

Remembering Evangelization: The Option for the Poor and Mission History

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Contemporary missiology often embraces an option for the poor, emphasizing that Christian mission must prioritize bringing Christ's Good News to the marginalized.¹ Yet the option for the poor has a significant role to play more than just within constructive missiology, where it orients missionary practice. The option for the poor, I argue here, should also shape the work of historians who strive to understand evangelization and the way it has shaped the church, which would lead to reconfiguring the discipline of mission history. Connecting the option for the poor and mission history would help overcome long-standing tendencies in theological inquiry to marginalize both—tendencies that make the option for the poor and the missiological perspective distressingly optional for theologians and historians of Christianity.²

Missiology's dual orientation toward the Christian past and the Christian present of evangelization appeared very early in the discipline's evolution. Besides training potential missionaries, early practitioners of the new discipline, both Protestant and Catholic, gathered historical materials on the spread of Christianity, assembling archives and culling their gleanings to create narratives that depicted past efforts at Christian evangelization, both successful and unsuccessful. They drew upon archival collections maintained by (mainly Protestant) missionary societies and by (mainly Catholic) missionary religious congregations.³

Because missiology appeared as a distinct discipline in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the positivist approach to history associated with Leopold Ranke determined historical practice, its earliest practitioners accepted Ranke's challenge to present comprehensive and objective accounts of the missionary past. This period, perhaps not coincidentally, was one in which European political domination extended over much of the globe. Today, when the achievements and limitations of this positivist approach to the past are accepted, and when the colonialist roots of many academic disciplines are also widely recognized, it is easy to see the limitations of early mission histories, despite their erudition.

Three such limits can be identified in early attempts to write mission history, each of which can be mitigated by bringing the option for the poor into the historical epistemology of mission. First, traditional mission history had a narrow approach to historical sources, deriving from its colonialist and positivist roots. Introducing the option for the poor into historical practice enables historians to interrogate these older sources in new ways and also expands the range of historical sources. Second, the option for the poor challenges normative narrative conventions that organized previous mission history. These conventions betrayed a narrow view of historical sources and especially a colonialist prism that

centered the historical gaze on the activity of (mostly European) missionaries. Third, the option for the poor undermines the traditional division between the disciplines of mission history and church history, a division that also reflects a colonialist mind-set. In the traditional division of academic labor in the study of the Christian past, church history examined some preconceived center of ecclesial life, and mission history focused on activities at what were perceived as the peripheries of Christianity.

These three reconfigurations mutually reinforce each other in a dialectical manner. Thus, for example, new sources create new narratives or formulas of emplotment, and new narratives direct attention at new sources. Similarly, an innovative narrative about Christian evangelization can undermine the distinction between mission history and church history, and when that distinction dissolves, innovative narrative perspectives appear. Meanwhile, once the earliest evangelization that formed a present church is connected to that church's history, new narratives and new sources appear. And so forth.

The application of the option for the poor to the historical study of Christian evangelization has analogues to broader trends in contemporary historical practice that seek to raise the veil covering aspects of the past previously underappreciated. These postpositivist historical approaches—for instance, the *Annales* school, the related so-called history of everyday life (*Alltagsgeschichte*), microhistory, subaltern history, feminist history, postcolonial history, and labor history—have been brought to bear on the study of the history of Christian missionary activity carried out by certain scholars across the disciplines. Here the goal is to bring these three characteristics of a contemporary approach to the history of Christian evangelization—new approaches to historical sources, the construction of different narratives, and a rethinking of the distinction between mission and church history—under the thematic umbrella of the option for the poor. In this article I seek to cast a historical and missiological perspective on what Gustavo Gutiérrez calls “the irruption of the poor” as this appears in the history of Christian evangelization.⁴

The rest of this article describes these reconfigurations and shows how they serve to overcome the limits of past mission history, drawing especially upon the story of the origins of the Roman Catholic Church in eastern Africa to show the fruitfulness of the option for the poor in a historical practice that tries to understand Christian evangelization.

Broadening Our Approach to Historical Sources

Early missiologists writing mission history relied almost entirely on official records kept by sponsoring missionary bodies, and they naturally read such sources from the point of view of those who produced them, seeing them as objective accounts of the past. This perspective limited the information available to historical understanding, taking for granted the forces that produced official missionary records and overlooking the experiences of those evangelized by missionaries, who were almost invariably poor—materially and, later in the colonial era, politically—in relation to those who came to evangelize them.

Allowing the option for the poor to drive historical analysis,



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by contrast, unveils new vantages on the past in at least two different ways. First, old sources undergo different scrutiny, for the contemporary historian of Christian mission reads past written records not merely to record the words and deeds described in those official records, which usually concerned missionaries, but also to appreciate how the circumstances that lie behind such records privileged certain voices and blocked others. Such circumstances, when illuminated, tend to show the agency and creativity of those who received the missionary message and made it their own, often in ways unanticipated by the missionaries themselves. Second, the option for the poor as a feature of historical practice reveals new sources for understanding the past, so that a historian's resources can expand, reaching beyond the official collections of missionary bodies into sources that more fully capture how those subject to evangelization understood and reacted to evangelization.

Both of these approaches yield insight into the origins of the present Catholic Church in eastern Africa, and especially in understanding the evangelization of slaves, which stood at the center of missionary strategy there for nearly three decades.⁵ First, reading what James Scott calls the "official transcript" with an eye to uncovering African experiences of evangelization often reveals more than the missionaries themselves probably intended. Beyond and within those words one discerns what Scott calls a hidden transcript, containing the experiences and perspectives of those subject to evangelization, whose experiences have often gone unacknowledged in typical mission history.⁶

For example, missionary frustration with the former slaves who became their first converts arose among Catholic missionaries in eastern Africa, especially beginning in the early 1880s. Such frustration led the missionaries to castigate these former slave Christians, quite a contrast to earlier, rosier descriptions of those on whom they placed their hopes for the church of the future. I will say more below about what such frustration tells us about the Africans these missionaries sought to form into Christians. But the frustration certainly highlights the hopes

Enclosure stood at the center of missionary strategy for comprehensive formation of former slaves into Catholics.

the missionaries had for their charges, hopes that they did not always articulate clearly. Close attention to how they expressed their frustration, however, discloses the goals that drove their missionary strategy.⁷

Besides reading official records anew, recent historical studies of missionary activity also investigate historical sources hitherto unappreciated. Historians of missionary activity now also attend to oral histories and popular practices like the writing of songs in their attempts to uncover the missionary past. Such sources were rich avenues toward understanding the early evangelization of slaves in eastern Africa. Interviews with the descendants of those earliest Christians have uncovered more insights into their ancestors' experiences of evangelization, of the complex ways in which Christianity both empowered them and frustrated them.⁸ During an interview with two now elderly granddaughters of the first generation of Catholics, for example, I explored their

memories of their parents and grandparents.⁹ As they recalled their forebears, these two women bemoaned the loss of *utawa* at the mission in Bagamoyo, Tanzania. I knew that the Swahili word *utawa* referred to the experience of the cloister for those aspiring to join Catholic religious communities in contemporary eastern Africa, but these older women used the word to designate their own experiences of boarding school during their childhood at the mission. Their nostalgia about *utawa* suggested that enclosure or cloistering existed in missionary practices of education into the 1930s.

Their use of the word *utawa* redirected my own archival research. Reading past records with this in mind sharpened my appreciation of how enclosure shaped the missionary strategy with freed slaves, with roots in the missionaries' own experiences of enclosure in their French seminary formation and other training. Heightened attentiveness to enclosure in turn allowed the architectural structures of old missions to reveal practices of spatial enclosure practiced by the missionaries, practices received (and transformed or resisted) by those evangelized. Moreover, nineteenth-century missionary correspondence with European superiors and other writings revealed anxiety about enclosure to be an abiding feature of the religious life of the missionaries and their plans for the formation of the "mission children," who were envisaged as Catholics of the future. Enclosure stood at the center of the missionary strategy that pursued the comprehensive formation of former slaves into Catholics, even though official missionary writings from the period rarely mention it specifically.¹⁰

And there were other historical payoffs, for the reference to *utawa*, or enclosure, by two old African women helped connect missionary strategies focused on slaves in eastern Africa with other contemporaneous European social practices that sought enclosure for the formation or reformation of students, soldiers, and prisoners. Attention to such practices in Europe has been a major feature of recent social history, and there is much historical yield in connecting that social history with missionary practices.¹¹ The interview with the two older women allowed an understanding of nineteenth-century missionary goals, which in turn allowed a better appreciation of how Africans responded to the missionary strategy.

Transforming the Narratives of Mission History

The colonialist and positivist assumptions of early mission history meant that typical narratives in those historical accounts featured European missionaries functioning as heroes, braving formidable obstacles of disease, pagan (or Islamic or satanic) resistance, and natural barriers in the effort to bring light to those in darkness. This mode of storytelling, relying on the European missionary and his (and it was almost always a male) successes and failures as narrative features, contrived with the frequent need to raise funds to support missionary activity to generate narrative conventions in which the actions of missionaries assume center stage, even when their efforts failed.

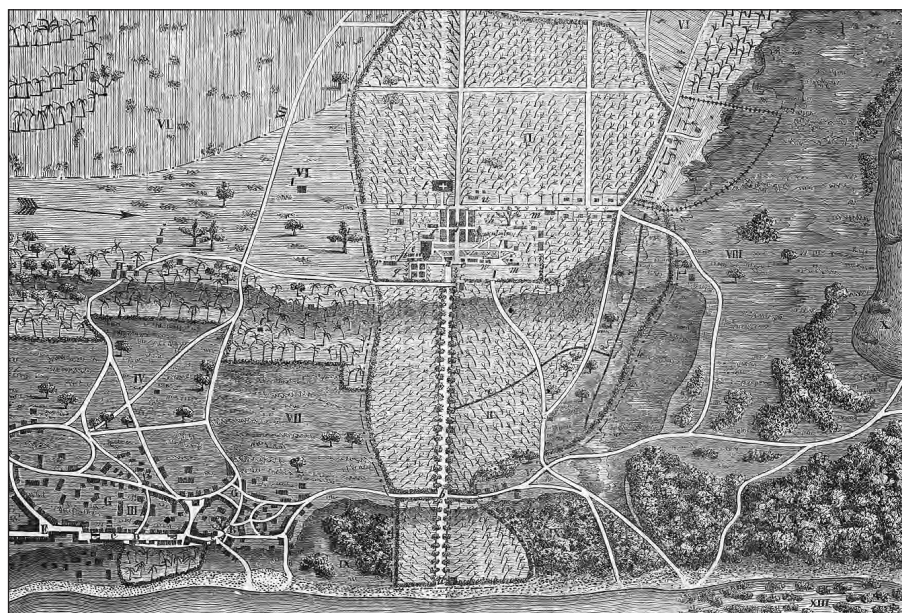
Like a positivist approach to historical sources, this feature of early mission history also faces criticism in contemporary historiography, especially historiography shaped by a postcolonial mentality. Equally problematic from a theological point of view, this conventional perspective resulted in recurrent inattention to the development of local Christian identities and communities, an aspect of the story that either was cast as part of the missionaries' accomplishments or was simply ignored.

If the traditional sources for mission history are both supple-

mented with nontraditional sources of historical knowledge and read “against the grain,” we find new narrative conventions arising in the writing of mission history. Without forgetting the sometimes inspiring heroism of missionaries, taking seriously the option for the poor within historical practice in mission history means foregrounding the people who became Christian rather than those who brought the message. Missionaries’ assessments of their own successes or failures therefore undergo a decentering in favor of keener attention to the effects their actions had on local peoples, effects quite often beyond missionary ability to predict,

Christians in contemporary African Catholic parishes possess memories of these pioneers and their early experiences establishing the churches.

In Mhonda, Tanzania, site of the earliest Catholic parish founded away from the coast of eastern Africa, close attention to the parish’s own records and interviews with local Christians showed things not in the conventional archives, which foreground missionary efforts at establishing the mission, erecting the first buildings, and securing cordial relations with surrounding peoples. Local memories, without ignoring accomplishments



An 1880 sketch demarcates the buildings, gardens, and boundaries of the Bagamoyo Mission. The site borders the Indian Ocean (bottom of picture). The town of Bagamoyo is a ten-minute walk south (to the left).

understand, or even perceive. While missionaries counted conversions or baptisms, and churches and schools built, other complex social processes also unfolded, bringing to life new identities as local people appropriated and absorbed missionary practices and discourses of evangelization. This does not mean ignoring the missionaries, whose actions need to be understood as fully as possible, but the larger historical subject includes—and indeed should prioritize, if the story is to be complete—the Christian identities that emerged as a result of that strategy.

Once again, historical research into Catholic origins in eastern Africa shows the value of such a shift in perspective. Certainly nineteenth-century Catholic missionaries in eastern Africa often showed courage and fortitude. More important, their French backgrounds shaped their strategy and thus deserve close historical attention, as the role of enclosure in that strategy shows. For their part, the former slaves not only embodied the missionaries’ hopes but also were the first substantial group of African Christians in eastern Africa. Even where their numbers remained small, they exercised a leadership role in early mission communities, for they settled in communities that the missionaries called the *noyau* (French for “nucleus”) of the hoped-for local Catholic churches. In addition, their actions—and sometimes their words—can be recovered. As recipients of missionary education, they wrote letters and reports we can still read, unlike most of the next generation of African Christians. Moreover, missionaries often named and described these early African Christians, since their evangelizing strategy depended upon them. Finally, local

touted by the missionaries, emphasize as well the roles of the freed slaves who came from the coast to establish the mission, whose skills and sweat actually felled the timbers and raised the walls of the first buildings. In addition, these African Christians played invaluable roles in fostering cooperation with indigenous authorities, mitigating disputes that arose between local peoples and the mission, and reaching out to the surrounding peoples, whose eventual Christianization was the missionaries’ goal. Many of the names of those Christians appear as godparents and sponsors in the parish books that record baptisms and marriages. Some appear on the grave markers in the overgrown parish cemetery. More impressively, these names are still held dear by grandchildren and great-grandchildren of those pioneers, who continue to live in the area and cherish the Christian witness of their ancestors.¹²

As noted above, missionary documents reveal that not all the actions of these early African Christians pleased the missionaries. The first converts at times sorely disappointed those who had sought their formation into Catholic life. These former slaves grumbled about their

treatment, refused to work, and even fled the mission.¹³ Such acts led the missionaries to bemoan the African lack of character, the pervasive effects of slavery, the fruits of inadequate catechesis, or incomplete conversion. In retrospect, however, one can recognize the emergence of a distinctive Catholic identity unplanned by missionary strategies. These Africans did not always disavow their Catholic identity when they infuriated the missionaries, but they did contest the terms in which the missionaries sought to construct and contain that identity. The missionaries saw in African defiance only the failures of their strategy or the stubbornness of either slave origins or race-based incapacity, yet one can just as easily recognize traces of an emerging African-Christian identity that eluded missionary control, even if that very identity was inconceivable without missionary activity.

The earliest catechist at Mhonda, Hilarion, a former slave who came from Bagamoyo with his wife to help found the mission, quickly became an indispensable coworker with the missionaries. He organized caravans to the coast to get supplies, negotiated with local chieftains, and evangelized in the surrounding area. But he also began quickly to act independently of the mission while relying on its authority. He purchased slaves for his own small household, siphoned off the mission’s precious gunpowder for private sales, even pursued private retribution against local authorities who he deemed had dealt with him unfairly—in this last instance, leading the mission into what the missionaries called a war against enemies of the mission. Gradually Hilarion and the mission drew apart, his

own desires for independence and personal authority conflicting with missionary preference that he remain their agent. Sometime in the 1890s he became a Muslim, for German colonialism had created a chance for him to pursue his own interests better as a Muslim, the Germans having tired of the independent-minded mission residents with their French background. As a Muslim, however, he retained his ties to many of the Christians at the mission who remembered his service on their behalf, and especially his success as a teacher.¹⁴

Hilarion's evolution and the ongoing memories that contemporary African Christians possess of him show the incompleteness of the official missionary records, which record missionary disappointments with their onetime protégé. But the archives, read not just for missionary emotions but for the broader story, reveal not simply missionary failure but also complex Christian identities emerging from this attempt at evangelization. Much more was going on than activity carried out by European missionaries at missions in eastern Africa in the latter nineteenth century, though accounts of this story, as in so much conventional mission history, rarely attended to such complexity.

Uniting Mission History and Church History

Traditional mission history presupposes an approach to the broader history of Christianity in which mission history restricts itself to the way Christianity arrived at a place outside of Europe or North America, while church history properly speaking became the history of Christianity in Europe or some other place conceived as a center from evangelization emanated. Church history describes the life of Christianity at the places of sending, while mission history describes the efforts of those sent.

From a contemporary perspective, this operative distinction between church history and mission history appears problematic for a number of reasons. In the first place, it puts a theological overtone on the colonialist worldview, suggesting that the stories of Christians outside of Europe or North America represent something besides church history properly speaking. Mission history becomes peripheral to church history in the same way

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that colonies were considered peripheral to the metropole in imperial consciousness. Second, it overlooks the ways in which missionary activity itself helped to constitute Western Christianity and European identity. In particular, it gives insufficient attention to the way that part of Europe's sense of itself as a collective depended on decisive historical experiences in which mission played a key role, especially the encounter with the Americas in the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, but also the European imperial project that climaxed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁵

The option for the poor, however, challenges the separation of what has been called mission history from mainstream church history. Instead, the history of Christian evangelization becomes a central facet of the church's history, according to which dynamic Christianity crossing one frontier after another no longer appears

at the margin of the Christian story. In addition, the story of the earliest evangelization carried out in a place becomes not merely one more episode in the spread or expansion of Christianity, as a traditional church history perspective would have it, but the earliest appearances of Christianity at a place where the church is fundamentally constituted. To take seriously the option for the poor in historical practice makes any story of the spread of Christianity essentially a dialectic of gesture and countergesture, as offer and response.

This approach to the history of Christian missionary activity, foregrounding evangelization as central rather than marginal to church history, reinforces trends arising from recent attempts to write the history of Christianity from a global perspective. As a number of such efforts have pointed out, Christianity became a primarily European religion only in the late medieval or early modern period.¹⁶ In the same period Europe's political and economic power in relation to the rest of the globe began to expand enormously, ushering in the continent's hegemonic capacities of the past four centuries. Such broad global processes have created a historical amnesia, obscuring the Christian past of places like Persia, India, and China, each of which had thriving Christian communities well before 1000 C.E. As Dale Irvin and Scott Sunquist write in the first volume of their ambitious attempt to present the history of Christianity from a self-consciously global perspective, "We offer our resources and insights as a small contribution to the project of remembering the global *past* of the world Christian movement."¹⁷

In another such attempt to address the needed revisions if we are to have a church history that attends to global realities, Justo González calls for a "changing topography" that would allow a more thorough historical retrieval of the Christian past. González argues that typical church history in the past had what he calls an orographic approach focused on the great peaks of imposing figures, monumental events, and influential ideas. As González notes, historians of Christianity now plunge more into the valleys of the past, into Christian lives and ideas that went unnoticed: for example, the experiences and sentiments of the poor, of women, and of those declared heretics.¹⁸ Such a post-orographic approach to the history of evangelization attends to recipients of the Gospel as well as those carrying it, directing historical attention at the constant missionary dialectic between encounter and appropriation, of the Gospel offered and received.

The story of the origins of Christianity in eastern Africa at first appears to argue against the need to connect the earliest (or primary) evangelization of an area with the history of Christianity properly speaking as it appears in that region. This is because the evangelization of slaves, the operative missionary approach during the first three decades or so in the period of evangelization that began the present-day church,¹⁹ was supposedly abandoned as European colonialism took hold in the region. In support of a historical perspective that would view slave evangelization as a false start and thus relatively unimportant to understanding Christianity in eastern Africa, many of the traditional historical accounts do in fact give short shrift to the earliest evangelization carried out by the French Holy Ghost missionaries, also known as the Spiritans, at Zanzibar and Bagamoyo. Prominent in most accounts has been the explosion of both Protestant and Catholic Christianity in other places, such as Uganda.²⁰

In overlooking the earliest evangelization, however, such historical accounts miss crucial aspects of the story, for the growth of Christianity even in far-flung Uganda relied upon practices of evangelization first established at the coast of eastern Africa, practices hardly attended to in traditional accounts. Even when

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their dramatic effects are noted, the missionary practices that engendered the effects are rarely described except in the vaguest of terms. As the story of Hilarion described above suggests, and the references to enclosure as a prevalent practice also indicate, other sources and other narratives yield better insight into those practices and uncover African experiences of primary evangelization that show a church being born, not just missionary activity being carried out. Again, the reliance on official sources and traditional narrative patterns leads to a downplaying of the pragmatics of missionary evangelization and overlooks African responses to primary evangelization.

From this perspective, a missiological approach to church history that takes its lead from the option for the poor signifies a mode of historical practice that expects that Christ will manifest himself where he is unexpected, especially among those often overlooked, who take on Christian identity despite their apparent powerlessness and their lack of notability. The option for the poor applied to the history of Christian evangelization thus begins to allow a theological appropriation of the colonial roots of so many of the most vital Christian communities today. Christianity in the twenty-first century grows most in places where it appeared inextricably connected to European colonialism, a political and economic process with dubious moral underpinnings, as becomes clearer all the time. The option for the poor promises to allow a way of remembering that past that moves beyond both hand-wringing and historical forgetting, to embrace the irony of history appropriate to the paschal mystery itself, where shame and disgrace become salvific. Thus the evangelized poor, the onetime objects of the church's missionary activity, become the vital center of that mission.

Conclusion

Bringing the option for the poor to bear upon the traditional discipline of mission history therefore has the effect of undoing that traditional discipline, or at least questioning its separation from church history. We can welcome such a development for several reasons. First, mission represents not what the church does only at its growing edge, in the creation of Christian identities among those who were not Christians before. The church's essence consists in its mission. Thus mission history inadequately labels the history of Christian evangelization, overlooking the essential missionary nature of the church in its entirety. Second, the beginnings of Christian identity in a place usually are crucial for the life of the church in that place. Maintaining a separate discipline of mission history can overlook the connection between

the activity of missionaries and the formation of new Christian identities in a new Christian presence.

In contrast, embracing the option for the poor in historical practice means holding together both missionary evangelization and resulting Christianities, thus yielding a crucial dividend for the contemporary burgeoning world Christian movement. By nudging the historical gaze at places where the poor predominate among Christians, the option for the poor today orients historical attention toward places where Christianity is growing, among Christian communities in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. In so doing, the option for the poor, like the missiological perspective, presents new opportunities for church history itself, a discipline now embattled.²¹ This trend will only accelerate as Christian

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identity decreases in the northern Atlantic and grows in the global South, so that the tendencies within the organization of scholarship on the history of Christianity generate growing numbers of well-funded and well-trained students at elite universities, close to the past heart of Christianity but further and further from its growing edge.

The option for the poor in historical scholarship studying that past, to the contrary, directs attention at those margins, places where, for the first time in its history, Christianity's most explosive growth occurs among places away from the center of global political and economic power. Without the option for the poor in historical practice, we are less likely to understand and appreciate the history as well as the future of the church. If the option for the poor does guide us, however, then we will attend to the history of the vital Christian communities of the world, such as that in eastern Africa, not placing its earliest chapters in a separate discipline called mission history but understanding that church in all its complexity. The option for the poor will only reinforce our faith-filled stake in understanding the Christian past.

Notes

1. For example, in the concluding section of their magisterial overview of contemporary missiology, Stephen Bevans and Roger Schroeder identify a preference for the poor as foundational to the notion of prophetic dialogue, the model of mission that they see as capturing the main strengths of today's diverse theologies of mission. The option for the poor also appears prominently in mission documents produced by international bodies like the Vatican, the World Council of Churches, and, increasingly, the World Evangelical Fellowship and Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization. See Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context: A Theology of Mission for Today* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2004).
2. A previous version of this article was delivered in 2004 at a conference entitled "Humanities and the Option for the Poor," held at the University of Salzburg, Austria. I thank Clemens Sedmak for permission to publish it here. The image on p. 61 appeared in *Les Missions Catholiques* 12 (1880): 343.
3. Early missiological works by Gustav Warneck and Joseph Schmidlin typify this tendency. Catholics also relied upon the vast records of Propaganda Fide in Rome. See Hans-Jürgen Findeis, "Missiology," in *Dictionary of Mission: Theology, History, Perspectives*, ed. Karl Müller, Theo Sundermeier, Stephen B. Bevans, and Richard H. Bliese (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1997), pp. 299–303.
4. Gustavo Gutiérrez, "Option for the Poor," in *Mysterium Liberationis: Fundamental Concepts of Liberation Theology*, ed. Ignacio Ellacuría and Jon Sobrino (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1993), p. 235.
5. Paul Kollman, *The Evangelization of Slaves and Catholic Origins in Eastern Africa* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2005).
6. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1990).
7. Kollman, *Evangelization of Slaves*, pp. 1–9, 212–17.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 121–28, 173–92, 227–62.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7, 106.

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10. Ibid., pp. 106–10.
 11. Ibid., pp. 161–63.
 12. Ibid., pp. 289–91. I stayed in Mhonda in June 2003. My thanks to the Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts at the University of Notre Dame for a grant to cover this research trip. I also thank the pastor, the late Reverend Francis Malati, for allowing me to view the parish records, and to the following parish members who made themselves available for informal conversations: Emmanuel Teodori, Ferdinandi Nicolas Kabelwa, and John Anthony Kangati.
 13. Ibid., pp. 132–36, 173–85, 228–30.
 14. For a fuller discussion of Hilarion, see *ibid.*, pp. 256–60.
 15. See Jonathan Z. Smith, *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. 262–74.
 16. For an analysis of four recent works on this theme, see Paul Kollman, “After Church History? Writing the History of Christianity from a Global Perspective,” *Horizons* 31, no. 2 (2004): 322–42.
 17. Dale Irvin and Scott Sunquist, *History of the World Christian Movement*, vol. 1 (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2001), p. xii (*italics mine*).
 18. Justo González, *The Changing Shape of Church History* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2002), pp. 19–32.
 19. Kollman, *Evangelization of Slaves*, pp. 266–67. The Portuguese had attempted small-scale evangelization in the sixteenth century, but with no lasting effect.
 20. See, for example, Roland Oliver’s famous work *The Missionary Factor in East Africa* (London: Longmans, Green, 1952).
 21. For a reflection on the state of the discipline of church history, see Hans Hillerbrand, “Presidential Address: Church History as Vocation and Moral Discipline,” *Church History* 70, no. 1 (2004): 1–18.
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