding and support from evangelicals back in the US, but missionaries also were aware of American evangelicals' general indifference towards the AIDS crisis. To combat this apathy, mission organizations publicized their AIDS work extensively to American evangelicals

[25] See Raymond Buker, Jr. to Irving Philgreen, September 19, 1975, Folder 13, Box 10, STA Collection; Milton Warkentin to Irving Philgreen, October 13, 1975, Folder 13, Box 10, STA Collection; and Lowell Detweiler to Irving Philgreen, October 31, 1975, Folder 13, Box 10, STA Collection.
[26] See for example Robert F. Casey application, 1968-69, Folder 55, Box 5, STA Collection and Jerry White to Navigator Family, April 4, 1994, Box 3, Navigator Country Newsletters Collection (M020), The Navigators Archives, Colorado Springs, Colorado.
[27] Sarah Pulliam Bailey, "World Vision, Recovering from Gay Policy Shift, Tries to Shore up Its Evangelical Base," *Washington Post*, June 26, 2014.
[28] See for example the reflections of several Africa Inland Mission missionaries: Interview of John Gration by Kevin Palau, November 18, 1982, Audio Tape 2, Collection 230, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, IL; Interview with Scott Harbert by Robert Shuster, January 13, 1992, Audio Tape 5, Collection 447, Interview with Scott Jeffrey Harbert, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, IL; Interview of Paul Adrian Buyse by Paul Ericksen, January 19, 1993, Audio Tape 4, Collection 478, Interview with Paul Adrian Buyse, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, IL; and Interview of Barbara Lynn Collins by Robert Shuster, January 13, 1995, Audio Tape 2, Collection 508, Interviews with Barbara Lynn (Miner) Collins, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, IL.

in the 1980s and 1990s in order to reeducate them about the AIDS epidemic, awaken their compassion for people with AIDS around the world, and stir up their support for international AIDS work. Missionaries shifted American evangelicals' understanding of AIDS by integrating stories about the global epidemic into existing themes of global mission work – themes that American evangelicals already supported enthusiastically. Missionaries taught US evangelicals that AIDS created an urgent need for global evangelism, since millions of people with AIDS had only a few years to convert to Christianity before it was too late. And missionaries told American evangelicals that people with AIDS around the world deserved compassion, since those people were members of suffering heterosexual families that US Christians could help and save. Evangelism and hierarchical compassion had long formed the central motivations for missionary work, and by linking the AIDS epidemic to these revered motives, missionaries made global AIDS work acceptable and even attractive to US evangelicals.

Mission organizations stressed to American evangelicals that the global AIDS epidemic created a new opportunity and urgency for evangelism. Millions of people were near death, missionaries explained, and those people were both more open to a salvation message and more in need of that message since their time on earth was almost gone. John Gibson, a Foreign Mission Board missionary doctor in Thailand, told US Southern Baptists that mission work with AIDS patients would yield many new conversions because people with AIDS were looking for assurance of eternal life after death. When describing his work at a mission-owned hospital, he predicted that that if missionaries would love AIDS patients and witness to them, "we'll see hundreds and thousands of people turn to the Lord and have new lives."[29] FMB missionary doctor Larry Pepper detailed a similar situation in Uganda; he reported that missionary nurses, doctors, and chaplains were providing great comfort to AIDS patients by "dealing with the spiritual aspect" and evangelizing many patients who were eager for conversations about life after death.[30] Another FMB missionary to Uganda, Jim Rice, told Southern Baptist readers that because "AIDS patients are open to the gospel," missionaries must "treat them as Jesus Christ Himself would" and share the gospel message with them.[31] As those US readers would have known, mission organizations like the FMB were well positioned to evangelize AIDS patients, since missions owned and operated hospitals around the world, and missionary chaplains at those hospitals met with each patient daily and noted spiritual developments (like conversions) directly on patients' charts, so that missionary doctors and nurses could also evangelize the patient or pray with them.

Missionaries told American evangelicals not only that people with AIDS were open to evangelism, but also that the terminal nature of AIDS made evangelism even more necessary. Mike Walker, a FMB missionary doctor in Uganda, warned US Southern Baptists about the spiritual fate of the millions of Ugandans with AIDS: "We believe that most of them have not accepted Christ, so when we talk with them many times there is no second chance!"[32] FMB Ray Davis asked Southern Baptists to pray for his evangelistic work in Zimbabwe, where AIDS had dropped the average life expectancy to only 39 years.[33] The FMB also explained to US readers

[29] Martha Skelton, "Touching People Others Won't," *The Commission* 58, no. 3 (May/June 1995), 8-9.
[30] "Prescription: Hope," *The Commission* 61, no. 5 (May 1998), 34.
[31] "The Latest Word," *The Commission* 52, no. 5 (June / July 1989), back cover.
[32] "Support with Prayer," *The Commission* 55, no. 9 (December 1992), 77.
[33] "Call to Prayer," *The Commission* 62, no. 6 (June 1999), 50.

that since most people with AIDS were not evangelical Christians, they had become the world's largest "unreached people group." FMB directors stressed that 20 million people "become sick worldwide and die without knowledge of Christ," which meant that statistically "they are the people who most urgently need to hear God's good news."[34] With this "unreached people group" designation, the FMB gave people with AIDS the official label of significance according to evangelical missions terminology.[35] That label encouraged US readers to confer greater value and worth to people with AIDS by placing them in a special category of groups around the world that evangelicals most eagerly sought to save.

To illustrate that this evangelistic AIDS work was yielding results, missionaries shared many success stories of people with AIDS who converted and who inspired others to convert. FMB missionaries in Thailand rejoiced that half of all AIDS patients in one hospital had converted to evangelical Christianity, and missionaries working at an FMB hospice in Brazil likewise expressed their joy and relief that almost 100 AIDS patients per year had "accepted Christ" while in hospice care.[36] Gail Hamline, an FMB missionary to Tanzania, told Southern Baptists about a woman who was dying from AIDS and who had recently converted to evangelical Christianity. Though AIDS had reduced the woman, named Sara, to a frail version of her former self, Hamline reported that "inward beauty flowed out of her as she told us how she was ready to be with the Lord and how He is sustaining her." "Although Sara is dying," Hamline explained, "her hope and comfort is in eternal life that is hers as a believer."[37] David and Darlene Sorley offered a similar account of their work with a man with AIDS in Kenya. After months of missionary visits to the man's home, he "announced that he believed in Jesus and had received Him as Savior," the Sorleys testified.[38] FMB missionaries in Uganda profiled several people with AIDS who had found greater hope and peace through conversion. They applauded one woman who shunned traditional medicine after conversion: "Others have begged her to see a witch doctor for help, but she refuses to violate the love she has for Jesus Christ."[39] Missionaries in Uganda also celebrated that many people with AIDS who had converted were evangelizing others, and that people who had lost loved ones to AIDS were also participating in evangelism.[40]

AIDS mission work sometimes also produced larger opportunities to evangelize entire communities, and missionaries were quick to point out these larger evangelistic outcomes. In Tanzania, Betty Whitson reported that her work with children who had contracted AIDS inspired a group of village leaders to invite her to start a church in their community, where previously there never had been a church. Whitson said that the village leaders asked her to teach them about the kind of love that would inspire her to care for young children with AIDS, and she expressed how thrilled she was to evangelize the village leaders and teach them about God's love.[41] David and Linda Listrom, FMB missionaries in Uganda, also indicated that they had

---

[34] Sue Sprenkle, "AIDS: No One Mentions the Cause of Death," *The Commission* 64, no. 6 (July-August 2001), 25.
[35] See Chapter Three for a discussion about the origin and widespread use of the term "unreached people group."
[36] Martha Skelton, "The Long Shadow of AIDS," *The Commission* 58, no. 3 (May/June 1995), 7 and Mary Speidel, "A Touch of Heaven," *The Commission* 59, no. 10 (November 1996), 25.
[37] "Epistles," *The Commission* 54, no. 8 (October/November 1991), 56.
[38] "Global Glimpses," *The Commission* 55, no. 1 (January 1992), 4-5.
[39] Craig Bird, "The Other Side of Sorrow," *The Commission* 52, no. 5 (June / July 1989), 12.
[40] Ibid., 14, 54.
[41] "Global Glimpses," *The Commission* 53, no. 3 (April 1990), 3.

received invitations to start new churches as a result of their AIDS work, told US readers that these outcomes were "answers to prayer," and asked US evangelicals to continue praying for similar results.[42] These messages from missionaries told American evangelicals that evangelism was a central goal and outcome of AIDS work, and also highlighted that some people with AIDS around the world were evangelical Christians, thereby recasting people with AIDS as fellow believers just like US evangelicals.

While emphasizing the need to evangelize people with AIDS, Missionaries also stressed that those with AIDS deserved US evangelicals' compassion and sympathy. The biggest way that missionaries tried to stir evangelicals' compassion was by describing how people with AIDS were members of suffering families. FMB missionaries explained to Southern Baptists in 1989 that AIDS in Uganda "has decimated whole families—grandparents, parents, children."[43] Similarly, Campus Crusade missionaries told evangelical readers in 1996 that the statistics about the global AIDS epidemic were so massive that "it is sometimes difficult to comprehend that every one of those people who are dying has a family. They might be a father. A young mother. A child. Every one of them is in incredible pain."[44] Missionaries detailed the ways that different family members suffered as a result of AIDS. John Gibson in Thailand reported that many AIDS victims were "innocent" women and children; he explained that while many men might acquire AIDS as "a sin-consequence" after sleeping with prostitutes, "there are wives and children" of those men "who are innocent."[45] Children whose parents died from AIDS received particular attention from missionaries; US evangelicals heard regularly about these children from missionaries who declared that "Africa is becoming a continent of orphans."[46] By characterizing millions of children as orphans and neglecting to mention the extended kin relationships that provided children with families, missionaries reinforced a longstanding message within missions discourse that told US Christians poignant stories about suffering children and insisted that US Christians were the only ones who could care for those children.[47] Missionaries also emphasized that Christian families around the world were losing loved ones to AIDS; Campus Crusade told its readers that all fifty Ugandan Christians working with Crusade had lost a family member to AIDS.[48] And some missionaries even designated sex workers as family members to position all

[42] "Answers to Prayer," *The Commission* 58, no. 2 (March-April 1995), 100.
[43] "A Further Word," *The Commission* 52, no. 5 (June / July 1989), 6.
[44] CrossRoads direct mail letter draft, August 16, 1996, Box 1507, International Ministries Collection, Cru Archives, Cru International Headquarters, Orlando, Florida (hereafter International Ministries Collection).
[45] Skelton, "Touching People Others Won't," 8.
[46] Sprenkle, "AIDS: No One Mentions the Cause of Death," 25.
[47] For studies of that discourse, see for example Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 152-59; Erica Bornstein, *The Spirit of Development: Protestant NGOs, Morality, and Economics in Zimbabwe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 67-96; Bornstein, "The Value of Orphans," in *Forces of Compassion: Humanitarianism Between Ethics and Politics*, eds. Erica Bornstein and Peter Redfield (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2010), 123-48; Laura Briggs, *Somebody's Children: The Politics of Transracial and Transnational Adoption* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012); Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Global Families: A History of Asian International Adoption in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2013); Kathryn Joyce, The Child Catchers: Rescue, Trafficking, and the New Gospel of Adoption (New York: Public Affairs, 2013); Arissa Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea: The Cold War Origins of International Adoption* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015); Liisa Malkki, *The Need to Help: The Domestic Arts of International Humanitarianism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 77-132.
[48] Bill Sundstrom, "When Tragedy Knocks," *Worldwide Challenge* 22, no.6 (November/December 1995), 9.

suffering from AIDS within a family framework. Rather than referring to former sex workers as prostitutes, Darlene Sorley told Southern Baptists that she ministered to "those who have supported their families by prostitution" and who contracted AIDS through that work.[49]

Missionaries used depictions of suffering families to convince US evangelicals that there was a sharp contrast between the AIDS crisis in the US and the global AIDS epidemic. While the US AIDS crisis might seem unimportant to evangelicals, missionaries argued, the global AIDS epidemic and the suffering families around the world should rouse evangelicals' compassion and provoke action. The Foreign Mission Board described this disparity by telling Southern Baptists that "AIDS in Africa bears little resemblance to the disease in America. It does not just affect individuals, but entire societies. Few families remain untouched."[50] FMB directors also instructed US readers that missionaries' accounts of the AIDS epidemic around the world would offer Americans "a clearer picture of AIDS than you've had before."[51] Crusade missionaries explained to US readers that AIDS in the US "seems like more of a political than a health issue right now. Of course, we watch the news and hear about the hospices and the research and the funding problems, but AIDS doesn't touch many of our individual lives very often." Then Crusade missionaries invited readers to imagine how they would get personally involved if the US were like other countries impacted by the AIDS epidemic: "There are not enough hospitals, let alone hospices, to keep up with the demand of people with HIV. One in every four people has it. Parents, children, and brothers and sisters are watching one another die because of it. I realize that I have painted a grim picture, but it unfortunately didn't take much imagination. Because what I just described is the present in many nations around the world."[52] These contrasts invited US evangelicals to consider people with AIDS around the world as worthy of compassion and as fundamentally distinct from those with AIDS in the US. And making these distinctions required missionaries to cast people with AIDS in the US as atomized individuals and to obscure how those individuals were also siblings, children, and partners within both natal and chosen families. Missionaries claimed by way of comparison that the AIDS crisis in the US affected just individuals and not an entire society, thereby erasing the ways that the AIDS crisis did impact American society and reinforcing how US evangelicals dismissed national advocacy for American AIDS victims' human and civil rights.

People with AIDS around the world deserved compassion and assistance, missionaries argued, because they were willing to follow missionaries' and churches' leadership in the fight against AIDS. This reasoning appealed to conservative evangelicals' interest in Protestant hegemony by presenting countries affected by the AIDS epidemic as places where Protestant hegemony could thrive. Missionaries illustrated how open certain countries were to conservative Christian teachings about sex in response to the AIDS epidemic. FMB missionaries in Uganda celebrated that the government-issued messages about AIDS relied on a missionary-produced brochure called "Medical Science and God's Word Give Answers to Questions Related to AIDS." Public campaigns in Uganda promoted "Just Say No" abstinence messages instead of "safe sex" guidelines like those in the US, and missionaries asserted that "Uganda's approach,

[49] "Global Glimpses," January 1992, 5.
[50] Sprenkle, "AIDS: No One Mentions the Cause of Death," 24.
[51] "A Further Word," 6.
[52] CrossRoads direct mail letter draft, August 16, 1996.

while born of desperation, may have something to teach Americans."[53] Crusade missionaries in Malawi likewise rejoiced that public campaigns about AIDS promoted abstinence first and foremost.[54] Missionaries also underscored how missions and churches were taking the lead in public AIDS work. The FMB published an interview with the director of Uganda's federal AIDS program, Samuel Okware, who acknowledged the central role of churches in AIDS work: "Any government system takes time, and we had no structure to do AIDS education…but every village in Uganda has a church and a school—usually run by a church."[55] By highlighting how countries utilized missionaries' teachings and churches as the basis for public AIDS campaigns, missionaries cast the AIDS epidemic as a problem that evangelical Christians could take the lead in solving, and presented countries affected by the epidemic as places where evangelical Christians could exert influence over public policy, public education, and public health.

The suffering faced by people with AIDS around the world was another major concern that missionaries highlighted to provoke compassion from US evangelical audiences. Missionaries detailed how people with AIDS and their family members suffered from the AIDS epidemic and illustrated that suffering through images that missionaries believed would elicit evangelicals' sympathy. The FMB taught Southern Baptists in 1989 that AIDS was the most recent of a long series of tragedies to afflict people in Africa. FMB directors noted that for years Americans had seen "regular appearances in daily news reports revealing tragedy, pain, sorrow, and evil" from political unrest and famine, and predicted that now observers would "see the bone-protruding, hollow-eyed victims of the most horrifying plague known to modern man: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome—AIDS."[56] In a profile of mission work in Uganda, FMB missionaries impressed upon US readers that countless people suffered without end because AIDS was fatal: "There are others—many others—with testimonies just as vibrant and stories just as touching, because there is no modern Passover for the Christians of Uganda. The death angel of AIDS is not passing over them."[57] This description also reiterated to US evangelicals that their fellow Christians were dying from the AIDS epidemic. Along with these descriptions of suffering, missionaries produced evocative images to arouse an American audience's pity. Photographs most often included children, emaciated AIDS patients in healthcare settings, or family members who were grieving sick or lost loved ones. In the most evocative images, a child, patient, or family member contorted their face in sorrow or stared directly at the viewer from within the scene. These depictions of suffering black bodies abroad reinforced and drew upon longstanding Western narratives of hierarchical compassion towards suffering foreign others. White Westerners had long expressed sympathy for the suffering of foreign racialized bodies, framed the meaning of that suffering, and used their disproportionate power to modify what they perceived was the cause of that suffering.[58] By utilizing the motif of

---

[53] "A Further Word," 6.
[54] Diane McDougall, "Inside Story," *Worldwide Challenge* 22, no.6 (November/December 1995), 2.
[55] "Fighting with Truth, Not Guns," *The Commission* 52, no. 5 (June / July 1989), 27.
[56] "The Other Side of Sorrow," 10.
[57] Ibid., 54.
[58] See for example Lauren Berlant, "Compassion (and Withholding)," in *Compassion: The Cultural Politics of an Emotion*, ed. Lauren Berlant (New York: Routledge, 2004), 1-14; Mary Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992); David Spur, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993); Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press,

suffering foreign bodies, missionaries stirred white evangelicals' sympathy and taught them to associate the AIDS epidemic with deep feelings of compassion and pity for suffering foreign others around the world.

When missionaries described the human suffering caused by AIDS, they often referred to past examples of Christian charity to convince US evangelicals that they should live up to the reputation that they imagined Christians had as agents of mercy in the world. Missionaries referred to people with AIDS as modern-day lepers – the "outcasts" of society – to whom US evangelicals could minister in the same ways that Christians had ministered to lepers in previous centuries. FMB directors instructed Southern Baptists that Christians, when responding to the global AIDS epidemic, should recognize that people with AIDS "are the modern equivalent of the biblical outcasts—lepers," and should therefore care for people with AIDS as Christ had attended to lepers in the New Testament.[59] FMB missionaries in Uganda similarly explained that people with AIDS were "the lepers of the 20th century—the 'unclean' victims," and that "those who claim Jesus as Lord" should be reaching out with "warmth and love" to care for people with AIDS.[60] William Gaventa, an FMB missionary doctor in Nigeria, also informed US audiences that "AIDS is a modern-day leprosy," and he argued that just as "the church pioneered work with leprosy victims" in past centuries, so now should Christians mobilize to assist AIDS patients worldwide.[61] With messages like these, missionaries aroused US evangelicals' sympathy and taught evangelicals that people with AIDS around the world deserved compassion and aid.

As they persuaded evangelicals that AIDS victims were worthy of sympathy, missionaries also insisted that US Christians had the power to alleviate the suffering caused by the global AIDS epidemic, if they could let go of their "judgmental spirit" and harness their power for worldwide AIDS ministry. "Some missionaries see AIDS as a test for the church," the FMB explained to Southern Baptists, "which can minister to or turn away from those affected by the deadly disease." FMB directors warned US readers that Christians "could be the only worldwide force able to be mobilized" to assist so many millions of people with AIDS, thereby reiterating the longstanding missions message that Western Christians were the only ones who could help suffering people across the world.[62] Missionaries also cautioned US evangelicals that they had to discard their judgmental attitude about AIDS in order to minister to AIDS patients. Linda Gray, who ran an AIDS hospice in Brazil, invited Southern Baptists to let go of their judgement as she had: "I've asked forgiveness so many times for my previously held judgmental spirit and condemnation against homosexuals and people with AIDS."[63] John Gibson, FMB missionary doctor to Thailand, reported that he stopped judging AIDS patients by remembering that he too had transgressed the standards of conservative sexual morality when he was young. "I think back to what my life was like before I became a Christian," he recalled, "and if AIDS had

---

1994); Elizabeth Spelman, *Fruits of Sorrow: Framing Our Attention to Suffering* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997); and Talal Asad, "Reflections on Violence, Law, and Humanitarianism," *Critical Inquiry* 41, no. 2 (Winter 2015): 390-427.

[59] "A Further Word," 6.

[60] "The Other Side of Sorrow," 54.

[61] "The Latest Word," back cover.

[62] Ibid.

[63] "At Heaven's Door," *The Commission* 66, no. 4 (August 2003), 30.

been present when I was an unsaved high school and college student, I could have gotten it."[64] Reflecting on their AIDS work in Kenya, David and Darlene Sorley told Southern Baptists that though some Christians "feel strongly that AIDS is a punishment from God," mission work with AIDS patients had taught the Sorleys that people deserved not judgement but compassionate care, and they prayed that US churches would "catch the vision of ministering in Jesus' name to those who are suffering and dying of AIDS."[65] In these ways, missionaries argued that US evangelicals could be powerful agents of aid and relief for people with AIDS, but only if evangelicals were willing to stop condemning people with AIDS. Missionaries reassured American evangelicals that they could retain their conservative notions of sexual morality and could cast people with AIDS as sinners, as long as evangelicals also admitted that everyone was a sinner, and used that notion of shared identity as the basis for compassionate ministry for people with AIDS.

To help US evangelicals further "catch the vision" of ministering to people with AIDS, missionaries partnered with US organizations to provide evangelicals with programs and guides that they could use to support AIDS work abroad and even provide AIDS ministry at home. The Foreign Mission Board coordinated with the largest Southern Baptist auxiliary organization, the Women's Missionary Union, to create a year-long project in 1996 for Southern Baptist churches called Project Help: AIDS. The WMU maintained local chapters in over fifty percent of SBC churches across the US in 1996, and each chapter provided women with monthly studies about how missionaries ministered to people with AIDS around the world, and how US Christians could help worldwide AIDS relief.[66] These lessons combatted WMU members' indifference and taught local churchgoers that people with AIDS deserved Christians' help. Project Help: AIDS focused especially on raising money for House of Hope, an FMB hospice for people with AIDS in Vitoria, Brazil, and also encouraged WMU attendees to donate money, clothing, or supplies to local AIDS ministries in the US. During 1996, WMU members donated over one hundred thousand dollars to House of Hope, and also gave seventeen thousand dollars and donated thousands of products to local AIDS ministries in the US. WMU president Dellanna O'Brien admitted that while "it might have been expected that there would be much criticism and little participation, the opposite has been true." She reported that many SBC pastors had contacted her directly to thank the WMU for "opening up a very sensitive area for understanding and ministry" in local churches.[67] Through Project Help: AIDS, the WMU and FMB connected US churchgoers directly to global AIDS relief. As the donation amounts indicate, participants were much more eager to support overseas AIDS work than US AIDS ministries, and by highlighting AIDS work as a type of mission work, the FMB and WMU tapped into Southern Baptists' long established support for missions to urge US churchgoers to shed their apathy and become directly concerned with AIDS work, especially AIDS work around the world.

---

[64] Skelton, "Touching People Others Won't," 8.
[65] "Global Glimpses," January 1992, 4-5.
[66] In 1996, the SBC had over 40,000 churches and almost 16 million members in the US. The WMU had over 22,000 local chapters. See *Southern Baptist Convention Annual* (Nashville: Southern Baptist Convention, 1997), 133, 295-296. For examples of these monthly lessons, see Butler, "When AIDS Hits Home;" Vicki Knasel Brown, "What Do You Say to Someone With AIDS?" *Missions Mosaic* 2, no. 1 (October 1996): 14-15; and "Families Living in the Shadow of AIDS," *Missions Mosaic* 2, no. 2 (November 1996): cover.
[67] Mary Speidel, "A Boost from, for Baptists," *The Commission* 59, no. 10 (November 1996), 28.

MAP International also partnered with multiple US groups to get American churches and pastors involved in AIDS work. In 1988 MAP released informational videos and discussion guides created by MAP's medical missionaries and the US Surgeon General, C. Everett Koop. These materials taught US churchgoers about HIV/AIDS and suggested ways that congregations could support international and domestic AIDS work.[68] In 1989, MAP co-hosted a conference on "Church AIDS/HIV policy" with Americans for a Sound AIDS Policy (ASAP) for US pastors and lay leaders, and then MAP published the conference proceedings as a guidebook that taught US pastors how to convince their churches and members to support AIDS ministry.[69] The guide focused especially on combatting churchgoers' fears and prejudices about HIV/AIDS and developing local groups that raised financial and volunteer support for local and international AIDS ministry. Through these partnerships with US groups, MAP International leveraged its respected status as a mission organization to convince US churchgoers to alter their views and attitudes about the AIDS epidemic. With these training materials and a flood of promotional stories from the mission field, missionaries reeducated US evangelicals by relating the AIDS epidemic to existing themes that missionaries knew evangelicals would support. By connecting stories of evangelism and tales of suffering families around the world to narratives about AIDS, missionaries reshaped evangelicals' understanding of the AIDS epidemic and shifted evangelicals' discourse about AIDS into the register of mission work.

**Abstinence and AIDS**

While missionaries taught American evangelicals to care about and support AIDS work, missionaries did not instruct evangelicals that they needed to alter their conservative discourses about sex and sexuality in order to participate in that AIDS work. Rather, missionaries reinforced those conservative discourses by incorporating the main messages of the evangelical purity movement into AIDS prevention programs abroad. Through these new missions programs of abstinence-only sex education, missionaries stressed that people needed to convert to Christianity to gain the moral strength to remain chaste before marriage, that premarital chastity was a bold radical choice amid a culture of sexual permissiveness, and that only sexual abstinence could protect against AIDS transmission. The growth of programs with these teachings made overseas AIDS work even more attractive to US evangelicals, since the programs glorified heterosexual marriage and established conservative sexual morality teachings across the world.

The US evangelical purity movement began in the 1990s as a rebranded set of teachings about sexual abstinence.[70] American evangelicals who disapproved of US society's increasing sexual permissiveness, as embodied in the music videos on MTV and in the ready availability of

[68] See Richard Crespo, C. Everett Koop, and MAP International, *AIDS—Challenge and Opportunity* (Brunswick, GA: MAP International, 1987), Videocassette (VHS), 29 min and C. Everett Koop and MAP International, *AIDS Resource Kit* (Brunswick, GA: MAP International, 1987).

[69] See *The Church's Response to the Challenge of AIDS/HIV: A Guideline for Education and Policy Development* (Brunswick, GA: MAP International, 1991).

[70] The purity movement of the 1990s was not the first movement with that name in US history. Suffragists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century utilized purity rhetoric to argue that white women should participate in electoral politics and public life due to women's inherent spiritual and moral purity relative to men. See Sara Moslener, *Virgin Nation: Sexual Purity and American Adolescence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 16-47.

condoms and comprehensive sex education to teenagers in public schools, launched new campaigns to promote sexual abstinence before monogamous heterosexual marriage. Concerned that calls for chastity would sound old-fashioned and unattractive to 1990s young people, evangelicals built programs and organizations that billed "sexual purity" as a radical, countercultural, and thus "cool" choice. Evangelical leaders cast young people as embattled victims of a culture that told them everyone was having sex and that pressured them to conform. Therefore, evangelical leaders reasoned, teenagers and young adults who committed to chastity were adopting a rebellious and empowered lifestyle. This lifestyle was impossible without the power of Christian sanctification, evangelicals argued, and hence evangelism was a central part of any appeal for sexual purity. Purity movement leaders also touted the health benefits of sexual abstinence, by attacking "safe sex" practices as unsafe and referring to chastity as "the only 100% effective" form of protection against unwanted pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections. Sexual purity was not just beneficial for individuals, evangelical leaders declared, but also for a future US society of healthy, committed heterosexual marriages and families. Purity movement leaders reminded teenagers and young adults to think continually about their future spouse and children, and to remember that their current sexual choices would impact their future heterosexual marriage and family, for better or for worse.[71] With these central messages, evangelical leaders in the 1990s stressed that chastity was a positive and hip choice that would protect young people and guarantee them happy and fulfilling heterosexual marriages in the future.

Within wider American society, the evangelical purity movement was most well-known for its flashy events, catchy slogans, and ubiquitous merchandise. Father-daughter purity balls popped up all over the country during the mid- and late 1990s; these events resembled debutante balls but also included ritualized purity pledges in which daughters committed to sexual purity and fathers promised to guard that chastity until the daughters married.[72] Most famous were the massive rock-music-filled youth rallies, during which young people signed cards or donned silver rings to signify their pledge to remain sexually pure before marriage. One of the biggest purity organizations, True Love Waits, reached national prominence in 1994 through a public rally in Washington, DC, where teenagers staked 212,000 purity pledge cards onto the national mall and a delegation of students lobbied President Clinton for federal funding for abstinence education.[73] Through events like these, evangelicals tried to prove to American society that sexual abstinence before heterosexual marriage was a popular practice for young people in the

---

[71] For studies of the evangelical purity movement and "purity culture," see for example Janice Irvine, *Talk about Sex: The Battles over Sex Education in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Heather Hendershot, *Shaking the World for Jesus: Media and Conservative Evangelical Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Christine Gardner, *Making Chastity Sexy: The Rhetoric of Evangelical Abstinence Campaigns* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Moslener, *Virgin Nation*; and Amy DeRogatis, *Saving Sex: Sexuality and Salvation in American Evangelicalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[72] Though the purity movement promoted chastity to both young men and young women, the movement presented gender differentiated messages about sex and cast young women as particularly responsible for sexual purity – not only their own sexual purity but also the sexual purity of the boys and men around them. Thus there was no comparable purity event just for young men, such as a father-son or mother-son purity gathering.

[73] For national press coverage of this rally, see Esme Infante, "Teens: Sex Can Wait for Wedding Bells," *USA Today*, July 29, 1994 and Laurie Goodstein, "Saying No to Teen Sex in No Uncertain Terms," *Washington Post*, July 30, 1994.

1990s, the only morally righteous practice, and the lone practice that would bring divine blessings to individuals and to American society more broadly.

Aware of evangelicals' fervent campaigns for sexual abstinence and morality in the US, missionaries fashioned their AIDS prevention programs around the world by combining US purity movement materials with abstinence education resources created on the mission field. The resulting programs gained wide support from American evangelicals because the programs closely resembled the purity movement that evangelicals were already championing in the US. Foreign Mission Board missionaries in Africa and Latin America developed their AIDS prevention programs by combining pamphlets written by FMB medical missionaries with a wealth of materials imported from True Love Waits, the official abstinence program of the Southern Baptist Convention.[74] The first prevention programs started in Uganda, where medical missionary Rick Goodgame produced the booklet "Medical Science and God's Word Answer Questions Related to AIDS." Goodgame and other FMB missionaries partnered with Uganda's federal government to distribute 350,000 copies of the booklet and 120,000 bibles in 1988 alone.[75] Later in 1994 FMB missionaries Sharon and Larry Pumpelly began presenting the True Love Waits pledge-card program at youth rallies across Uganda, including the national Christian Youth Conference sponsored by Uganda's first lady.[76] In succeeding years, FMB missionaries launched True Love Waits campaigns in Kenya, Brazil, and South Africa, where missionaries called their program Operation HIV (He Is Victorious).[77] Missionaries asked US evangelicals to pray that young people at abstinence rallies in those countries would "commit themselves to God's plan for their sex lives."[78]

Campus Crusade missionaries also utilized a combination of work produced in the field and US materials to create their global AIDS prevention programs. During the early 1990s, when Crusade was coordinating CoMission campaigns in public schools throughout the former Soviet Union, the director of Hungary's National Institute of Health AIDS initiative invited Crusade to develop a health education curriculum for high school students that would incorporate morality lessons. Funding from the Hungarian National Institute of Health underwrote part of the curriculum development costs for a program called Youth at the Threshold of Life, later named CrossRoads.[79] The health curriculum resembled the moral education materials of the CoMission, and a few editors who had produced the CoMission textbooks also joined the writing team for the CrossRoads curriculum.[80] Like the CoMission curriculum, the CrossRoads curriculum was a

---

[74] True Love Waits began in 1993 by two SBC pastors and quickly became a national initiative of Lifeway Christian Resources, the SBC's publishing and education arm (formerly called the Sunday School Board).
[75] "1988 Annual Report," *The Commission* 52, no. 4 (May 1989), 42.
[76] "Baptists on Mission," *The Commission* 61, no. 6 (June 1998), 15.
[77] "Call to Prayer," *The Commission* 64, no. 4 (May 2001), 52; Betty Poor and Mary Speidel, "Daring to Be Different," *The Commission* 59, no. 10 (November 1996), 30-33; and Sprenkle, "AIDS: No One Mentions the Cause of Death," 25.
[78] "Call to Prayer," May 2001, 52.
[79] CrossRoads went by the name Youth at the Threshold of Life in 1995, then Youth at the Crossroads in 1996, before settling on the name CrossRoads in 1997.
[80] See Vernie Schorr, ed., *Foundations of Christian Ethics, Part I: Building Character* (San Clemente, CA: International School Project, 1995); Paul Eshleman and Curt Mackey, eds., *Foundations of Christian Ethics, Part II: The Moral Person: An Asset to Society* (San Clemente, CA: International School Project, 1995); and E. Bailey Marks, Jr., ed., *Life at the Crossroads: An Educational Curriculum from Youth at the Crossroads* (Orlando, FL:

biblically based set of lessons that utilized evangelistic tools like the JESUS film. Tailored for the topic of health education, CrossRoads textbooks taught students that only through conversion to Christianity would an individual have the moral strength to develop lasting character and remain sexually abstinent "in the age of AIDS."[81]

At the same time that Crusade was developing abstinence curriculum in Hungary, other Crusade missionaries were adapting US abstinence materials for youth education in Malawi. Crusade staff member Dick Day, who had co-authored the prominent US abstinence advocacy book *Why Wait?* in 1987, moved to Malawi in the early 1990s to teach at a national Christian college.[82] As the AIDS epidemic spread, Day partnered with Malawi's Ministry of Education to adapt Why Wait's abstinence materials for public primary and secondary schools. Day explained to US evangelicals that through the Why Wait project, Malawian students received "training in character and moral development, with emphasis on Jesus Christ as their model. Building on this, teachers will then present an abstinence-based, sex-education curriculum."[83] For example, primary school students learned a song that matched the tune of the US children's gospel song "This Little Light of Mine" with the lyrics "this little life of mine, I'm gonna let it grow…I'll abstain, I'll abstain from sex."[84] In the late 1990s, Crusade united its abstinence education programs in Malawi and Hungary under the umbrella of the global CrossRoads program, which expanded to fifty different countries by 2001.[85]

Missionaries' AIDS prevention programs focused on many of the main themes represented in the US purity movement. These global AIDS prevention campaigns most emphasized that conversion to evangelical Christianity was the foundation for sexual purity, that abstinence was a brave countercultural choice amid an immoral and promiscuous culture, and that chastity was the only effective protection against sexually transmitted diseases like AIDS. Linking sexual purity to personal salvation, missionaries argued that Christian sanctification provided the moral strength to abstain from sex before marriage. The FMB's AIDS education pamphlets in Uganda addressed the question "how can I control my sexual behavior" by insisting that "knowing what is right is not enough; doing what is right is only possible through the Holy Spirit" and by inviting readers to "get a new start through confession and forgiveness" from God.[86] Crusade's CrossRoads ministry further spelled out this relationship between personal salvation and abstinence: "Abstinence is a result of changed behavior. And changed behavior is a result of a changed heart. You and I know that only God can change hearts."[87] The director of CrossRoads similarly asserted that "AIDS is a behavior-driven problem" and "one of the best

---

New Life World Aid, Inc, 1995). CrossRoads also utilized the same dissemination methods that the CoMission had used, with the exception that career missionaries rather than short-term volunteers trained public school teachers to use the CrossRoads curriculum.

[81] Judy Nelson, "Step by Step," *Worldwide Challenge* 22, no.6 (November/December 1995), 32-33.

[82] Crusade described Why Wait as "a study on why young people do not abstain from premarital sex and a defense of God's reasons to wait." See Diane McDougall, "Behind the Scenes," *Worldwide Challenge* 22, no.6 (November/December 1995), 20 and Josh McDowell and Dick Day, *Why Wait? What You Need to Know about the Teen Sexuality Crisis* (San Bernardino, CA: Here's Life Publishers, Inc., 1987).

[83] Diane McDougall, "Sounds of Silence," *Worldwide Challenge* 22, no.6 (November/December 1995), 14-15, 18.

[84] Ibid., 14.

[85] "CrossRoads Annual Report 2006," Box 1507, International Ministries Collection.

[86] Pamphlet quoted in "Saying Goodbye to Uganda," *The Commission* 52, no. 5 (June / July 1989), 21.

[87] CrossRoads direct mail letter draft, August 16, 1996.

ways to change people's behavior is through the power of God."[88] CrossRoads leaders even predicted that God's power through salvation could protect the entire world from the AIDS epidemic. "If the people of the world had their hearts changed and were willing to live according to His laws," CrossRoads leaders prophesied, "He could keep the globe safe from the catastrophic effects of HIV."[89]

Insisting that personal salvation was the foundation for sexual purity, missionaries made evangelism a central part of AIDS prevention campaigns. FMB missionaries in Uganda celebrated the "hundreds of professions of faith" at abstinence rallies in 1989, thereby underscoring that conversions, not just abstinence pledges, were desired outcomes at AIDS prevention events.[90] The director of CrossRoads in Hungary also stressed the importance of evangelism by claiming that "there would be something wrong with our theology and church practice if we only treated AIDS as a medical problem and didn't share the gospel" with audiences.[91] AIDS prevention programs also provided missionaries with opportunities to evangelize in countries closed to traditional missionary work. CrossRoads leaders rejoiced that they had established a program in Jordan and thus were evangelizing in that country: "While traditional evangelism is limited, CrossRoads reaches a previously unreachable Muslim audience with the Gospel of Jesus Christ!"[92] In its promotional materials, CrossRoads further explained this strategy of entering countries closed to traditional missions: "The challenge is to find points where governments, institutions and people groups recognize a need that can become an avenue for the gospel message. The CrossRoads strategy makes a relevant gospel presentation in the context of those natural openings."[93] Utilizing emergencies like the AIDS epidemic as "natural openings," missionaries' AIDS prevention programs provided venues for evangelism, even in countries that opposed conventional missionary work.

AIDS prevention campaigns on the mission field also emphasized that abstinence was a brave countercultural choice amid a society that condoned sexual promiscuity. Missionaries frequently cast a country as sexually permissive and praised the young people who made abstinence pledges within that climate of permissiveness. FMB missionary Tom Hearon reported that his work with True Love Waits in Brazil had been particularly difficult due to Brazil's "extremely sensual culture." He blamed television programs, youth magazines, and pornography for filling Brazil with "sexual propaganda," and argued that without True Love Waits, Brazilian young people would have no way to know that "they have the option of waiting until marriage to have sex." Ginger and Ken Collier, two other FMB missionaries in Brazil, expressed relief that young people were making abstinence pledges even when surrounded by a sexually permissive culture, and noted that in the first six months of a campaign in Brazil's Espírito Santo state, 5,000 teenagers and young adults had signed abstinence pledge cards.[94] FMB missionary Lyndee Joe also described her work in South Africa as a battle against a culture of promiscuity: "There's

[88] Bill Sundstrom, "When Tragedy Knocks," 9.
[89] CrossRoads direct mail letter draft, August 16, 1996.
[90] "Outside the Shadows, Beyond the Spotlights," *The Commission* 52, no. 5 (June / July 1989), 36.
[91] Judy Nelson, "Step by Step," 33.
[92] Sample direct mail letter, June 1997, Box 1507, International Ministries Collection.
[93] "Choosing the Right Road Makes All the Difference," promotional brochure, n.d., ca. 1998, Box 1507, International Ministries Collection.
[94] Betty Poor and Mary Speidel, "Daring to Be Different," 30.

so much sexual immorality that happens here that these kids are affected at an early age. I'm trying to get them to a better quality of life and not have to deal with the epidemic that has stricken this area."[95] And Crusade missionary Dick Day characterized Malawi's culture as similar to that of the United States in the 1960s and 1970s, which he argued was a culture in which Christianity was losing its influence and in which the "breakdown of the family" was causing drug and alcohol problems in adults, violence in schools, "and, of course, sexual promiscuity." Day applauded young people who were choosing abstinence in Malawi because, he asserted, those youth were helping to reverse the effects of harmful cultural shifts.[96]

As they emphasized the connection between salvation and sexual purity and championed abstinent young people as countercultural heroes, missionaries also promoted abstinence as the only effective protection against HIV/AIDS and denigrated safe sex practices as inherently unsafe. Sharon Pumpelly, an FMB missionary to Uganda, trumpeted abstinence pledges' power to end the AIDS epidemic by telling True Love Waits audiences that "one generation could end AIDS—one generation of young people following God's ways." Pumpelly referenced a study in Uganda which indicated that a growing number of Ugandan youth were choosing abstinence and that simultaneously the rate of new HIV infections was declining, and she claimed that those statistics showed that the philosophy of True Love Waits was the best method of AIDS prevention.[97] Crusade missionaries reported that a CrossRoads program launched in Lebanon because government officials there were "eager for a real solution" and "looked for something that works" to curb HIV/AIDS infection rates; CrossRoads' message of abstinence-only sex education, missionaries argued, was the "real solution" that Lebanon needed.[98]

Missionaries most often touted abstinence's AIDS prevention effectiveness by insisting that abstinence completely eliminated the risk of contracting HIV while contraception and safe sex practices merely reduced the risk of HIV infection. CrossRoads directors explained that their curriculum only taught abstinence because "outside of marriage, teen sexual behavior carries enormous risks, even when using current risk-reduction strategies. The focus of this curriculum is not in reducing the risk; it is in eliminating the risk, preventing the sexual behavior that leads to the problems."[99] CrossRoads instructed local teachers and youth leaders to tell young people that contraceptive methods like condoms were not safe, since, CrossRoads leaders explained, "to imply that condoms provide 'safety' or 'protection' is inaccurate. To achieve any degree of safety with condoms, they must be used absolutely correctly, 100% of the time."[100] CrossRoads directors acknowledged that contraception "will protect many teens from experiencing negative consequences to their sexual choices," but they asked, "what about those are not so lucky?" Emphasizing that safe sex practices were a gamble and insisting that "the costs are too great" for such a gamble, CrossRoads leaders taught in their curriculum that "the only responsible sexual choice for teens is to abstain."[101] With messages like these, missionaries criticized

---

[95] Heidi Steinrock, "Decide to Decide Right: Work in HIV Prevention," *The Commission* 70, no. 3 (Fall 2007), 10.
[96] Diane McDougall, "Behind the Scenes," 20.
[97] "On Mission," *The Commission* 64, no. 10 (December 2001), 40.
[98] Cindy Mitchell to Aaron Coldiron, July 6, 1998, Box 1507, International Ministries Collection
[99] "Documents for Trinidad," April 2003, Box 701, Crossroads Collection.
[100] Marcia Ball and Jennie Cerullo, Life at the CrossRoads: Conference Training Manual, 1998, Box 700, Crossroads Collection.
[101] Ibid.

comprehensive sex education as inherently unsafe and endorsed abstinence as the only effective protection from HIV/AIDS. By promoting abstinence as the only sure defense against AIDS, celebrating abstinence as a countercultural choice, and insisting that conversion was the best foundation for sexual purity, missionaries' AIDS prevention campaigns closely aligned with the main messages of the US evangelical purity movement, thereby reinforcing conservative discourses about sex and making global AIDS work even more attractive to American evangelicals.

In 2003, after fifteen years of missionaries' reeducating evangelicals about AIDS and soliciting their support for global AIDS work, President George W. Bush signed into law the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), which provided fifteen billion dollars for AIDS work around the world, especially in Africa. Bush hailed the plan as a "great mission of rescue," and indeed some of the biggest beneficiaries of PEPFAR funding were already on a mission, for both bodies and souls.[102] Evangelical organizations received some of the largest USAID-distributed PEPFAR grants and used that money to support abstinence education as a major part of their global AIDS prevention and relief programs. World Relief, the international aid arm of the National Association of Evangelicals, earned the single largest USAID grant of 9.7 million dollars to expand its Mobilizing for Life program, which taught young people in Rwanda, Kenya, Mozambique, and Haiti to "choose abstinence as the best means of HIV prevention."[103] PEPFAR itself reflected evangelical priorities by obligating prevention programs to use the ABC approach, which prioritized A (Abstinence) and B (Being faithful) over C (using Condoms), and requiring that one-third of PEPFAR's AIDS prevention funding go towards abstinence education.[104] And US evangelicals supplemented federal support for these AIDS programs with their own dollars as well. By the mid-2000s, one out of every seven evangelicals expressed an eagerness to support HIV/AIDS work, and those levels of support increased through the 2000s and 2010s as more marketing campaigns by mission and relief organizations further elicited evangelicals' backing, especially for programs that aided children whose parents had died from AIDS.[105]

PEPFAR's success in the 2000s signals how far US evangelicals' attitudes and actions towards people with AIDS had shifted over a twenty-year span. While in the 1980s American evangelicals ignored and disparaged AIDS victims in the US, by 2003 when PEPFAR launched evangelicals had become the leading providers of AIDS work around the world. That

---

[102] "Remarks by the President on the Signing of H.R. 1298, the U.S. Leadership against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria Act of 2003," White House press release, May 27, 2003, accessed July 20, 2018, https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/af/rls/74868.htm.

[103] USAID announces first round of grants for President Bush's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, US Agency for International Development press release, April 13, 2004, accessed July 20, 2018, https://reliefweb.int/report/botswana/usaid-announces-first-round-grants-president-bushs-emergency-plan-aids-relief. See also Christine Gardner, *Making Chastity Sexy*, 141-83.

[104] Dagmar Herzog, *Sex in Crisis: The New Sexual Revolution and the Future of American Politics* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), 127-162 and Melani McAlister, *The Kingdom of God Has No Borders: A Global History of American Evangelicals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 247-67.

[105] David King, "Seeking a Global Vision: The Evolution of World Vision and American Evangelicalism," (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 2012), 351-55 and Nina Shapiro, "The AIDS Evangelists," *Seattle Weekly,* February 12, 2007. See also Christopher Barlett and Daniel Curran, *World Vision International's AIDS Initiative: Challenging a Global Partnership* (Boston: Harvard Business School, 2004).

transformation would not have been possible without missionaries' efforts to reshape evangelicals' understanding of the AIDS epidemic and to rouse evangelicals' compassion for people with AIDS overseas. After implementing medical precautions and staff education to address the heath crisis that AIDS created for missionaries on the field, mission organizations turned to the public relations crisis in the US and launched major promotional campaigns to recruit evangelicals' support for global AIDS work. Missionaries taught American evangelicals that the AIDS epidemic was important because it created an urgent need for worldwide evangelism and an opportunity to relieve the suffering of broken black and brown families across the world. These arguments shifted evangelical discourse about AIDS into the register of missions and coupled the epidemic to established missions motivations that US evangelicals already enthusiastically supported. Furthermore, missionaries decoupled the epidemic from US battles over LGBT human and civil rights by insisting that the global AIDS epidemic was a tragedy for heterosexual families and by incorporating the major themes of the US purity movement into abstinence-only AIDS prevention programs around the world. Through these promotions in the US and programmatic designs on the field, missionaries made AIDS work a significant and appealing issue for American evangelicals, just in time for evangelicals to use their growing political power to acquire massive federal backing for their newfound mission to save the world.

## "Let's All Be Kingdom Builders for King Jesus throughout the World": A Conclusion

In December 2000, twenty thousand evangelical college students packed the basketball arena at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champlain for Intervarsity's five-day missionary conference – Urbana 2000. Fifty-four years after the first of these triennial conferences in 1946, missionary organizations gathered again to tell young evangelicals what issues mattered for global evangelism and why college students should become future missionary recruits. Though there were now flashy videos and laser light shows where before there had been modest posterboard cutouts, the themes of urgent opportunity and grave responsibility rang through the conference halls in the new millennium as they had right after World War II. In 1946, conference organizers had promised attendees that "we have the greatest possibility ever of fulfilling our Lord's command for the first time in 'preaching the gospel to every creature.'"[1] At Urbana 2000, conference leaders similarly declared to students that "we're in the midst of the biggest harvest of people to Jesus Christ that the world has ever known!"[2] Young evangelicals who attended Urbana 1951 received firm directives from conference organizers to "pray as if world evangelization depends entirely upon [God]. It does. Plan, prepare as if it depends by commandment upon us."[3] Urbana 2000 speakers emphasized this critical responsibility for the world's salvation with far more theatricality. On the opening night of the conference, the first plenary speaker bounded onto the stage wearing a coat emblazoned with a world map and carrying an enormous inflatable globe. As he hoisted the globe high above his head, he shouted to his audience: "Let's remember it's the Lord Jesus who told us to go in the world and preach the gospel to every person. This isn't our idea. This is not Urbana's idea, Intervarsity's idea….This is a Jesus idea, a Jesus command!"[4] As he concluded his exuberant exhortation, he thrust the globe higher into the air and the stadium erupted into thunderous applause.

Urbana 2000 demonstrates how the cognitive and affective frameworks learned from the mission field were continuing to animate American evangelicals at the end of the twentieth century. Through five decades of colossal global and domestic revolutions, US evangelicals had changed by adjusting some of their campaigns to save the world and altering some of their methods for transforming the United States. But evangelicals' core goals had remained the same, as their global activism constantly had reminded them about their ultimate ambition to save and transform all "others" out in the world and within the US. Because of missionary work, American evangelicals earnestly had admitted certain failures and prejudices and had pursued new ways of understanding and relating to the others around them. They sincerely had shifted their views about race and ethnicity, immigration, their former Cold War enemies, and the AIDS

---

[1] "Information for the Staff on the Toronto Missionary Convention," Folder 7, Box 342, Collection 300, Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship 1940-1991, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois (hereafter IVCF Collection).

[2] George Verwer, "Day 1 Night Message," December 27, 2000, Urbana Student Missions Conference, Intervarsity, accessed March 3, 2019, https://urbana.org/video/day-1-night-message-7.

[3] Wesley Gustafson, "Introduction to Compendium of Missionary Convention Messages," in in *By All Means…Proclaim Christ: From Every Campus to Every Country* (Chicago: Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, 1952), 2.

[4] Verwer, "Day 1 Night Message." The title of this conclusion is also a direct quote from Verwer's message.

epidemic. But their heartfelt efforts to love, save, and transform the others around them still relied on the fundamental assumption inculcated through their mission work – that conservative white American Protestants have a belief system that the rest of the world does not have and desperately needs, and it is the primary responsibility of every US evangelical to convince all others to adopt that belief system. This conviction fueled evangelicals' activism around the world and their political and cultural involvement in the US through the end of the twentieth century and well into the new millennium.

In the 1940s and 1950s, when American evangelicals were building what would become the largest missionary enterprise in the world, missionaries taught evangelical churchgoers that they had a critical opportunity and vital responsibility to save the world. Thanks to postwar economic prosperity, evangelicals also had the money to save the world. Federal programs, tax policies, and investment in the Sunbelt lifted the socioeconomic status of white families and made it possible for so many white evangelicals to donate generously to overseas missions. The early Cold War's conservative climate and fears of nuclear war pushed more Americans than ever before into church pews, where they heard appeals from missionaries ready to take their donations and provide a worldwide religious antidote to communist atheism. This new generation of evangelical missionaries promised that they would be the dedicated conservative Protestant leaders of global missions who would not get distracted, as they claimed that their US missionary forebears had, and would remain focused on converting every person across the globe and saving billions of people from what evangelicals believed was literal eternal damnation. Missionaries recruited US evangelicals' support by reminding them that each believer was personally responsible for the salvation of all others around the world, and that the unprecedented geopolitical ascendancy of the American state after World War II provided American evangelicals with a God-given opportunity to evangelize the entire world "in this generation." This urgent call to take responsibility for the world's salvation spurred US evangelicals' cultural chauvinism and especially their unreflective activism. If billions of people around the world were destined for hell and evangelicals were personally responsible to save them, then there was not time to reflect on or critique the methods and epistemologies that evangelizers were using to produce those conversions.

In 2000, after decades of opposition to American missionization around the world and US evangelicals' campaigns to "re-Christianize" the US, similar refrains about urgent opportunities and serious responsibilities still permeated the messages that American evangelicals used to justify their global activism. At Urbana, the opening night plenary message made clear that US evangelicals should feel personally responsible for all others' salvation. George Verwer, director of the short-term missions organization Operation Mobilization, wept as he pointed to specific regions on the globe and led students in a prayer for different areas that needed more evangelism from American missionaries. Verwer encouraged young evangelicals to feel connected to and obligated to help, meaning convert, people in Sudan, Saudi Arabia and the Middle East, Israel, Chechnya, Afghanistan, China, India, and countries throughout the 10-40 window "where hundreds of millions have never heard the gospel."[5] He also celebrated the large numbers of

[5] Verwer, "Day 1 Night Message." The 10-40 window is an invented geographical region which stretches from ten to forty degrees north of the equator in the eastern hemisphere. The AD2000 movement created the concept to highlight the region that contained most of the "unreached people groups" that American evangelicals had labeled in order to target strategically with evangelism campaigns. This selective mapping of evangelism priorities, though

conversions across regions of Asia, Africa, and Europe and encouraged his evangelical audience to interpret this momentum of conversions as a God-given opportunity in which American evangelicals should take part around the world. Verwer proclaimed to the crowd of young evangelicals that "God wants to bring glory to peoples of this world through you," meaning that US evangelicals should feel that God wanted to manifest divine splendor to the world specifically through American evangelicals and their earnest campaigns to convert people across the globe.[6] These assumptions of US evangelicals' God-given opportunities and responsibilities continued to influence evangelicals' posture towards global engagement and intervention in US politics and culture in the 2000s and succeeding years.

In the 1950s and 1960s, amid anticolonial revolutions across the globe and revolutions against white supremacy in the US, missionaries taught white American evangelicals that they had to end segregation in the US for the sake of saving black and brown souls across the world, and that evangelicals should understand racism as a problem of individual thoughts and feelings. Missionaries warned that international press coverage of segregation and racial violence in the US damaged the credibility of American missionaries and their gospel message. And missionaries detailed how their global experiences had convinced them that segregation and racial prejudice were morally wrong, and urged white US evangelicals to undergo a similar transformation regarding race relations. These messages appealed to white evangelicals' concern for the salvation of people of color abroad as a way to improve white evangelicals' treatment of people of color at home. Missionaries called white evangelicals to seek redemption for the sin of racism through contrite repentance and individual inner sanctification, replacing feelings of racial prejudice with God-given feelings of love and compassion for all people, regardless of race or ethnicity. These lessons from missionaries instructed white evangelicals to understand racism as personal rather than structural – an understanding that shaped white evangelicals' responses to the moral and political demands made by people of color during the US civil rights movement and since then. An ethic of individual regeneration shaped evangelicals' understanding of American racism's causes and solutions, and in practice, this individualized social ethic perpetuated the structural status quo.

In the 2000s, one prominent manifestation of this individualized social ethic was the racial reconciliation movement, which had begun in the 1960s and 1970s as calls from African-American pastors for repentance and collective justice work and by the 1990s had morphed into a white-evangelicalism-approved effort to express contrition and commit to merely individual friendship and love, what critics called "tears and hugs and saying I'm sorry."[7] At Urbana 2000, conference organizers dedicated an entire evening to racial reconciliation plenary messages and prayer sessions. These episodes illustrated the ways that evangelicals continued to individualize racism and to conclude that only personal contrition and pledges of future friendly feelings were necessary to eradicate racial injustices. The leaders of these racial reconciliation sessions were black pastors, but the sessions did nothing to challenge white hegemony within evangelicalism or American society, which made the sessions palatable to a majority white evangelical audience. During her plenary address, Brenda Salter McNeil, president of a racial reconciliation ministry in

---

planned by an internationalized committee, reflected Western modernist practices for identifying and targeting specific populations. See Chapter three for a larger discussion of the origin of this concept.

[6] Verwer, "Day 1 Night Message."

[7] Carl Ellis quoted in Steve Rabey, "Seedbed for Revival?" *Christianity Today* 41, no. 10 (September 1, 1997): 90.

Chicago, continually reminded young evangelicals that the biggest problem was that evangelicals did not care about racial issues. McNeil lamented that evangelicalism "is comfortable in its isolationism, and we don't care that we don't care" and she contrasted evangelical political organizing on behalf of conservative sexual norms with the lack of organizing for racial justice: "We cry out about abortion and homosexuality, but we don't say a thing about race. We don't care."[8] By insisting that evangelicals most lacked the right feelings – feelings of concern – McNeil challenged young evangelicals to alter their thoughts and emotions about race without threatening the structural and institutional whiteness of evangelicalism or of Urbana itself. As a result, evangelicals at Urbana 2000 had a cathartic emotional experience during racial reconciliation prayer sessions, and simply committed to feel more concern and love for people of many different races and ethnicities.

In 2015, when Urbana did host speakers that named and destabilized white conservative hegemony within evangelicalism, Intervarsity paid the price, literally, and had to do a public relations cleanup job. Prominent donors pulled funding from Intervarsity after one evening of the conference featured a team of worship leaders clad in "Black Lives Matter" t-shirts and a black female minister who openly told evangelicals that they were and long had been complicit in white supremacy in the US and around the world and were "believing a lie" by not recognizing and eradicating the structural racism within evangelicalism and American society.[9] The difference between calling evangelicals to care about racism and calling them addicts to white supremacy was the difference between comfortable crying audiences and angry threatening donors. In response to donors' anger and conservative news outlets' decrying the minister as a "left-wing church lady," Intervarsity released statements assuaging conservative evangelicals by insisting that the organization and its leadership cared about "the sanctity of life" and therefore were "both pro-life and committed to the dignity of [our] black brothers and sisters."[10] Only by appealing to its loyalty to heteropatriarchal sexual norms did Intervarsity take the spotlight off of the platform it had given to speakers who openly challenged white supremacy. Both the warm emotional responses to Urbana 2000's racial reconciliation night and the angry responses to Urbana 2015's Black Lives Matter references reveal how an individualized social ethic continued to animate white US evangelicals and shape their responses to the moral demands made by people of color in the US and around the world.

In the 1970s and 1980s, during decades of intense opposition to the Western structures and epistemologies inherent in American missionization, missionaries taught American evangelicals how to embrace cultural and racial diversity while retaining secure institutional

---

[8] Brenda Salter McNeil, "Day 2 Night Message," December 28, 2000, Urbana Student Missions Conference, Intervarsity, accessed March 3, 2019, https://urbana.org/video/day-2-night-message-4.

[9] For the Urbana 2015 sessions, see Erna Kim Hackett, "Day 2 Night Message," December 28, 2015, Urbana Student Missions Conference, Intervarsity, accessed March 3, 2019, https://urbana.org/video/erna-hackett; Shedrach Rowry, Kraven Rowry, and Erna Kim Hackett, "Gospel Music Intro," December 28, 2015, Urbana Student Missions Conference, Intervarsity, accessed March 3, 2019, https://urbana.org/video/gospel-music-intro-urbana-15; Michelle Higgins, "Day 2 Night Message," December 28, 2015, Urbana Student Missions Conference, Intervarsity, accessed March 3, 2019, https://urbana.org/video/michelle-higgins. For press coverage about donor responses and Intervarsity's public relations messages, see for example Mark Oppenheimer, "Some Evangelicals Struggle with Black Lives Matter Movement," *New York Times*, January 22, 2016.

[10] For conservative media coverage of Urbana 2015, see for example Rod Dreher, "Do #UnbornLives Matter to InterVarsity?" *The American Conservative*, January 8, 2016.

whiteness within communities in which Western white dominance was declining. In response to widespread condemnations of the methods and theologies of American mission work across the Global South, missionaries made earnest confessions such as "my paternal[ist] and patronizing attitudes are exposed" and committed to partnering with local Christians across the Global South instead of running mission programs as a top-down process driven by Americans' unilateral decisions.[11] While many US missionaries self-consciously tried to rid themselves of their cultural chauvinism and tried to put some local Christians on regional decision-making bodies, Christians across the Global South insisted that global power hierarchies had not disappeared just because people from different countries were sitting at the same tables. Even earnestly self-reflective missionaries failed to disentangle their organizations from the larger structural and epistemological forms of Western power, which had been integral to global missions for so long. Translating these lessons from the mission field for US audiences, missionaries taught American evangelicals not to fear the growing number of immigrants from Latin America, Asia, and Africa, but rather to embrace racial and ethnic diversity – even by moving back into American cities that white evangelicals had abandoned during the postwar white flight to segregated suburbs – as an opportunity to do mission work inside of the United States, thereby applying the hierarchical format of mission work to white evangelicals' relationship to people of color in the US. These lessons sacralized white gentrification of American cities and formed the justification for multiethnic megachurches, especially those that appealed to young urban gentrifiers.

In the 2000s, this vision for evangelicals to missionize or minister to people of color in the US manifested as evangelism campaigns for international students and more general advice that evangelicals should reach across cultural and racial divides to convert others around them. At Urbana 2000, instructional videos and speakers taught young evangelicals to befriend college students from different racial and cultural backgrounds for the purpose of converting them and practicing the kind of cross-cultural evangelism that missionaries perform around the world. A plenary session video called "Mission on Campus" included interviews with international students who talked about their loneliness and culture shock on US college campuses. By combining these interview clips with on-screen commands to "love your neighbor," "hear your neighbor," and "serve your neighbor," the video urged the audience to feel pity and compassion for international students and to frame their lack of friends and community as a need that evangelicals had the responsibility to fill by converting those students to evangelical Protestantism.[12] A Korean-American plenary speaker testified to young evangelicals that the best experience of her college career was enduring "suffering" and "discomfort" to befriend an African-American student for the sake of "inviting her into the kingdom of God, where we would be friends forever," meaning inviting that friend to a Bible study and ensuring that the friend converted to evangelical Protestantism. The speaker told the crowd that if they were inspired by missionaries, then they needed to view their college campuses with a missionary mindset, by seeing how God could use them to "lead people of every background and nationality to give their lives to Jesus Christ" and create a diverse community that enabled "people of every

[11] For the example confession, see "Study Conference Outcomes," 1973 EFMA-IFMA-AEPM Study Conference, Folder 19, Box 10, Collection 165, Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois (hereafter EFMA Collection).

[12] "Neighbors: Mission on Campus," December 29, 2000, Urbana Student Missions Conference, Intervarsity, accessed March 4, 2019, https://urbana.org/video/neighbors-mission-campus.

different ethnicity to be in deep relationship because of and only because of the gospel."[13] These messages framed cross-cultural relationships with conversionist motivations, further reinforcing to evangelicals that engaging with those who are racial or cultural "others" should be primarily for the missionary purposes of saving and developing those others.

In the 1970s-1990s, as short-term mission trips skyrocketed in popularity, these trips taught millions of American evangelicals that experiences with foreign people were most of all a means to self-improvement. Participants raved about the ways that these trips rapidly increased their spiritual maturity by putting them in physically and emotionally taxing circumstances and forcing them to rely on God for comfort and peace amid culturally alienating situations in which they had neither the training nor language skills to complete tasks on their own. Travelers framed these situations of incompetence as opportunities for greater faith, by reasoning that any outcomes they perceived as positive were proof of God's power to overcome American travelers' inabilities and inexperience. And participants gushed about their newfound compassion for the physical and spiritual poverty of foreign people, often by detailing the seeming intimacy that they developed with specific foreign others by "falling in love" with them. As missionaries realized that these trips were not saving that many souls or achieving any of the goals that mission organizations had in mind when beginning these short-term programs, some opposed the trips, but many made peace with them by accepting that they could not control the flow of millions of Americans onto the mission field and conceding that the spiritual maturation of American evangelicals could be a worthwhile goal.

In the 2000s, short-term mission trips remained extremely popular, and American evangelicals reported similarly intense emotional experiences that matured their faith and increased their feelings of sympathy for suffering foreign others. At Urbana 2000, former short-term mission participants reminisced about their exotic international experiences and touted the benefits of these trips for their spiritual maturity. One Korean-American participant recalled that she had gained a new appreciation for the account of creation in the book of Genesis by experiencing a brown out (planned restriction of electricity in an area) and therefore being able to marvel at "the most glorious starlit Filipino sky." She also recounted that she had learned to endure suffering with a positive attitude when she accidentally fell into a sewer ditch while looking up at that starlit sky and thus not looking down at the path ahead of her. In these ways, she had understood foreign others' physical and economic hardship as the backdrop that made possible her spiritual revelations about the power of divine creation and the transcendence possible even during moments of distress.[14] Another short-term participant told the Urbana audience that her trip to China had increased her belief in God's power and her sense that she was valuable to God. This Chinese-American speaker testified that watching Chinese students convert to evangelical Protestantism during an emotional worship service (conducted in Chinese, which she could not understand) convinced her that God was achieving miracles through her team in spite of their lack of language skills: "God was the one doing all the work, and we were just blessed to come alongside Him and witness His miracles. It didn't matter that there were language barriers or cultural differences….We were just a group of students, but God used us to

[13] Susan Cho Van Riesen, "Day 3 Night Message," December 29, 2000, Urbana Student Missions Conference, Intervarsity, accessed March 4, 2019, https://urbana.org/video/day-3-night-message-3.
[14] Susan Cho Van Riesen, "Day 3 Night Message."

reach another group of students on the other side of the world." She described her trip as an event that proved to her that God was working in her life, since she interpreted the trip's events as evidence that God was trying to change her heart: "[God] chose to work through us because He loves us so much and He wanted to transform our hearts."[15] These testimonials demonstrate that even for non-white evangelicals, short-term mission trips inculcated the idea that foreign others were the raw material for Americans' self-realization.

In the 1990s, amid the end of the Cold War and the opening of formerly "closed" countries to missionaries, mission trips to Russia and Eastern Europe taught American evangelicals that they could extend conservative Protestant hegemony around the world in ways that they wanted to but could not yet extend it in the United States. The CoMission's seven-year campaign to put Bible-based curriculum and devotional prayer into public schools across the former Soviet Union provided evangelicals with the opportunity to save and develop European "others" who evangelicals imagined were uniformly atheist. As the campaign unfolded, however, mission trip participants found that the Russian Orthodox Church was alive and well and often opposed to American evangelicals' proselytizing in public schools, and even other American missionaries disputed the ways that the CoMission rushed into the former Soviet Union with a top-down model of uncontextualized materials and untrained short-term mission teams. Though the CoMission's stint in Russia and Eastern Europe was brief, the campaign became a template for future evangelism campaigns in public schools around the world, and an encouragement for evangelicals who wanted to extend Protestant hegemony in public schools in the US.

In the 2000s, American evangelicals viewed Europe as an "other" plagued by secular pluralism and atheism, and also viewed American society as an other that needed salvation through the extension of Protestant hegemony in the US public square, a process that evangelicals framed as the recovering and protection of Christians' rights and freedoms in the US. At Urbana, speakers described Europe as a fruitful mission field, and also encouraged young evangelicals to treat their US public colleges as mission fields in which they had a right to proselytize. Listing many world regions that needed American missionaries, one plenary speaker cast Europe as a spiritually impoverished place that was desperate for US evangelicals' help, by declaring that "Europe is giving a Macedonian call to 'come over and help us,'" thereby giving Biblical authority to American evangelism campaigns in Europe.[16] Another plenary speaker told evangelical college students that their campuses were places that desperately needed evangelism, and that evangelical students should embrace the "suffering" that they might experience if public schools challenged or restrained their evangelism efforts. The speaker recounted how her sister's bible study group had sponsored laundry and catering services for her dorm as a route to display evangelistic posters and flyers throughout the dorm's common areas. "But some angry dorm members called an emergency meeting," the speaker explained, "and they wanted to talk about religious tolerance." Campus officials mediated a meeting in which, the speaker recounted, dorm members "angrily vented about being oppressed by Christianity, primarily because of these

[15] Nikki Chow, "Day 5 Student Testimony," December 31, 2000, Urbana Student Missions Conference, Intervarsity, accessed March 4, 2019, https://urbana.org/video/testimony-nikki-chow.

[16] Verwer, "Day 1 Night Message." The Macedonian call refers to a vision that directed the route of the Apostle Paul's second preaching journey – the story of the vision appears in Acts 16:9. Referencing the Macedonian call equated Americans' evangelizing Europe with the Apostle Paul's journey to evangelize the distant provinces of the Roman Empire.

services and posters." The speaker held up her sister's response as the model that young evangelicals should follow: "Rather than getting angry and lashing out, my sister turned to God and asked Him to serve her and take care of her, so that she could continue to give herself to people that God had put around her."[17] Pushback about the blending of public education and religious evangelism was simply a normal burden that young evangelicals should expect to bear as they proselytized on their campuses.

Intervarsity and other evangelical organizations would receive formal pushback from public campuses in the 2000s and 2010s, and this would become a key battleground over Protestant hegemony in the US public square. Most notably, the California State University system derecognized Intervarsity and Campus Crusade in 2014 as a result of the CSU chancellor's executive order that required all recognized student groups to accept any student as a group leader.[18] The question of formal sponsorship and subsidization (through recognition, receipt of student activity fees, and reservation privileges for meetings in campus buildings) of evangelical student groups by public universities became a lightning rod for evangelical efforts to retain and extend hegemony in the public square by arguing that any reduction of that hegemony was a violation of evangelical Americans' constitutional rights according to the first amendment.[19] After one year, Intervarsity regained formal recognition by reaching a compromise with CSU; Intervarsity agreed to allow all students to become members and to apply for leadership positions, while still applying a selection process for leaders that takes religious beliefs into account. This struggle over public subsidization and sponsorship is one factor, among many, that influenced Intervarsity to issue and require all staff to affirm its position paper on the "Theology of Human Sexuality" in 2016, which framed the organization's commitment to heteropatriarchal sexual norms as a central tenet of its religious belief system, thereby allowing the organization to allege in any future legal challenge that barring LGBTQ students from

---

[17] Susan Cho Van Riesen, "Day 3 Night Message."

[18] Charles B. Reed, "Executive Order 1068," December 21, 2011, California State University Office of the Chancellor, accessed March 5, 2019, https://www.calstate.edu/eo/EO-1068.html. The Supreme Court had upheld a similar all-comers policy at the University of California, Hastings College of Law in 2010. See Christian Legal Society v. Martinez, 561 U.S. 661 (2010).

[19] For coverage of the CSU conflict in the evangelical press, see for example Sarah Eekhoff Zylstra, "Will Intervarsity Losing Cal State Standoff Be Tipping Point for Campus Ministries Nationwide?" *Christianity Today*, September 8, 2014; Jeremy Weber, "Intervarsity Will 'Reinvent' Student Ministry on California State Campuses," *Christianity Today*, September 9, 2014; Leigh Jones, "California Colleges Remove Christian Ministry from 19 Campuses," *World*, September 9, 2014; James Tedford, "The Intervarsity Situation: Christian Unity in the Face of State Derecognition," *MissioAlliance,* September 22, 2014; David French, "Campuses Keep Coming Up With More Reasons to Censor Christians," *Christian Post,* October 8, 2014; Josh Good, "The D-Word is Coming to a Campus Near You," *World*, October 11, 2014; Bob Smietana, "Many Evangelicals Wary of Faith Requirements for Campus Groups," *Christianity Today*, May 6, 2015; Jeff Mateer, "How to Protect Your Faith-Based Business from Leftist Attacks," *Charisma News*, May 25, 2015; Jeremy Weber, "Intervarsity Regains Access to Cal State Campuses," *Christianity Today*, June 19, 2015; Mickey McLean, "Intervarsity Back on California Campuses," *World*, June 19, 2015; Samuel Smith, "'Small Miracle': Cal State Re-Recognizes Intervarsity as Official Student Group After Stripping Ministry's Recognition for Requiring Leaders to Be Christian," *Christian Post*, June 22, 2015. For mainstream press coverage, see for example Michael Paulson, "Colleges and Evangelicals Collide on Bias Policy," *The New York Times,* June 10, 2014; Christopher Shea, "Controversy Heats Up Over Exclusionary Religious Groups," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, October 6, 2014; and Carla Rivera, "Christian Group Fights for Identity against Cal State Policy," *Los Angeles Times,* October 24, 2014.

leadership positions should not disqualify the organization from receiving public sponsorship and subsidization.[20]

One of the evangelical legal organizations leading the effort to extend Protestant hegemony in the public square got its start with sponsors from the CoMission and with a court case about evangelism on public college campuses. Two of the six evangelical founders of the Alliance Defense Fund (renamed in 2012 the Alliance Defending Freedom) were directors of sponsoring and coordinating organizations for the CoMission. So in 1993 as the CoMission campaigns were sweeping across public schools in the former USSR, the ADF also began its work to extend Protestant hegemony in the US public sphere, including in public schools. Today the ADF is most known for representing Hobby Lobby and Masterpiece Cakeshop in their Supreme Court cases, but the ADF's first case and first Supreme Court victory was in 1995, in support of evangelistic literature in public schools. An evangelical magazine at the University of Virginia had sought funding from UVA's Student Activities Fund for its evangelistic monthly publication, and the university had rejected that funding on the grounds that a public university should not fund a religious publication. The ADF's lawyers successfully argued before the Supreme Court that UVA's refusal of funds constituted viewpoint discrimination that violated the First Amendment.[21] Thus a desire to save and transform American society by extending conservative Protestant hegemony in the US public sphere, spurred by successful extensions of Protestant hegemony on the mission field, continued to animate evangelical activism well into the twenty-first century.

In the 1980s-2000s, as the AIDS epidemic swept across the world, missionaries taught American evangelicals to revolutionize their understanding of the AIDS crisis, which made possible evangelicals' transformation from the biggest opponents of AIDS victims in the US to the leading providers of AIDS relief around the world. Missionaries reframed evangelicals' conception of AIDS by shifting the conversation into the register of missions, away from debates about LGBT civil and human rights and towards a hierarchical compassion for black and brown families across the globe, whose suffering US evangelicals imagined that they could relieve. Missionaries also made AIDS relief a conservative cause, further increasing its appeal to US evangelicals, by putting abstinence-only sex education (marketed as AIDS prevention classes) into public schools around the world. This allowed US evangelicals to promote heteropatriarchal

---

[20] See Elizabeth Dias, "Top Evangelical College Group to Dismiss Employees Who Support Gay Marriage," *TIME*, October 6, 2016; and Jonathan Merritt, "Intervarsity's Move on Gay Marriage," *The Atlantic*, October 7, 2016; and Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, "InterVarsity Reiterates Theology of Human Sexuality," press release, October 7, 2016, accessed March 5, 2019, https://intervarsity.org/news/intervarsity-reiterates-theology-human-sexuality. For the position paper, see Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, "A Theological Summary of Human Sexuality," March 2015, accessed March 5, 2019, https://collegiateministries.intervarsity.org/resources/theology-human-sexuality. Conservative Christian colleges and universities utilize a similar legal argument by filing for Title IX exemptions from the Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights; these exemptions allow the campuses to receive federal subsidization while teaching anti-LGBTQ theologies and enacting policies against LGBTQ students, such as banning openly LGBTQ students from admission and threatening with expulsion LGBTQ students who come out while enrolled. See Kif Augustine-Adams, "Religious Exemptions to Title IX," *Kansas Law Review* 65, no. 2 (February 2016): 327-414; Human Rights Campaign, "Hidden Discrimination: Title IX Religious Exemptions Putting LGBT Students at Risk," December 18, 2015, accessed March 5, 2019, http://hrc-assets.s3-website-us-east-1.amazonaws.com//files/assets/resources/Title_IX_Exemptions_Report.pdf; and Eric Kelderman, "How Does a College Get an Exemption from Title IX?" *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, December 21, 2015.

[21] Rosenberger v. Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia, 515 U.S. 819 (1995).

sexual norms through AIDS relief, which facilitated evangelicals' makeover into the face of global AIDS relief.

In the 2000s, US evangelicals harnessed the funding and power of the US state to extend their abstinence-focused AIDS relief programs around the world. At Urbana 2000, speakers told young evangelicals that AIDS was a global issue that required American evangelicals' compassion and evangelistic response.[22] And in the same month that Urbana 2000 unfolded, the Supreme Court ruled on the Florida ballot recount for the 2000 presidential election and put evangelicals' chosen born-again candidate in the White House. The George W. Bush administration would give conservative evangelicals widespread access to federal power, and though evangelicals continued to frame the US state as a moral other that needed salvation and transformation, they were happy to harness the state to make possible those transformations. Turning AIDS relief into a global conservative cause, evangelicals influenced the form of the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, most notably by requiring that one-third of PEPFAR's prevention funding go to abstinence education. The global program that Bush called a "mission of mercy" was also American evangelicals' mission of evangelism and upholding heteropatriarchal sexual norms across the world.[23]

At the turn of the twenty-first century, American evangelicals were celebrating certain political and cultural gains that they felt brought the United States more in line with conservative white Protestant principles. Their aims to save and transform the US did not exist in a national vacuum but rather had been informed directly by their efforts to save and transform the world. Running the world's largest missionary enterprise amid decolonization, anti-imperialism, and neocolonialism fundamentally had shaped how American evangelicals understood themselves and their relationship to the "others" around them. Mission work made American evangelicals more accepting of racial and cultural diversity, more contrite about their past racial and cultural prejudices, more aware of and fascinated by many different cultural and religious lifeways around the world, and more compassionate about forms of physical suffering across the globe. And mission work also made evangelicals more committed to the belief that they bore the responsibility for everyone else's salvation, which made them prone to reject others' autonomy, contextual differences, or rights, and instead insist that everyone should adhere to certain "universal" principles, which were really conservative white US Protestant beliefs abstracted into universals. This sense of responsibility to save others, inculcated through missions, drove evangelicals' cultural and political engagement in the United States, and continues to undergird their domestic and international activism today.

[22] See Verwer, "Day 1 Night Message."
[23] "Remarks by the President on the Signing of H.R. 1298, the U.S. Leadership against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria Act of 2003," White House press release, May 27, 2003, accessed July 20, 2018, https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/af/rls/74868.htm.

## Bibliography

### Archival Collections


Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois:
- Africa Inland Mission (Collection 81)
- Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies (Collection 165)
- InterVarsity Christian Fellowship Records (Collection 300)
- Interviews of William E. Pannell (Collection 498)
- Interview with John A. Gration (Collection 230)
- Interview with Paul Adrian Buyse (Collection 478)
- Interview with Scott Jeffrey Harbert (Collection 447)
- Interviews with Barbara Lynn (Miner) Collins (Collection 508)
- Papers of David Morris Howard, Sr. (Collection 484)
- Records of Mission Aviation Fellowship (Collection 136)
- Records of Short Terms Abroad (Collection 179)

Cru (Campus Crusade for Christ) Archives, Orlando, Florida:
- Agape International Collection
- CrossRoads Collection
- International Ministries Collection
- Jesus Film Collection
- Publications Collection
- Various Ministries, Projects, Events Collection

David DuPlessis Archives, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California:
- David Alan Hubbard Presidential Papers Collection

The Navigators History Department, Colorado Springs, Colorado:
- CoMission Collection (M037)
- Conferences Collection (M019)
- Navigator Country Newsletters Collection (M020)
- Navigator Writings and Papers Collection (M009)
- Donald McGilchrist Papers (private papers provided to author, forthcoming collection)

Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee:
- International Mission Board Audio Collection (AR 551-7)
- International Mission Board Executive Office Records (AR 551-3)
- Research Reports Collection (AR 837)

## Newspapers and Periodicals

*Ambassador Life*
*The American Conservative*
*The Atlantic*
*Charisma News*
*China's Millions*
*Christian Century*
*Christian Post*
*Christianity Today*
*The Chronicle of Higher Education*
*The Commission*
*The Dallas Morning News*
*Emissary*
*Evangelical Missions Quarterly*
*Forbes*
*Freedom Now*
*Freedomways*
*Life*
*Los Angeles Times*
*MissioAlliance*
*Mission Frontiers*
*Missions Mosaic*
*New York Times*
*Newsweek*
*One to One*
*Royal Service*
*South Florida Sun-Sentinel*
*Time*
*USA Today*
*Washington Post*
*Window*
*World*
*World Christian*
*Worldwide Challenge*

## Published Primary Sources

Alexander, John, ed. *Believing and Obeying Jesus Christ: The Urbana 79 Compendium*. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1980.

———, ed. *Confessing Christ as Lord: The Urbana 81 Compendium*. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1982.

Anderson, Duane. “The Role of Short Term Mission Trips in the Discipleship of a Congregation in World Missions.” M.A. thesis, Columbia Biblical Seminary, 1992.
Barrett, David. “AD 2000: 350 Million Christians in Africa.” *International Review of Mission* 59, no. 233 (January 1970): 39–54.
———. *Schism and Renewal in Africa: An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.
———, ed. *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Study of Churches and Religions in the Modern World, AD 1900-2000*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.
Beckwith, Ivy. “Youth Summer Mission Trips: A Case Study.” Th.D. diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1991.
Bright, Bill. *Have You Heard of the Four Spiritual Laws?* San Bernardino, CA: Campus Crusade for Christ, 1965.
Bussard, Al. “Tension in Mission: The Dilemma of Western Energy.” Paper presented at Regent College, Vancouver, British Colombia, March 5, 1990.
Cecil, James. “A Critical Analysis of the Foreign Mission Board’s Procedures for the Involvement of Short Term Volunteers in Personal Presence Overseas Ministries.” Th.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1981.
Chandler, Thomas. “A Statistical Study of Short Term Missions.” M.A. thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1972.
Coggins, Wade and E.L. Frizen, Jr. *Evangelical Missions Tomorrow*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1977.
Corbett, Steve and Brian Fikkert. *When Helping Hurts: How to Alleviate Poverty without Hurting the Poor…or Yourself*. Chicago: Moody Publishers, 2009.
Crespo, Richard, C. Everett Koop, and MAP International. *AIDS—Challenge and Opportunity.* Brunswick, GA: MAP International, 1987. Videocassette (VHS). 29 min.
Dayton, Edward, ed. *Mission Handbook: North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*. 10th ed. Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1973.
———, ed. *Mission Handbook: North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*. 11th ed. Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1976.
Douglas, J.D., ed. *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*. Minneapolis: World Wide Publishers, 1975.
———, ed. *Proclaim Christ Until He Comes: Calling the Whole Church to Take the Whole Gospel to the Whole World*. Minneapolis: World Wide Publications, 1990.
Escobar, Samuel. “Del CLADE I al CLADE II: Evangélicos en Busca de Una Evangelización Contextual.” *Pastoralia* 2, no. 3 (1979), 25.
———. “La Fundación de la Fraternidad Teología Latinoamericana: Breve Ensayo Histórico,” *Boletín Teológico* 59/60 (1995): 7-33.
Eshleman, Paul. *The Touch of Jesus*. Orlando, FL: New Life Publishers, 1995.
——— and Curt Mackey, eds. *Foundations of Christian Ethics, Part II: The Moral Person: An Asset to Society*. San Clemente, CA: International School Project, 1995.
Executive Committee of the Southern Baptist Convention. *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention*. Nashville: Southern Baptist Convention, 1946.
———. *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention*. Nashville: Southern Baptist Convention, 1956.

———. *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention*. Nashville: Southern Baptist Convention, 1966.
———. *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention.* Nashville: Southern Baptist Convention, 1995.
———. *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention.* Nashville: Southern Baptist Convention, 1997.
Fleming, Daniel. *Whither Bound in Missions.* New York: Association Press, 1925.
Forward, David. *The Essential Guide to the Short Term Mission Trip*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1998.
Gatu, John. "Missionary, Go Home." *International Documentation* 63 (July 1974): 70-72.
Getz, Howard. *The CoMission: One View*. Self-published, 2002.
Graham, Billy. *Christianity vs. Communism.* Minneapolis: Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, 1951.
———. *Labor, Christ, and the Cross.* Minneapolis: Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, 1953.
———. *Peace with God*. New York: Doubleday, 1953.
———. *World Aflame*. New York: Doubleday, 1965.
Henry, Carl and Robert Lincoln Hancock. *The Ministry of Development in Evangelical Perspective: A Symposium on the Social and Spiritual Mandate*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1979.
Henry, Carl and W. Stanley Mooneyham. *One Race, One Gospel, One Task.* Minneapolis, MN: Worldwide Publications, 1967.
Howard, David, ed. *Declare His Glory Among the Nations*. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1977.
Hocking, William, et al. *Re-Thinking Missions: A Laymen's Inquiry after One Hundred Years.* New York: Harper, 1932.
Intervarsity Christian Fellowship. *By All Means…Proclaim Christ: From Every Campus to Every Country*. Chicago: Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, 1952.
———. *Change, Witness, Triumph: The Seventh Inter-Varsity Missionary Convention*. Chicago: Inter-Varsity Press, 1965.
———. *Christ the Liberator*. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1971.
———. *Commission, Conflict, Commitment: Messages from the Sixth International Student Missionary Convention*. Chicago: Inter-Varsity Press, 1962.
———. *God's Men—from All Nations to All Nations: The Eighth Inter-Varsity Missionary Convention*. Chicago: Inter-Varsity Press, 1968.
———. *One Lord – One Church – One World: A Missionary Compendium*. Chicago: Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, 1958.
Janssen, A. and L.K. Weeden, eds. *Seven Promises of a Promise Keeper*. Colorado Springs, CO: Focus on the Family Publishing, 1994.
Johnson, Paul, ed. *The CoMission: The Amazing Story of Eighty Ministry Groups Working Together to Take the Message of Christ's Love to the Russian People*. Chicago: Moody Publishers, 2004.
Jones, E. Stanley. *Christ of the Indian Road.* London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1925.
Kane, J. Herbert. *Winds of Change in Christian Mission*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1973.

King, Martin Luther, Jr. *Why We Can't Wait*. New York: New American Library, 1963.
Koop, C. Everett and MAP International. *AIDS Resource Kit.* Brunswick, GA: MAP International, 1987.
Kraft, Charles. *SWM/SIS at Forty: A Participant/Observer's View of Our History*. Pasadena: William Carey Library, 2005.
Kyle, John. *Urban Mission: God's Concern for the City*. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1988.
Lindsell, Harold. *A Christian Philosophy of Missions.* Wheaton, IL: Van Kampen Press, 1949.
———, ed. *The Church's Worldwide Mission.* Waco, TX: Word Books, 1966.
———. *Missionary Principles and Practice*. Westwood, NJ: Revell, 1955.
Laubach, Frank. *The People of the Philippines: Their Religious Progress and Preparation for Spiritual Leadership in the Far East*. New York: G.H. Doran, 1925.
Long, Meredith. "The Increasing Role of Short-Term Service in Today's Mission." In *Mission Handbook: North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*, 10th ed., edited by Edward Dayton, 16-23. Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1973.
MAP International. *AIDS and the International Organization: Policy Development Guidelines for Organizations with Overseas Staff*. Brunswick, GA: MAP International, 1988.
MAP International. *The Church's Response to the Challenge of AIDS/HIV: A Guideline for Education and Policy Development*. Brunswick, GA: MAP International, 1991.
Marks, E. Bailey, Jr., ed. *Life at the Crossroads: An Educational Curriculum from Youth at the Crossroads.* Orlando, FL: New Life World Aid, Inc, 1995.
McDowell, Josh and Dick Day. *Why Wait? What You Need to Know about the Teen Sexuality Crisis*. San Bernardino, CA: Here's Life Publishers, Inc., 1987.
McGavran, Donald. *The Bridges of God: A Study of the Strategy of Missions.* London: World Dominion Press, 1955.
McLeish, James, ed. *Faithful Witness: The Urbana 84 Compendium*. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1985.
Melton, J. Gordon, ed. *The Churches Speak on AIDS: Official Statements from Religious Bodies and Ecumenical Organizations*. Detroit: Gale Research Inc, 1989.
Millham, Douglas. "Short-Term Mission: A Model for Mobilizing the Church." Th.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1988.
Missionary Research Library. *North American Protestant Foreign Mission Agencies*. New York: Missionary Research Library, 1962.
Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center. *North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*. Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1970.
———. *Unreached Peoples*. Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1974.
Mott, John. *The Evangelization of the World in This Generation.* New York: Student Volunteer Movement, 1901.
National Association of Evangelicals. *What Can I Do to Combat Communism?* Wheaton, IL: National Association of Evangelicals, n.d.

National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA, *The Yearbook of American Churches for 1968.* New York: Round Table Press, 1968.
Nacpil, Emerito. "Mission but Not Missionaries." *International Review of Mission* 60, no. 269 (July 1971): 356-62.
Niebuhr, H. Richard. *Christ and Culture*. New York: Harper, 1951.
Ockenga, Harold. *The Answer to Communist Aggression.* Boston: Park Street Church, 1950.
Padilla, C. René. "A Steep Climb Ahead for Evangelical Theology in Latin America." *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (1971): 99-106.
———. "Teología Latinoamericana: ¿Izquierdista o Evangélica?" *Pensamiento Cristiano* 17, no. 66 (1970): 134-139.
Percey, J.O., ed. *Facing the Unfinished Task.* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1961.
Perkins, John. *With Justice for All*. Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 1982.
Peterson, Roger, Gordon Aeschliman, R. Wayne Sneed, and Kim Hurst. *Maximum Impact Short-Term Mission: The God-Commanded, Repetitive Deployment of Swift, Temporary, Non-Professional Missionaries*. Minneapolis: STEM Press, 2003.
Peterson, Roger and Timothy Peterson. *Is Short Term Mission Really Worth the Time and Money? Advancing God's Kingdom through Short-Term Mission*. Minneapolis, MN: STEM Ministries, 1991.
Platt, Mary Schauffler. *A Straight Way Toward Tomorrow.* Cambridge: Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, 1926.
Priest, Robert, ed. *Effective Engagement in Short-Term Missions: Doing it Right!* Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2008.
Reischauer, A.K. *The Task in Japan: A Study in Modern Missionary Imperatives.* New York: Revell, 1926.
Salley, Columbus and Ronald Behm. *Your God is Too White*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1970.
Sawatsky, Walter. "After the Glasnost Revolution: Soviet Evangelicals and Western Missions." *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 16, no.2 (April 1992): 54-60.
Schorr, Vernie, ed. *Foundations of Christian Ethics, Part I: Building Character*. San Clemente, CA: International School Project, 1995.
———, ed. *International School Project Elementary Character Development Curriculum*. Laguna Nigel, CA: Children of the World, 1993.
Schwartz, Fred. *You Can Trust the Communists.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1960.
Sider, Ronald, ed. *Evangelicals and Development: Toward a Theology of Social Change*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1982.
Siewert, John and John Kenyon, eds. *Mission Handbook: USA/Canada Christian Ministries Overseas*. 15th ed. Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1993.
Siewert, John and Dotsey Welliver, eds. *Mission Handbook: U.S. and Canadian Ministries Overseas*. 18th ed. Wheaton, IL: Evangelism and Missions Information Service, 2001.
Skinner, Tom. *How Black is the Gospel?* Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1970.
Smith, Shepherd and Anita Smith. *Christianity in the Age of AIDS: How We Can Be Good Samaritans Responding to the AIDS Crisis*. Washington, D.C.: Americans for a Sound AIDS / HIV Policy, 1990.

Strong, Augustus. *A Tour of the Missions.* Philadelphia: Griffith and Rowland, 1918.
Thomas, W.H. Griffith. "Modernism in China." *Princeton Theological Review* 19 (October 1921): 630-71.
Wagner, C. Peter. *Latin American Theology: Radical or Evangelical? The Struggle for Faith in a Young Church*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970.
Weber, Linda, ed. *Mission Handbook: U.S. and Canadian Protestant Ministries Overseas*. 21st ed. Wheaton, IL: Evangelism and Missions Information Service, 2010.
Welliver, Dotsey and Minnette Northcutt, eds. *Mission Handbook: U.S. and Canadian Protestant Ministries Overseas*. 19th ed. Wheaton, IL: Evangelism and Missions Information Service, 2004.
Wieser, Thomas, ed. *Planning for Mission: Working Papers on the Quest for Missionary Communities*. London: Epworth Press, 1965.
Wilder, Michael and Shane Parker. *TransforMission: Making Disciples through Short-Term Missions*. Nashville: B&H Publishing, 2010.
Williams, Colin. *What in the World*. New York: National Council of Churches, 1964.
———. *Where in the World*. New York: National Council of Churches, 1963.
Wilson, Samuel, ed. *Mission Handbook: North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*. 12th ed. Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1980.
——— and John Siewert, eds. *Mission Handbook: North American Protestant Ministries Overseas*. 13th ed. Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 1986.
Wong, James, Peter Larson, and Edward Pentecost. *Missions from the Third World: A World Survey of Non-Western Missions in Asia, Africa and Latin America*. Singapore: Church Growth Study Centre, 1973.
World Council of Churches. *The Church for Others and the Church for the World: A Quest for Structures for Missionary Congregations*. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1967.
World Council of Churches Commission on World Mission and Evangelism. *Bangkok Assembly 1973: Minutes and Report of the Assembly of the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches, December 31, 1972 and January 9-12, 1973*. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1973.
World Missionary Conference. *The History and Records of the Conference together with Addresses Delivered at the Evening Meetings*. New York: Revell, 1910.

## Secondary Sources

Adas, Michael. *Dominance by Design: Technological Imperatives and America's Civilizing Mission*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.
Allen, L. Dean. "Promise Keepers and Racism: Frame Resonance as an Indicator of Organizational Vitality." *Sociology of Religion* 61, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 55-72.
Altschuler, Gleen and Stuart Blumin. *The GI Bill: A New Deal for Veterans*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
Alumkal, Antony. "American Evangelicalism in the Post-Civil Rights Era: A Racial Formation Theory Analysis." *Sociology of Religion* 65, no. 3 (Autumn 2004): 195-213.

Ammerman, Nancy. *Baptist Battles: Social Change and Religious Conflict in the Southern Baptist Convention*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990.
———, ed. *Southern Baptists Observed: Multiple Perspectives on a Changing Denomination*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1993.
Anderson, Carol. *Bourgeois Radicals: The NAACP and the Struggle for Colonial Liberation, 1941-1960*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
———. *Eyes off the Prize: African Americans, the United Nations, and the Struggle for Human Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
Anderson, John. *Religion, State, and Politics in the Soviet Union and Successor States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
Andrew, John, III. *From Revivals to Removals: Jeremiah Evarts, the Cherokee Nation, and the Search for the Soul of America*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992.
———. *The Other Side of the Sixties: Young Americans for Freedom and the Rise of Conservative Politics*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997.
Asad, Talal. *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
———. "Reflections on Violence, Law, and Humanitarianism." *Critical Inquiry* 41, no. 2 (Winter 2015): 390-427.
Augustine-Adams, Kif. "Religious Exemptions to Title IX." *Kansas Law Review* 65, no. 2 (February 2016): 327-414.
Avila, Eric. *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
Barlett, Christopher and Daniel Curran. *World Vision International's AIDS Initiative: Challenging a Global Partnership*. Boston: Harvard Business School, 2004.
Barron, Jessica. "Managed Diversity: Race, Place, and an Urban Church." *Sociology of Religion* 77, no 1 (February 2016): 18-36.
Barry, Amanda, Joanna Cruickshank, Andrew Brown-May, and Patricia Grimshaw, eds. *Evangelists of Empire? Missionaries in Colonial History*. Melbourne: University of Melbourne Custom Book Centre, 2008.
Bartowski, J.P. *The Promise Keepers: Servants, Soldiers, and Godly Men*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004.
Bauman, Mark and Berkley Kalin, eds. *The Quiet Voices: Southern Rabbis and Black Civil Rights*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997.
Beahm, William. "Factors in the Development of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions." Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1941.
Beasley, Betsy. "Service Learning: Oil, International Education, and Texas's Corporate Cold War." *Diplomatic History* 42, no. 1 (April 2018): 177–203.
Bebbington, David. *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
Bell, Joyce and Douglas Hartmann, "Diversity in Everyday Discourse: The Cultural Ambiguities and Consequences of 'Happy Talk.'" *American Sociological Review* 72, no.6 (December 2007): 895-914.
Belmonte, Laura. *Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

Bender, Thomas, ed. *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
Bennett, Michael. *When Dreams Came True: The GI Bill and the Making of Modern America*. McLean, VA: Brassey's Publishing, 1996.
Bercovich, Sacvan. *American Jeremiad.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987.
Berger, Maurice. *For All the World to See: Visual Culture and the Struggle for Civil Rights*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.
Berlant, Lauren, ed. *Compassion: The Cultural Politics of an Emotion*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
———. *The Female Complaint: The Unfinished Business of Sentimentality in American Culture*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.
Berrey, Ellen. *The Enigma of Diversity: The Language of Race and the Limits of Racial Justice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015.
Blum, Edward. *Reforging the White Republic: Race, Religion, and American Nationalism, 1865-1898*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005.
Bodroghkozy, Aniko. *Equal Time: Television and the Civil Rights Movement*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012.
Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. 5th ed. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2017.
Borgwardt, Elizabeth. *A New Deal for the World: America's Vision for Human Rights*. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2007.
Bornstein, Erica. *Disquieting Gifts: Humanitarianism in New Delhi*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012.
———. *The Spirit of Development: Protestant NGOs, Morality, and Economics in Zimbabwe*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005.
———. "The Value of Orphans." In *Forces of Compassion: Humanitarianism Between Ethics and Politics*, edited by Erica Bornstein and Peter Redfield, 123-48. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2010.
——— and Peter Redfield, eds. *Forces of Compassion: Humanitarianism between Ethics and Politics*. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2010.
Borstelmann, Thomas. *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.
Boyer, Paul. *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age.* New York: Pantheon, 1985.
Bradley, Mark Philip. *Imagining Vietnam and America: The Making of Postcolonial Vietnam, 1919-1950*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.
Brennan, Mary. *Turning Right in the Sixties: The Conservative Capture of the GOP*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
Briggs, Laura. *Somebody's Children: The Politics of Transracial and Transnational Adoption*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2012.
Brouwer, Steve, Paul Gifford, and Susan Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel: Global Christian Fundamentalism*. New York: Routledge, 1996.
Brown, Michael et al. *Whitewashing Race: The Myth of a Color-Blind Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

Brumberg, Joan Jacobs. "Zenanas and Girlless Villages: The Ethnology of American Evangelical Women, 1870-1910." *Journal of American History* 69, no. 2 (1982): 347-71.
Brusco, Elizabeth. *The Reformation of Machismo: Evangelical Conversion and Gender in Colombia*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995.
Burdick, John. *Looking for God in Brazil: The Progressive Catholic Church in Urban Brazil's Religious Arena*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.
Burnidge, Cara. *A Peaceful Conquest: Woodrow Wilson, Religion, and the New World Order*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016.
Burnstein, Daniel. *Next to Godliness: Confronting Dirt and Despair in Progressive-Era New York City*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006.
Butler, Jon. "Jack-in-the-Box Faith: The Religion Problem in Modern American History." *The Journal of American History* 90, no 4 (Mar 2004): 1357-78.
Canaday, Margot. *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.
Carpenter, Joel. "Propagating the Faith Once Delivered: The Fundamentalist Missionary Enterprise, 1920-1945," In *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880-1980*, edited by Joel Carpenter and Wilbert Shenk, 92-132. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990.
———. *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
Carroll, Jackson, Douglas Johnson, and Martin Marty. *Religion in America: 1950 to the Present.* New York: Harper and Row, 1979.
Carter, Dan. *From George Wallace to Newt Gingrich: Race in the Conservative Counterrevolution, 1963–1994*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996.
Carter, Dan. *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995.
Chang, Derek. *Citizens of a Christian Nation: Evangelical Missions and the Problem of Race in the Nineteenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.
Chaves, Mark. *National Congregations Study – 1998*. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, 2002.
Chappell, Dave. *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
Chaves, Mark and Sharon Miller, eds. *Financing American Religion*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira, 1999.
Chavez, Leo. *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008.
Chesnut, R. Andrew. *Competitive Spirits: Latin America's New Religious Economy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
Clapp, Elizabeth. *Mothers of All Children: Women Reformers and the Rise of Juvenile Courts in Progressive Era America*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State Press, 1998.
Cobb, Ryon, Samuel Perry, and Kevin Dougherty. "United by Faith? Race/Ethnicity, Congregational Diversity, and Explanations of Racial Inequality." *Sociology of Religion* 76, no.5 (June 2015): 177–98.

Cohen, Lizabeth. *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America*. New York: Knopf, 2003.
Collins, Sharon. *Black Corporate Executives: The Making and Breaking of a Black Middle Class*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997.
Comaroff, Jean and John Comaroff. *Of Revelation and Revolution*, Vol. 1, *Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
———. *Of Revelation and Revolution*, Vol. 2, *The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
Connelly, Matthew. *Fatal Misconception: The Struggle to Control World Population*. Harvard University Press, 2009.
Conroy-Krutz, Emily. *Christian Imperialism: Converting the World in the Early American Republic*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015.
Coontz, Stephanie. *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap*. New York: Basic Books, 1992.
Coote, Robert. "Good News, Bad News: North American Protestant Overseas Personnel Statistics in Twenty-Five-Year Perspective." *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 19, no.6 (January 1995): 6-13.
———. "Lausanne II and World Evangelization." *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 14, no.1 (January 1990): 10-17.
———. "The Uneven Growth of Conservative Evangelical Missions." *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 6, no.3 (July 1982): 118-23.
Crespino, Joseph. *In Search of Another Country: Mississippi and the Conservative Counterrevolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.
———. *Strom Thurmond's America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2012.
Critchlow, Donald. *The Conservative Ascendancy: How the GOP Right Made Political History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.
———. *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Woman's Crusade*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.
Cullather, Nick. *The Hungry World: America's Cold War Battle against Poverty in Asia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.
Dallek, Matthew. *The Right Moment: Ronald Reagan's First Victory and the Decisive Turning Point in American Politics*. New York: Free Press, 2000.
Daniels, Roger. *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants since 1942*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004.
Dean, Robert. *Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and the Making of Cold War Foreign Policy*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001.
DeConde, Alexander. *Ethnicity, Race, and American Foreign Policy: A History*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992.
De Grazia, Victoria. *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth Century Europe*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.
DeRogatis, Amy. *Saving Sex: Sexuality and Salvation in American Evangelicalism.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Diamond, Sara. *Roads to Dominion: Right-Wing Movements and Political Power in the United States*. New York: Guliford Press, 1995.
———. *Spiritual Warfare: The Politics of the Christian Right*. Boston, South End Press, 1989.
Dochuk, Darren. *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt: Plain-Folk Religion, Grassroots Politics, and the Rise of Evangelical Conservatism*. New York: Norton, 2010.
Dow, Philip. "Romance in a Marriage of Convenience: The Missionary Factor in Early Cold War U.S.-Ethiopian Relations, 1941–1960." *Diplomatic History* 35, no. 5 (November 2011): 859–95.
Dowland, Seth. *Family Values and the Rise of the Christian Right*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.
Dudziak, Mary. *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.
Edsall, Thomas Byrne and Mary Edsall. *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics*. New York: Norton, 1991.
Edwards, Korie. *The Elusive Dream: The Power of Race in Interracial Churches*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
Edwards, Wendy Deichman "Forgoing an Ideology for American Missions: Josiah Strong and Manifest Destiny," In *North American Foreign Missions: 1810-1914*, edited by Wilbert R. Shenk, 163-91. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004.
Ekbladh, David. *The Great American Mission: Modernization and the Construction of an American World Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010.
Emerson, Michael and Christian Smith. *Divided by Faith: Evangelical Religion and the Problem of Race in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
Emerson, Michael and Rodney Woo, *People of the Dream: Multiracial Congregations in the United States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.
Erzen, Tanya. *God in Captivity: The Rise of Faith-Based Prison Ministries in the Age of Mass Incarceration*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2017.
———. *Straight to Jesus: Sexual and Christian Conversions in the Ex-Gay Movement*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
Escobar, Arturo. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.
Eskridge, Larry. *God's Forever Family: The Jesus People Movement in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
Estep, William. *Whole Gospel, Whole World: The Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1845-1995*. Nashville: Broadman and Holman Publishers, 1994.
Evans, Curtis. "White Evangelical Responses to the Civil Rights Movement." *Harvard Theological Review* 102, no. 2 (April 2009): 252-61.
———. *The Burden of Black Religion*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
Farber, David and Jeff Roche, eds. *The Conservative Sixties*. New York: Peter Lang, 2003.
Farnsley, Arthur. *Southern Baptist Politics: Authority and Power in the Restructuring of an American Denomination*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994.
Fassin, Didier. *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Ferguson, James. *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
Findlay, James, Jr. *Church People in the Struggle: The National Council of Churches and the Black Freedom Movement, 1950-1970*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
Foglesong, David. *The American Mission and the "Evil Empire": The Crusade for a "Free Russia" since 1881*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
Formisano, Ronald. *Boston against Busing: Race, Class, and Ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.
Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. London: Penguin, 1975.
———. *History of Sexuality,* Vol. 1*, An Introduction*. Translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage, 1990.
Fousek, John. *To Lead the Free World: American Nationalism and the Cultural Roots of the Cold War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.
Fraser, James. *Between Church and State: Religion and Public Education in a Multicultural America*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
Frederickson, Kari. *The Dixiecrat Revolt and the End of the Solid South, 1932–1968*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
Friedland, Michael. *Lift up Your Voice Like a Trumpet: White Clergy and the Civil Rights and Antiwar Movements, 1954-1973*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
Friedman, Andrew. *Covert Capital: Landscapes of Denial and the Making of U.S. Empire in the Suburbs of Northern Virginia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013.
Frydl, Kathleen. *The GI Bill*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
Gaines, Kevin. *American Africans in Ghana: Black Expatriates and the Civil Rights Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
Gallup, George. *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion, 1935-1971*, Vol. 2. New York: Random House, 1972.
Gardner, Barry. "Technological Changes and Monetary Advantages: The Growth of Evangelical Funding, 1945 to the Present." In *More Money, More Ministry: Money and Evangelicals in Recent North American History*, edited by Larry Eskridge and Mark Noll, 298-310. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000.
Garrard-Burnett, Virginia. *Protestantism in Guatemala: Living in the New Jerusalem*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998.
Gasaway, Brantley. *Progressive Evangelicals and the Pursuit of Social Justice*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014.
Geertz, Clifford. "Religion as a Cultural System." In *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, edited by Michael Banton, 1-46. London: Tavistock, 1966.
Gerber, Lynne. *Seeking the Straight and Narrow: Weight Loss and Sexual Reorientation in Evangelical America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.
Gilman, Nils. *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2003.
Glanzer, Perry. "A Critical Analysis of the CoMission: A Study in the Loss, Replacement, and Establishment of an Ideology of Moral Order." Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1998.

———. *The Quest for Russia's Soul: Evangelicals and Moral Education in Post-Communist Russia*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2002.
Gleijeses, Piero. *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1976*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
Gomer, Justin. "Colorblindness, A Life: Race, Film, and the Articulation of an Ideology." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2014.
Grabill, Joseph. *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971.
Green, Steven. "Evangelicals and the Becker Amendment: A Lesson in Church-State Moderation." *Journal of Church and State* 33, no. 3 (July 1, 1991): 541–67.
Griffith, R. Marie. *God's Daughters: Evangelical Women and the Power of Submission*. University of California Press, 1997.
———. *Moral Combat: How Sex Divided American Christians and Fractured American Politics*. New York: Basic Books, 2017.
Grubbs, Larry. *Secular Missionaries: Americans and African Development in the 1960s*. Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009.
Gutiérrez, David. *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
Hackett, Conrad and D. Michael Lindsay. "Measuring Evangelicalism: Consequences of Different Operationalization Strategies." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 47, no. 3 (September 2008): 499-514.
Haggis, Jane. "White Women and Colonialism: Towards a Non-Recuperative History." In *Gender and Imperialism*, edited by Clare Midgely, 45-75. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998.
Hamilton, Michael. "More Money, More Ministry: The Financing of American Evangelicalism since 1945." In *More Money, More Ministry: Money and Evangelicals in Recent North American History*, edited by Larry Eskridge and Mark Noll, 134-36. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000.
Hanchett, Thomas. "U.S. Tax Policy and the Shopping-Center Boom of the 1950s and 1960s." *The American Historical Review* 101, no. 4 (October 1996): 1082-1110.
Haney-Lopez, Ian. *White By Law: The Legal Construction of Race*. New York: New York University Press, 2006.
Hankins, Barry. *Uneasy in Babylon: Southern Baptist Conservatives and American Culture*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2002.
Hall, Catherine. *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
Hancock, Mary. "Short-Term Youth Mission Practice and the Visualization of Global Christianity." *Material Religion* 10, no.2 (1994): 154-181.
Harding, Susan. *The Book of Jerry Falwell: Fundamentalist Language and Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
Hart, Stephen. *What Does the Lord Require? How American Christians Think about Economic Justice*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
Hartch, Todd. *The Rebirth of Latin American Christianity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Harvey, Paul. *Freedom's Coming: Religious Culture and the Shaping of the South from the Civil War through the Civil Rights Movement*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.
———. *Redeeming the South: Religious Cultures and Racial Identities among Southern Baptists, 1865-1925*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.
Hayden, Dolores. *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000*. New York: Pantheon Books, 2003.
Hendershot, Heather. *Shaking the World for Jesus: Media and Conservative Evangelical Culture.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
Henricksen, Margot. *Dr. Strangelove's America: Society and Culture in the Atomic Age.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
Herring, Cedric and Loren Henderson, "From Affirmative Action to Diversity: Toward a Critical Diversity Perspective." *Critical Sociology* 38, no. 5 (September 2012): 629-43.
Herzog, Dagmar. *Sex in Crisis: The New Sexual Revolution and the Future of American Politics*. New York: Basic Books, 2008.
Herzog, Jonathan. *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex: America's Religious Battle against Communism in the Early Cold War.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
Hill, George. "Intimate Relationships: Secret Affairs of Church and State in the United States and Liberia, 1925–1947." *Diplomatic History* 31, no. 3 (June 2007): 465–503.
Hill, Patricia. *The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985.
Hinton, Elizabeth. *From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime: The Making of Mass Incarceration in America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016.
Hirsch, Arnold. *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
Hoganson, Kristin. *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
Hollinger, Dennis. *Individualism and Social Ethics: An Evangelical Syncretism*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983.
Hollinger, David. *After Cloven Tongues of Fire: Protestant Liberalism in Modern American History.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.
———. *Protestants Abroad: How Missionaries Tried to Change the World but Changed America.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017.
Horne, Gerald. *Mau Mau in Harlem?: The U.S. and the Liberation of Kenya*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
Horsman, Reginald. *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.
Houck, Davis and David Dixon, eds. *Rhetoric, Religion, and the Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1965*, Vol. 1. Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006.
Hunt, Keith and Gladys Hunt. *For Christ and the University: The Story of InterVarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A., 1940-1990*. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1991.
Hunt, Michael. *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.

Hunter, Jane. *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.
Hutchinson, William. *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions.* Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987.
———. *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976.
Inboden, William. *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
Iriye, Akira. *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
Irvine, Janice. *Talk about Sex: The Battles over Sex Education in the United States.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
Jackson, Kenneth. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
Jacobs, Meg. *Pocketbook Politics: Economic Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.
Jacobs, Sylvia, ed. *Black Americans and the Missionary Movement in Africa.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982.
Johnson, Jessica. *Biblical Porn: Affect, Labor, and Pastor Mark Driscoll's Evangelical Empire*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2018.
Kalman, Laura. *Right Star Rising: A New Politics, 1974–1980*. New York: Norton, 2010.
Kaplan, Amy and Donald Pease, eds. *Cultures of United States Imperialism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.
Katznelson, Ira. *When Affirmative Action was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: Norton, 2005.
Keane, Webb. *Christian Moderns: Freedom and Fetish in the Mission Encounter*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.
Keister, Lisa. *Faith and Money: How Religion Contributes to Wealth and Poverty*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
Kellner, Joseph. "The End of History: Radical Responses to the Soviet Collapse." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2018.
Kelly, Kimberly. "In the Name of the Mother: Renegotiating Conservative Women's Authority in the Crisis Pregnancy Center Movement." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 38, no.1 (Autumn 2012): 203-229.
King, David. "Seeking a Global Vision: The Evolution of World Vision and American Evangelicalism." Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 2012.
Kintz, Linda. *Between Jesus and the Market: The Emotions that Matter in Right-Wing America*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997.
Klatch, Rebecca. *A Generation Divided: The New Left, the New Right, and the 1960s*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
Klein, Christina. *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
Klemek, Christopher. *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal: Postwar Urbanism from New York to Berlin*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2011.

Koehlinger, Amy. *The New Nuns: Racial Justice and Religious Reform in the 1960s*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.
Kramer, Paul. *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
Kruse, Kevin. *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.
———. *One Nation Under God: The Invention of Christian America.* New York: Basic Books, 2015.
Kunz, Diane. *Butter and Guns: America's Cold War Economic Diplomacy*. New York: Free Press, 1997.
Lahr, Angela. *Millennial Dreams and Apocalyptic Nightmares: The Cold War Origins of Political Evangelicalism.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
Lane, Christopher. *Surge of Piety: Norman Vincent Peale and the Remaking of American Religious Life.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.
Lassiter, Matthew. *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.
Latham, Michael. *The Right Kind of Revolution: Modernization, Development, and U.S. Foreign Policy from the Cold War to the Present*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011.
Lautz, Terrill. "The SVM and Transformation of the Protestant Mission to China." In *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900-1950*, edited by Daniel Bays and Ellen Widmer, 3-25. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.
Layman, Geoffrey. *The Great Divide: Religious and Cultural Conflict in American Party Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.
Layton, Azza. *International Politics and Civil Rights Policies in the United States, 1941-1960*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
Leask, Nigel. *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770–1840*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
Lee, Chana Kai. *For Freedom's Sake: The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.
Lee, Edward Ming. "Case Studies of Three Multiethnic Churches: Their Motivations and Strategies in Being Multiethnic." Ph.D. diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 2011.
Lee, Erika. *The Making of Asian America: A History*. New York: Simon and Shuster, 2015.
Lee, Ernest. *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.
Leonard, Bill. "Southern Baptists and Southern Culture." *American Baptist Quarterly* 6, no. 2 (June 1985): 200-212.
Levitan, Sar A. and Karen Cleary. *Old Wars Remain Unfinished: The Veterans Benefits System.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.
Li, Tania Murray. *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.
Lian, Xi. *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907-1932*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997.
Long, Kathryn. "In the Modern World, but Not of It: The 'Auca Martyrs,' Evangelicalism, and Postwar American Culture." In *The Foreign Missionary Enterprise at Home:*

*Explorations in North American Cultural History*, edited by Daniel Bays and Grant Wacker, 223-36. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2003.
Long, Thomas. *AIDS and American Apocalypticism: The Cultural Semiotics of an Epidemic.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005.
Longfield, Bradley. *The Presbyterian Controversy: Fundamentalists, Modernists, and Moderates.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
Lotz, Denton. "'The Evangelization of the World in This Generation': The Resurgence of a Missionary Idea among the Conservative Evangelicals." Ph.D. diss., University of Hamburg, 1970.
Loveland, Anne. *American Evangelicals and the U.S. Military, 1942–1993*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996.
Luhrmann, Tanya. *When God Talks Back: Understanding the American Evangelical Relationship with God*. New York: Vintage, 2012.
Luker, Ralph. "Kingdom of God and Beloved Community in the Thought of Martin Luther King Jr." In *The Role of Ideas in the Civil Rights South*, edited by Ted Ownby, 39-54. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002.
MacLean, Nancy. *Democracy in Chains: The Deep History of the Radical Right's Stealth Plan for America*. New York: Viking, 2017.
———. *Freedom is Not Enough: The Opening of the American Workplace*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.
Maier, Charles. *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and Its Predecessors*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.
Makdisi, Ussama. *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.
Malkki, Liisa. *The Need to Help: The Domestic Arts of International Humanitarianism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2015.
Manis, Andrew. *Southern Civil Religions in Conflict: Black and White Baptists and Civil Rights, 1947-1957*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987.
Marsden, George. *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
———. *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism.* Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987.
———. *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1981.
Marsh, Charles. *God's Long Summer: Stories of Faith and Civil Rights*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
Marti, Gerardo. *Worship across the Racial Divide: Religious Music and the Multiracial Congregation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
——— and Michael Emerson. "The Rise of the Diversity Expert: How American Evangelicals Simultaneously Accentuate and Ignore Race." In *The New Evangelical Social Engagement*, edited by Brian Steensland and Philip Goff, 179-85. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
Martin, David. *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1990.

Martinez, Brandon and Kevin Dougherty. "Race, Belonging, and Participation in Religious Congregations." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 52, no.4 (December 2013): 713–32.
Marvasti, Amir and Karyn McKinney, "Does Diversity Mean Assimilation?" *Critical Sociology* 37, no.5 (March 2011): 631–50.
May, Elaine Tyler. *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*. New York: Basic Books, 1988.
Mayer, Jane. *Dark Money: The Hidden History of the Billionaires Behind the Rise of the Radical Right*. New York: Doubleday, 2016.
McAlister, Melani. *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
———. *The Kingdom of God Has No Borders: A Global History of American Evangelicals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
McCleary, Rachel. *Global Compassion: Private Voluntary Organizations and U.S. Foreign Policy since 1939*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
McGirr, Lisa. *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
———. *The War on Alcohol: Prohibition and the Rise of the American State*. New York: Norton, 2015.
McGeer, Michael. *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
McGreevy, John. "Racial Justice and the People of God: The Second Vatican Council, the Civil Rights Movement, and American Catholics." *Religion and American Culture* 4 (1994): 221-54.
Menzies, William. *Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God*. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971.
Meyerowitz, Joanne, ed., *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994.
Miller, Anthony. "Pioneers in Exile: The China Inland Mission and Missionary Mobility in China and Southeast Asia, 1943-1989." Ph.D. diss., University of Kentucky, 2015.
Miller, Stephen. *Billy Graham and the Rise of the Republican South*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.
Mitchell, Timothy. *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, and Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
Moberg, David. *The Great Reversal: Evangelism and Social Concern*. rev. ed. Philadelphia: Holman, 1977.
Moody, Dale. "The Shaping of the Southern Baptist Polity." *Baptist History and Heritage* 14, no. 3 (1979): 2-11.
Moreton, Bethany. *To Serve God and Wal-Mart: The Making of Christian Free Enterprise*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.
Morris, Aldon. *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change*. New York: Free Press, 1986.
Moslener, Sara. *Virgin Nation: Sexual Purity and American Adolescence.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Mostafanezhad, Mary. *Volunteer Tourism: Popular Humanitarianism in Neoliberal Times*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
Mullin, Miles. "Neoevangelicalism and the Problem of Race in Postwar America." In *Christians and the Color Line: Race and Religion after Divided by Faith*, edited by J. Russel Hawkins and Philip Sinitiere, 15-44. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
Neal, Lynn. *Romancing God: Evangelical Women and Inspirational Fiction*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
Newman, Mark. *Getting Right with God: Southern Baptists and Desegregation, 1945-1995*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2001.
———. *Divine Agitators: The Delta Ministry and Civil Rights in Mississippi*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004.
Ngai, Mae. *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.
Nickerson, Michelle. *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.
——— and Darren Dochuk, eds., *Sunbelt Rising: The Politics of Space, Place, and Region*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.
Nicolaides, Becky. *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920–1965*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
Oh, Arissa. *To Save the Children of Korea: The Cold War Origins of International Adoption*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015.
Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York: Routledge, 1994.
O'Neill, William. *American High: The Years of Confidence, 1945-1960.* New York: Free Press, 1986.
Ong, Aihwa. *Buddha is Hiding: Refugees, Citizenship, the New America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
Oshinsky, David. *A Conspiracy so Immense: The World of Joseph McCarthy*. New York: Free Press, 1983.
Pelkmans, Mathijs, ed. *Conversion after Socialism: Disruptions, Modernities, and the Technologies of Faith*. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2009.
Perlstein, Rick. *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2001.
Perry, Samuel. "Social Capital, Race, and Personal Fundraising in Evangelical Outreach Ministries." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 52, no. 1 (2013): 159-78.
Plummer, Brenda Gayle. *In Search of Power: African Americans in the Era of Decolonization, 1956-1974*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
Porterfield, Amanda. *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
Pratt, Mary. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. New York: Routledge, 1992.
Preston, Andrew. *Sword of the Spirit, Shield of Faith: Religion in American War and Diplomacy.* New York: Knopf, 2012.
Raboteau, Albert. *A Fire in the Bones: Reflections on African-American Religious History*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1995.

Raiford, Leigh. *Imprisoned in a Luminous Glare: Photography and the African American Freedom Struggle*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.
Ramsey, Dwayne. "College Evangelists and Foreign Missions: The Student Volunteer Movement, 1886-1920." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Davis, 1988.
Reed, James. *The Missionary Mind and American East Asia Policy, 1911-1915*. Cambridge: Harvard Council on East Asian Studies, 1983.
Reeves-Ellington, Barbara, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie Shemo, eds. *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.
Renda, Mary. *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
Reynolds, Amy and Stephen Offutt. "Global Poverty and Evangelical Action." In *The New Evangelical Social Engagement*, edited by Brian Steensland and Philip Goff, 242-64. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
Robert, Dana. "The Origin of the Student Volunteer Watchword: 'The Evangelization of the World in This Generation.'" *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 10, no. 4 (October 1986): 146-49.
———. "'The Crisis of Missions': Premillennial Mission Theory and the Origins of Independent Evangelical Missions." In *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880-1980*, edited by Joel Carpenter and Wilbert Shenk, 29-46. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990.
———. "The First Globalization? The Internationalization of the Protestant Missionary Movement between the Wars." *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 26, no. 2 (April 2002): 50-66.
Roberts, Gene and Hank Klibanoff. *The Race Beat: The Press, the Civil Rights Struggle, and the Awakening of a Nation*. New York: Knopf, 2006.
Rosaldo, Renato. *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1989.
Rose, Kenneth. *One Nation Underground: The Fallout Shelter in American Culture.* New York: New York University Press, 2001.
Rosenberg, Ellen. *The Southern Baptists: A Subculture in Transition*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989.
Rosenberg, Emily. *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1981.
Rosenberg, Jonathan. *How Far the Promised Land? World Affairs and the Civil Rights Movement from the First World War to Vietnam*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.
Rothstein, Richard. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. New York: Norton, 2017.
Ruckle, Tim. "A Crenelated Wall: The Rise and Fall of Southern Baptist Institutions for the Separation of Church and State, 1936-1979." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2015.
Salinas, Daniel. *Latin American Theology in the 1970s: The Golden Decade*. Boston: Brill, 2009.

Scheitle, Christopher. *Beyond the Congregation: The World of Christian Nonprofits*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
Schneider, Gregory. *Cadres for Conservatism: Young Americans for Freedom and the Rise of the Contemporary Right*. New York: New York University Press, 1999.
Schoenwald, Jonathan. *A Time for Choosing: The Rise of Modern American Conservatism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
Schrecker, Ellen. *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
Schulman, Bruce. *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South, 1938-1980*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
Shafer, Axel. *Countercultural Conservatives: American Evangelicalism from the Postwar Revival to the New Christian Right*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011.
———. *Piety and Public Funding: Evangelicals and the State in Modern America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012.
Sharlet, Jeff. *The Family: The Secret Fundamentalism at the Heart of American Power*. New York: Harper Collins, 2008.
Shultz, Kevin. *Tri-Faith America: How Catholics and Jews Held Postwar America to Its Protestant Promise.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
Scott, James. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
Scott, Joan. "Deconstructing Equality-versus-Difference: Or, the Uses of Postructuralist Theory for Feminism." In *Conflicts in Feminism,* edited by Marianne Hirsch and Evelyn Fox Keller, 134-48. New York: Routledge, 1990.
Self, Robert. *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
Shermer, Elizabeth. *Sunbelt Capitalism: Phoenix and the Transformation of American Politics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
Skinner, Betty Lee. *Daws, A Man Who Trusted God: The Inspiring Life and Compelling Faith of Dawson Trotman, Founder of the Navigators.* Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974.
Smilde, David. *Reason to Believe: Cultural Agency in Latin American Evangelicalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.
Smith, Christian. *American Evangelicalism: Embattled and Thriving*. University of Chicago Press, 1998.
Smith, Gary Scott. *Faith and the Presidency: From George Washington to George W. Bush*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
Smith, Linda Diane. "An Awakening of Conscience: The Changing Response of American Evangelicals toward World Poverty." Ph.D. diss., American University, 1986.
Snow, Jennifer. *Protestant Missionaries, Asian Immigrants, and Ideologies of Race in America*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
Spelman, Elizabeth. *Fruits of Sorrow: Framing Our Attention to Suffering*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1997.
Spur, David. *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.

Stahl, Ronit. *Enlisting Faith: How the Military Chaplaincy Shaped Religion and State in Modern America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017.
Staiger, Janet, Ann Cvetkovich, and Ann Reynolds, eds. *Political Emotions*. New York: Routledge, 2010.
Staples, Amy. *The Birth of Development: How the World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization, and World Health Organization Changed the World, 1945-1965*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2006.
Stark, Rodney. *Wayward Shepherds: Prejudice and the Protestant Clergy*. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.
Stephens, Randall. "'It Has to Come from the Hearts of the People': Evangelicals, Fundamentalists, Race, and the 1964 Civil Rights Act." *Journal of American Studies* 50, no. 3 (August 2016): 559-85.
Stevens, Jason. *God-Fearing and Free: A Spiritual History of America's Cold War.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.
Stoll, David. *Is Latin America Turning Protestant? The Politics of Evangelical Growth*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
Storrs, Landon. *The Second Red Scare and the Unmaking of the New Deal Left*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.
Sugrue, Thomas. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
Sullivan, Winnifred. *Prison Religion: Faith-Based Reform and the Constitution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.
Suri, Jeremi. *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003.
Sutton, Matthew. *Aimee Semple McPherson and the Resurrection of Christian America.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.
———. *American Apocalypse: A History of Modern Evangelicalism.* Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2014.
———. *Double Crossed: The Missionaries Who Spied for the United States During the Second World War*. New York: Basic Books, 2019.
Svelmoe, William. *A New Vision for Missions: William Cameron Townsend, the Wycliffe Bible Translators, and the Culture of Early Evangelical Faith Missions, 1896-1945*. Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 2008.
Szaz, Ferenc Morton. *The Divided Mind of Protestant America, 1880-1939.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1982.
Swartz, David. *Moral Minority: An Evangelical Left in an Age of Conservatism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012.
Thomas, Nicholas. *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
Torres, Sasha. *Black, White and In Color: Television and Black Civil Rights*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
Toulouse, Mark. "*Christianity Today* and American Public Life: A Case Study." *Journal of Church and State* 35, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 241-84.

Turner, John. *Bill Bright & Campus Crusade for Christ: The Renewal of Evangelicalism in Postwar America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008.
Tyrrell, Ian. *Woman's World, Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.
Urry, John and Jonas Larsen. *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2011.
Valdés, Juan Gabriel. *Pinochet's Economists: The Chicago School in Chile*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
Van der Veer, Peter. *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in Britain and India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
Vanderpol, Gary. "The Least of These: American Evangelical Parachurch Missions to the Poor, 1947-2005." Th.D. diss., Boston University School of Theology, 2010.
Van Engen, Charles. "A Broadening Vision: Forty Years of Evangelical Theology of Missions, 1946-1986." In *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880-1980*, edited by Joel Carpenter and Wilbert Shenk, 203-34. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990.
Varg, Paul. *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958.
Ver Beek, Kurt Alan. "Lessons from the Sapling: Review of Quantitative Research on Short-Term Missions." In *Effective Engagement in Short-Term Missions: Doing It Right!* edited by Robert Priest, 475-502. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2008.
Vodopivec, Barbara and Jaffe Rivke. "Save the World in a Week: Volunteer Tourism, Development and Difference." *The European Journal of Development Research* 23, no.1 (February 2011): 111-128.
Von Eschen, Penny. *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997.
Vrasti, Wanda. *Volunteer Tourism in the Global South: Giving Back in Neoliberal Times*. New York: Routledge, 2012.
Wacker, Grant. *America's Pastor: Billy Graham and the Shaping of a Nation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014.
———. "Second Thoughts on the Great Commission: Liberal Protestants and Foreign Missions, 1890-1940." In *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880-1980*, edited by Joel Carpenter and Wilbert Shenk, 281-300. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990.
Wadsworth, Nancy. *Ambivalent Miracles: Evangelicals and the Politics of Racial Healing*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014.
———. "Reconciliation Politics: Conservative Evangelicals and the New Race Discourse." *Politics and Society* 25, no. 3 (Sep 1997): 341-76.
Wanner, Catherine. *Communities of the Converted: Ukrainians and the Global Evangelism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007.
Waters, Ken. "How World Vision Rose from Obscurity to Prominence: Television Fundraising, 1972-1982." *American Journalism* 15, no. 4 (1998): 69-93.
Westad, Odd Arne. *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Willis, Alan Scot. *All According to God's Plan: Southern Baptist Missions and Race, 1945-1970*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2005.
Wilmore, Gayraud. *Black Religion and Black Radicalism: An Interpretation of the Religious History of African Americans.* 2nd ed. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983.
Winant, Howard. *Racial Conditions: Politics, Theory, and Comparisons*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
Witte, John, Jr. and Michael Bourdeaux, eds. *Proselytism and Orthodoxy in Russia: The New War for Souls*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1999.
Womack, Deanna. *Protestants, Gender, and the Arab Resistance in Late Ottoman Syria*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019.
Worthen, Molly. *Apostles of Reason: The Crisis of Authority in American Evangelicalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
Wuthnow, Robert. *Boundless Faith: The Global Outreach of American Churches*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.
———. *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith since World War II*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
Zelizer, Julian and Bruce Schulman, eds. *Rightward Bound: Making America Conservative in the 1970s*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008.