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*Seeing Lakota Christian Mission History Through the Eyes of John Wesley's Image of God*

**Abstract**

This paper engages John Wesley's understanding of the *Imago Dei* (the image of God) and examines the history of Christian mission among the Native American<sup>1</sup> tribes, particularly Lakota<sup>2</sup> on Rosebud Reservation and Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. Wesley's view of the image of God in creation, partial loss of the image of God, and restoration of the image of God in Jesus Christ provides a framework to describe both the successes and failures in Lakota mission history. Wesley's understanding of the *Imago Dei* challenges current mission theology and praxis to see God's creation and peoples as worthy of honor and love, redeemable and restorable in the new creation.

**Keywords:** Image of God, Lakota, mission, John Wesley, creation

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## Introduction

The year 1492 marked a different chapter of history. For the Portuguese, Spanish, French, and English, it was a landmark of great discovery and exploration of the “unknown” world; and for the Indigenous peoples of the Americas who were the first people of the “turtle land,” it was a turning point of their history. Fergus Bordewich describes the Indigenous North American-European contact and its impact on history,

In essential ways, both Indians and whites see their common past as apocalypse, as a story shaped crucially by violence, competing martyrdoms, and the collision of irreconcilable opposites. But there the similarity ends. Few other Americans, perhaps none, have been so reshaped and so crippled by the events of the past, and at the same time so distorted in the national vision by myth and illusion. In a nation that is so often impatient with history, Indians are still often dominated by it in a deep, visceral way that others find difficult to grasp (Bordewich 1996: 29-30).

For more than five hundred years, Christian mission among Indigenous North Americans was said to be in close companionship with colonialism. Its militant conquest of Christianization and influence on European civilization forever changed the landscape of the Americas. Its influence is still seen among the Indigenous people in North America today. The negative reactions toward the Eurocentric version of Christianity are evident among some Indigenous peoples. What type of Christian mission was done among the Native American people? How did the Native American people see God and themselves prior to their European contact? How did the European missionaries perceive the Native American people and vice versa? How did the European missionaries and the Native American believers see God and their relation to each other, to other creatures, and to the land of the Americas? Among these questions, one particular question puzzled me the most: how did the history of Native American mission reflect on the image of God? I would like to look at the general scope of Christian mission among Native Americans, but give particular attention to the Lakota people.

Why John Wesley? The young John Wesley set out to come to America preaching to the American Indians.<sup>3</sup> Although his trip to Georgia was short-lived, he continued to develop his understanding of the image of God after his Aldersgate experience. Unlike most of the people at his time who perceived of the American Indians as “savages,” his concept of the image of God generally surpassed others,

because of his holistic understanding that was faithful to the Bible and the heart of Christian mission.

While Western Christian tradition focuses on the doctrine of sin and underplays the doctrine of creation and incarnation, Eastern Church tradition emphasizes creation, incarnation, and new creation, and often underplays the doctrine of sin and the importance of social justice. John Wesley combines the strength of both traditions in his understanding of the plan of salvation. Wesley gives this account, "...?God created man [humankind] upright; in the image of God created he him; but man found out to himself many inventions.' Abusing the liberty wherewith he was endowed, he rebelled against his Creator, and willfully changed the image of the incorruptible God into sin, misery, and corruption. Yet his merciful, though rejected, Creator would not forsake even the depraved work of his own hands, but provided for him, and offered to him a means of being 'renewed after the image of him that created him'"(Wesley, Outler, Heitzenrater, 1991: 14). Wesley's understanding of the image of God is threefold: the natural image, the moral image, and also the political image. In this paper, I would like to use John Wesley's concept of the image of God as an approach and a measurement of European Christian mission and the Native Christian believers' mission among the Lakota people.

This research not only concerns what happened in the past, but it also relates to the present situation of non-Lakota and Lakota Christian mission to the Lakota on Pine Ridge reservation, Rosebud reservation, and beyond. Do Lakota Christians have to completely deny their traditional culture to be a legitimized Christian? Some Lakota Christians continue to practice both traditional religions and Christianity with little critique or discernment; some utterly reject traditional religious practices such as the sweat lodge, Sundance, powwow, etc. The issue is a complex one, because after five hundred years of Christian missions, there are various attitudes and practices among Lakota Christians, including denominational differences on the doctrine of redemption. However, there is still a great need of de-colonialization in restoring Lakota Christian identity. It is hopeful because there have been many indigenous Native American followers of Jesus breaking away from the residual influence of colonialism. They are on the good road of recovering their relations with Euro-Americans and dealing with the brokenness and loss of their ancestral land. They are in the process of restoring the image of God as Lakota people who are valued and treasured by God, the Creator. The Christian mission to Lakota people must abandon the harmful ways of doing Christian mission and listen to what Lakota theologians, elders, and leaders' voices have to

say. The Lakota Christian mission is on the journey of restoration from colonialism and its consequences.

The present situation is by no means separated from a horrific past that Lakota people on the reservations daily experience. The purpose of the research is to theologize about the different stages of the image of God in Lakota Christian mission and repaint a new image of God for the purpose of the restoration of the image of God. My own intention is to search for the emic views and to pay attention to etic descriptions of Lakota mission as well. Through the lens of various dimensions of John Wesley's understanding of the image of God, I will explore the past, present, and envision a future for Lakota Christian mission.

### **I. Image of God in Creation**

The Creation story in Genesis provides the foundation for human value and worth. The image of God is not only an essential value system for humanity; it is also the source of values for the rest of creation prior to human existence. After all, human beings were not created out of a vacuum, but are made and located in a specific context. Human beings, their environment, and other creatures existed in harmony under the care of the Triune God. John Wesley points out the original perfection of humankind being created by God. He pictures human beings' first resemblance of God in intellectual knowledge, will, and affections, namely love. Wesley (1991: 15) states, "Love filled the whole expansion of his soul; it possessed him without a rival. Every moment of his heart was love; it knew no other fervour. Love was his vital heat; it was the genial warmth that animated his whole frame." John Wesley deeply believed that humans made in the image of God possessed the capability of responding to the grace of God that is already present in their lives. Howard Snyder interprets the creation of man and woman in the divine image as the reason they are, in Wesley's words, "capable of God"--another phrase which recurs repeatedly in the sermon *The General Deliverance*.<sup>4</sup>

Wesley's understanding of the image of God celebrates human distinctiveness as well as human "sameness." However, the "sameness" does not diminish the uniqueness of human beings. Randy Woodley connects ethnicity with the Creator's design. He states, "Each race offers its own special beauty... Each ethnic group displays the wonderful gifts with which the Creator has endowed them. As we look in nature we see so many great things which amplify God's creativity and design" (Woodley 2000: xvii). Woodley (2000: xvii) understands that the diversity of human ethnicity is God's intention in creation; "The very fact that we are human beings made in God's image explains why diversity is essential."

The imprint of the image of God is not only in human beings, but it is reflected in God's creation, the created order and the perfect state of the whole creation in relation to God and with one another. Thus creation plays a key role in pointing to its Creator, the Triune God, and bears witness for human beings to turn to God. Wesley's emphasis on the wisdom of God in creation echoes, "The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament showeth his handiwork,"<sup>25</sup> and "For since the creation of the world, God's invisible qualities--his eternal power and divine nature-- have been clearly seen, being understood from what has been made, so that men [human beings] are without excuse."<sup>26</sup> In John Wesley's sermon *The Wisdom of God in Councils*, he points out that,

Now the wisdom, as well as the power of God, is abundantly manifested in his creation; in the formation and arrangement of all his works, in heaven above and in the earth beneath; and in adapting them all to the several ends for which they were designed: Insomuch that each of them, apart from the rest, is good; but all together are very good; all conspiring together, in one connected system, to the glory of God in the happiness of his intelligent creatures. (Wesley 1840: 307)

John Wesley's understanding of the creation and its relationship to the Creator resembles many of the early church fathers and mothers, such as St. Irenaeus of Lyons, St. Athanasius, etc.

The image of God can be found in aspects of the Lakota's way of life where everything is related. It can also be revealed within the traditional Lakota values. The original image of God enables one to recognize God's prevenient grace in the existing creation. Prior to European contact, the Native Americans saw themselves living harmoniously with the Creator, mother Earth, and their four-legged friends. Lakota people largely relied upon the populous American bison, of which everything was used for Lakota life. "Attuned to their environment, Indians could find food, locate trails, protect themselves from inclement weather, and anticipate coming events by their understanding of how entities related to each other." (Deloria 1997: 41)

Traditional Lakota values and virtues reflect the image of God among the Lakota people prior to European contact. In Joseph Marshall III's *The Lakota Way*, he recounts twelve values which are evidential in Lakota traditional culture: humility (*Unsiiciyapi*); perseverance (*wowacintanka*); respect (*wawoobola*); honor (*wayuniban*), love (*cantognake*); sacrifice (*iciapi*); truth (*wowicake*); compassion (*wawnsilapi*); bravery (*woobitike*); fortitude (*cantewasake*); generosity (*canteyuke*); wisdom (*woksape*) (2002). Richard Twiss says that Native culture is like all other cultures, it "...reflects to some

degree the attributes of our Creator Himself. It is in Christ that we find the ultimate fulfillment of His holy and sovereign purpose for us as people” (Twiss 2000: 78).

The image of God is also visible in the beauty of Lakota music and arts. Replacing Lakota arts with European arts does not make the worship services holier or better. One particular story I have heard is that an early colonial missionary insisted on traveling for three days and three nights in order to transport an organ to an indigenous group. While his persistence is admirable, I am surprised that he did not think the indigenous people could beat the drum and praise the Creator. Such stories are not rare, but our understanding of human value should be formed by the image of God. God is the Creator who is so creative that He has given people abilities to peak into His glory through music and the arts, which are human expressions that have values and as such, they are redeemable.

The question is: did or do non-Indigenous Christian missionaries recognize the image of God among the Lakota people? Furthermore, did the first Lakota Christians recognize the image of God among their own people? Randy Woodley (2000: 62) researches early missionaries’ writings and makes an observation: “When the Pilgrims and Puritans arrived in this country they had an immediate ‘missionary concern’ to present the gospel to the Indians. But early records indicate that by and large, it was not a gospel that was presented in the form of love. Love would naturally allow room for freedom and respect for another culture but the records indicate that few Europeans treated the Natives with anything but contempt as they tried to share Jesus with them.” If the motivation of the early European mission was not love, then what motivated the early European missionaries?

## II. Partial Loss of the Image of God

Although John Wesley did not directly point it out, we experience a partial loss of the image of God when we fail to recognize the image of God in other people. Foreign mission among Lakota people often did not start with recognizing the image of God among the Lakota people. They often started with the doctrine of sin and death, which led to the partial loss of the image of God.

The Puritans took the story of the Israelites entering into the land of Canaan seriously and made a terrible mistake in comparing themselves with Israelites who were to utterly destroy the natives of the land. J. Alan Groves analyzes the role of Deuteronomy 4: 32-35 in redemptive history. He points out that “As God’s son, Israel was to be like him. Like Adam, they were made in his image and called to be holy as he is holy. Israel was shown who Yahweh was so that they might honor him” (Groves 2010: 182). Therefore the election of the Israelites is not to build up their superiority over all the nations, but to be instrumental in being formed into

the image of God. Some historical narratives are tragic, and they are not meant to be used as prescriptions for others to repeat earlier mistakes. Beyond all of these considerations, we must ask is stealing others' land and killing is really part of what Yahweh would command us to do?

Although the Moravians, the Jesuits, the German Catholics, the English Puritans, Quakers, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists all have engaged with the indigenous people on various levels and dimensions, the notion of "civilization" is significant in their mission activities as if the "Indians" were less "civilized" and they had to be educated to a certain degree in order to receive the Gospel. Matthew Dennis recounts, "All Christian missionaries sought to bring the Gospel to the Indians, and uniformly across denominations they believed such a mission to be inextricably linked with another, to 'civilize' the Indian--the often benevolent but nonetheless ethnocentric project of transforming Native people into passable versions of themselves" (Dennis 2010: 120). Perhaps to many of the non-Native missionaries from the past and present, "civilization" precedes or equals Christian mission, thus many mission schools were founded, but at the same time, some Christians and missionaries had much more appreciation and understanding for native cultures.

The effects of "civilization" impact every single part of life, not just the Greek dualistic religious aspect of life. To the Lakota people, all things are related. Dennis (2010: 120-121) further points out, "Civilization in this culturally and historically specific sense upheld a particular moral code and set of social customs, regulating everything from gender and sexuality, to marriage and family, to dress and adornment, to food and drink, to health and hygiene." It is not only the early nineteenth century mission agenda of cultivating "Christian values" among the indigenous people of North America that caused problems, different forms of "civilization" are still active within different social charitable programs even today. Most of the antique photographs of Native American clergy and Christians from the nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century show the indigenous people in European clothing. Almost all of the existing old church buildings on the reservations are replicas of church structures in Europe, and most of the frescos, stained glasses, and sculptures feature the Scandinavian outlook with a few exceptions.<sup>7</sup>

*Native Americans as "The Poor Indians"- Objects of Pity*

From the first establishment of a foreign mission on the Lakota's reservations till the end of the nineteenth century, a dominant image of how foreign missionaries viewed the Lakota people is mixed with pity--"the poor Indians." The

beginning of St. France Mission on the Rosebud reservation in South Dakota started in the year 1886. “Two years later the same religious orders, the Jesuits and the Franciscan sisters, established Holy Rosary Mission on the neighboring Pine Ridge Reservation of the Sioux. Soon after, the mission schools were directly affected by the last armed conflict between the Lakotas and the United States Army” (Kreis 2007: v). The German reports of mission activities among the Lakota people indicate their image of the Lakota people and the purpose of their mission. Kreis (2007: x) explains, “Of interest is not only the vivid descriptions of the missionary efforts in and outside the mission schools, the goal of which was to lead the ‘poor redskins’ from out of the ‘darkness of paganism’ into the light of Christian faith and American civilization.”

Disagreeing with Lakota scholar Vine Deloria, Jr. who authored the books *Red Earth, White Lies; God is Red*, etc., Ross Enoch thinks that the Jesuit missionaries demonstrated sensibility to the Lakota culture of the time. Ross Enoch’s book *The Jesuit Mission to the Lakota Sioux* studies the pastoral ministry from 1886 till 1945. Unlikely many other books which have portrayed Catholic mission as insensitive to Lakota culture, Enoch’s paints a different picture of how the French and Belgian Catholic missionaries appreciated Lakota culture and lived quite harmoniously with the Lakota people. The previous intermarriage between French traders and trappers with local Lakota women also created the possibility of communication with the hybridity of cultures. Enoch’s understanding of the Jesuit mission among the Lakota people may be overly simplified. As Randy Woodley (2000: 70) says, “Past atrocities happened for many reasons, but the most basic reason is that as a people we [Native Americans] were not valued enough to be given the same consideration that the Whites would have wanted for themselves. We were not valued as human beings made in God’s image.”

#### *Native Americans as “Savages”*

In the minds of Europeans, tales of “savages” perpetuated the dominant view of the Indigenous people of the Americas. The development of Darwin’s theory of evolution as applied to society and culture may have contributed to how Europeans perceived tribal cultures. Don Jacobs traces the “savage” myth,

The Jesuit missionaries also contributed to the noble savage myth. Wanting to achieve martyrdom, they described the danger and savagery of the Indigenous People. Wanting to rationalize their Christian missions, they also had to convey that People were nonetheless children of God and deserving being saved by their missionary agenda. Thus, they gave them the noble attributes of innocent children, as were favored in

the noble savage myth, simultaneously with those of the brute savage with whom they took great risks for God's work (Jacobs 2006: 276).

A similar European image of indigenous people is as a barbaric society, completely ignoring Europe's own Dark Age, with its paganism and barbarian past.

Western cultural notions of what constituted labor privileged farming as Christian and civilized and stigmatized hunting and gathering as barbaric. Despite this conceptual framework, missionaries often recognized and admired the intense effort Natives expended in subsisting by hunting and gathering. This ambivalence produced a bifurcated discourse that affected missionary practices and may have caused missionaries to give mixed messages to Native groups. (Wade 2008: xv)

Joseph Marshall III (2002: 221) critiques the early missionary motivation of education, "A formal education and Christianity, we were told, was our only salvation because the old days were gone: We could no longer chase buffalo and our spiritual beliefs were heathen and pagan. Much of white society expected us to change our ways and our values like someone taking off some shirt and putting on another."

The image of the savage is something for a "civilized" society to tame or to kill. The "savagery" of the Native Americans is often connected with their traditional cultures, stories, languages, customs, arts, and essentially all aspects of their life. Richard Twiss (2000: 25) half-jokingly called it "500 years of bad haircuts." In a 1910-1915 report written by Bishop Joseph F. Busch to the Catholic Indians of the Diocese of Lead, he condemns drinking liquor, dancing, and divorce. Regarding the customs of the Lakotas, he remarks, "The second danger is Dancing and all the Old Customs of the Indians, because they are used by the devil to put what is bad into the mind and the heart of him who takes part in these practices" (Vecsey, Thiel, and Archambault 2003: 121).

Stripping everything Lakota from the people, a cultural genocide began. Vecsey, Thiel, and Archambault (2003: 98) explain,

First, the clergy accused the natives of being in league with the devil, since they could do some marvelous things, including healings of illnesses that could not be done with European medicine. The literary world saw Indians primarily as bloodthirsty savages and Cooper's books suggested that they should all be driven westward from their eastern lands. Finally, the American educational institutions promoted the idea that intellectually Indians were the mental equivalent of the eight-year-old white person.

L. Daniel Hawk states the damage of missionaries' blindness of *Imago Dei*. "By equating salvation from sin and new life in Christ with white, European Christianity and thus requiring native peoples to reject their God-given identities, missionaries rejected the *Imago Dei* among the native peoples. By demonizing indigenous customs and beliefs, missionaries turned converts against their cultures, foisted an alien identity on them..." (Smith, Lalitha, and Hawk 2014: 54)

### *Lakota as "Exotic" and "Invisible"*

The romanticization of the image of Native American people is popularized by certain fictions, movies, and commercial crafts. It is a terrible distortion of the identity of the Native American people. This popular notion is that the "exotic people" have polluted some the non-indigenous Christians' mission motives and practices.

The contemporary invisibility of the indigenous peoples has been an invention of the failed social infrastructure and continued injustice from the past. When modern Christian mission discusses the explosion of Christianity in the majority world and the need for the Church to recognize this reality, so too the Native Americans—the first people of this land need to become visible to the Church as well. When we talk about American Evangelicals, do we think of including indigenous Christian men and women?

Despite all the broken images and stereotypes that have been produced, Lakota people have been making efforts to adapt, to resist, and to reinvent Lakota image in Christ. Smith, Lalitha, and Hawk (2014: 13) declare,

The Lakotas, though victimized, were not merely victims, and despite their sometimes dire circumstances, they managed not simply to survive but also to adapt, prevail, and maintain the core of their cultural and religious systems. Resistance was not only in rejection of outside influences, but also in selective cooperation, incorporation, and acculturation. Thus, certain Lakotas actively requested missions and schools as part of their own strategy for survival, a strategy that continues to be adjusted and negotiated to the present day.

The 1877 letters of Lakota chiefs--Little Wound, Red Cloud, and Spotted Tail to President Rutherford B. Hayes for animals, school house, Catholic priests and Catholic nuns, and teachers of English: "... We would like to have Catholic priests and Catholic nuns, so that they could teach our people how to write and read, and instruct us how to do..." (Vecsey, Thiel, and Archambault 2003: 118). Some people have used the chiefs' letters to justify colonialism. However, it is in reality the Lakota negotiation to compromise in order to survive the harsh disasters

bestowed by colonialists who stole their land, endangered their lives, and determined to assimilate them into the white view of “civilization” through the white version of Christianity.

### III. Restoration of the Image of God in Jesus Christ

The Wesleyan concept of the image of God is linked with what John Wesley refers to as “the mind of Christ.” The deliverance of humanity from the brokenness of a lost image of God is to be restored in Christ, enabling broken people to experience and express the mind of Christ. Howard Snyder puts it this way; “Wesley frequently uses the idea of the image of God in conjunction with the phrase ‘the mind of Christ.’”<sup>8</sup> Some people raise the issue of an annihilation of the earth and ask, “Why do we need to care for the earth if all is going to be destroyed anyway?” That is a misconception of the nature of God and a misreading of the Scripture. The restoration of the image of God is related to purification of the creation, not complete destruction, which does not reflect on the nature and character of the Triune God.

John Wesley’s restoration of the image of God is also deeply embedded in achieving social justice. I have been thinking about the human tragedies, evils, and sufferings in several particular events: the genocide of the Native Americans and the Holocaust. People who often push aside the “historical” blame are often not the people who continuously live under the emotions and consequences of these ugly histories that are such a distortion of the image of God. In a society where we have often chosen personal responsibilities and choices as solutions for social ills and injustice, but these individual choices cannot solve the problems or bring a restoration of the image of God to people broken by these historical forces.

A limited understanding of the image of God, the evilness of “Manifest Destiny,” and the problematic diluted Gospel—are all partially to blame for the problem. The focus of mission to the Lakota people has been on either “saving the dying soul” or curing social injustice, but it should be reevaluated through the theology of the image of God. The restoring of the image of God is both a personal/individual choice and a collective/communal action. It is not only internal redemption, but also what Snyder frames as “...a general consummation and restoration which will bring about not only human redemption (holiness) but the redemption, healing, and rendering of the entire created order.”<sup>9</sup>

The restoring of the image of God among the Lakota people will take listening, lamenting, and reconciliation. “In the listening process, that lost sense of value can be restored. After Indians have been heard and valued, then other aspects of reconciliation can take place” (Vecsey, Thiel, and Archambault 2003: 70).

Lamenting and reconciliation invite healing of personhood, relationships, and the created order. “We live in a world where the meeting of faiths produces conflict as well as peace, oppression as well as liberation, division as well as community, and where the past remains vital in healing the present. The more we understand the complexity of the past, the more effectively we can work for justice” (Kreis 2007: 17).

Restoration of the image of God involves both changing our social patterns and the sanctifying grace of God. It requires humility, knowledge of ourselves and our past, and freedom from bondage. John Wesley says that the restoration of the image of God is found in Jesus Christ, “As in Adam all died, so in Christ shall all be made alive--all who accept of the means which he hath prepared, who walk by the rules which he hath given them. All these shall by dying conquer the first death, and shall never taste the second” (Wesley, Outler, and Heitzentater 1991: 19).

The restoration of the image of God is to live into the reality of being children of God. It is not just an eschatological hope that happens in the future, the restoration of the image of God is what Wesley (1991: 19) envisions as “...such a measure of present happiness as is a fit introduction to that which flows at God’s right hand forever.”

The restoration of the image of God is to live in the radiance of holiness and walk in beauty. Christine Pohl states, “The beauty of holiness, according to Wesley, that holiness of heart which renewed after the image of God, bearing the shape of God impressed on it, is a holiness that cannot be extracted from doing and suffering in the world” (Pohl 1993: 6). According to Pohl, Wesley’s notion of holiness is not just personal, but it is also social holiness in relation to God and others.

The restoration of the image of God is true fulfillment and freedom, and it is often for a new purpose. Using the example of Israel’s new birth,

Not only Yahweh revealed by what he had done *for* Israel, but he was also revealed *in* Israel, the son born to bear his image. Israel was the new humanity that had been anticipated from the beginning of Genesis forward. Moses saw the climax of the story in Israel’s election and saw that God’s purpose was to disclose himself through his deeds on behalf of Israel and through his birthing Israel in his image, as his son (Groves 2010: 182).

Lakota theologian Richard Twiss (2000: 101) hopes for God’s *ecclesia*, “We must regain what Natives have never lost: the understanding that our togetherness



is more important than our individuality, that we are members with one another.” Christ’s sacrificial love glues together different parts of His body, so we can all belong to God, and relate to each other in His holy Love.

To John Wesley (1991: 20), a new heaven and new earth are healing from the alienation of the image of God. It is also full deliverance from sin and death, and obtaining “...a better mind which the art of man and the wisdom of God can give...” We must dare to dream for a different future-- the New Heaven and New Earth, and the complete restoration of the image of God in all people.

Further questions remain to be explored; How do present and future Christian missions continue to interact with the image of God? How is the biblical concept of the image of God helpful in the future of Native American mission? But the Creator made the Lakota people in the image of God and lamented the loss of that image. The Creator restores the image in Christ, so that “they who have saved others from sin and its attendant death ‘shall shine as the brightness of the firmament’; they who have reprinted the image of God on many souls ‘as the stars for ever!’” (Wesley 1991: 21)

## End Notes

<sup>1</sup> In this paper, the terms “Native Americans” and “Indigenous people” are used in interchangeable ways.

<sup>2</sup> The Lakota people are one of the Indigenous tribes in North America.

<sup>3</sup> David Hampton’s book *Methodism Empire of the Spirit* shows an engraving of *John Wesley Preaching to the Indians in Georgia, c. 1736*. Hampton disputes the Methodist tradition of Wesley ever preached to the Native Americans. However, Wesley recorded a few conversations he had with Native Americans in his journal.

<sup>4</sup> Howard Snyder, *Five Key Words & Phrases in Wesley*, MH 935 Wesleyan Theology of Mission class notes, Asbury Theological Seminary, July 22, 2014.

<sup>5</sup> Psalm 19: 1

<sup>6</sup> Romans 1: 20

<sup>7</sup> One example is found at St. Joseph (Lakota Sioux) Indian School in Chamberlain, SD. Oscar Howe’s painting depicts a Native American Jesus hanging on the crucifix.

<sup>8</sup> Howard Snyder, *Five Key Words & Phrases in Wesley*, MH 935 Wesleyan Theology of Mission class notes, Asbury Theological Seminary, July 22, 2014.

<sup>9</sup> Howard Snyder, *Five Key Words & Phrases in Wesley*, MH 935 Wesleyan Theology of Mission class notes, Asbury Theological Seminary, July 22, 2014

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