where they "couldn't hear nobody pray." They encountered death and expressed it in song.

> Soon one mornin', death comes a creepin' in
>   my room.
> O my Lawd, O my Lawd, what shall I do?

Death was a terrible reality for black slaves; it often visited the slave quarters, leaving orphans behind.

> Death done been here, took my mother an' gone,
> O my Lawd, what shall I do?
>
> Death done been here, left me a motherless child,
> O my Lawd, what shall I do?

In these songs are expressed the harsh realities of history and the deep sense of dread at the very thought of death. But because the slaves knew that death had been conquered in Jesus' resurrection, they believed they also could transcend death and they interpreted salvation as a heavenly, eschatological reality. And that is what they sang.

> You needn't mind my dying,
> Jesus' goin' to make up my dying bed.
>
> In my room I know,
> Somebody is going to cry,
> All I ask you to do for me,
> Just close my dying eyes.

The Methodist Witness and the African Situation

Kwesi A. Dickson

It is true to say that Africa is in the spotlight of world attention today. The reasons are many and varied, and it is important that we look at some of them, if even briefly, as a necessary preliminary to a discussion of Methodism in the African context.

I

Africa is in the postindependence era; most of the countries of black Africa have achieved independence from colonial rule and have been running their own affairs for many years. On the one hand, the attainment of political independence was a necessity, if only because it removed an important cause of degradation and strife; on the other hand—and paradoxically—the political situation today is considerably more complex and a potential source of unrest. There is a general feeling that things have not gone as well as they might; the rule exercised by African governments over their own peoples has not always proved to be the panacea for social, economic, and political ills that it was expected to be. Of course, world inflation has had its impact on the uncertain economies of many African nations, but it remains a fact that this general inflationary trend often has been exacerbated by corrupt and incompetent rule, with the result that increasingly, the necessities of life are eluding many. Military regimes have sprung up in quite a few

African countries, and these have not always resulted in any more honest and capable governments than the civilian regimes they ousted.

Racialism has been and continues to be a potential source of much conflict, particularly in southern Africa; indeed, the situation could easily result in hostilities that could embroil the great powers, as we know only too well.

Another development has been discernible for some time and is the subject of much comment by certain African heads of state—the importation of outside rivalries into these tense spots in Africa. This phenomenon to a certain extent has been facilitated by African countries themselves, particularly those that have shown a penchant for adopting the cliches of Marxism and other such ideologies, in the mistaken assumption that those countries in which these ideologies predominate have solved all their social, economic, and political problems. Our own view is that these terms, and many others, must be recognized as the cliches they are, and African countries must devise their own solutions to their problems.

This brief statement does not pretend to be a competent analysis of the African situation, but it does indicate that the African continent, like most other areas of the world, has important problems that await solution. Of course, generalizing about Africa can be a hazardous undertaking; there are sufficient variations from one part of the continent to another to necessitate caution when speaking of Africa as a whole. We are even more conscious of this necessity as we turn to look at the Christian church in Africa. Here we shall consider West Africa in general, and Ghana in particular.

II

As far as the Christian church is concerned, the last few decades have seen considerable expansion, a fact that has

given rise to euphoric prognostications of further phenomenal growth. As an institution, the church has great visibility in Africa. Not only are most of the leading citizens products of church schools, but also the churches have—in some African countries, at any rate—either by themselves or in connection with the All Africa Conference of Churches, become increasingly vocal about various matters that hitherto have been considered to be the preserve of government and its various agencies. In speaking of the Christian church we have in mind not only the historic churches but also the numerous independent churches, which have experienced phenomenal growth; indeed, these latter churches seem to be attracting more attention, probably because of their attitude toward traditional beliefs, which enables their leadership to accept the fears of the worshipers with respect to witchcraft and the influence of malevolent spirits.

The pattern of evangelism employed in the early days of Methodist missions in Ghana (the early decades of the last century) contained certain contradictions that to this day have not been fully resolved. First, it was the avowed aim of the Methodist Missionary Society to foster an indigenous ministry in the mission areas, and an institution for this purpose was set up in Ghana within seven years after the arrival of the first missionary from England in 1835. However, though the candidates selected for training were Ghanaians, the ministry that emerged was not, strictly speaking, indigenous, since the aim of the training was to make the Ghanaian Methodist minister (or assistant missionary as he was called originally) a copy, as much as possible, of the English missionary.[1]

Second, there was the tendency to link the Christian message of new life to the necessity that the converts separate themselves from their traditional life; this has been amply documented by Brodie Cruickshank, an observer of the developments in those early days.[2] This tendency resulted either in the removal of the converts from the sphere of life in which they were to live and mature in their faith, or in a dual kind of existence—one for church consumption, another in accordance with traditional life.

Third, the gospel of grace, which was preached with such dedication and ethusiasm in the early days of Ghanaian missions, went hand in hand with the missionaries' insistence upon the observance of a great body of rules and regulations. Anyone who has read *The Ecclesiastical Principles and Policy of the Wesleyan Methodists*, the third edition of which was published in 1873, will be aware that the British missionary and his Ghanaian colleagues were expected to be familiar with a veritable battery of rules and regulations. They were under obligation to enforce these rules in a part of the world where customs and ways appeared to be particularly at variance with the mode of life being inculcated along with the preaching of Christ. The most striking proof of the influence of such regulations was the attitude of a group of Methodists who, in the 1860s, broke away from the church to form their own Methodist Society because, as they argued, the missionaries had become lax in the enforcement of rules relating to the sale of alcoholic beverages by members of the church. In reacting to this development, one of the Methodist missionaries on the scene, Alfred Taylor, noted, "It is only right to say that this rule has never been strictly observed in this District, and, I think, not in any other. I am likewise pretty sure that it is not observed at home."[3] This emphasis on rules, needless to say, led to misinterpretations of Methodist teaching on sanctification, which is the work of God, not of man.

The fourth contradiction, in those early days of Methodist missions in Ghana, was the tension between the spiritual and the secular felt by the missionaries—a dichotomy unknown in African culture. The missionaries criticized existing institutions and customs, such as human sacrifice and domestic slavery, and saw the need to meet concrete social problems, such as widespread unemployment; hence the conviction expressed by Thomas Birch Freeman, a nineteenth-century missionary, to the effect that "the Church should be both Christian and industrious; that its members, young and old, should develop a sense of the value of steady and vigorous industry, and for this purpose they should be introduced to large-scale agriculture on well-organized plantations."[4] However, as the historian F. L. Bartels quite rightly observes, "the missionaries themselves were frequently torn between their instructions in the *Twelve Rules of a Helper* and their desire to improve the economy and make the Church self-supporting; they were torn between the instruction 'you have nothing to do but save souls' and the secular demands of a model farm."[5] This uncertainty about the church's role in the world is to be encountered in the Methodist Church in Ghana and elsewhere in Africa today.

Contradictions such as these have not been unknown in other denominational histories, to be sure. Impeccable policy statements often have been set aside in the realities of the field situation. Thus the 1659 instruction by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, noting that nothing can be "more absurd than to transport France, Spain or Italy or any other part of Europe to China" may have been inspired, at least in part, by the work of such missionaries as Roberto de Nobili, the seventeenth-century Italian Jesuit; but a restatement had to wait for Vatican II, in our own time. And our own experience in West Africa suggests that the Roman Catholic Church will have to wait a long time for the full implications of such an instruction to be worked out.

The result of the pattern of evangelism employed in the nineteenth century has been that the Methodist Church in Ghana, and elsewhere in Africa, tends to have a middle-class image. The minister's outfit, the silver communion vessels, and so on, seem to set the church apart from life as the ordinary man experiences it. And in the last decades, the church seldom has been heard to speak on behalf of the underprivileged and the powerless, or against misrule and mismanagement. Indeed, in at least one African country the Methodist Church has gone out of its way to give a kind of official recognition to a head of state whose rule is blatantly oppressive and not in the best interest of the people.

At the risk of being repetitive, we shall now place side by side the two elements in the work of the early preachers. On the one hand, they gave much attention to Christian perfection. Personal journals and letters witness to their having been very conscious of this teaching that is part of the Methodist heritage, and indeed to this day, at synods and conferences the ministers are regularly asked whether they continue to preach "our doctrines." The answer has always been in the affirmative. On the other hand, the edge of this teaching has been blunted by the fact that, at worst, the church has tried to separate its members from life as they know it in the particularity of their circumstances, and at best, has pretended not to be aware of its members' involvement. It has been argued that John Wesley's "theology and ethics projected themselves quite naturally into a concern for the present life of man" and that he believed that "Christianity should be relevant in terms of the economic life."[6] The truth of the matter is that Methodist preaching and teaching have not seemed to constitute a potential force for change in the context of Africa. Some reasons already have been given but we shall now look at religion's role in society in a broader perspective.

In his *Religion and Revolution,* Guenter Lewy examines in some detail the dual role of religion in society. Religion, he writes, "may provide legitimation for the existing social order, give emotional support to the fundamental values of a society . . . and lessen social tension by stressing supramundane values"; however, religion may also provide

"strong support for an attack on the *status quo* by those who are dissatisfied—politically, economically, socially, or spiritually."[7] There is a sense in which Methodism, in the early days of its establishment in Africa, legitimized the existing social order, if we understand that what was being legitimated was the Europeanizing of Africa that was being inculcated along with the preaching of the gospel. Every attempt was made to ensure that the social order conformed to what Europeans would consider legitimate in the circumstances, with the European in the role of the harbinger of civilization. In this connection the missionary often worked hand in hand with the colonial government, as did Thomas Birch Freeman, one of the most celebrated of the missionaries to Ghana. Freeman, it must be added, did come to realize how unwise it was to link Christianity to westernism.[8]

The attractiveness of westernism ensured that Africans would make every effort to meet the preconditions for entering into the European social class. It could be argued that the missions saw their goal to be the reform of institutions, if by "institutions" we refer to the traditional African social, economic, and religious institutions, which were looked upon as evil. Thus a new social order, conforming to European standards, was hoped for; and every attempt was made to discredit the traditional social order. To complicate the picture further, the aim of missionary preaching, at least in the context of the early days, was to convert individuals to Christ as well as to the world of the European, and consequently, to a certain extent, to a reconciliation with the ruling colonial power.

This is not meant to suggest that Methodism did not inculcate a sense of freedom. It has been pointed out often enough that the Methodist system of organization is such that it encourages people to think and act for themselves. The Sunday schools, which in the early days provided an opening for the illiterate to obtain a first glimpse of a new world (in those days Sunday schools tended to have the character of literacy classes); the class meetings, which encouraged free discussion and a sense of social responsibility by engendering the feeling that each member had a responsibility for the others, in sickness and in health, in sorrow and in joy; and in general, the organization of the Methodist societies, which placed the minister in the position of the first among equals and hence fostered the spirit of give and take, with its consequent mutual strengthening—these are characteristics of Methodism as it has been experienced in Africa. No wonder that only some thirty years or so after the arrival of the first Methodist missionary in Ghana, a splinter group had come into being and thought well enough of the parent church to call itself the Methodist Society; no wonder that there are in Ghana today more independent churches founded by former Methodists than by members from any other historic church!

III

Raking up the past is sometimes an unpleasant undertaking; in some circles it is felt that no useful purpose is served by wishing for a pattern of evangelism that was more or less unthinkable, given the nature of the ethnographic material available in the early decades of the last century. It was necessary, nevertheless, to essay this brief historial analysis, for two reasons.

First, World Methodism is aware—and thank God for this!—that the age of missions is not over. In recent discussions concern has been expressed over the lack of enthusiasm for missions, and Methodist societies everywhere have been urged to intensify their efforts to be more effective instruments of God in the dissemination of his Word. However, the mission field is not limited to Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean; it is all these and England, America, and Europe, too—in short, the world is the mission

field. The gospel of Christ must be heard again in those very countries that formed the missionary societies which took the gospel to Africa and Asia. It is important, then, that the past be kept in mind even as we press on toward the future.

Second, it is a fact that the consequences of the pattern of evangelism of the last century are still with the peoples of Africa today. Most of the Methodist churches in Africa are independent and are headed by indigenous leadership, and in at least one African country, the Methodist Church has evolved a very distinctive pattern of organization and ethos. Some churches still receive missionaries, often referred to euphemistically as fraternal workers, but these are asked for by the African churches themselves, and as in Ghana, such workers come under the authority of the local conferences. As a matter of fact, it is not unknown for the church in one African country to ask for help in the form of personnel from another African country, rather than from England. Despite such signs of a coming of age the Methodist churches in Africa, generally speaking, have preserved the character they had under foreign mission boards and conferences. On the whole, the African leadership has not been in a hurry to make the church relevant to the circumstances of today. The orders of service, music, and sermons tend to relate to a world that is not familiar to most African Christians.

It is a measure of the Methodist Church's effectiveness that several of its theologians, in company with theologians from the other historic churches, are questioning the present image of the Christian church and asking that her theology be reconsidered. Until recently, the progress toward steering the church away from overattachment to the past has tended to be cosmetic. Of course, it would not be quite true to say that until African theologians began to speak, no theologizing whatsoever had been done. Africans had theologized in their singing and praying and preaching, but the theologizing was unsystematized and uncoordinated. Now African theologians are asking that a closer look be taken at the church's theology, with a view to attempting a propositional articulation of the Christian faith from the standpoint of the particularity of the African situation. Various comments made in recent years would seem to suggest that there are three theological options open to Africans. Black theology and liberation theology will be very briefly discussed here, if only for the reason that well-known proponents of these theologies have contributed chapters to this book. The third option, of course, is usually referred to as African theology.

Black Theology

The expression "black theology" has been used by both black American theologians and theologians from South Africa. James Cone, perhaps one of the most articulate of black American theologians, has stated that "the task of Black Theology . . . is to analyze the black man's condition in the light of God's revelation in Jesus Christ with the purpose of creating a new understanding of black dignity among black people, and providing the necessary soul in that people, to destroy white racism."[9] He goes on to say that it is not possible to "want God without blackness, Christ without obedience, love without death." Cone appears to mean that the true test of a Christian is complete identification with the dispossessed and the rejection of the kind of structures that bring about such oppression. As James Cone starts from the situation of the American black, Manas Buthelezi of South Africa starts from the African, in the context of the present existential situation. Buthelezi speaks of the African as being alienated in South African society; he also gives attention to the economic domination that has contributed to the second-rate citizenship of Africans in that country. Though he does a certain amount of socioeconomic analysis, he seems to place more emphasis on cultural analysis, seeing the South African system as doing all it possibly can to prevent the black citizens from an understanding of themselves.[10]

Both Cone and Buthelezi begin where theologizing should begin—at Christ, in the context of society as it exists and functions in particular localities. Theology must have a particularity; it must arise from concrete life situations. One need only recall the various theories of atonement to realize how the ransom theory fitted the conditions of unrest and brigandage characteristic of the patristic age; the satisfaction theory, the conditions of medieval age, with its feudalism and chivalry; and the forensic or penal substitution theory, the conditions of the post-Reformation period, when ideas of law and jurisprudence were very much in vogue. However, both Cone and Buthelezi have been criticized: While some think Buthelezi's socioeconomic analysis could be deeper, there are others who believe that the tone of reconciliation seems to be missing from the Cone construction of theology. It is a fact that the black situations in America and in South Africa are not the same as the situation in West Africa, though this is not to say that all is well in West Africa. As indicated earlier, the social, economic, and political situation in independent black Africa is far from ideal. All the same, there are many in West and East Africa who would, while appreciating the theologizing being done by the blacks of America and South Africa and recognizing that they do have something to say to the world, nevertheless insist that African traditional culture has such a hold on people, both literate and illiterate, and such richness and meaningfulness, that it is extremely relevant to the social, economic, and political realities of our time—so much so that even Buthelezi's cultural bias is inadequate.

Liberation Theology

Liberation theology is, of course, a well-known subject, widely discussed in and outside Latin America, where it could be said to have had its origin. It is worth noting, however, that liberation theology is not entirely the preserve of Latin America theologians. One only need refer to Dorothee Soelle's *Political Theology* to see that the European political theology overlaps the Latin American liberation theology; that both theological expressions proceed on the premise that the "social situation is . . . . potentially transformable," to use Soelle's words.[11] In a recent conference in Tanzania, between African theologians and Latin American theologians, there was a certain amount of unanimity on the question of the need to relate theology to the actuality of one's circumstances. Nevertheless the Latin Americans felt, quite rightly, that African theologians were so preoccupied with culture that they tended to lose sight of the socioeconomic situation, while the African theologians refused, again quite rightly, to accept the view that the socioeconomic situation fully defined the circumstances within which meaningful theologizing could be done.[12] While it would be wrong to assume that all liberation theologians have the same emphases, it is nevertheless true that one could be critical of the distinction between praxis and worship that seems to be drawn by some; after all, for the Christian, worship is at the very heart of praxis. Furthermore, while acknowledging that oppression is evil, it is a fact that *all* men have sinned and fallen short of the glory of God. Quite apart from these considerations, theologians of West, Central, and East Africa tend to speak of African theology, which they see as arising from understanding the Christian message in the light of African life and thought.

African Theology

African theology remains somewhat ill-defined. Some have expressed themselves to the effect that it is no more than a restatement of orthodoxy in culturally recognizable terms; quite possibly this is what African theologians in

general have been understood as saying. One might question whether this is doing theology at all, since it merely would be giving a cosmetic touch to a system that has been defined in terms of a different social, economic, and political context. That several African theologians have tended to define their theology in this way may account for the fact that there is still a preoccupation with trying to settle matters of methodology. Any reader of Aylward Shorter's *African Christian Theology* soon discovers that the author is discussing background matters rather than attempting a propositional articulation of the African view of the Christian faith. Again, Shorter argues that "an African Christian Theology . . . must grow out of a dialogue between Christianity and the theologies of the African Traditional Religions."[13] In so writing Shorter is reflecting an approach that would seem to be favored by several African theologians. However, there are others who would consider this approach restrictive since it would ignore other important parameters. I favor the view that sees the dialogue as being between the Christian message, on the one hand, and the African religiocultural traditions, on the other. This calls for two important undertakings: a serious study of the Christian message that would involve an examination of the biblical record for a rediscovery of God's ways and his dealings with man (after all, in considering the biblical text, one ultimately is seeking direction for one's own time and the clarification of one's own situation) and a review of the religiocultural traditions in the light of impinging agents of change.

African traditional religion is not a thing of the past; it effects the lives of many, even of those who would deny that it influences their lives. Also, though traditional culture *has* been affected by various forces such as western literary education, money economy, industrialization, Christianity, Islam, and so on, there is a greater inclination among the literate classes now, than perhaps thirty years ago, to identify with African traditional culture. Hence it would be wrong to say that to permit traditional culture to play a role in theologizing would be to tie theology to a thing of the past. In this connection it is significant that Shorter devotes a chapter to the developments in religious thought in Western Tanzania; the point is that one should take into account the changes that have come about over the years as a result of contact with the outside world. While it would be wrong to tie theologizing to an analysis of a religiocultural tradition that does not exist, forms of traditional culture that persist into the present are of utmost importance and must be taken into consideration.

There are other factors that will need to play a part in the development and articulation of African theology. African theologians cannot afford to lose sight of the Christian theological heritage of the worldwide church. God has done something for humankind that has brought the church into being, and the experiences of the world church over these many centuries should be of interest to the protagonists of African theology. It is from this standpoint that I believe Methodism has a contribution to make to African thinking. Of course, it is the very brave man who would say exactly what John Wesley's view of a particular situation would be, had he addressed himself to it; it is difficult enough to relate his words to situations of his own time and in his own country. Wesley would have been bewildered had he come out to Africa as a missionary in the early decades of the last century. We imagine, however, that he would have continued to proclaim his important convictions: All men need to be saved, and in Christ, God has made his forgiveness available. These are convictions that cannot be dispensed with—they are at the core of the gospel of Christ. All Christian theology must start there.

John Wesley also might have had some difficulty with the view expressed at a consultation of African theologians at Ibadan, Nigeria, in 1966: If God is the Father of us all, then

his revelation in Christ cannot be totally discontinuous with the African experience of God. That was not by any means a new insight, for Wilfred Cantwell Smith had stated it in even broader terms in his *Faith of Other Men* a few years earlier.[14] As a matter of fact, in 1944 a Ghanaian, J. B. Danquah, wrote in *The Akan Doctrine of God*, "The Spirit of God is abroad, even in the Akan of the Gold Coast."[15]

We must also consider the much discussed characteristic of African traditional life and thought: Religion and life are inseparable; or if you like: Praxis and worship go together. There is no distinction between them, chronological or otherwise—no possibility of separating and relegating them to different spheres. There is no question of God being given leave from duty so that human beings may act. The traditional African cultural life, informed by traditional religion, enshrines such values as care for the underprivileged, brotherhood, and communality; the chief's rule is to be benign, not dictatorial (if dictatorial, there are constitutional means for ending it); all are to have access to the good things of life (in East Africa it is not theft if one who is starving makes use of what does not belong to one); hospitality is to be made available even to the total stranger; the aged are to be cared for (homes for the aged are as yet unknown). In other words, the African cultural situation covers the same concerns that have necessitated a thorough socioeconomic analysis by Latin American theologians.

When we look at all these characteristics it becomes clear that traditional African society has as its aim the integration of all its members, ensuring that inequalities in talents and circumstances do not lead to some being uncared for and deprived. It is true, and it is often remarked, that communalism in Africa has been shaken by westernism, with its emphasis on the individual. But the triumph of individualism over communalism may be more apparent than real. Even in European and American societies, if the psychologists are to be believed, communalism has not disappeared completely. Harvey Cox might argue that impersonal relationships contribute to the city person's freedom, but it cannot be denied that larger societies would be unable to operate without communal relationships. In the African situation communalism is not on its way out. Cities are growing, but the expected individualism has been tempered by the creation of a great variety of societies which provide that sense of belonging that is such an important characteristic of smaller societies and that the city is otherwise reluctant to supply.

Methodism's organizational structures may have contributed to a sense of belonging, but its theology has tended to emphasize the individual. This may be one of the factors that has led to the phenomenon whereby its members live the gospel only in certain situations. The reverse is true in the African setting—communalism ensures that religion is lived in every circumstance of life; this is an important problematic, to which African theology is seeking to address itself.

A Liberating *Pastoral* for the Rich

Dow Kirkpatrick

I

The word *pastoral*, as it is prononced in Spanish, conveys a richness I do not sense in English usage. Perhaps that is because I have heard the word so often in conversations with Latin Americans who are deeply committed to the struggle on behalf of the dispossessed. It does not slip easily off their tongues, but comes out of profound, sacrificial, risk-taking involvement in liberation.

"Pastoral" here is used to define the whole action of the church when it conceives that *faithfulness to the gospel requires solidarity with the oppressed.*

Members of our congregations resent being called rich, and various devices are used to ease this discomfort:

—deny we are rich;
—blame the poor for their own condition;
—give to charity from our surplus, but without attacking the root causes of poverty;
—appeal to the universality of grace ("Isn't salvation for everyone—for the rich, too?").

The answer is yes, but Jesus said it is harder for us—so difficult, in fact, as to border on the impossible (Mark 10:27). The late C. S. Lewis put it graphically in a short poem.

In Spanish, the word *pastoral* (pronounced *pastorál)* is used as a noun and traditionally refers to the care of souls—the shepherding of the flock. Here it refers to the church's commitment to its people in their need. Ed.

biographies of Allen, see Charles Wesley, *Richard Allen: Apostle of Freedom* (Washington: Associated Publishers, 1935) and Carol V. R. George, *Segregated Sabbaths: Richard Allen and the Emergence of the Independent Black Churches 1760–1840* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

Wesley's description of the order of salvation emphasizing repentance, justification, new birth, and assurance are prominently present in Allen's account of his conversion experience:

"I was awakened and brought to see myself, poor, wretched and undone, and without the mercy of God must be lost. Shortly after, I obtained mercy through the blood of Christ, and was constrained to exhort my old companions to seek the Lord. I went rejoicing for several days and was happy in the Lord, in conversing with many old, experienced Christians. I was brought under doubts, and was tempted to believe I was deceived, and was constrained to seek the Lord afresh. I went with my head bowed down for many days. My sins were a heavy burden. I was tempted to believe that there was no mercy for me. I cried to the Lord both night and day. One night I thought hell would be my portion. I cried unto Him who delighteth to hear the prayers of a poor sinner, and all of a sudden my dungeon shook, my chains flew off, and, glory to God, I cried. My soul was filled. I cried, enough for me—the Saviour died. My confidence was strengthened that the Lord, for Christ's sake, had heard my prayers and pardoned all my sins. I was constrained to go from house to house, exhorting my old companions, and telling to all around what a dear Saviour I had found." (*Life Experience*, pp. 15-16)

12. The best history of black religion is Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism*. For an account of the rise of black Methodism, see Harry V. Richardson, *Dark Salvation* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1976). Unfortunately Richardson's book fails to point out the significance of the relation between black faith and history. Careful attention to the theological importance of this relationship would have disclosed the difference between black and white spirituality in Methodism. Richardson seems to be unaware not only of the recent rise of black theology, but also of the *theological* importance of the rise of independent black Methodist churches and also of the emergence of the Black Methodists for Church Renewal in contemporary United Methodism. He includes only one sentence on black theology and one short paragraph on BMCR, in the context of "Protest Movements."

    Although it is old, Carter G. Woodson, *History of the Negro Church* (Washington: Associated Publishers, 1945), is still very important. See also James Cone, "Negro Churches (in the United States)," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 12, Macropaedia, 15th ed. (1974), pp. 936-37.
13. See *Works*, 11, pp. 59-60.
14. Cited in Wearmouth, *The Social and Political Influence of Methodism in the Twentieth Century* (London: Epworth Press, 1957), p. 185. Despite Wesley's emphasis on works of piety and mercy, his view of

salvation seems to see social justice as a secondary ingredient of salvation and at most, a mere *consequence* of it.

15. In the beginning, American Methodism took a radical stand on slavery. In 1780 at the Baltimore Conference, Methodists condemned slavery as "contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society." And four years later at the Christmas Conference of 1784, they "voted to expel all slaveholding of Methodist societies . . . who would not, within twelve months after due notification, perfect a legal document to manumit all their slaves when they reached certain specific ages. The conference also voted to expel immediately all Methodists who bought (except for the purpose of liberation) or sold slaves." However, by the beginning of the nineteenth century cotton had become king, and the Methodist, like other white churches, allowed the change in social reality to influence its stand on slavery. Not only did it suspend the 1784 rules within six months, but in 1816 a General Conference committee reported that "emancipation is impracticable" (Cited in H. Shelton Smith, *In His Image, But . . . : Racism in Southern Religion, 1780–1910* [Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1972], pp. 37, 38, 45). For a historical account, see Donald G. Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).
16. For a theological interpretation of slave songs, often called Negro spirituals, see *The Spirituals and the Blues*. In *God of the Oppressed*, songs, sermons, stories, and prayers were primary sources for a black theology of liberation.
17. Wilmore interprets these insurrections in *Black Religion and Black Radicalism*, ch. 3. For a detailed account of more than 200 slave revolts, see Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (New York: International Publisher, 1943).
18. Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 34, 35.

Chapter 10. Kwesi A. Dickson

1. Kwesi Dickson, "The Minister—Then and Now," *Religion in a Pluralistic Society*, ed. J. S. Pobee (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976).
2. Bruce G. (Brodie) Cruickshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast*, vol. 2 (London: Frank Cass, 1853).
3. Methodist Mission Society Archives, London (letter, January 1868).
4. F. L. Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 66.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
6. Thomas W. Madron, "Some Economic Aspects of John Wesley's Thought Revisited," *Methodist History*, vol. 4 (October 1965), p. 45.
7. Guenter Lewy, *Religion and Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 583-84.
8. Methodist Mission Society Archives, London (Freeman's 1847 Report).
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10. Cf. Manas Buthelezi, "An African Theology or a Black Theology," *The Challenge of Black Theology in South Africa*, ed. Basil Moore (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1973), pp. 29-35.
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