

Missionary Bishops: The Case of Jackson Kemper (1789-1870) and its Significance for Today

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Abstract

While the Anglican church has been a missionary church, it is also a church led by bishops. At times, this episcopal structure has raised challenges for how missionary work in new fields ought to be approached. What comes first, a bishop or a church? Should missionaries and evangelists first plant churches and then later set apart bishops? Where is the authority for the church planting in the absence of a bishop? Anglicans have wrestled with this tension for centuries. When the Episcopal church's Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society was reorganized in 1835, a new structure developed for sending missionaries to the American West. That year, Jackson Kemper (1789-1870) was set apart as the first missionary bishop—tasked with establishing Episcopal congregations in the western frontier states. In this article, I sketch out the mission practice and theology of Bishop Kemper in the American West and conclude by discussing the relevance of missionary bishops today.

Introduction

While the Anglican church has been a missionary church, it is also a church led by bishops. At times, this episcopal structure has raised challenges for how missionary work in new fields ought to be approached. What comes first, a bishop or a church? Should missionaries and evangelists first plant churches and then later set apart bishops? Where is the authority for the church planting in the absence of a bishop? Anglicans have wrestled with this tension for centuries.

In the nineteenth century, Anglicans in North America adopted a missionary bishop approach. Following the American Revolution, the Anglican church in the United States became the Protestant Episcopal Church. Though an American prayer book was published in 1789, the Episcopal church generally lacked a mission vision (much less mission-sending structures) for nearly half a century. While some vestiges of the

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel's work remained, and some Anglican evangelicals took an interest in global mission work, most church leaders in the young nation focused their energies on maintaining the church in the original thirteen colonies. Because of this, resources and personnel were not being devoted to the spiritual needs of the expanding American western frontier (Prichard 2014, 163-168; Gallagher 1915, 1; Breck and Reeves, 1992, 4; Holmes 1985, 27-34; Burr 1985, 10).

When the Episcopal church's Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society was reorganized in 1835, a new structure developed for sending missionaries to the American West. That year, Jackson Kemper (1789-1870) was set apart as the first missionary bishop—tasked with establishing Episcopal congregations in the western frontier states. At Kemper's consecration, Bishop George Doane preached: "Brethren, we are assembled, under the protection of Almighty God, to partake in, or to witness, the consecration of a missionary bishop. It is a new office in this church. The event has not occurred before" (Doane 1935, 180). In this article, I sketch out the mission practice and theology of Bishop Kemper in the American West and conclude by discussing the relevance of missionary bishops today.

Background and Early Ministry

Because of his godly character and sensitivity to others, friends encouraged Kemper to pursue ordained ministry in the Episcopal church. After graduating from Columbia College in 1809, he completed a year of theological study and ministry apprenticeship under New York bishops John Henry Hobart and Benjamin Moore. In 1811, at just twenty-one, Kemper was ordained a deacon. Three years later, he was made a priest.

Kemper's first place of ministry was Philadelphia, where he served as a priest in three parishes over twenty years. Ministering in a metropolitan context among educated people from various Christian traditions, Kemper took a very missionary posture in his parish ministry (White 1900, 15-16, 22, 34; Stuckert, 1935, 130-132, 142).

Kemper's primary spiritual gifts were pastoral care and administration. Though he would learn from evangelicals how to preach with more passion, he was not naturally a charismatic communicator. While he served faithfully among educated people in Philadelphia and would earn a doctorate in divinity, Kemper did not see himself as a scholar-pastor or an intellectual. In his pastoral ministry, his greatest strengths were visiting parishioners, praying for them, and providing spiritual care. Early in his ministry, his administrative gifts were recognized as he was made secretary of the

Pennsylvania diocesan convention and later secretary to the house of bishops (White 1900, 29-32; Stuckert, 1935, 132, 135).

From an early point in his ministry, Kemper demonstrated a burden for mission. While serving in parish ministry in Philadelphia, he was particularly concerned for the Germantown district where no Episcopal church existed. Caring for people from various cultural and socio-economic backgrounds, he proved capable of connecting and communicating with diverse audiences.

In 1812, he got further involved in mission when he helped launch the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania. The Society aimed to bring renewal to Pennsylvania's dying parishes, particularly through raising up new clergy. As Kemper traveled on horseback across Pennsylvania (even as the War of 1812 was heating up), he began to think about the great spiritual needs of the American West. His vision was encouraged by Bishop Hobart who was burdened for native Americans in New York and Wisconsin and had already sent one missionary to the Oneida people in Wisconsin. In 1821, Kemper helped launch and provide leadership to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, which aimed to place at least one priest in each of the western territories (Gallagher 1915, 6-7, 111-112; White 1900, 24-25, 59; Stuckert 1935, 132-133, 137-140).

Mission to the West

By setting apart Kemper as a missionary bishop to the West in 1835, the Episcopal church moved beyond mere parish maintenance in the original thirteen states. Likening Kemper's calling to that of the Apostle Paul, Bishop Doane declared: "If they have bishops to oversee the flock, to lay hands upon them 'after the example of the holy Apostles . . . to ordain elders in every city, and set in order the things which are wanting,' they must be missionary bishops." Doane added that Kemper was empowered to "organize the church, not waiting till the church has partially been organized" and that he should be a "leader, not a follower, in the march of the Redeemer's conquering and triumphant gospel" (Doane 1935, 182). Initially, Kemper's mission field included Indiana and Missouri. Later, it expanded to include Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, and Nebraska (White 1900, 64-64)

From 1835 to 1859, Kemper traveled extensively throughout the western territories preaching, conducting services, confirming believers, ordaining new church leaders, encouraging existing leaders, and dedicating new churches. In 1859, he transitioned to serving uniquely as the bishop of Wisconsin where he served until his death in 1870.

The Episcopal church committee on domestic missions summarized Kemper's quarter century of ministry in this way:

When Bishop Kemper was appointed missionary bishop, in 1835, with jurisdiction over Missouri, Indiana, and Iowa, neither of which was an organized diocese, there was but one of our clergy and one church in Missouri, one clergyman and one church in Indiana, and neither church nor clergyman in Wisconsin or Iowa. Twenty-four years have passed away, and by God's blessing on the church, he now sees Missouri a diocese, with its bishop and twenty-seven clergy; Indiana a diocese, with its bishop and twenty-five clergy; Wisconsin, his own diocese, with fifty-five clergy; Iowa a diocese, with its bishop and thirty-one clergy; Minnesota an organized diocese, with twenty clergy; Kansas . . . just organized a diocese, with ten clergy; and the territory of Nebraska, not yet organized as a diocese, with four clergy . . . in all, six dioceses . . . and one hundred and seventy-two clergymen (cited in White 1900, 176-177).

In addition, Kemper helped to establish 100 new churches and confirm over 10,000 believers in the western territories (White 1900, 227-228).

By 1870, the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society came under the leadership of the house of bishops. Also, the previous work of the Church Missionary Society in the United States was absorbed into the Domestic Society. The same year, the Commission on Indian Affairs was also established. By 1880, there were nearly 500,000 Episcopalian Christians in the United States with about 50,000 of those living west of the Mississippi River. Though the Episcopal Church was far from being the largest church in nineteenth-century America, much of its growth in the West can be traced to Kemper's pioneering work (White 1900, 177-178).

Kemper's Mission Practice

Itinerant Missionary Bishop

Similar to George Whitefield, John Wesley, and the American Methodist circuit riders, who engaged in itinerant evangelism, Jackson Kemper served as an itinerant missionary bishop. In his thirty-five years as a bishop, he traveled 300,000 miles on western roads by wagon, horseback, and foot. He also made many journeys by boat up and down the Mississippi River. Though he had studied in New York City and pastored in Philadelphia, Kemper seemed drawn to the beauty and wildness of the frontier. He also

seemed adept at relating to the “common man” in the western territories—ferry operators, tavern owners, and local people living in small towns and villages. Beginning in 1842, Kemper’s plan was to visit every western diocese and spend at least one week in each one. Given the vastness of the western territories, often Kemper spent more time traveling to places of ministry than actually ministering (Burr 1985, 11; Holmes 1985, 21, 26; White 1900, 108).

Though Kemper spent the majority of his time on the road and mission field, to keep from being a “homeless wanderer,” it was important that he establish a strategic base of operations. For the first ten years of his ministry, he was based in St. Louis where, apart from his role as bishop, he served as rector of a local parish. Beginning in 1845, he moved his base to Wisconsin just down the road from the recently established Nashotah House mission (White 1900, 113).

Setting Apart Leaders

Kemper’s greatest legacy for the western mission was setting apart, ordaining, and deploying men for mission work. From the outset of his work as the missionary bishop for Indiana and Missouri, he urged the churches in these territories to select their own bishops as soon as possible.

Ordaining leaders for ministry on the western frontier was a process of trial and error. Most east-coast clergy preferred the familiarity, comfort, and even affluence of their lives and ministries to consider a move out West. Others who answered the call lacked resilience and grit for the hardships of frontier ministry. Finally, others who had failed in parish ministry back East received unwise counsel to give the frontier a try, which resulted in disaster. Despite this, Kemper was able to raise up nearly 200 clergy from established east-coast parishes, seminaries, and from the frontier itself (White 1900, 112; Gallagher 1915, 105-106).

The real fruit of Kemper’s ministry was ordaining other missionary bishops for the western mission. During his career, he laid hands on Cicero Stephens Hawks for Missouri (1844), William Ingraham Kip for California (1853), Henry Washington Lee for Iowa (1854), Henry Benjamin Whipple for Minnesota (1859), Thomas Hubbard Vail for Kansas (1864), and Ozzie William Whitaker for Nevada (1869). From 1854, in addition to his missionary bishop duties, Kemper himself served as the bishop of Wisconsin—a role he maintained after transitioning from his missionary bishop duties in 1859 until his death in 1870. In 1859, Kemper passed the baton of missionary bishop for the West to Joseph Cruikshank Talbot. Because of their ability to relate to western peoples

(immigrants and native Americans alike), these bishops not only sustained a vision for western mission, but they also helped solidify diocesan structures in the region (White 1900, 152, 165, 176; Holmes 1985, 19-20).

Theological Education

With the challenge of raising up leaders came the requirement of training them adequately for frontier ministry. Because it was difficult to recruit quality church leaders from the eastern parishes and seminaries, Kemper turned his attention to forming new ministers who were born and raised on the frontier. To accomplish this, he was directly involved in starting two schools.

When Kemper was based in Missouri, he launched Kemper College in 1837. Over the first few years, the school enjoyed a healthy enrollment of thirty students, and the curriculum included Greek, Latin, theology, French, and math. In 1840, the school broke further ground and added medical studies. Despite a strong start in the early years, by 1845, the school faced insurmountable financial debts and was forced to close (White 1900, 87, 173; Gallagher 1915, 79-80, 104).

When Kemper spoke at General Theological Seminary in 1840, his appeal to students to come serve in the West directly led to the founding of Nashotah House—a mission and theological seminary in Wisconsin. Thomas Reeves writes that Kemper was after “self-denying men who were prepared to endure every species of hardship for the sake of Christ and his church” (Reeves 1996, 54). In his address, Kemper called for “means and men . . . to found seminaries of learning to be under the control of the church” and “laborers to assist him in preaching the gospel” (Reeves 1996, 54). As a result of this appeal, three men responded to the call: James Lloyd Breck, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania; William Adams, an Irishman who had graduated from Trinity College Dublin and had immigrated to the United States; and John Henry Hobart, Jr., a graduate of Columbia College and son of the bishop of New York. Influenced by the Oxford Movement, Breck had a vision to organize a “society of Protestant monks” for mission (Reeves 1996, 54).

Despite some resistance from Episcopalians (evangelical and high church) who did not appreciate the Oxford Movement or Anglo-Catholicism, the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society approved and funded the plan for the mission. Richard Cadle, a missionary already living in Wisconsin, was tasked with supervising the order though he quickly resigned, lacking a vision for the monastic experiment. Despite this, Breck, Adams, and Hobart were ordained as deacons, and land was secured near Milwaukee to begin the work (Reeves 1996, 56-57, 60).

Though the mission got off to a great start (three new parishes were planted in the first four months), Bishop Kemper and the young men had different visions for the mission. Kemper's primary aim was to establish a theological seminary to train men for ministry while Breck, Adams, and Hobart were more interested in direct mission work. The men yielded to their bishop and in 1842, Nashotah House opened as the fifth Episcopal seminary in the United States and the first institution of higher learning in Wisconsin. Though theological education took precedence, Kemper was happy that the men could also devote energy to ministering at ten different mission stations. When Hobart left the work to get married (to Kemper's daughter), Breck became the mission leader at the age of twenty-four. During a worship service in an Oneida-speaking church, Kemper ordained Breck and Adams to the priesthood (Reeves 1996, 60-65).

By 1844, twenty-eight students were enrolled at Nashotah House. The diverse community included Irish, Welsh, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, and native American students. Breck organized their day around a monastic schedule with morning and evening prayers, manual labor, and academic study. In addition to their life together, the students continued to plant new churches in various languages (English, Welsh, Swedish, Oneida, Mohican). While the work among the Welsh, Swedish, and Oneida was largely organizing existing Christians into fellowships, the ministry to the Mohican-speaking Stockbridge people was more evangelistic (Reeves 1996, 66-69; Breck and Reeves 1992, 61, 66-78, 80-81, 89, 104-105, 114-117).

While Breck had hoped that graduates from General Seminary and other east-coast seminaries would answer the call to serve in the West, over time, he realized that they were not coming. With Kemper, he became convinced church leaders for the West would also have to come from the West. By 1847, only five years after Nashotah House opened, five men had been ordained to the ministry, including one set apart for native American ministry (Reeves 1996, 69; Breck and Reeves 1992, 87-89; Holmes 1985, 28).

Despite the mission's enrollment growth and ministry fruitfulness, Nashotah House continued to experience controversy. Other Episcopalians interpreted the community's Anglo-Catholic worship forms, sacramental theology, and monastic rhythms as Roman Catholicism. Kemper, who was already living near the campus, rebuked Breck for his monastic ways and worship practices. As the bishop responsible for the mission, Kemper apologized to the national Episcopal church for Nashotah House's Anglo-Catholic excesses. In his subsequent preaching and communication, Kemper highlighted his commitment to the English Reformers, the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the other formularies of Reformation Anglicanism.

Though Breck obeyed his bishop, a mutual frustration set in between Kemper and Breck, which resulted in Breck leaving Nashotah House for a new work in Minnesota. Despite this parting of ways, in Minnesota, Breck continued Kemper's vision for theological education when he founded Bishop Seabury Mission (later Seabury Seminary) in 1858 (Reeves 1996, 75-76, 80-81; White 1900, 123-124, 172-173).

Kemper's Theology of Mission

The Church as Mission Society

Various mission societies have figured prominently in Anglican mission history. At times, groups like the Church Missionary Society struggled with the tension between episcopal oversight and mission initiative in new fields. Kemper's ecclesiology for mission was groundbreaking because he understood the church to be the mission society. As Bishop Doane preached at Kemper's consecration: the church is a "missionary church" and "her bishops are apostles . . . her ministers are all evangelists . . . her members . . . are missionaries" (Doane 1935, 190). The way to resolve the tension was to make the church the mission society.

Interestingly, the original plan for the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society did not have the approval of the house of bishops. As this mission vision developed, the Episcopal church decided that the Society would come under the leadership of the bishops and that every Episcopalian in every parish would be a member of the mission. Ultimately, this ecclesial mission strategy depended on the work of missionary bishops. Bishop Doane added:

To every soul of man, in every part of it, the gospel is to be preached. Everywhere, the gospel is to be preached by, through, and in the church. To bishops, as successors of the Apostles, the promise of the Lord was given to be with his church, "always, to the end of the world." Upon bishops, as successors of the Apostles, the perpetuation of the Christian ministry depends. With bishops, as successors of the Apostles, the government of the church, the preaching of the word, the administration of the sacraments, the care of souls, has been entrusted (Doane 1935, 188).

These values also inspired Kemper to be a catalyst for raising up new church and mission leaders, especially priests and bishops. Throughout his career, he showed no desire to remain bishop over the vast western territory. As he consecrated new bishops and saw new diocesan structures develop, Kemper continued to be apostolic, giving his attention to new mission fields (Gallagher 1915, 106-107, 110-112; Bellamy 1985, 36).

Suffering and Simplicity

Kemper carried out his itinerant ministry as a missionary bishop amid many hardships and dangers. Going back to his early itinerant ministry in Pennsylvania, he journeyed along dangerous roads in bad weather. In the West, he traveled by horseback, foot, wagon, and boat during freezing winters and hot summers. While he traveled extensively in the western territories, he also made many trips back east to raise money, recruit laborers, and participate in the church's General Convention. On the frontier, he slept on many cold cabin floors and in dirty inns in rooms shared by multiple people. Because of the scarcity of food in the West, he often ate very simple food offered by parishioners.

Kemper also ministered in contexts of violence. During his early ministry years in Pennsylvania, Kemper was out on the road during the War of 1812. In his final years, he ministered in Wisconsin and the western states during the American Civil War. Because much of his ministry focused on native Americans, he and his colleagues often found themselves in the crossfire of violent exchanges between the American military and native American peoples. Since he was a white man, these conflicts also weakened his credibility among indigenous peoples.

Because of the sustained stress on his body, at the age of fifty-seven, Kemper experienced a breakdown in his health, from which he never fully recovered. Despite these difficulties, Kemper continued to mount his horse and travel to minister and establish the church in the frontier. Though in his seventies, he began to experience seizures and diminishing mental faculties, he did not retire from ministry but focused on the work of the church in Wisconsin.

Kemper also cultivated a theology of simplicity. The people on the western frontier regularly faced economic scarcity, food shortages, and high inflation. Early in his ministry, Kemper reported withdrawing currency from a bank in Missouri that was worth nothing by the time he reached Illinois. Because of these resource challenges, western parishioners could not conceive of supporting a parish priest. Greatly burdened by frontier priests who lived in poverty and were forced to share food supplies with other clergy, Kemper constantly battled to secure more funding from the General Convention, which was also financially stretched (Gallagher 1915, 8, 64-72, 79-80, 125, 130-132; White 1900, 90-95, 130, 154, 157, 185-186, 194-195).

Given these economic realities, Kemper purposely adopted an austere lifestyle. Even before he went west, he turned down a comfortable parish with a house in Baltimore and avoided luxuries such as dinner parties and the theatre. When he settled near

Nashotah House, he kept his household budget simple by not purchasing wine. He often gave sacrificially when he learned of a missionary family struggling to make ends meet. Because of a shortage of mission funds, from 1836 to 1838, Kemper paid for his ministry travel out of his own pocket. While living simply and sacrificially, he also abhorred going into any form of debt and impressed this value on his clergy. Though Episcopalians were erecting impressive church buildings and cathedrals on the east coast, Kemper advocated constructing “cheap and unadorned” churches on the frontier—what was affordable and sustainable.

Kemper also proved to be constructive in generating resources. In addition to seeking funding from the General Convention, he challenged bishops in eastern established dioceses to give toward the work in the West. Kemper also built relationships with benefactors who helped with Episcopal work. For example, in 1836, the governor of Illinois donated a plot of land for the construction of a church. Later, General William Henry Harrison, the future president of the United States, did the same in Indiana. Over time, frontier parishes started to attract new members with financial means who could give generously toward sustaining the churches.

Though Kemper navigated financial challenges throughout his entire ministry career, he never allowed these obstacles to halt the work of ministry. He continued to travel, recruit and set apart clergy, start new churches, and build church buildings. When he challenged men to come to the western frontier, he called to them to embrace a rugged lifestyle, to suffer, and to live simply. In many respects, James Lloyd Breck and the Nashotah mission team embodied these values in their monastic experiment. They embraced simplicity, relied on the sacrificial gifts of donors, and supported themselves through farming and manual labor (Holmes 1985, 31; White 1900, 31-34, 137, 170; Gallagher 1915, 118, 130, 139, 147; Breck and Reeves, 1992, 75-79, 94-97).

Image of God in Man

A final area of Kemper’s mission theology was his understanding of the image of God in man. This is most apparent in Kemper’s ministry to native Americans in the West. From his initial visit to Wisconsin in 1834, where he first observed native American ministry firsthand, he was burdened that the children, in particular, would be taught the gospel and be rescued from poverty and exploitation. He was also distressed at how indigenous people were buying alcohol from white settlers and developing addictions. He concluded that native Americans were being oppressed from all sides—from the government, the military, and traders.

As a result, Kemper's approach to native American mission was holistic—ministering to spiritual and physical needs. Spiritually, Kemper focused on preaching the gospel, teaching the Scriptures, and helping indigenous people to cultivate a life of prayer. Practically, the mission provided food and clothing and established schools to educate the children. Because addiction was on the rise, Kemper's missionaries also addressed this in their teaching. Finally, though Kemper was not a political activist, within his sphere of influence in the Episcopal church, he advocated for care for and ministry to native Americans. In his final speech as missionary bishop to the General Convention in 1859, Kemper appealed to the church to send laborers to minister to indigenous peoples in the Dakotas (White 1900, 95, 151, 176; Stuckert 1935, 143, 145-148, 150).

Summary and Reflections for Today

Jackson Kemper broke new ground as an itinerant missionary bishop to the West. During early American history, he challenged the Protestant Episcopal Church to recognize the harvest fields on the western frontier. As he traveled and ministered in often difficult conditions on the frontier, his greatest legacy was raising up priests and bishops to develop the structure of the Episcopal church in the western United States.

As we evaluate his legacy, some weaknesses must be noted. First, Kemper seems to be more of an administrator than an evangelist. Much of his work was organizing existing Episcopalians into new churches. Though he and his team did some evangelistic preaching and planted churches with people from non-Christian backgrounds, in many places his ministry was organization more than evangelization (Burr 1985, 10-11; White 1985, 125; Holmes 1985, 31; Gallagher 1915, 85).

Though Kemper was committed to holistic mission, he did not speak up about injustices in the social or political spheres. While his apolitical posture may have been a reaction to his brother David's political activism, Kemper had very little to say about the American Civil War or slavery. In a letter to fellow bishop Philander Chase about a potential candidate for ordination with abolitionist leanings, Kemper wrote: "The subject of abolition is an exceedingly exciting one and is necessarily connected with the politics of the country. The kingdom of the Redeemer is not of this world" (Muller and Kemper 1945, 20). In short, if the candidate was going to be an abolitionist, then he could not be ordained a priest.

Though Kemper emphasized holistic mission among native Americans, it seems like he could have done more to reach unevangelized tribes and also to speak up against injustice against indigenous peoples. Later missionary bishops like William Hobart Hare enjoyed a more fruitful work among native Americans in Nebraska (Holmes 1985, 20).

What about the approach of missionary bishops today? James Griffis writes, “The frontier to which Jackson Kemper carried the gospel and on which he established new congregations no longer exists, but there are many other frontiers to which we, his spiritual descendants, have a mission today” (Griffis 1985, 88). Since becoming independent from the archbishop of Canterbury in 1951, the Anglican church in Nigeria has grown from two dioceses in 1951 to 161 in 2009, and 176 at the time of this writing. This has largely been accomplished through setting apart missionary bishops. Describing the role of Nigerian bishops, Bishop Foreman Nedison of Jalingo writes:

The missionary bishop is sent to evangelize, to do humanitarian work, and also to be involved in social and political action in the name of Christ Jesus. As good shepherds of the flock committed to their charge, bishops take care of them in all spiritual, physical and material matters. Shepherding calls for a strong pulpit ministry, with regular prayer and charismatic emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit (Nedison 2020, 238).

Similar to Kemper, Nedison argues for a holistic approach to mission; however, he goes beyond Kemper and asserts that social and political engagement are also within the bishop’s purview. He also insists that mission is more than merely organizing groups of believers but also evangelizing non-believers. He adds, “the bishop . . . should always launch out beyond those who are already in the fold to those outside” (Nedison 2020, 238).

The Nigerian missionary bishop approach also seems to allow for more efficient and decentralized decision-making. Bishop Nedison continues: “Another factor stimulating growth is the concept of local autonomy” as “missionary bishops are able to look quickly at the needs of their localities and immediately to seek and proffer solutions without absolute dependence on a central or national authority” (Nedison 2020, 239). This leadership style seems significant for an episcopal ecclesiastical structure that can easily become bureaucratic and inefficient. The decentralized approach probably also poses a healthy challenge to traditional leadership values that are more hierarchical.

Finally, like Bishop Kemper, the Nigerian approach emphasizes training and equipping for ministry. While Kemper focused primarily on leadership development with ordained clergy, the Nigerian missionary bishops focus on training both lay people and ordained ministers. Finally, similar to Kemper's vision for theological education, the Nigerian Anglican church has started nine theological schools to equip its clergy (Nedison 2020, 239).

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