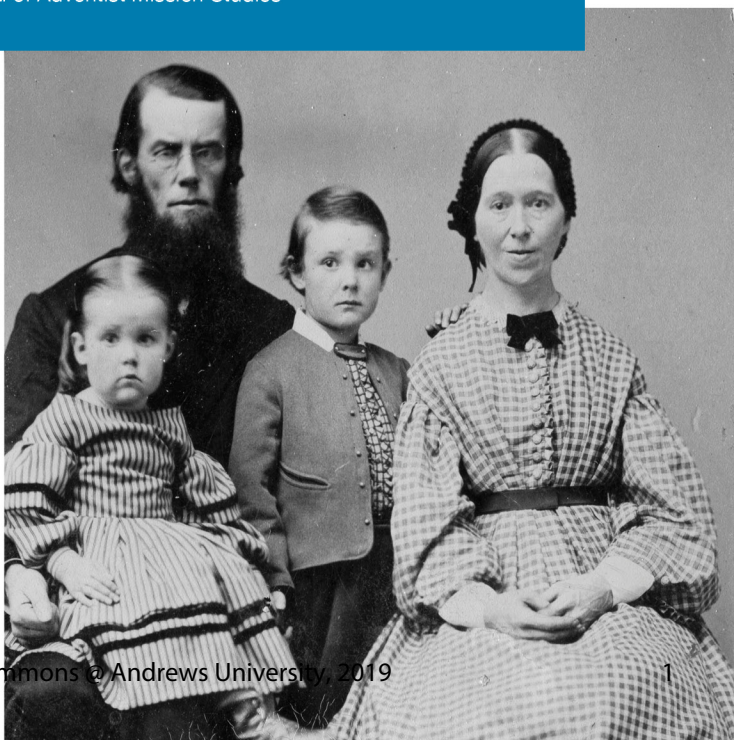
ADVENTIST MISSION HISTORY

jams
Journal of Adventist Mission Studies



VOL. 15 NO. 2
2020

JAMS
Journal of Adventist Mission Studies Vol. 15, No. 2, Fall 2019
ISSN: 1553-9881
Editor: Bruce L. Bauer
Associate Editors: Wagner Kuhn, Lester Merklin, Boubakar Sanou
Managing Editor: Andrew Tompkins
Regional Editors: Cristian Dumitrescu, Sung Ik Kim, Kelvin Onongha, Olaotse Gabasiane
Editorial address: JAMS, Dept. of World Mission, Berrien Springs, MI 49104-1565
Phone: 269.471.6505
Fax: 269.471.6202
Editorial e-mail: bbauer@andrews.edu
Cover and Layout: Amy Rhodes
Cover Photos: Map — Center for Adventist Research
J. N. Andrews Family — Center for Adventist Research (Andrews-Spicer Collection)

JAMS is a peer-reviewed journal published in the Spring and Fall by the International Fellowship of Adventist Mission Studies, Berrien Springs, MI 49104-1500

https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/jams/vol15/iss2/1
DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.32597/jams/vol15/iss2/

CONTENTS

https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/jams/vol15/iss2/1
DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.32597/jams/vol15/iss2/

Editorial

The Seventh-day Adventist Church has had many excellent missionaries who have been creative and developed innovative approaches to mission life and challenges. However, too many of them never wrote extensively about what they learned or the methods they developed. This void has resulted in succeeding generations of missionaries repeating the same mistakes and having to discover what previous missionaries learned.

Especially missing from Adventist mission literature is documentation of the work by indigenous workers who often did the face-to-face contact in presenting the Three Angels' Messages. In denominational papers the history that is recorded too often only lists the missionary's name with no mention of the local workers.

This issue of the *Journal of Adventist Mission Studies* focuses on Adventist mission history. It also welcomes a new writer, Chigemezi Wagu from Nigeria, and his excellent article on "Trailblazers of Adventism in Nigeria, 1900s-1930s." We need more voices from Africa and Asia to write similar histories of the early work in those parts of the world with a specific focus on the work on early indigenous evangelists and other front-line workers.

David Trim presents two articles on the history of the Adventist Church's mission enterprise and the role and function of the General Conference Secretariat. Unfortunately, the present trends in Adventist mission are discouraging and with little focus on reaching the unreached peoples in the world.

Two articles by Gottfried Oosterwal were given to Petr Cincala by Millie Oosterwal after his passing. I have included his Sabbath sermon at Pioneer Memorial Church in Berrien Springs, Michigan, to mark the anniversary of the birth of J. N. Andrews (July 21, 1979). His other article on M. B. Czechowski's work both in America and in Europe is a reminder that sometimes those who are little appreciated by the institutional church are the ones who accomplish the most for God.

A request: If you know of people who have written articles on Adventist mission history, please encourage them to submit their papers. I am planning to have another issue dealing with this topic in the next year or so.

Bruce L. Bauer, editor

Chigemezi Nnadozie Wogu

Trailblazers of Adventism in Nigeria, 1900s–1930s

Introduction

The Pew Research Center reports that out of the 80 million (50.8%) Christians in Nigeria, there are 60 million Protestants (or broadly defined 37.8%), 20 million Catholics (11.0%), 40,000 Orthodox Christians, and 810,000 other Christians (Pew Research Center 2011). Among Protestants, mainline, mission churches, and Pentecostal and/or Nigerian Initiated churches play key roles in the religious and social arena of Nigeria. Among the mission churches, Seventh-day Adventists with about 234,200 members (*2018 Annual Statistical Report* 2018:94) constitute a small percentage of Protestants in Nigeria. One of the reasons for this might be that they were late comers to the religious scene of Nigeria.

While the earliest Christian mission to Nigeria can be traced back to the 16th century for Catholic missionaries (Isichei 1995:45) and to the late 1840s for Protestant missionaries, Adventist only arrived in Nigeria in the early part of the 20th century. Popular opinion and several historical monographs have placed the coming of Seventh-day Adventists to Nigeria in 1914. The account claims the British Adventist missionary, David C. Babcock along with two other Africans, R. P. Dauphin and Samuel D. Morgue as the first missionaries to Nigeria. According to this popular study, while Babcock and his team started work in Western Nigeria in 1914, Jesse Clifford started work in Southeastern Nigeria in 1923, and John J. Hyde began mission work in Northern Nigeria in 1931 (Anosike 1971; Agboola 1987; Kuranga 1991; Maigadi 2005; Alalade 2008). Hence, Babcock (and his associates), Clifford and Hyde are until today considered the pioneers of Adventism in Nigeria. This is the main reason why Babcock University was named after Babcock as the pioneer missionary in Nigeria.

https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/jams/vol15/iss2/1
DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.32597/jams/vol15/iss2/

Following this tradition, when another Adventist university was founded in 2013 (approved by the government in 2016) in the South East of Nigeria, it was called Clifford University in honor of the pioneer work of Jesse Clifford in that region. While it is true that these missionaries labored to establish Adventism in different areas in Nigeria, historical data shows that before them, James Hyatt as well as Sydney Hayford and Benjamin Tikili had been working in Nigeria.

This article seeks to highlight the contribution of unknown key pioneer Adventist missionaries in Nigeria in order to give credence to the work of those who have not been adequately recognized. The focus of the article will be focused mostly on personalities and their approach(es) to mission. The article demonstrates that the pioneer work in Nigeria was in at least two phases: (1) commissioned laymen and self-supporting missionaries, and (2) ordained and commissioned missionaries. In addition, the paper shows that West African missionaries were key to rooting Adventism in Nigeria.

Phase 1: Commissioned Laymen and Self-Supporting Missionaries

Laymen here will be termed as those who were not commissioned ministers but who were enlisted as licentiates and served as missionaries doing medical and teaching jobs. This was the case of James (who was not ordained) and Marian Hyatt (Records of the Foreign Mission Board 1903:92). Self-supporting missionaries are those who did some mission work in addition to their jobs as in the case of Sydney Hayford and Benjamin I. Tikili.

Western Nigeria Part 1: James Hyatt

James M. Hyatt was a black American medical missionary who worked together with his wife Marian in the West African Countries of Ghana, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria. Born in 1869 in Denver Colorado, James Hyatt went on to become a dentist. He was married with Marian (a seamstress and dress maker) on 21 December 1892 (Williams 2005:40). In 1902, he was to go to Nyasaland (Malawi) after the Foreign Mission Board sent a request on his behalf to the Colorado Conference (Records of the Foreign Mission Board 1902:65). Although this did not materialize, two years later, in March 1903, James and Marian Hyatt entered Ghana as the first official Afro-American Adventist missionaries in that country and all of West Africa (Owusu-Mensah 1993:67). Later, in 1905, they went to Sierra Leone where James Hyatt worked briefly for a year as the first Adventist missionary (*Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook* 1906:86; Hyatt 1905:13) followed by David C. Babcock.

Between 1906 and 1907, Hyatt went on to work in Nigeria. He must have been working from Lagos for that period since the 1907 *Yearbook* of Seventh-day Adventists lists his name under the ministerial directory as a licentiate working in Nigeria (*Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook* 1907:101). However, after 1907, he was no longer listed in the church records. In *Precious Memories of Missionaries of Color*, James Hyatt is reported to have returned to the United States where he continued itinerant preaching and colporteur work (Williams 2005:44).

However, it seems Hyatt left the ministry and began a private dentistry practice in Liberia and later in Ghana (Letter: Langford to Andross 1920). The General Conference (GC) committee minutes of 1910 notes that Hyatt "a coloured man, is not now associated with our work, and owing to family troubles, his wife left him" (General Conference Committee Minutes 1910:177). Sadly, Hyatt had started paying indiscrete attention to another woman (Letter: Serns to Shaw 1920) and physically abused his wife. That year, his wife, Marian Hyatt had desired to return to America because of her health. The GC committee voted thus: "That we request Elder D. C. Babcock to investigate the case of Mrs. Marion (sic) Hyatt, and authorize him to send her home if she so desires, or if he thinks it proper, to arrange for her to do missionary work in Liberia" (General Conference Committee Minutes 1910:177). After some time, Marian Hyatt returned home to America where she stayed with her sister in Michigan. She died after a severe illness on January 21, 1917 (Letter: Serns to Shaw 1920).

Three years later, James Hyatt died on July 14, 1920 in an accident killed by a truck (lorry) in Ghana (Letter: Linnel to Shaw 1921; Shaw to Serns 1930). In spite of these problems, James Hyatt was the first Adventist missionary to land in Nigeria. In view of the fact that there is a scarcity of information relating to his work there, applying insights from his work in Ghana and Sierra Leone may be helpful in our reflection. While he was in those countries, he held Bible studies (Hyatt 1905:13), carried out evangelistic meetings accompanied with a vibrant music ministry (Hyatt 1903:19), taught classes at the mission school (19), and did medical mission work as a dentist (Owusu-Mensah 1993:67).

If he did some of these activities in Nigeria, then the appeals from those whom he reached is evidence of his efforts. Such type of appeals, reported by David C. Babcock in 1909, were published in the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*. "The appeals that have been made from Northern and Southern Nigeria demand our immediate attention. Here permanent stations should be built up soon" (Babcock 1909:15, 16). Babcock noted earlier in the report that "while speaking in public recently, a lady in the congregation arose, and made an earnest request for us to open our work in Lagos, the capital of Southern Nigeria. This lady is the wife of a leading physician in Lagos, and is quite a talented woman" (16).

Southern Nigeria Part 1: Sydney Hayford and Benjamin I. Tikili

In the same report, Babcock notes, "One brother is now on the Benne River teaching school, another is teaching at Bonney, and at Lokoja our books are read with much interest" (16). The said brother teaching at Bonny was Sydney Hayford, the son of J. D. Hayford, a Ghanaian mining landowner who also did Adventist pioneer lay work in the Gold Coast (Owusu-Mensah 1993:65). Hayford would go "out at times into the streets in the early morning to tell people about the soon coming of Christ, the true Sabbath, etc." (Hale 1906:16). He also trained young men to become Bible teachers. His desire to reach people with the Adventist message was passed on to his son Sydney who became a government schoolmaster for the British colonial administration in Nigeria. While Sydney Hayford worked for the colonial government, he began doing "some" Adventist mission work in Bonny, Southern Nigeria.

Sydney Haford's efforts in Nigeria are known due to J. D. Hayford's letter to Dudley Hale. Hayford writes, "No doubt it will interest you also to learn that my youngest son, Sydney, now fully come to the age of manhood, and who has been at Bonny, in southern Nigeria, as a government schoolmaster for one or two years, has been doing some earnest work as a Seventh-day Adventist. He is an earnest lad, that good boy of mine is, and I bless God for him" (16). Sydney was the one who introduced Benjamin I. Tikili (from Nembe, of the Brass people in Niger Delta) to Adventism.

Tikili who was born into the home of practitioners of African (Nigerian) Traditional Religion, began learning of Christianity when he was sent to school in Bonny, Nigeria. He later became an ordained minister in 1924, worked as a pioneer missionary under Jesse Clifford in the Niger Delta regions of Southern Nigeria and later in Ghana.

It is interesting how Tikili was introduced to Adventism. Around January 1919 when Tikili became a student in the Normal College or Teachers' Training Institute in Bonny, he began studying the Bible on his own. Then he became friends with Sydney Hayford who taught him that the seventh day is the Sabbath and the biblical day of worship. Tikili began keeping the Sabbath but was ridiculed by his fellow students. Then he asked his teacher (Hayford) if there were people who kept the Sabbath. In response, he was given an address of Adventists in America. Tikili ordered two books through this address and continued studying about Adventist beliefs. Tikili led two others to the same convictions he had come to. They joined his small "Adventist" band of indigenous Sabbath keepers under the leadership of Tikili.

In 1921/1922, when Tikili finished his studies at the Institute in Bonny, he was appointed as a teacher at Aba Government School. According to Tikili, he and two others remained Adventists until the official missionary (Jesse Clifford) was sent to Aba in 1923. It is possible that when L. F. Langford, William McClements, and Jesse Clifford toured South Eastern Nigeria, they met with the few Adventists of Tikili's group and other indigenous Sabbath-keeping groups. In Tikili's testimony, he claims, "My life in the Government school became a light, and many scholars started to make enquiries, which brought them to the faith" (Tikili 1938:12). This testimony is evident of Tikili's continual work as an indigenous "Adventist" mission worker in addition to his job as a teacher for the British colonial administration. Evidence for a small group of Adventists is found in a letter, possibly from Tikili, which was read by E. R. Palmer at the General Conference committee of 16 April 1923. The letter talks of a "number of new Sabbath keepers in the Southern part" of Nigeria "who had taken their stand as a result of reading a copy of '*Present Truth*' bearing a date in 1916" (General Conference Committee Minutes 1923:327).

Sydney Hayford may have not been an ardent Adventist as his father claimed, for Tikili referred to him as "a partial Sabbath-keeper" (Tikili 1938:12). Nevertheless, Sydney led Tikili to the Adventist faith. Tikili in turn led a few others. Tikili was not only the first convert in South East Nigeria, he was also a pioneer worker. The work of Hayford and Tikili served as a springboard for the mission efforts of Clifford when he came to Aba in 1923. Likewise, it is apt to conclude that it was the pioneer missionary efforts of James Hyatt in the West of Nigeria, which prepared the ground for the coming of David C. Babcock to Nigeria.

Additionally, it is apt to conclude that pioneer Adventist work in Nigeria was started by lay people: The Hyatt family of African-American background and Hayford and Tikili of West African background. Hyatt may have been commissioned to survey the West of Nigeria. Hayford seemed to have been a lone Adventist in the South until Tikili, an indigene, came into the picture. The efforts of these men have until now remained largely unknown.

Phase 2: Ordained and Commissioned Missionaries

Commissioned ministers are understood as those who served as seasoned missionaries and had already served as former pastors in their home countries. For example Babcock, Clifford, and Hyde. I will also include R. P. Dauphin who was ordained as a minister, Samuel D. Morgue, a licentiate, and James J. Hamilton who were experienced West African commissioned missionaries.

Western Nigeria Part 2: David C. Babcock, Rudolf P. Dauphin, Samuel D. Morgue and James J. Hamilton

According to original documents, the Nigerian Mission was organized in December 1913 (*The Story of Our Church* 1956:548; *Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook* 1914:123) while David C. Babcock went to Nigeria in 1914. Born in New Hampshire, Ohio, on 12 September 1854, Babcock studied at the Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) Battle Creek College in Michigan. He would later work as a local pastor and president of the Virginia Conference (1897-1900). He first served as a mission director of the British Guiana Mission until 1905. During that time, he lost his wife Ann Davis in 1901. He remarried Mina Bradshaw who accompanied him to West Africa (Alao 2004:19).

Babcock came to Nigeria after serving in Sierra Leone and mostly in Ghana from ca. 1905 to 1913. Until this time, the West African mission of Adventists focused its strength mostly on Sierra Leone and Ghana. The Nigerian Mission was officially organized towards the end of 1913 when a missionary conference was held in Freetown, Sierra Leone. This conference, convened by Ludwig Richard Conradi, president of the European Division, recommended that the West African Mission be divided into three regions: (1) Nigeria, (2) Gold Coast (Ghana), and (3) Sierra Leone and Liberia. David Babcock was asked to take charge of the Nigerian mission (Alalade 2008:50; Alao 2004:19).

Consequently, Babcock and his family arrived in Lagos in March 1914 together with three other African missionaries, Rudolf P. Dauphin of Sierra Lone, Samuel D. Morgue of Ghana (Babcock 1919:24; Kern 1915:14), and James J. Hamilton of Sierra Leone. More should be said on Hamilton at this point. Nigerian Adventist historians have until today maintained that Babcock came with two West African missionaries. Hamilton has always been left out of Babcock's crew. Possibly because information on this missionary from Sierra Leone is not readily available. Interestingly, he was mentioned by William McClements in *The Advent Survey* as a member of the group of missionaries led by Babcock to Western Nigeria (McClements 1936:1; Read 1930:3).

The Babcock team moved to establish the Adventist message in Erunmu, Ibadan (capital of the western region) in Yoruba Land. It has been noted that one of Babcock's associates (possibly Morgue) learned the Yoruba language. This aided evangelistic communication of the early mission in Western Nigeria. In addition, Samuel Oyeniyi, the son of the Baale (ruler) of Erunmu, who started keeping the Sabbath, became the evangelistic translator for the missionaries (Agboola 2001:24, 25). Oyeniyi not only spoke Yoruba and English, he spoke Hausa, which is widely spoken in the Northern region. Having him on the team facilitated the progress

of the SDA mission reaching out from Erunmu further inland to Sao and Ipoti-Ekiti where the first mission station was built. The mastery of the local Yoruba language enabled the opening of three village mission schools and resulted in the baptism of about seven converts at the end of 1914 (25; *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia* 1996:181).

Babcock was not only an evangelist. He was also an educator. One notable SDA mission advance by this team of missionaries was the establishment of a school in Sao (Shao), Ilorin in 1915/1916. The school served the three stations of Erunmu, Sao, and Ipoti-Ekiti, and expanded to become the first formal Seventh-day Adventist educational institution in Nigeria. This was where early national workers for the mission were trained. These workers were mostly trained as evangelists in addition to reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as in entrepreneurial skills like bricklaying, furniture making, carpentry, etc. (Agboola 2001:26). Although Babcock served as its head, the running of the school was possible because of the language prowess of members of his team, comprised of Morgue and especially Oyeniyi who became a teacher in the school (*Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia* 1996:181). Still, the educational feat of these early missionaries is not surprising since the establishment of educational institutions in mission stations was a prime Seventh-day Adventist mission strategy. Moreover, other Christian missionaries also used education during the Colonial era.

Although Babcock spearheaded the mission work during this phase, the success of this phase of the mission came mainly from his African associates: Morgue, who learned the local language, and Oyeniyi, an indigene of the community. This supports Andrew Walls' argument that "most Africans have always heard the gospel from Africans, and virtually all the great movements towards the Christian faith in Africa have been African led" (2002:45).

Ill health forced the Babcock family to leave Nigeria in October 1917. Ernest Ashton, his assistant became the interim director of the mission (*Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook* 1918:135). Shortly after, due to his wife's illness, Ashton also left Nigeria (Andross 1926:269). He was succeeded by L. F. Langford and William McClements respectively.

Southern Nigeria Part 2: Jesse Clifford

Adventism's progress in the West of Nigeria started at first with an evangelistic endeavor and was aided by educational institution (Nyekwere 2004:5). In the South East where Adventism had more success, camp meetings gave the mission its initial push under the leadership of Jesse Clifford. Clifford, an English missionary, had served in Sierra Leone

and Ghana. He arrived with his wife, Winnie D. Clifford, at Aba, Nigeria in 1923 and began promoting evangelistic activities with the use of tracts, and lanternslides as well as through camp meetings.

In 1924, after Clifford convinced Tikili to join the ministry, he later resigned from his government service to become an official mission worker (Tikili had been baptized the year before). This gave Clifford's work a boost. The ordination of Tikili brought in an additional minister with responsibility to do official mission as well as with the ability to conduct baptisms for several converts responding to Adventism. Another boost came through an educational program. With Tikili as headmaster, Clifford officially started a boy's primary school at Aba in 1927. This primary school and an additional Bible school became the basis of Adventist educational work in the South East of Nigeria.

In his approach to mission, Clifford experimented with Bible classes where he taught prospects how to read the Bible. He also experimented with public evangelistic meetings. Nevertheless, the camp meetings held in 1928 and 1929 gave Adventism its initial success in Igboland (McClements 1929:6). It became an effective approach for missions in the South East. Aside from the fact that the Igbos were generally open to Christianity, one reason for this was that the camp meeting booth style, made of palm fronds, was suitable to the Ngwa Igbos who did not live in towns or cities but in compounds (Read 1927:18, 19; Clifford 1927:9) with several thatch houses around. Other approaches used by Clifford included: maintaining contacts with indigenous Sabbath keepers (Clifford 1923:13; McClements 1924:12), writing a book in the Igbo language (McClements 1930:2), and opening an informal school.

Around 1930, Clifford sought converts in the hinterlands of Abua (a riverine area of the South-south). In those hinterlands, the Adventist workers met with other Sabbath groups. One was the Church of Christ Seventh-day. Clifford was faced with the dilemma of whether to take in this group of Sabbatarians as foundational members of the Adventist Church. In the end, he decided otherwise since most of them who claimed to be Christians "were polygamists and engaged in other strange practices and customs" (Alao 2004:34). Although the mission enterprise would later benefit from the conversion of those indigenous Sabbath keepers, the missionaries instead decided to work among adherents of the traditional religions as a starting point.

Another approach used by the Clifford-led group was to regularly visit government schools and offices. Those visits proved successful as some students like C. H. Dede, Josiah Evoh, Philip Onwere, Daniel Onyeodor, and Robert Abaribe became Adventists and helped out in the newly established Adventist school. They all later became leaders of Adventism in

that region. That same year, 1930, L. Edmond who later replaced Clifford as the director of the South East Mission opened another station in the South East in Elele. The South East continued to have the influence and direct contribution of Tikili until towards the end of the 1930s when he left Adventism and pulled others with him.

What led to the unfortunate disassociation of Tikili from the Adventist Church? In 1938, the world Adventist Sabbath School lesson featured the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost for the first quarter in its study guide (D. Izima 1973:23, 24). During this time, the membership of the growing church in Aba believed in the imminent manifestation of the latter rain. By July and August, a kind of "spirit movement" began. This charismatic movement saw several members claiming the power of the Spirit to see visions and dreams, power to heal the sick, raise the dead, and make the lame to walk, etc. While some prophesied and spoke in tongues, others openly confessed their sins and were flogged publically to gain forgiveness (23, 24).

The movement brought about two conflicting opinions. While some saw those manifestations as satanic counterfeits, another group, most probably led by Tikili the indigenous and influential pastor, believed in the authenticity of the movement. When C. A. Bartlett attended the workers' meeting in August, his lecture on "Try the Spirits whether They Are of God" seemed to diminish or quell the movement's momentum. With less support from the church leadership on this matter, Tikili resigned and established his own church (Seventh-day Church of God) taking with him some followers (24; Interview with Solomon O. Agharaumuna 2019).

The resignation of Tikili should not be a surprise considering his African Traditional background. He must have seen the manifestation of the Spirit as part of indigenizing or localizing Adventism and making it culturally relevant. However, the mission leaders, who encouraged rationalism and order in worship, did not share his vision. This disagreement led to a schism, which possibly could have been avoided. Yet, this episode in history did not impeded the success or growth of Adventism in the South East regions. The post-1930s historical growth attests to that fact.

Northern Nigeria: John. J. Hyde

Considering the success of the work in the South East and in the West, and with prospects also in the North, Nigeria was organized into three missions in 1930. The following year, 1931, as Clifford left to take charge of the mission in Ghana, John. J. Hyde who had worked in Sierra Leone and Ghana, started mission work in Jengre, near Jos in Northern Nigeria.

Before moving to Jengre, he resided at Ibadan from where he made a survey for an appropriate station for the work in the North of Nigeria. (Maigadi 2005:38) After Jengre was chosen as a mission station, Hyde moved there with his wife, Louis Hyde, a trained nurse and their son.

The Jengre area was mostly dominated by Muslims, which made mission work difficult. Therefore, the Hydes began a dispensary since Mrs. Hyde was a trained nurse. The dispensary, which later became the Jengre SDA hospital, provided an avenue to reach the people around the Jengre area who were in dire need of medical treatment. One episode was the treatment of the jigger flea by Louis Hyde. She extracted the parasite from the feet of those who came for medical assistance. This in turn captured the attention of the people around. In 1933, E. D. Dick was the president of the West African Mission. Notice his report:

> The medical work under the direction of Sister Hyde, a trained nurse, is warming the hearts of the people. From twenty to thirty come for treatments and medicine each day. Some of these come from a distance of fifty miles or more. The spiritual side of the work is kept foremost, so that the patients can understand that it is God who brings relief from their distresses. The Sabbath services are attended by some forty to fifty each week, and a definite interest is manifested. Some who have been cured, refuse to return to their houses, as they wish to stay near the mission so they can attend the morning and Sabbath meetings. (Dick 1933:10)

Once, when William McClements, superintendent of the mission in Nigeria, visited the Hydes, a delegation of about fifty chiefs came to inquire about the Adventist medical work. The men who were practicing traditionalists and cannibals expressed a need for Adventism in their area (McClements 1932:12). This inquiry led to a plan to conduct strong medical and evangelistic work among them. Although the plan did not materialize immediately, through the medical work in the North, some people easily responded to the Advent message even after initial resistance (Maigadi 2005:38, 39, 44).

In addition, Hyde understood the need to have a knowledge of the Hausa and Amo languages. He labored to build relationships in his community. A notable friendship was the relationship he had with the Kakwi family. The four sons of Kakwi—Lamba, Mayang, Filibus, and Simon—became his "disciples" and worked as pioneers in their community. They all later became Adventist workers (44). Before John. J. Hyde left to Sierra Leone in 1942; the work in the North of Nigeria had already gained some footholds: there had been baptisms (Hyde 1936:4) combined with the beginning of a semi-formal school where adult education was conducted

(Maigadi 2005:44). Hyde was replaced by L. W. Normington, and thus ended this phase of the Adventist mission enterprise in Nigeria.

Summary and Conclusion

The beginnings of Adventism in Nigeria had a dynamic outlook. Pioneer mission work was done in different regions almost simultaneously. Hence, it is not possible to attribute the pioneer mission work to one or two persons. Rather, Nigeria had several pioneer Advent missionaries who came to Nigeria in phases. The work of these pioneers require adequate documentation. James Hyatt who was the first black American missionary in West Africa did pioneering mission work for Adventism in Nigeria and the groundwork he laid cannot be downplayed. While the work of Hyatt, Sydney Hayford, and Benjamin Tikili remains under research, the person and work of James J. Hamilton, Babcock's associate from Sierra Leone, needs substantial historical treatment. Moreover, the work of indigenous African missionaries like Hayford, Tikili and Oyeniyi who only receive one or two sentences in historical accounts has been vastly underestimated. It was the indigenous efforts of the early African leaders that contributed to the success of the mission in their regions.

Furthermore, the mission history of Adventism in the South East of Nigeria begs the following question. Where and when does the mission history of the denomination begin in an area or region? Does the history of a denomination begin when missionary X arrives in a region, sets up camp, builds a school and a church? On the other hand, does it begin with the acts of God (*missio Dei*), leading a particular people slowly and gradually to his gospel? As patterned in the conversion of Tikili, with a heritage of African Traditional Religion, the history of Adventist mission among the Igbos was a fluid and dynamic process where the acts of God laid the foundation for the establishment of Seventh-day Adventism in that region. This vision of a *missio Dei* hermeneutic is helpful in doing and writing mission history.

Finally, aside from dates, names, and places, original research on the relationship of the early missionaries to the host culture, other Christians, and the colonial government remains unexplored. This calls for further research, particularly of the history of Adventism in Nigeria and generally of the denomination's history in Africa.

Endnotes

[1]Although this is not the forum to treat this, Oluadah Equiano has argued that the Igbo had a Jewish ancestry and this concept seemed to be influential in the success of Christianity. See the autobiography of Oluadah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself* (London. Published by Author, 1789); Sylvester A. Johnson, *African American Religions, 1500–2000: Colonialism, Democracy, and Freedom* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 145ff. Another reason for this may be the power Christianity offered. Cyril Okorocha has argued that one of the characteristics of the Igbo religiousness is dynamism, the search for power (*mana*) that guarantees abundant life (*Ezi-ndu*). Since *mana* is the explanation for the achievements of the white man, who was able to cross the seas and come to Africa, (not a man to the white man's superior weaponry or scientific advancement but the man behind his contrivances and achievements), conversion to Christianity to gain that *mana* of the white man was the Igbo reaction. Cyril Okorocha, "Religious Conversion in Africa: Its Missiological Implications," *Mission Studies* 9.2 (1992): 168–181.

[2] I personally interviewed Solomon Onunwa Agharaumuna in August 2019. He is generally considered the oldest living Adventist in Aba. Until now, the first name of Tikili remained unknown. I came to know the first name B. I: Tikili as Benjamin through research on Sabbatarian groups in Southeast Nigeria. He is mentioned as overseer of the Church of God (Sabbatarian) in Port Harcourt. See Richard C. Nickels, History of the Seventh Day Church of God (NP: Giving and Sharing, 1973), 207, accessed November 2, 2018, http://www.friendsofsabbath.org/ABC/Richard_C_Nickels/History%20of%20the%20Seventh%20Day%20Church%20of%20God(vol1)/History%20of%20the%20Church%20of%20God,%20Seventh%20Day%20-%20Richard%20Nickels.pdf; see also interview of the son of Tikili, Lael Tikili said the following in the interview: I am from Nigeria. My father Bishop Benjamin Tikili was the pioneer of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Eastern Nigeria." See "Bible Sabbath Association Organizational Profile Interview with The Joint Church Of God 7th-Day Fellowship," *The Sabbath Sentinel*, September-October, 1999, 12. https://www.biblesabbath.org/tss/479/tss_479.pdf

Works Cited

2018 Annual Statistical Report: 154th Report of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists for 2016 and 2017. 2018. Silver Springs, MD: Office of Archives, Statistics and Research.

Agboola, David T. 1987. *Seventh-day Adventists in Yorubaland, 1914-1964: A History of Christianity in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Daystar Press.

_____. 2001. *Seventh-day Adventist History in West Africa (1888–1988): A Mustard Seed*. Published by Author.

Alalade, Adekunle A. 2008. *Limiting Factors to the Success of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Africa*. Ibadan: Agbo Areg Publishers.

Alao, Dayo, ed., 2004. *90 Years of Adventism in Nigeria, 1914-2004: A Compendium*. Maryland, Lagos, Communication Department of Seventh-day Adventist Church in Nigeria.

Andross, Matilda E. 1926. *Story of the Advent Message*. Takoma Park, Washington, DC: Review and Herald.

Anosike, Luke U. 1971. The development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Southeast Nigeria. Term Paper, Andrews University.

Babcock, David C. 1909. The Work in West Africa. *Review and Herald* 86, no. 26 (July 1): 15-16.

_____. 1919. Trials and Victories. *Review and Herald* 96, no. 48 (November 27): 24.

Clifford, Jesse. 1923. Into South Nigeria, West Africa. *Review and Herald* 100, no. 42 (October 18): 13.

_____. 1927. Southeast Nigeria. Review and Herald 104, no. 32 (August 11): 9.

Department of Education, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. 1956. *The Story of Our Church* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press.

Chigemezi Nnadozie Wogu is a PhD candidate taking Studies in Intercultural Theology at Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam. He is also a Research Associate at the Institute of Adventist Studies at Friedensau Adventist University in Germany where he manages the *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists* research for parts of Europe.

Gottfried Oosterwal

M. B. Czechowski's Significance for the Growth and Development of Seventh-day Adventist Mission

In September of 1851, when Michael and Marie Virginie Czechowski first arrived in the United States, Seventh-day Adventist mission had reached a critical stage in its development. Some of the two hundred believers were just then beginning to realize that their view of mission had been too narrow, its scope too limited. Convinced that the world had rejected the first and the second angel's message, and expecting Christ to "return from the wedding" any moment, the early Seventh-day Adventists had found their mission in laboring only with those who had been part of the Millerite movement. James White felt that the third angel's message was only for those in the Laodicean church.

No attempt was made, therefore, to reach out to those Christians who had not been in the Great Advent Movement, let alone to unbelievers. Reports from fellow Adventists that unbelievers were still being converted after October of 1844 were received with great skepticism. On one occasion, at least, a person was not even permitted to hear the Seventh-day Adventist message because he had not been in the 1844 movement. What good would it do a person who stands outside the ark to hear the message of salvation after the Lord himself had already shut the door? That is how those pioneers understood their situation and that of the world: In 1844 the door of mercy was shut; "no more sinners would be converted" (White 1958:74). Not until that view had changed could a mission develop that would encompass the whole world.

The first step in this change came about in September of 1851, mainly because of three factors. First, the Lord did not come as quickly as the

believers had expected. Second, Ellen White received visions emphasizing that Christ's work had not been finished yet. Third, there were a number of spontaneous conversions of people to the Seventh-day Adventist message who had had no previous contact with the Millerite movement.

Until the late 1840s, Ellen White herself was firmly convinced that the door of mercy was shut and that no more sinners would be converted (1958:74). In 1849, however, as a result of a number of visions, she began to change her view of the meaning of the shut door. On January 5, 1849, "at the commencement of the holy Sabbath," she saw that Jesus had not finished his work in the most holy place yet, that "Michael had not stood up, and that the time of trouble, such as never was, had not yet commenced" (1945:36). In another vision, received that same Sabbath afternoon, Ellen White "'saw an angel with a commission from Jesus, swiftly flying to the four angels who had a work to do on the earth, . . . and crying with a loud voice, '*Hold! Hold! Hold! Hold!* until the servants of God are sealed in their foreheads."' When Ellen White asked her accompanying angel the meaning of what she had heard, she was told that God was restraining the powers because Jesus was pleading with the Father to allow him more time (37, 38).

The clearest indication that the view of the shut door was too narrow and the scope of the Seventh-day Adventist mission was only to the Laodicean church, came in a vision on Sabbath, March 24, 1849.

> I was shown that the commandments of God and the testimony of Jesus relating to the shut door could not be separated, and that the time for the commandments of God to shine out with all their importance, and for God's people to be tried on the Sabbath truth, was when the door was opened in the most holy place in the heavenly sanctuary, where the ark is, in which are contained the ten commandments. This door was not opened until the mediation of Jesus was finished in the holy place of the sanctuary in 1844. Then Jesus rose up and shut the door of the holy place, and opened the door into the most holy, where He now stands by the ark, and where the faith of Israel now reaches. (White 1945:42)

Commenting on this new insight, Ellen White remarked later: "The application of Revelation 3:7, 8, to the heavenly sanctuary and Christ's ministry was entirely new to me. I had never heard the idea advanced by anyone. Now as the subject of the sanctuary is being clearly understood, the application is seen in its force and beauty" (86).

It certainly did open up a whole new vista for SDA mission that would include all "who have not heard and rejected the doctrine of the second advent" (45). In fact, that mission suddenly seemed so vast, so all embracing,

that SDA believer at first could not accept these visions. That would mean, after all, a further delay in the return of Christ. Ellen White was accused even of putting off the day of the Advent. Reminiscing later about these experiences of the late 1840s and early 1850s, Ellen White wrote: "Our brethren could not understand this with our faith in the immediate appearing of Christ" (1958:74; see also 1945:24-42).

When Christ did not return immediately, as the believers had expected, the visions were gradually accepted and then gave rise to a new and vigorous missionary movement that would soon spread over the whole American continent. However, with the acceptance of the new missionary vision a shift of emphasis would also take place from the proclamation of the immediacy of the second advent to the preaching of the law and the keeping of the Sabbath as the central issues in the final events on earth. These became the very themes, therefore, of Seventh-day Adventist mission after the early 1850s.

The third factor that turned Adventists from their earlier theology of the "shut door" and which really convinced them that God's mission in these last days was much wider than they first had realized, was a number of spontaneous conversions of people to the Seventh-day Adventist message who had had no previous contact with the Millerite movement. The first unofficial reports of such new converts are from 1850. In September of 1851, James White wrote in the *Review and Herald* that a number of people had joined the church who had never even heard about the nearness of the judgment and the return of Christ. Three months later, in December of that year, G. W. Holt, a Seventh-day Adventist minister in New York, wrote that in some places where a few months earlier "there was seemingly no sign of there being one child of God, they are now springing up" (Neufeld 1966:924).

These sudden and unexpected accessions to the faith, together with the visions Ellen White received, gave rise to a whole new concept of mission. Whereas in April of 1851, James White, in an editorial in the *Review and Herald*, wrote that the door was shut "to those who had heard the everlasting Gospel and rejected it," and that the third angel's message was "for those in the Laodicean church." However, on February 17, 1852, he gave a different view of the shut door and consequently of the nature and goal of Seventh-day Adventist mission.

> [The closed door] represents an important event with which the church is connected, that was to occur prior to our Lord's return *from the wedding*. That event shuts out none of the honest children of God, neither those who have wickedly rejected the light of truth, and the influence of the Holy Spirit. (94)

> This OPEN DOOR we teach, and invite those who have an ear, to come to it and find salvation through Jesus Christ. There is an exceeding glory in the view that Jesus has OPENED THE DOOR into the holiest of all. . . . If it be said that we are of the OPEN DOOR and seventh-day Sabbath theory, we shall not object, for this is our faith. (95)

This really meant the end of the first phase of SDA mission (1844-1851), characterized by the concept of the shut door, and the beginning of a new era of mission which "shuts out none" and which aims at all "who have an ear to hear, to come . . . and find salvation in Jesus Christ." One of the first among these was Michael B. Czechowski, who joined the SDA Church at a tent meeting in Findlay, Ohio, in the summer of 1857 about a year after he had first heard James White and others preach "the glorious doctrine of Christ's speedy coming at a tent meeting in Perry's Mills" (*World's Crisis* 1864:11).

With undaunted zeal Czechowski began to devote himself to the work of spreading the three angels' messages. Since he had successfully pioneered the work of the American Baptist Home Mission Society among the Canadian French in upstate New York (see *Watchman and Reflector* 1855), it was suggested that he should return there "and teach the present truth to his old and warm friends" (J. White 1858:176). A few months later Czechowski could already report that his "former French Baptist deacon and his wife were received as members of the true church of God" (1858:95), that another "respectable French family, composed of eight members, had been converted to the precious Sabbath of the Lord," and that "others are investigating" (Bourdeau 1858:94). When James White visited Rouse's Point, New York, later that same year, he reported that "Bro. M. B. Czechowski and family were present, with several French brethren who have embraced the Sabbath under his labors. Bro. C. is well, and very active. He has a hard field of labor, . . . and has some success" (J. White 1858a:45).

Even though Czechowski was "willing to spend and be spent in proclaiming this last saving truth" (1858:144), his real anguish was that the third angel's message be preached among all nations and peoples, especially those of Europe. As early as August 29, 1858, Czechowski wrote to Ellen White:

> Oh! how I would love to visit my native country across the big waters, and tell them all about Jesus' coming, and the glorious restitution, and how they must keep the Commandments of God and the Faith of Jesus, and then they will be brought to that better land, that heavenly country, and stand upon Mt. Zion, and upon the sea of glass, and have the harps of God. (144)

The issue remained uppermost in his mind. In conversations with fellow laborers, in personal letters, in articles for the *Review and Herald*, Czechowski tried to call the attention of the believers to the necessity of spreading the three angels' message in Europe, and to his own desire to open up the work there. However, the church was in no mood to accept that challenge; in fact the leaders strongly opposed it. Against their will, and supported by a body of first-day Adventists, Czechowski sailed for Europe on May 14, 1864, accompanied by his family and Annie Butler, his secretary.

Since his pioneering work in Europe is one of Czechowski's greatest contributions to the growth and development of Seventh-day Adventist mission it changed the church's self-understanding and initiated a whole new phase in mission the circumstances and factors that contributed to this missionary venture deserve special attention. Some of these are cultural, some theological; others are rather personal; however, through all of them God has been at work to accomplish his mission. As some of the leaders of the church who first opposed Czechowski, later declared: "We do not doubt that the Spirit of God was impressing his mind. . . . We regard the circumstances of this case as a wonderful call to us from the Providence of God to send the present truth to Europe" (Unknown 1869:181).

A number of reasons stand out clearly why the church could not see its mission to extend beyond North America in those days. How would the believers be able to support such a venture? Towards the end of the 1850s, there were just over 1,500 believers scattered across the vastness of the American continent east of the Mississippi. There was no organization yet, no system for the financial support of missionaries. It was only in 1859 that the congregation at Battle Creek adopted a plan called "systematic benevolence" and began to publish the magazine *Good Samaritan* to promote stewardship in the church.

Moreover, the spread of the message had barely begun at home. It was only in the early 1860's that a small company of believers had been formed in California, who kept urging the brethren in Battle Creek to send them a missionary. And only in 1868 did the first missionaries, John N. Loughborough and Daniel T. Bourdeau, leave for California, three years after the believers there had sent some gold even to lend more weight to their requests for help. There were still vast areas between the East and the West where the three angels' message had never been preached. Furthermore, the number of those who had never heard about the soon coming of Christ or the Sabbath as the seal of God was increasing daily.

Between 1848 and 1857 over three million immigrants arrived in the United States, mostly from Western and Northern Europe: Ireland, Germany, England, and Scandinavia (see Carpenter 1927:45-63). These

millions of immigrants became the great challenge of SDA mission, especially those living on the frontier. This factor greatly shaped the mood and the mentality of the early Seventh-day Adventist Church. For while the Millerite movement was basically found in the towns and the small cities of the United States, the Seventh-day Adventist Church grew and developed as a *frontier movement*. It was a very rapidly growing movement.

Between 1855 and 1865, 3,000 people were added to the "little flock" of believers. Another 2,000 members were added by 1870, making for a total church membership of about 5,500. The ethos and values of the frontier shaped the mood and mentality of the church and the scope and direction of its mission. It was America-oriented, anti-city, highly pragmatic, little interested in culture, social development, or learning, rather individualistic, with great emphasis on manual skills, the value of hardship, labor, simplicity, economy, and (material) success. These factors account for the particular strengths of the Seventh-day Adventist Church; they also prevented it, however, from seeing the wider scope of God's mission.

The great significance of Czechowski to Seventh-day Adventist mission is that God used that cultured, learned, refined, and sensitive man with his cosmopolitan outlook and world vision as an instrument to lift his church beyond the limitations set by the frontier society and to point it to the much wider scope of its mission. Czechowski was God's special gift to the church. As James White once put it, "Providence has placed him with us. We will have a care for him" (1858b:48).

The church's failure to recognize this special gift of God and to accept its care not only led to great stagnation in mission. It also points to the danger that the church faces, everywhere and at all times to become so closely identified with a particular culture or society that it loses both its prophetic calling and the worldwide scope of its mission.

This is obvious from another factor that prevented Seventh-day Adventists from recognizing their mission as a mission to the whole world, as Czechowski was suggesting. The years of the 1830s and after are characterized by a strong nationalism that permeated every aspect of life, including religion, the church, and theology. America became aware of its own "manifest destiny" as a nation. All efforts were directed to fulfill that national calling politically, socially, culturally, and religiously. One powerful factor in this process was the Christianization of America, the unification of the many by the belief in one God. Not until that mission had been accomplished would it make sense to think of carrying the gospel to other parts of the world. As David Abeel formulated it so succinctly in 1838: First convert America and enlist her in the cause of Christ; then the conversion of the world is practicable and easy (1838:28).

Most of these factors affected the church in a rather subtle, unconscious way. Their force appears, however, in the theological reasons given for the church's lack of interest in expanding its work outside of North America during this second phase of its mission (1852-1873). Though the immediacy of the return of Christ "from the wedding," that was so characteristic of the first phase of SDA mission (1844-1851) had lost some of its urgency in the late 1850s, it was still believed that the work of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary was finished and that he would return any moment. Babylon was fallen (Rev 14:8), and plenty of signs indicated that the day of the end was near, the judgment had come. God's mission in the world was finished, except in the United States, where the final conflict would be decided. This was a commonly held view, not only among the Millerites, from whom Seventh-day Adventists inherited it, but also among other religious groups at the time (see Smith and Jamison 1961). America was God's chosen nation, the people of his covenant. "All signs unite to show," wrote John W. Nevins in 1848, "that a new order of world history is at hand, and that the way is to be prepared for it centrally in America" (*Mercersburg Review* 1849:33).

When early in 1859 a reader asked the editor of the *Review and Herald*, "Is the Third Angel's Message being given, or to be given, except in the United States?" Uriah Smith answered:

> We have no information that the Third Message is at present being proclaimed in any country besides our own. Analogy would lead us to expect that the proclamation of this message would be co-extensive with the first, though this might not perhaps be necessary to fulfill Rev. x, 11, since our land is composed of people from almost any nation. (1859:87)

This argument was heard over and over again. The United States was considered a representative of the whole world, the country where the last day events would be decided, in fulfillment of Rev 13:11-17. Seventh-day Adventists in those days frequently used the text, "this Gospel of the kingdom will be preached in all the world, and then the end will come" (Matt 24:14); however, to them this was not a commission that had to be accomplished still, but a promise that had already been realized and which was presently being fulfilled.

The power of these cultural, social, and theological factors that prevented the church from seeing its mission as being worldwide is dramatically illustrated in the SDA leaders' attitude towards Hannah More, a missionary with the American Board of Missions working in Liberia. During a furlough, in 1863, Hannah More embraced the SDA message.

Three years later, because of her beliefs, she lost her position as superintendent of a mission orphanage in Cape Palmas, Liberia. She returned to the United States, where she first joined the South Lancaster church and later the group of believers at the church's headquarters in Battle Creek. There she offered her services as a teacher to return to Africa as an Adventist missionary. She was completely repudiated for her view that Adventists should send missionaries to Africa, or anywhere outside of North America. Disappointed, hurt, and depressed, Hannah More left the area to live with a former (non-Adventist) missionary. A few months later, she died.

When Ellen White, who at that time was absent from Battle Creek, heard about this tragedy, she sharply rebuked and criticized the leaders of the church for their neglect, their shortsightedness, unbelief, and lack of spirituality:

> Already a great deal of time has been wasted, and angels bear to heaven the record of our neglect. Our sleepy and unconsecrated condition has lost to us precious opportunities which God has sent us in the persons of those who were qualified to help us in our present need. Oh, how much we need our Hannah More to aid us at this time in reaching other nations! (1948:3:407)

In light of this mood and mentality that characterized the SDA Church during the second phase of its mission (1852-1873), the significance of the life and the work of Michael Czechowski stand out more clearly than ever. It is obvious that no ordinary person was needed to free the church from its cultural captivity and theological traditionalism, but a many-sided person with a different background, different views and concepts willing to use different approaches, different methods, different means. Here lies the significance of Michael Czechowski. He fits remarkably well Ellen White's description of God's ideal workman, who "must labor to be many-sided men; that is, to have a breadth of character, not to be one-idea men, stereotyped in one manner of working, getting into a groove, and unable to see and sense that their words and their advocacy of truth must vary with the class of people they are among, and the circumstances that they have to meet" (White 1946:106).

> God will have men who will venture anything and everything to save souls. Those who will not move until they can see every step of the way clearly before them will not be of advantage at this time to forward the truth of God. There must be workers now who will push ahead in the dark as well as in the light, and who will hold up bravely under discouragements and disappointed hopes, and yet work on

> with faith, with tears and patient hope, sowing beside all waters, trusting the Lord to bring the increase. God calls for men of nerve, of hope, of faith, and endurance, to work to the point. (White 1946:63)

Czechowski differed in many ways from his co-workers and fellow believers, in background, talents, interests, abilities, experience, education, ideas, and spirituality. All this was readily recognized. But only too few could appreciate it. The person, life, and work of Czechowski were evaluated in light of people's own limited values and ideas. The church thereby not only lost a precious gift which God so graciously had given his people to equip them for their mission in the whole world (cf. Eph 4:11, 12; 1 Cor 12; Rom 12). It also lost precious opportunities to accomplish that work in due time.

Unlike most of his fellow believers and co-workers, Czechowski was not a frontiersman. "I am not acquainted with the business of farming," he once wrote to James and Ellen White (*Good Samaritan* 1860:12). He was not a good businessman either, which later was given as the main reason why the church was not willing to send him to Europe. J. N. Andrews wrote, "We regarded Eld. C. as an upright man, and one that feared God. But we did not think him a prudent manager, especially in financial matters. For reason of this kind the S. D. A. held back as to his mission to Europe, and also with respect to some of his plans for work in this country" (1873:29; see also J. White 1870:22). But that kind of work was simply not his sphere of life. He was too sensitive a person, very cultured, very refined, an idea man. It is amazing that Czechowski persevered as long as he did in the isolated areas of America's northern frontier, where his cosmopolitan interests found no response, his idealism no echo, his talents no appreciation, his intellect no challenge. In 1860 he moved, therefore, to New York City, for which he was severely criticized. In a letter to the Whites, Czechowski tried to explain his move.

> I am not acquainted with the business of farming, and have no money to furnish a team and farming utensils and hire the labor performed. . . . I can find no employment in this vicinity for the support of my family. My mission in Clinton County, N. Y., is finished for the present. And if I can do nothing more in the mission, of course the brethren are under no obligation to support me. You can see that if this vicinity furnishes me no employment I cannot imitate Paul's example. Acts 20, 34, 35.
>
> As the Lord has been so good to me in preserving me through war, the cholera, and in a perilous voyage over the mighty deep, and in showing me the glorious truths which are to prepare a people for the coming of Jesus Christ, I desire to labor faithfully for him. I would not waste an hour of precious time, and therefore desire to place myself in a situation where I can labor effectually in his cause.

> After much deliberation and prayer, I have concluded that New York City is the place where T can work most profitably for the Lord, for the church and for my family. In that place I should have every facility for learning the English language, and the privilege of communicating the truth to those 33 nations whose languages I can speak. (*Good Samaritan* 1860:12)

James White expressed understanding, if not appreciation, for Czechowski's well-reasoned arguments. In a note to Czechowskí's letter, which was published in the *Good Samaritan*, he wrote:

> In the above letter will be seen the spirit of consecration and submission to the will of God. Those who love the truth and love the Spirit of Christ will still feel a deep interest in the success and prosperity of Bro. C.
>
> We are not prepared to judge of his proposed move to New York (City); therefore cannot oppose it. *We should be gratified to see Bro. C. in a community where his talent, learning and ardent labors could be justly estimated. The Canadian French in Northern New York can hardly do this.*
>
> As our dear brother goes to his new field of toil and trials, our prayers shall go with him. And we hope that the prayers of the readers of this note will also go up to God for his blessing upon Bro. C. and family. And while we may pray God to bless the poor missionary, may our alms also be presented before the Lord in the treasury waiting for a judicious appropriation. (12, emphases added)

But nearly all other leaders in the church condemned Czechowski's moving to New York City. They accused him of selfishness, of imprudence, of wanting a larger field, of not having counseled with brethren of experience, in spite of the fact that Czechowski's talents, gifts, vision, and missionary methods were effectively bearing fruit there. He organized a church, restored love and union among members, rented a good chapel, conducted evangelistic meetings for French, Swedish, Italian, Polish, German, and English-speaking populations, led people into union with Christ and with his church, and laid the foundations for a fruitful city mission (Czechowski 1860:124, 125). At the end of his report from New York City, Czechowski made the plea: "I trust that all the brethren and sisters who are interested in the progress of present truth in the foreign nations, will pray for us" (125).

But the church, rural in outlook and America-oriented, could not appreciate Czechowski's cosmopolitan attitude and world vision. It frowned upon this intellectual with his need for "a room for a library, . . . and a small room where (he) could retire away somewhat from noise, and study when it became necessary" (Czechowshi 1860:199). There was little

understanding for his suggestion that "this part of the Lord's vineyard [New York City] differs from the West, and all other parts of the United States, (Czechowski 1860:124) and therefore required a special approach.

Czechowski's plans for work in New York City, aimed at reaching the people of other nations and languages, devised to win the higher classes and the educated, the leaders of commerce and industry, and focusing on the particular situation in that cosmopolitan city, found no support. The church was not ready for it. Czechowski was told that he was "reaching too high to be of essential service in this cause. . . . Your being a learned man does not benefit you much in this work. If you had acquired not half the learning and you could speak English readily, you would be far more useful in this work" (White MS C-3 1864, C-3a 1864). He was also advised to "lean upon the judgment of those who have experience" (C-3a). Their counsel to him was to leave New York City immediately and start working at the frontier in northern Vermont.

It testifies of the marvelous spirit of Czechowski that he "submitted willingly to all the Lord's providences and move according to the best advice of the church" (Bourdeau 1861:29). No wonder Ellen White could write to him: "Your zeal is good. You are ambitious to see the work moving forward. You are conscientious and perfectly honest before God. *Your spirit God loves*" (White MS C-3 1864; C-3a 1864, emphasis mine).

The mission in New York City was abandoned, a step from which the church until today has not yet recuperated. The opportunities passed; New York City developed without a powerful presence of the people of God. One of the great contributions of Czechowski has been that he clearly saw that the church's mission is to "all the world," and that one way to accomplish that task is to win the cities for Christ, to establish churches in these centers of commerce and industry, of the media, the arts, and the sciences. But the anti-city mentality of a frontier church prevented God's people from seeing it then. The church today still needs a double portion of Czechowsi's vision and spirit.

Czechowski's work at the frontier of northern Vermont and Canada accomplished very little in spite of his self-sacrificing labor. In a letter to James White, written in August of 1862, Czechowski writes:

> I desire to express my gratitude to Brn. Austin, Bourdeau, and others, for their kindness in removing me from New York to this place . . . , and all the Christian sympathy and charity they have manifested toward me and my family during last past year of our residence in the midst of so many trials and discouragements. May God reward them.
>
> I much regret that it has been in my power to accomplish but very little among the Canadian people here, and that I have been of not much, if any, use in this field of labor. But, as nothing is hid from the

> Lord, I can leave all in his hands. He knows it has been my great desire to do his will. I love this last message of mercy, the faithful "watchman unto the house of Israel, and the holy union of the church, and will labor faith fully for the prosperity of Zion, as my circumstances will permit. And I hope to profit by all corrections from above, and from my kind brethren more experienced in this holy cause than myself. Pray for me, dear brethren, that I may be found worthy, with my family to enter the happy, everlasting kingdom with you all through Jesus Christ our dear Saviour. Yours in Christian love, M. B. Czechowski. (1862:108)

The letter was written from Enosburgh Falls, Vermont. A short while later Czechowski was at work in the state of New York, first in Middle Grove, then in Williamsburg, from where he embarked for Europe four months after his son Leon Oxo died from diphtheria (Loughborough 1864:84).

Even though Czechowski had willingly submitted himself to "the best advice of the church," it pained him that he had to abandon his work in cosmopolitan New York, from where the mission of God would spread to all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people. His lack of success on the frontier strengthened him in his conviction that God wanted him to work for the nations of Europe. One of Czechowski's great contributions to SDA mission is that though he followed the advice of his "more experienced brethren," he did not become disobedient to the will of God. For the editors of the *Review and Herald* later noted Czechowski's concern for the nations of Europe: "We do not doubt that the Spirit of God was impressing his mind" (Unknown 1869:181).

When the leaders of his own church continued to oppose him in following the Spirit of God, Czechowski appealed for help from a body of first-day Adventists. In light of the church's self-understanding at the time, its legalistic approach to mission, and its mentality, it is understandable that the brethren therefore "supposed that he had given up the observance of the seventh day (181, see also Andrews 1873:29). But, as A. V. Olsen wrote later, "By voice and by pen, Czechowski proclaimed the truth about the Sabbath and the second coming of Christ, and, as a result of his efforts, several companies of believers were raised up" (1944:7).

What is the significance of this part of Czechowski's work? The question has baffled "the brethren" ever since they became confronted with the fact that the mission of God was advanced and his church established by other agencies than their own organization. Does God use other agencies, then, besides the Adventist Church, to fulfill his plan of evangelizing the world? It is the significance of Czechowski's labor that the Seventh-day Adventist Church now officially affirms this (Neufeld 1966:266; Seventh-day Adventist Church 1957:625, 626).

Another contribution of Czechowski's mission in Europe is that, once the church became convinced that God's hand had wrought it, the church began to see its "backwardness" and "unfaithfulness" with regard to God's mission. And Czechowski's labors became the starting point of a whole new era in Adventist mission, during which the message spread throughout the world. It speaks well of the brethren, who had first opposed the sending of Czechowski to Europe, that they openly declared:

> We regard the circumstances of this case as a wonderful call to us from the Providence of God to send the truth to Europe. We cannot refrain from acknowledging our backwardness in this work. But it is in our power to redeem the past, by discharging our duty for time to come. (Unknown 1869:181)

> And while we acknowledge the hand of God in this, we feel humbled in view of the probabilities of the case, namely: that in consequence of our fears to trust money with Bro. Czechowski, and our lack of care to patiently counsel him as to its proper use, God used our most decided opponents to carry forward the work.
>
> *And while we acknowledge the hand of God in this work, in which we took no part, and feel that we have cause for humility on account of our past unfaithfulness, let us see to it that we come fully up to present duty.* Gladly Mrs. W(hite) and self [James White] risk $100 in the effort to help the cause in Europe. And when our people fully learn the facts in the case, and also their duty, there will be hundreds of them pressing into the enterprise with their hundreds, their fifties, their twenty-fives, and their tens. (J. White 1870:22, emphasis mine)

> At the Tenth Annual Council of the Seventh-day Adventists of December 29, 1871, it was *Resolved*, that we deem it duty to especially acknowledge the hand of God in planting the truth in Switzerland; and that we feel very deep interest in the promotion of the work in that country, and will, so far as the providence of God shall open our way, do what lies in our power to assist in the spread of the truth in that country and in other countries of Europe. (J. White 1872:20)

This is the beginning of a new era in SDA mission. But Czechowski's tremendous contributions to the cause of SDA mission do not end here. His significance is further enhanced by the nature of his mission work and the kind of churches he established. He lectured, visited the people in their homes, shared in their sufferings and trials, offered them help and encouragement, gave Bible studies, and mingled with the people socially. Those who have heard him lecture indicated that they "were blessed . . . , and our hearers were very attentive, and manifest a disposition to walk

in the light" (Bourdeau and Czechowski 1959:142). As soon as a number of people had become interested in the message he brought, Czechowski organized them into a small church.

His aim thereby was that these "few faithful, reliable children of God . . . who give good evidence of being dead to the world, . . . with the blessing of God may as a light shine from these Alpine mountains, piercing the thick darkness that surrounds us, to enlighten the surrounding nations" (*World's Crises* 1865:22).

The founding of churches was not a goal in itself, but a means to advance the mission of God. From the very start, therefore, Czechowski inspired his new converts to become co-workers with him. That caused the church to grow in Italy and was also the secret of Czechowski's success in Switzerland. One thinks immediately of such great European pioneers of Adventist mission as Jean P. Geymet and Francois Besson in Italy, the Vuilleumiers, J. D. Hanhardt and J. H. Guenon in Switzerland, James H. Erzberger in Germany, and many unknown others who worked with Czechowski in founding and building the SDA Church in Europe. Czechowski's style of mission work not only avoided thereby that the newly won believers would become dependent on him for their faith or the administration of the church; from the very start these new members became missionaries in their own right, and each church a home base of mission. The significance of this kind of mission work is that it facilitates the development of a church in which the New Testament concept of the priesthood of all the believers can come best to its full fruitage. The members of the church led out, or assisted, in the work of evangelism; in the visitation of the believers; and in all aspects of church administration; in colporteur work; in establishing a printing plant at Saint Blaise, near Neuchatel, where tracts were printed both in French and in German; in the publication of a weekly missionary journal, *1'Evangile Eternel,* and in giving Bible studies (Vuilleumier 1923:22).

It comes, therefore, as a great surprise to read J. N. Andrews' report concerning the believers in Switzerland, written less than a decade after Czechowski had begun his work.

> My anxiety for Switzerland is inexpressible. Here are between seventy and one hundred good, sensible, kind, true-hearted Christian Sabbath keepers. I think highly of these dear Christian friends, and yet the first great want of the cause in Switzerland is the thorough conversion of the Sabbath keepers. The real missionary spirit is certainly lacking. They will give of their means, but I fear they have not yet learned but in part to give themselves to God. It seems to me that they do not understand what it is to be a living sacrifice themselves. In this important matter I cannot report the progress that I would. . . . Among these

> brethren are several persons who seem to me capable of becoming public laborers in the cause. But each one now has the burden of his own affairs upon his hands, and this is about all each can well attend to, and they have not the zeal and interest in the cause of God which would carry them very far beyond this. In the matter of publishing a French paper no one is thoroughly competent to assist in the difficulties of the French language, and those most competent to help, especially if they could take some time to improve themselves, do not see how to devote much time to such work. It is in the highest degree important to have a paper at the earliest day possible. . . .
>
> As to means, I feel safe to pledge the brethren in Switzerland and in Germany to do their whole duty. I have frankly said that in my judgment those of this country (Switzer1and) are not fully possessed of the true spirit of consecration and of sacrifice. (Andrews 1875:116)

How could a missionary-minded church change so suddenly? "The people give of their means," Andrews wrote, "but not of themselves." They are "true-hearted Christian Sabbath keepers," but they do not devote much time to assist him in his work, he complains.

There is ample evidence to conclude that this situation was as much a reflection of J. N. Andrews' form of mission work as it was of the spirit of the believers in Switzerland. It only highlights the significance of the work of Czechowski. He succeeded where Andrews did not. Czechowski inspired the converts to work for the cause of God and to take initiatives. Andrews, in a way, antagonized the Swiss believers so that they refused to lend him much assistance.

Though some of this may have been because of the different kind of persons Andrews and Czechowski were, it seems that the root of the problem lies in these men's different approaches to mission. Czechowski was European and followed the European way. Andrews was an American who applied American solutions to basically European problems. Sometimes that worked all right; more often, it did not! Czechowski realized that for a church to be strong in mission, in faithfulness to the truth, in its influence on its surroundings, it must be rooted in the soil in which it is planted. Andrews, and most of the other American missionaries, failed to see that. Neither did they realize how vast the gulf was between the European mentality and that of the American frontier. In these early days of SDA mission to Europe the question often arose: Why not conduct public evangelism in tents and hold campmeetings? (Whitney and Matteson 1886:116, 117).

The European believers counseled against it. But the American missionaries insisted, and did so nevertheless. Some of the believers suggested that in Europe more emphasis should be placed on home visitation and

personal evangelism—the very strength of Czechowski's work—rather than on public evangelism with its danger of arousing a combative spirit. But the American missionaries insisted that the work in Europe should "be molded after the plans which had proved most efficient in older fields (Whitney and Matteson 1886:111). When a few years later Ellen White visited Europe, she whole-heartedly concurred with the European believers. In a series of practical addresses, given to the Swiss Conference and the European Missionary Council, held at Basle in September of 1885, she pointed out the mistakes that the missionaries had made by not using the apostle Paul's methods, who became a Jew to the Jews, a Greek to the Greeks, and a Roman to the Romans (121, 122).

> From the light that has been given me concerning the people in this part of the country, and perhaps all through Europe, there is danger, in presenting the truth, of arousing their combativeness. There is little harmony between present truth and the doctrines of the church in which many of the people have been born and brought up; and they are so filled with prejudice, and so completely under the control of their ministers, that in many cases they dare not even come to hear the truth presented. The question then arises, How can these people be reached? How can the great work of the third angel's message be accomplished? It must be largely accomplished by persevering, individual effort; by visiting the people at their homes. (Whitney and Matteson 1886:149, 150)

But the harm had been done, besides the many blessings, of course, that had come from their work! Whether in church work or in public evangelism, in education or in the publishing work, Andrews (and the other American missionaries) insisted on shaping the church in Europe after what had been done in America (110, 111). To the plea of the European believers and workers that SDA publications needed a more European flavor in contents, in style of writing, in illustrations and pictures—in order to be effective, the American missionaries answered that a rewriting of the tracts by Europeans would never reach the high standard of these American tracts. For these "are the product of the best thought and most thorough study of men who have been longest connected with this work. . . . For this reason it will doubtless be the case that the work of preparing the truth in foreign tongues will ever be quite largely one of translation from the English" (26; see also 24-27, 117).

It was this attitude, this mentality that created J. N. Andrews' particular problem with regard to the Swiss believers' lack of enthusiasm in assisting him with his publishing work (27). As a result, however, European believers not only "became prejudiced with all who came from America"

(White 1887), but many of them ceased to give themselves wholeheartedly to advance the work, and the mission suffered. Czechowski's work has shown us that mission is not accomplished by the mere transplantation of truths and institutions from one (culture) area to another; mission is the sowing of the Gospel seed by becoming one with the people to whom the message is brought; the plantation of churches by having them rooted in the particular soil where they are founded, and the development of organizations and institutions in accordance with the nature and nurture which that soil has to offer.

It is not the churches of Switzerland, established by Czechowski, or the believers in Italy or Germany, for that matter, who therefore received Ellen White's stern rebuke and criticism. The believers in whom she felt conversion, dedication, and the missionary spirit were lacking had been won to the truth in ways and by methods characteristic in the United States in those years: with a strong emphasis on the unchangeable law of God, the judgment , and the doctrinal exclusivism. In the United States this kind of mission work gave rise to a strong legalism and clouded the believers' understanding of the true meaning of the Gospel, so evident from the events during and after the General Conference session in Minneapolis in 1888. The transplantation of these methods to Europe gave rise to the kind of Sabbath keepers Ellen White found in (parts of) Scandinavia: people without real conversion, leaving the impression with "unbelievers that Sabbath keeping Adventists were a set of fanatics and extremists, and that their particular faith rendered them unkind, uncourteous and really unchristian in character" (211).

> Some were making the matter of dress of first importance, criticizing articles of dress worn by others, and standing ready to condemn everyone who did not exactly meet their ideas. A few condemned pictures, urging that they are prohibited by the second commandment, and that everything of this kind should be destroyed (211, 212).
>
> The church at Christiana have not a twentieth part of the influence they might have possessed, if they had rightly improved their opportunities and privileges. Their ideas are altogether too narrow. (215)

No wonder that Ellen White should write: "When the mission fields in this new country were opened before me, I was shown that some things in every branch of the mission needed a different mold" (211). And what that different mold was she explained very clearly in her "Practical Addresses" given over several days to the workers in Europe:

> As laborers for God, we need a more sacred nearness to him. (119)
>
> If the love of Jesus is cherished in the heart, it will be seen in the labors; the will and the manners will be brought under the moulding influence of the Holy Spirit. . . . The teacher of the people must be an example to the flock of God in all meekness, patience, forbearance, and love. (119)
>
> It is to be regretted that many do not realize that the manner in which Bible truth is presented has much to do with the impressions made upon the minds, and with the Christian character afterward developed by those who receive the truth. Instead of imitating Christ in his manner of labor, many are severe, critical, and dictatorial. They repulse instead of winning souls, (121)
>
> Preach the truth with the meekness of simplicity, remembering that it is not your words but the word of God which is to cut its way to the heart. There is danger, even in laboring among our churches, of leaving the great principles of truth and dwelling too much upon small, unimportant matters that create a fault-finding spirit among brethren. (122)
>
> In beginning missionary work in new fields, a great mistake is often made in not calling into exercise all the talents that might be employed in the work. (121)
>
> Do not, my ministering brethren, allow yourselves to be kept at home to serve tables; and do not hover around the churches, preaching to those who are already fully established in the faith. Teach the people to have light in themselves, and not to depend upon the ministers. They should have Christ as their helper, and should educate themselves to help one another, so that the minister can be free to enter new fields. (139)
>
> All through these countries there is precious talent that God will use; and we must be wide awake to secure it. (147)
>
> The work of saving souls is not to be done by the ministers alone. Everyone who has been converted will seek to bring others to a knowledge of truth. (148)

It is God's plan that all who embrace the truth shall become missionaries. The great significance of the life and work of Michael B. Czechowski is that he has set an example in faith and humility, obedience and dedication. He has given us a model of missionary vision and methodology, missionary identification and missionary spirit. In light of what he has

accomplished, and compared with the work established by some whom the church had sent out officially, Czechowski's mission appears as the fulfillment of God's plan for his church in Europe. Hopefully his life and his work, his vision and his spirit will continue to guide in the final fulfillment of God's mission on earth, to which he has called us.

Works Cited

Abeel, David. 1838. *The Missionar Convention at Jerusalem on an Exhibition of the Claims of the World to the Gospel.* New York: John S. Taylor.

Andrews, J. N. 1873. The Case of Eld. M. B. Czechowshi. *The Advent Review and Herald of the Sabbath* 42, no. 4 (July 8):29.

_____. 1875. Wants of the Cause in Europe. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 46, no. 15 (October 14): 116.

Bourdeau, D. T. 1858. Letters. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 12, no. 12 (August 5): 94.

_____. 1861. Bro. Czechowski. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 18, no. 4 (June 18): 29, 30.

Bourdeau, D. T., and M. B. Czechowski. 1859. Meetings among the French. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 13, no. 18 (March 24): 141, 142.

Carpenter, N. 1927. *Immigrants and Their Children.* Census Monograph VT I. Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office.

Czechowshi, M. B. 1858. The French Mission. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 12, no. 18 (September 23): 144.

_____. 1859. Extracts from Letters. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 12, no. 12 (August 5): 95.

_____. 1860. From Bro. Czechowski. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 15, no. 25 (May 10): 199.

_____. 1860. The N.Y. Mission. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 16, no.16 (September 4): 124, 125.

_____. 1862. Letters. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 20, no. 13 (Aug 26): 108.

Good Samaritan. 1860. Vol. 1, no. 3 (February): 12.

Loughborough, J. N. 1864. Report from Bro. Loughborough. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 23, no. 11 (February 9): 84.

Mercersburg Review. 1849. Vol. 1.

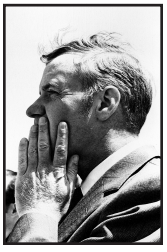
Neufeld, Don F. 1966. *The Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia.* Washington, DC: Review and Herald.

Olson, A. V. 1944. The Southern European Division. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 121, no.18 (May 4): 7, 8, 19.

Seventh-day Adventist Church. 1957. *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine.* Washington, DC: Review and Herald.

Smith, James W., and A. Leland Janison, eds. 1961. *Religion in American Life,* Vol. 1: *The Shaping of American Religion.* Princeton, NJ: University Press.

Smith, Uriah. 1859. Letters. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 13, no.11 (February 3): 87.
Unknown. 1869. The Seventh-day Adventists of Europe. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 34, no. 23 (November 30): 181.
Vuilleumier, Jean. 1923. Albert Vuilleumier. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 100, no. 16 (April 19): 22.
Watchman and Reflector. 1855. Vol. XXXIV:4.
White, Ellen G. 1887. In Ellen g. White's Diary. Tramelan. (February 5): MS29-1887.
_____. 1945. *Early Writings of Ellen G. White.* Washington, DC: Review and Herald.
_____. 1946. *Evangelism*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald.
_____. 1948. *Testimonies for the Church.* Vol. 3. Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press.
_____. 1958. *Selected Messages from the Writings of Ellen G. White.* Vol. 1. Washington, DC: Review and Herald.
White, James. 1852. Who May Hear the Truth? *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 2, no. 12 (February 17): 94, 95.
_____. 1858. To the Benevolent. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 11, no. 22 (April 15): 176.
_____. 1858a. Eastern Tour. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 13, no. 6 (December 30): 45
_____. 1858b. Bro. M. B. Czechowski. Tour. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 13, no. 6 (December 30): 48.
_____. 1870. Cause in Switzerland. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 35, no. 3 (January 11): 22.
_____. 1872. The Conference. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 39, no. 3 (January 2): 20, 21.
Whitney, Buel Landon, and John Gotlieb Matteson. 1886. *Historical Sketches of the foreign Missions of the Seventh-day Adventists.* Basel, Switzerland: Imprimerie Polygotte.
World's Crisis. 1864. (April 5): 11.
_____. 1865. (April 25): 22.



Gottried Oosterwal was a missionary to Papua New Guinea and the Philippines, professor of World Mission at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, and founder of the Institute of World Mission. Oosterwal inspired a whole generation of young people to dedicate their lives to mission service.

D. J. B. Trim

General Conference Secretariat and the Mission Enterprise of the Seventh-day Adventist Church

In the more than 150 years since the Seventh-day Adventist Church was founded at the first General Conference Session in May 1863, many things have changed in the Church. One of the few that has remained the same is the office of Secretary, which is as old as the General Conference (GC) itself, but of course the role of the GC Secretary has changed. One of the changes is that he (and thus far the Secretary has always been a "he") gradually acquired a staff—and its role, too, has changed over the years.

This is the second of two papers on the history of the GC Secretariat and of what Arthur G. Daniells, 111 years ago, called the Adventist "mission enterprise."[1] The two papers are connected by the role of Secretariat. As I just observed, however, that role has not been an unchanging one in Adventist history. The Secretariat's role underwent organizational evolution. Part of its story is that, after a long period of being primarily focused on foreign mission, its main concerns came instead to be policy, governance, and administration. Mission was still in the portfolio, but it did not have the same priority, even while successive Secretaries and their Associates insisted that it did.

In the first paper, I considered the origins and development of what today we call the ISE program. In this paper, I discuss the development of GC Secretariat. In this paper, I sketch the stages of Secretariat's history. I show that in Secretariat's first four decades it was chiefly a conduit for communication and collection of information, before then becoming what might be termed "mission control": the world church's center for recruiting, training, and deploying of missionaries worldwide. The promotion of mission was an important and largely forgotten part of this

stage of the church's collective history. But then in a third phase, while still being the central clearing point for calling missionaries and setting missionary policies, Secretariat became more focused on supporting the burgeoning denominational bureaucracy and on policing *Policy*. In this period, Secretariat, to put it bluntly, bureaucratized. Most recently, we seem to be entering a fourth phase, with Secretariat and its associated denominational entities at world headquarters shifting to a renewed focus on strategically planning for outreach to unreached people groups and on supporting and developing cross-cultural mission and missionaries.

This paper concludes by arguing that this mission focus is what the Seventh-day Adventist Church needs in the 21st century if it is to make a real impact on territories such as the 10/40 Window and large cities, where, in its 150 years, the Church has previously had minimal influence. The world church needs the GC Secretariat once again to become Adventist "mission control."

First Phase: 1863–1901

The constitution adopted on May 21, 1863, provided that the General Conference's "officers . . . shall be a President, Secretary, Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three, of whom the President shall be one" (Art. II).[2] In 1863, there were six conferences, employing a total workforce of thirty, and around 125 local churches and 3,500 members; because there was not much to administer, there were few administrators. Further, for the denomination's first 25 years, with Adventists limited both geographically and numerically, GC Sessions were held annually, so most important matters and decisions were taken to the Session, rather than to committees. Thus, the three officers and the Executive Committee were less important than they later became. It is not entirely clear what the officers did in those early years. The constitution briefly defined the Treasurer's function, but about the other two officers it stated simply: "The duties of the President and Secretary shall be such respectively as usually pertains to those offices" (Art. III).

What this seems to have meant in practice was that the Secretary took the minutes at the annual Sessions. In addition, following an action taken by the fourth GC Session in 1866 that thenceforth every conference should submit statistical reports to the Secretary, from 1867 onwards, he presented a statistical report to each annual Session. But these seem to have been the sum of the Secretary's duties for the first twenty years of the organized Seventh-day Adventist Church.

As the church grew, however, administration became more important. So, too, did the mundane task of taking official minutes, since Sessions

lasted longer and took more actions, which were also more substantive and consequential in nature. Every major decision taken by GC Sessions or by the Executive Committee was summarized and recorded by the Secretary. These included rulings on church organization; missionary strategy and placement; creation of new church entities; and miscellaneous decisions on policy, doctrine, financial matters, and the denominational stance on political and governmental matters.

By 1883, the number of congregations, church members, and employees had all quadrupled or more in the twenty years since 1863. There were 32 conferences along with the Central European, British, and Scandinavian Missions.[3] More and more decisions were being deferred by the annual Sessions to the GC Committee (as the Executive Committee was typically called). At the 1883 GC Session, complaints were voiced that "more thorough work [could] be accomplished in the various branches of our cause by faithful correspondence on the part of secretaries." This seems to have been directed at the GC Secretary, A. B. Oyen, for the Session did not reelect him; instead it voted back into office the veteran Uriah Smith (who had previously served 17 terms in three separate spells as Secretary: 1863–1873, 1874–1876, 1877–1881). The Session also amended the constitution to add a fourth officer: A Corresponding Secretary (who seems, however, to have worked under the direction of the Secretary). Membership of the GC Committee (GCC) was also increased for the first time, from three members to five.[4] The Corresponding Secretary's position existed for 16 years and was filled by women as well as men.

The role of the Secretary's office had evidently evolved and grown. It now revolved around maintaining correspondence with the conference and mission secretaries; sharing with them the decisions taken by Sessions and by Executive Committee meetings (themselves given official form by the Secretary); and trying to ensure that these decisions were being honored and implemented by the burgeoning denomination.

In 1886, the GCC membership was increased to seven and, for the first time, the Secretary was elected a member.[5] Thereafter, he invariably was a member of the Executive Committee, though the Treasurer, as yet, was not; and neither would be *ex officio* members until after the 1901 reforms. The 1887 Session, in an important moment in both GC administrative history and wider Adventist history, amended the GC constitution to increase the number of officers from four to seven, with the addition of "a home mission secretary, a foreign mission secretary, and an educational secretary."[6] This was an interesting step and reflected wider currents in a church still working out how best to manage foreign missions. I will briefly discuss this step and its context, but a key point is that it illustrates the fact that the Secretary had, as yet, no special responsibility for mission.

Eight years earlier, the 1879 GC Session had extensively debated a proposal to establish a Mission Board. In the end, it voted to create a "Missionary Board," which was to "have special oversight of all our foreign missions, under . . . the General Conference Committee." It is not clear if the preference in nomenclature for Missionary Board over Mission Board had any significance but given the original intention that the Executive Committee itself would be a "missionary board" (Art. V), the creation of a separate board was an admission of relative failure. It also probably reflected some heartfelt comments, made by John N. Andrews to a special GC Session earlier in 1879, about the "difficulties under which laborers in foreign fields are placed, while the General Conference Committee [members] are so scattered, and are so overburdened with other duties" that, Andrews implied, they were failing in their duty.[7] Seven months later, the creation of the Missionary Board was surely a response. Ellen G. White's son, W. C. (Willie) White, seems to have been secretary of the board, but it is notable that three of the first seven members were women: Minerva Chapman, the GC treasurer, Maria Huntley, secretary of the Tract and Missionary Society, and Maud Sisley, who was not yet 30 years old.[8]

It is difficult to know what impact the Missionary Board had. There is little sense from GC Session minutes of the Missionary Board's work, but stray references show it existed,[9] and if, as is likely, it conducted the bulk of its business outside sessions, then we would have no record of such, since there are no minutes of any standing GC committees or boards from this early. The Missionary Board may have played a role in the European Missionary Councils of the early 1880s that provided strategic direction to mission in Europe. In 1886, missionaries sent abroad numbered in double digits for the first time, so the board probably had some success. Yet not enough, for the 1887 Session action to establish the post of Foreign Mission Secretary was clearly an attempt to strengthen the Church's mission enterprise.

Back in 1879, after identifying problems, J. N. Andrews had proposed a solution, namely that the GC appoint an official specifically to care for overseas missions and missionaries, which Andrews described as "an officer . . . corresponding in some respects to the Secretary of the Missionary Boards of other denominations."[10] He envisaged that such "an officer [would] inform himself fully in reference to all the foreign work, and be prepared to respond to the communications of laborers in foreign fields without delay." This is, of course, another hint that the Secretary in in this period was not undertaking official correspondence as efficiently and expeditiously as he might.

It was not until eight years later that, as noted earlier, the 1887 Session finally took action to implement Andrews's recommendation for a permanent secretary for foreign mission; Andrews by this time had been dead

for four years. A week into the Session, Willie White proposed the creation of the three new officer positions and the vote was carried.[11] Evidently there was different rationale for the home mission and foreign mission secretaries than for the position of education secretary, which can be seen as a precursor to the Education Department created 16 years later.[12] Meanwhile, a week after the motion had been carried, which hints at considerable discussion in backrooms, all three positions were filled, and W. C. White was elected the first Foreign Mission Secretary![13] A year later, at the 1888 GC session, better known for theological and generational conflict, Willie White gave the first Foreign Mission Secretary's report.[14] We might call this the first Secretariat report on mission, though not given by the Secretary *per se*. His role at this time seems to have been primarily that of keeping the minutes and records of GC Sessions, following through on whether actions had been implemented, and loosely supervising the work of the corresponding secretary, whose role was increasingly redundant given that the Foreign Mission Secretary would correspond with mission stations and missionaries. The significance of White's role can partly be measured by the fact that in the winter of 1888-89 he was effectively acting GC president.[15]

By 1889, of 33 conferences, six were in Europe and the South Pacific, with missions in Britain and South Africa.[16] The Missionary Board was attracting criticism from church leaders, including missionary leaders. John Corliss, for example, who had served in Australia, publicly identified a "painful contrast" between what the board "ought to [have] done" and what it did.[17]

Important decisions were taken at the 1889 Session, though only after considerable debate and after very active encouragement by GC President Ole Olsen. The Session voted to hold future GC Sessions on a biennial instead of annual basis, to increase both the responsibilities of the Executive Committee and its membership (from seven to nine), and t0 establish a Foreign Mission Board (FMB). This meant the end of the effectively moribund Missionary Board and the creation of an institutional basis for the foreign mission secretary. The Session approved a constitution for the FMB and established a Foreign Mission Committee, composed of six people, whose terms were to be of the same length as those of GC officers. The committee had minor duties in its own right, but its importance was that its members, meeting together with the Executive Committee, would constitute a "Foreign Mission Board" with the task of managing the foreign missionary program of the General Conference.[18]

For the next fourteen years, it was with the Mission Board, as it was often called, that responsibility lay for administering the church's foreign missionary program. The FMB initially had a positive impact.[19] It also grew in importance and a manifestation of this came at the 1897 GC

Session, which abolished the education, home mission, and foreign mission secretaries. The term "foreign mission secretary" continued to be used for the next six years, but it referred actually to the secretary of the FMB: appointed by the Mission Board, not elected by the Session. The Board also elected a president, who in practice had taken over the foreign mission secretary's role.[20]

These could have been positive developments, but they were not. The problem was partly the toxic atmosphere that had developed in Battle Creek. This in turn owed much to the malign influence of Dr. John H. Kellogg. In addition, however, the GC president elected in 1897, George A. Irwin, was unduly protective of his power. The Foreign Mission Board began to be seen—began to see itself, even—as being in rivalry with the GC officers, at least when it came to the mission fields. Two bodies "at the top" responsible for mission planning, fundraising, and strategizing did not allow these functions to be carried out more efficiently; instead they were often not done at all. The lack of clarity about the respective powers of the Mission Board and the GCC resulted in inaction at the top and confusion on the ground. This resulted, in turn, in irate and exasperated mission leaders. For example, Edson White wrote from his Mississippi Valley mission station to his mother in Australia, expressing his frustration with leaders at the top. "In this part of the field where I am working, the principle seems to be . . . 'Where there is a head, HIT IT.' If the General Conference is so balled up that they cannot or will not do anything for [this field] then why not stand aside & let those who will help do something?"[21] If this is how a leader who was the son of the prophetess and based close to Battle Creek felt, the frustration felt in Australia and Europe by dynamic leaders such as A. G. Daniells and L. R. Conradi can be imagined.[22] Unsurprisingly, they began to contemplate radical reform.

In the meanwhile, however, the GC Secretary's role increased, and he was given his own office in the Review and Herald Press building, which also functioned as the GC headquarters in Battle Creek.[23] The Secretary's job had become a full-time one, keeping abreast of developments around the world, keeping minutes of GC Committee meetings, and informing the world church of its decisions as well as those of Sessions. In 1899, Secretary Lewis A. Hoopes told that year's GC Session that, in the preceding two years, "the work of the Recording and Corresponding secretaries was put into the hands of one person" and that "it seems to me that it would be better if the two secretaries were merged into one". Discussion ensued over the use of General Secretary versus Secretary, which is reminiscent of some debates we have had in the GC and division secretaries group, but fourteen years after the secretary's position was split, it was reunited into one with the simple title of Secretary.[24]

For the period 1863–1901, almost the first forty years of the church's life, the GC Secretary's role was essentially one of recording, collating, and presenting information and then communi-cating it to conference and mission leaders. It was not yet an executive role and neither was it especially closely identified with mission, although the Secretary's office was responsible for communicating with missionaries around the world.

Second Phase: 1901–c.1970

In 1901, an extraordinary, even radical, restructuring of the church's organization took place at the urging of Ellen White, who had recently returned from nine years' mission service in Australia and recognized that the system of organization that had worked for a sect limited to the Northeast and Midwest of the United States did not work well for a church that now had a foothold in all the world's inhabited continents and had designs to reach the world.[25] Reforms included the universal implementation of the union conference model that had previously been restricted to Australasia and Europe; the abolition of independent associations and societies and their transformation into departments, present at each level of structure; and the assignment of enhanced representation and authority to the GCC.

Although we often forget the fact, the reorganization was not completed in 1901. The final steps were taken in 1903, including the effective suppression of the Mission Board and its supersession by the Executive Committee (see below), along with the election of new officers to serve alongside the president elected in 1901, Arthur G. Daniells. The officers elected with him in 1901 were Howard E. Osborne as Secretary and Harvey M. Mitchell as Treasurer.[26] Both men served just one term and were then replaced—it is not entirely clear why. Osborne suffered a serious illness while Secretary, but it is likely that it was stress related, and it seems probable that neither he nor Mitchell had the same vision of worldwide mission as Daniells, who accordingly asked for and was given a different team.[27]

The End of the FMB and the GCC as Mission Board

A new secretary and new treasurer who shared Daniells's passion for mission were elected in 1903. William A. Spicer served as Secretary until 1922 when he became president. Irwin H. Evans was Treasurer from 1903 to 1909 when he was elected president of the Asiatic Division (the first Adventist world division) and replaced by Walter T. Knox who then served as treasurer until he retired in 1922.[28]

The year after the epochal 1901 Session, Daniells told a meeting of the GC officer group that "he believed the future work of the General Conference would be, primarily, that of a great Missionary Board; therefore, he thought that all work could be handled by one committee," instead of requiring a separate Mission Board and General Conference Association. It was agreed to "suggest to officers of the General Conference Mission Board and General Conference Association that they form an outline of a plan for simplifying the organizations of the General Conference, and present the same to the next General Conference in Session."[29]

The following year's GC Session voted the following: "The General Conference Committee shall have the supervision of the missionary operations of the denomination." The FMB was suppressed: partly because it had tried to operate almost independently of the GC officers and Executive Committee; partly because church leaders, including Ellen White, had lost confidence in it.[30] The FMB effectively ceased operating in 1903. It retained a shadow existence in name, allowing it, as Willie White observed to the 1903 Session, "to be utilized for necessary legal business." For a few years, the officers continued to speak of foreign mission-related matters as "mission board" affairs and GCC meetings concerning them as "Mission Board" meetings, either out of habit, or to distinguish them from the other business.[31] But when the "Mission Board" was referred to after 1903, it meant the Executive Committee. It henceforth would oversee the church's business relating to missions and missionaries, though.[32]

I will come back to the significance of this later, but first I will say a little more about the other changes in organization and mindset that took place in 1901 and 1903. This period was a real watershed because it involved more than the adoption of unions and departments throughout the Adventist organization. Three other things were crucial, though they are often ignored. First was the way reformed organizational structures were implemented and how the GC administration related to them. To adopt a political metaphor used by Daniells and others in 1902 and 1903, much of the world church had been made self-governing; all agreed that this was positive.[33] Second was the development of new administrative structures *within* the GC, including the creation, largely by Secretary Spicer, of an infrastructure for recruiting, deploying, and maintaining missionaries from the North American homeland and the new European and Australian heartlands to Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and the islands of the Pacific. We still essentially use today the infrastructure developed during Spicer's secretaryship. Third was the vision and passion for mission shared by the three officers, working together closely; each year from 1903 to 1922, all three were passionate proponents of worldwide mission.

I want to underscore the importance of this. The institutions and mechanisms were very important, and a few years ago, I used to stress those more. But on reflection, I have concluded that the personalities were very important: what really made the new regime work as far as the foreign missionary program was concerned was that the three officers were determined to transform the church's mission enterprise. Other officers would not have made as much of the organizational reforms as Daniells, Spicer, Evans, and Knox did.

Spicer and Daniells were officers of the General Conference together until 1926. They and Evans, the treasurer from 1903 to 1909, were visionaries of global mission, as was W. C. White who continued to exercise very considerable influence behind the scenes, and who now had several years of foreign mission service under his belt (in contrast to when he was elected foreign mission secretary!).

Acting as a team, together with the Treasurer and the GC Committee, which had become the Adventist Church's foreign mission board, Daniells and Spicer planned strategically for mission advances in an unprecedented way. We will come back to this point in a moment but first let us pick up again the thread of the importance of the supersession of the FMB by the GCC.

As GC president and chair of the GCC, Daniells became the head of missions for the church with Spicer as his able deputy. It was during his and Spicer's administrations, from 1901 through 1930, that Adventism truly became a worldwide movement, and this was the case because the head of the church was also the head of its missions. In fact, Daniells and Spicer both essentially viewed the two roles as one. No longer was there lack of clarity about the respective powers of the Mission Board and the GCC, resulting in paralysis. The GC Committee now *was* the Mission Board (and at times used that title).[34] This meant that all the authority and resources of the Executive Committee and of the GC presidency and office administration, as well as the personal influence of the top leaders, was dedicated to missions. As a result, 1901 to 1930 was a golden age of Adventist missions and the foundation of the modern mission program.

The GC Committee had attempted to function as a missionary board in the 1860s and 1870s and failed. Why did it succeed in the 1900s? It was because there was now a sound organization that devolved operational authority to the unions, instead of the GC administration and Executive Committee having to relate to and supervise an ever-increasing number of conferences. It was, in sum, because of the structural changes introduced at the 1901 and 1903 Sessions that the GCC could dedicate itself to being a missionary board.

This was what veteran leaders had been desiring and urging. At the time of the 1901 reorganization, Uriah Smith articulated his view that the GC Committee should "distribute its administrative responsibilities among the union conferences, and to get into a position where it could give all its time and influence and power to missionary problems." If Daniells and the GCC did this, Smith believed, it would enable the Church "to send forth in this generation this gospel of the kingdom, for a witness to all nations."[35]

At the 1903 GC Session, W. C. White expressed similar views, rhetorically asking, "What is there left for a General Conference to do?" in the aftermath of the 1901 reforms and the implementation of the union conference model of structure. Having posed the question, he provided the answer.

Why, the General Conference has to look after the mission fields; the General Conference, by this system of organization, is forced to become a mission board; and our General Conference must . . . let Union Conferences attend to the work of their Union Conference. And the only thing that is left for the General Conference Committee is to do the mission work; and I pray God that its full strength may be given to that part of the work.[36]

The GC officers did not accept any rival, however, to the authority of the "GC" (in White's terms) at supra-union level or over the mission enterprise. This is reflected in Daniells's determined and successful bid to suppress the "General European Conference," which was "discontinued" by vote of the GCC in 1907, so that there would be no resurrection of the divided control over mission that characterized the FMB years.[37]

One could say the Secretary's duties were lessened, for, with the spread of unions, there was greater devolution of responsibilities for church governance to other levels of denominational authority. In fact, the secretary's responsibilities were increased, for, with more sophisticated governing structures, increasing membership, and expanding mission, ultimately there was more for the GC headquarters to oversee, and many new duties were assigned to the Secretary's office. During this era, it took responsibility for recruiting, dispatching, coordinating, and caring for missionaries, as well as for publicizing and promoting foreign mission among church members in the denomination's original North American heartland and its new European and Australian heartlands.

Secretariat as "Mission Control"

The end result was the creation of the GC Secretariat, though during the Daniells–Spicer years the term seems to have been used collectively for the leaders of departments (then titled secretaries), instead of for the

staff of the GC Secretary.[38] At the 1936 GC Session, the Secretary, M. E. Kern used "Secretariat" in his report as a collective term for his department—this seems to have been the first time the term was used in this way.[39] Certainly, however, regardless of nomenclature, both the number and the responsibilities of the Secretary's staff had significantly expanded in the early 1900s.

In 1905, two new positions subordinate to the Secretary were created: those of Home Secretary and Statistical Secretary. Unlike the innovations of extra secretaries in the 1880s, however, these positions were to assist the GC Secretary, rather than to compete with him (and were listed in the *Yearbook* under the Officers as "Appointed Assistants").[40] The Statistical Secretary started publishing the *Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook* in 1904 and the stand alone *Annual Statistical Report* in 1907. This was important, for, as the Secretariat accumulated more data, it took over the role of planning—deliberately and purposefully—for expanding mission. In 1913, the position of Home Secretary was retitled: General Conference Assistant Secretary; and in 1916 the post of Office Secretary, essentially a second assistant secretary (and not a clerical position) was added.[41] The 1918 Session created (and filled) the post of Associate Secretary who, unlike the Assistant and Statistical Secretaries, was one of the officers of the General Conference (though like them he was, as his title implied, certainly junior to the Secretary).[42] The Assistant Secretary appointed in 1916, J. L. Shaw, became the first ever Associate Secretary in 1918 and the Assistant Secretaryship was then left vacant until filled in January 1921 by C. K. Meyers.[43] Four years later, the 1922 Session made the Statistical Secretary one of the officers; in moving to amend the constitution, Spicer with typical warmth affirmed his longstanding colleague, Rogers: "We have but one Statistical Secretary in the denomination."[44] Four years on again, the 1926 Session amended the Constitution again to provide for multiple (initially two) Associate Secretaries.[45]

The Secretary's staff played a role in administering denominational organization, to be sure, but the increase in staff was largely a result of the need to administer the fast-growing foreign mission program. In the 1890s, expansion both in mission fields and in numbers of missionaries had stalled. After 1901, the number of missionary appointees increased until World War I, then spiked again in 1920, before remaining buoyant for a decade until the coming of the Great Depression (figure 1). In the first twenty years after the GC Committee replaced the Foreign Mission Board, the Adventist Church sent 2,257 "laborers to foreign fields." Even in the fifteen years from the start of the Great Depression until the end of World War II, there were 1,597 new appointees.

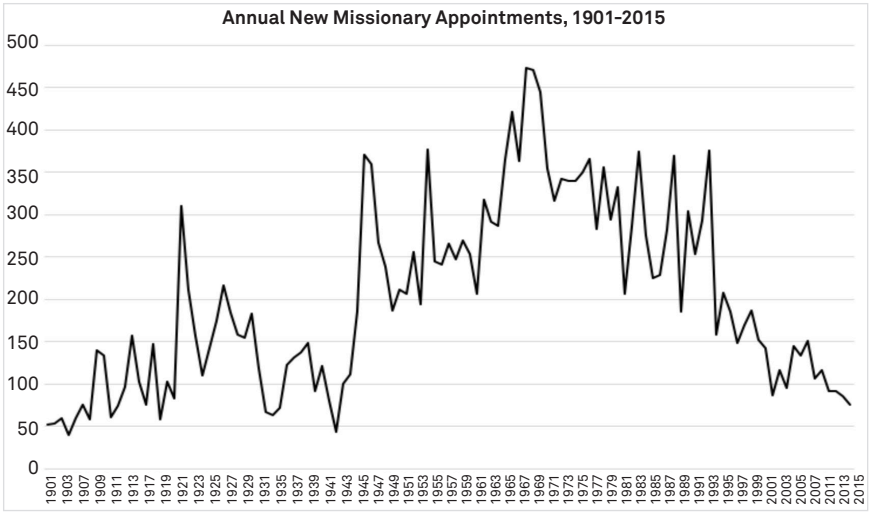


Figure 1

Figure 1 reveals considerable oscillation (annual fluctuations are inevitable), but the overall picture emerges more clearly in figure 2, which charts the annual number of new appointees using ten-year moving averages. From the 1901 reorganization, there was a steady growth, checked only by the Great Depression and Second World War, followed by remarkable growth that plateaued at the end of the 1960s, since when there has been steep decline.

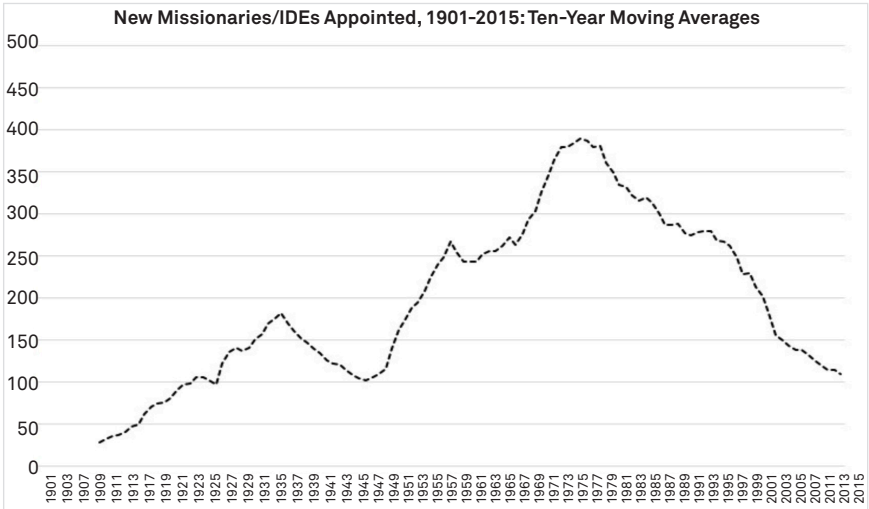


Figure 2

Planning Strategically

The growth of the early twentieth century prompts two questions: What was Secretariat seeking to do? Did it have an overarching concept underpinning growth?

The answer to the second question is that they did. As to what they were trying to do: Spicer and his successors in the secretaryship, Kern, Meyers, Dick, and Rebok (and also, I think, Beach, though perhaps to a lesser degree), all had as their chief desire to enter unentered territory and to preach Christ to those who did not know Him. This view was shared by Daniells and Spicer as president, and later by long-term President J. L. McElhany (and probably by C. H. Watson, the one-term Depression-era GC president). All were of course happy to see Catholics and nominal Christians of other Protestants converted to a more authentic branch of Christ's followers. They had a particular burden, however, for adherents of what we would now call "world religions."

Daniells set a strategic vision: it was during his presidency that, for the first time, we can speak of strategic planning in any meaningful sense. At the 1905 GC Session, for example, Daniells set out a strategic vision of greater efforts in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. He puts stress not only on Africa, traditionally understood as a mission field, but also on strongholds of Islam, Confucianism–Daoism, and Buddhism.

> Who can tell [he asked delegates] why 720 of our ministers should be located in America among one-twentieth of the world's population while only 240 of our ministers are sent forth to work for the other nineteen-twentieths? What good reason can be given for spending annually $536,302.76 tithes among seventy-five millions, and only $155,516.57 among fourteen hundred millions of the world's perishing? We rejoice that we are able to name so many lands in which we have opened missions; but we deeply regret that in many of them our laborers are so few, and our efforts are so feeble. We should materially strengthen our missions in Nyassaland [sic] [Malawi], Rhodesia [Zambia and Zimbabwe], China, Korea, Ceylon [Sri Lanka], Turkey, and Egypt. We should not delay longer to enter such lands as the Philippines, Madagascar, Greece, Uganda, and Persia [Iran]. All that started this movement at the beginning, and has urged it onward to its present position, urges us with increasing emphasis to press on until this gospel of the kingdom shall be proclaimed in all the world for a witness unto all nations. Then, and not till then, will the end come, for which we so earnestly long.[46]

This approach was not limited to Daniells. Two years later, W. W. Prescott, then president of the Review and Herald Publishing Association and editor of the *Review*, urged its readers to consider "what a privilege

they would feel it to be to give of their means for the extension of this message in all lands!" He bade them:

> Think of the four hundred millions in China! Think of the three hundred millions in India! Remember that one half of the population of the world is found in China, India, and Africa. Our workers who are toiling beyond their strength in these heathen lands are under no greater obligation to minister to these benighted people than are those who are adding farm to farm or thousands to thousands while surrounded with all the comforts and conveniences which money can furnish.[47]

For Spicer, not only was it the role of the GC mission leaders to set strategic priorities—it was also above all else their role to channel world-church funds and personnel resources to those who had never heard of Jesus. This was his top priority. This is how he summarized the attitudes of church leaders in the early 1890s, when he had been secretary of the FMB.

> We didn't have much of an idea of going to the heathen. We didn't expect to go in any really strong way. We never expected to go to the Catholic countries, We thought: We will get a few along the edges, and the Lord will come; but the Lord all the time had in mind this purpose, of calling the heathen, of calling through all the Catholic lands for His people to come.[48]

Spicer's own attitudes to "heathen" people changed by going as a missionary to India. He began to encourage North American Adventists to feel responsibility for remote fields, populated by non-Christians. A characteristic appeal is this: "The world is one field and the harvest surely will not be gathered in any place until the whole is ripened."[49] He was passionate about "fields like India and China where surely we ought to run through with the message, telling the people what these things mean before the very closing scenes are upon us."[50]

At the 1903 Session, having been newly elected GC Secretary, Spicer made an appeal to delegates to do more in China, where the first Adventist minister, John Anderson, had only arrived the year before. Spicer shared with the delegates a letter from Anderson proposing "that every conference in America send one of its laborers to enter that great land." Some administrators might have dismissed this as impracticable and simply said nothing about it, but Spicer not only shared it, he continued: "It may be thought too much, and that it is not a practical suggestion; but surely it would not be too much for China's four hundred million. These fifty

years we have heard of the woes and sorrows of China; but during these fifty years, we have never told suffering China of the glorious message of salvation that God has given to us."[51] This is typical of his approach. What is also notable, however, is the emphasis on numbers in the statement quoted here and those of Daniells and Prescott. This reflects the increasing importance of the Statistical Secretary and the extent to which, in planning for mission, church leaders used data.

Depression and World War

The Great Depression inevitably led to some retrenchment and a decline in the numbers of missionaries sent out, but less than might have been, for church leaders during the Depression ensured that missionaries and mission stations faced as few cuts as possible. Unquestionably important in protecting the mission enterprise were two largely forgotten GC Secretaries, Cecil K. Meyers (in office 1926–33 and the first Secretary born outside the United States),[52] and his successor, Milton Kern (Secretary 1933–36).[53] In 1930 and 1931, the denominational workforce in North America was cut by 10%; in the foreign mission fields, however, the workforce decreased less than 5%, though salaries were cut.[54] There were 628 new mission appointments from 1930 to 1935; significantly, too, as Kern pointed out in his report to the 1936 GC Session, 45% of the new missionaries were from outside the North American Division, a much higher percentage than normal. While the figure of 628, in a six-year period, stood in contrast to the 714 appointed in the preceding four years, it was, as Kern observed, still a sizeable number, given that, in his words, "we have been passing through most serious times, with cut budgets and depleted working forces."[55] Furthermore, Kern stressed, "not one mission station has been abandoned during these hard years."[56] The focus of GC Secretariat was on maintaining mission stations and missionaries in areas that had access to "tribes and kindreds."

Understanding the need for extra efforts to motivate North American church members to give generously to support mission stations and to volunteer for service overseas, the GC Secretariat innovated in mission promotion. Meyers pioneered the use of documentary movies of mission fields to educate North American members (and non-members, since the Church appealed for funds more widely, through Ingathering) about the reality in those fields. One showing in Battle Creek, at the time of the 1932 Annual Council, as part of a public lecture by Meyers, won praise from the local newspaper (in a town that was no longer solidly Adventist), and Meyers continued to make films about Adventist mission fields.[57] Kern, who replaced Meyers soon after, appealed to the 1936 Session for "greater

efforts [to] be put forth" to promote mission service by the youth in North America, founded on "well-planned cooperation between the schools and the General Conference Committee."[58] This bore long-lasting fruit, as will be seen below, but in addition, the use of motion pictures to promote mission became characteristic of Secretariat. Kern's successor, Ernest D. Dick, helped to supervise the editing of a film shot of the 1936 GC Session. Two years later, the GC invested funds in a project by several Protestant mission boards to cooperatively create "a comprehensive set of motion pictures of missions in Africa," while in response to a request from the GC officers—prompted by members of Secretariat—unions in mission fields made films "on the most outstanding features of [their] work," which were produced into composite motion pictures by the respective divisions.[59]

The Second World War had a major negative impact, but as soon as the war was over, there was a huge increase in the number of mission appointees sent out, thanks in large part to the men who served from 1936 to 1950 as GC President and Secretary: respectively J. L. McElhany and E. D. Dick.[60] In the spring of 1942, when Allied victory in World War II was by no means assured, indeed at the height of the military success of the Axis powers, Dick pushed forward an extraordinarily bold agenda, as one of the associate secretaries described soon afterwards.

> At . . . the Spring Meeting of the General Conference Committee earnest consideration was given to the necessity of having missionary families under appointment and securing such preparation as is available here in the homeland for work . . . when this present conflict ceases or when the Lord otherwise indicates that the way is open for missionaries to be sent forward once more. One section of the world field which received particular attention at that time was the Near East, consisting of several important Moslem countries.
>
> The General Conference has decided that ten families should be immediately placed under appointment and definitely earmarked for work in the Moslem lands in the Near East with the understanding that arrangements would be made for these missionary appointees to study the language of the field and other subjects here in this country in preparation for the time when they can go forward to those mission fields. It is understood that it may be a year or two or possibly longer before the Lord opens up the way for missionaries to go to those fields once more.[61]

Church leaders set aside funds, and arranged for training of missionary families, against the day that peace returned. Some were initially sent "to attend the Kennedy School of Missions [at Hartford Seminary], in preparation for work among the Moslems."[62] George Keough, pioneer missionary to the Middle East and contextualizer of mission *par excellence*,

was brought to Washington from the Arabic Union Mission to head a program on Islamic culture and Arabic language the Seminary. Within twelve months of the end of the war, considerable numbers of new missionaries began arriving in the Middle East; several families travelled to Egypt even before the war was over, Neal C. Wilson's among them.[63]

But the other priority was China. There was an extraordinary resurgence in missionary numbers after 1945. Missionaries who had stayed on through the war were being taken home on well-deserved furloughs (and then being brought back), and new missionaries were sailing for China in late 1945 and 1946, when Asia was still in chaos and transportation extremely difficult. By the end of 1946 there were 93 missionaries working in the China Division, including 41 ordained ministers; twelve months later, the total number had increased almost 50 percent to 135, of which 55 were ministers; 1948 saw another increase to 158 foreign missionaries, 52 of whom were ministers.[64] The Communist victory in the Chinese Civil War meant these numbers collapsed in 1949 and 1950. But it is striking that the world Church's top priorities after the destruction of the Second World War—priorities set *during* the war, so that the Church could (and did) seize the missional initiative as soon as the war ended—were the heartlands of two of the world's great religions, Islam and Confucianism-Daoism.

Post-war Mission Boom

In the 1950s and 1960s, initially under Dick as Secretary, briefly under Denton E. Rebok (1952-54), and then for 16 years under Walter R. Beach (1954-70), GC Secretariat continued to be responsible for the church's foreign mission program, while the Secretary himself played an ever more important role as one of the three premier GC officers.[65] These were the golden days of Adventist mission, with a weekly column listing new "missionary sailings" in the *Review* and annual numbers of new appointees climbing steadily. Secretariat remained "mission control." In addition, part of the role of the Secretariat was to look inwards and help coordinate the departmental work. However, during this era, there was a willingness to subordinate all to the demands of mission.

For example, in the mid-1960s, a working group on missionary recruiting submitted a report on "unifying our procedures in the various departments of the General Conference which deal specifically with securing commitments to overseas service." The committee's report singled out for praise "the loyal support to the mission program which is offered by the General Conference Departments, especially . . . the Medical, Missionary Volunteer, and Education Departments." At this time, "the various departments" were vigorously engaged in recruiting for missionary service.

So active were they, indeed, that the Committee on Appointees, which received the report, felt it necessary to formally recommend that, when departments heard "from individuals who indicate[d] a definite, immediate interest in dedicating their lives to mission service," they should "be turned in to the office" of the Secretary, who would then allocate names to the associate secretaries. The committee also recommended that, after applications had been passed on to the Secretary, only "the Secretarial Department" (as they called it) should communicate with candidates, transmitting the various appropriate forms and guiding them through appropriate stages of the process.[66] What is notable is how actively the departments were involved in promoting missionary service and soliciting candidates for it. There was no sense, such as would creep in later, of missionary service being the sole prerogative of Secretariat. And indeed, there was no attempt by the Committee on Appointees to defend Secretariat's turf, while trying to ensure a systematic approach once people offered to serve, one of its recommendations was to facilitate continued promotion, by departments, of mission service.[67]

Meanwhile, a regular item at Secretariat Staff meetings was promoting mission. Kern's call for a carefully planned effort to enthuse young people in North America for mission service (see pp. 12-13, above) had born distinct fruit. My staff and I have found literally dozens of references in the minutes of the 1950s and 1960s, some of them brief, but some several pages in length, to associate secretaries making regular visits to all the colleges and most of the hospitals in North America. The visits were planned to ensure that each campus was visited by a member of the

Secretariat. The aims were to recruit, but also to build awareness of mission worldwide and thus to inculcate a spirit of sacrifice and generosity. Those who could would go; those who could not would pray or give. But all this was driven by Secretariat, albeit with the strong support of the Public Relations Bureau (as it was known at the time) and other GC departments.

Third Phase: c.1970-2010

From the 1970s, however, perhaps even the late 1960s, the role of Secretariat has evolved yet further. In the church's first forty years the GC Secretary's role had been one of collating and corresponding; in the next seventy-odd years, it was one of joint chief planner for mission expansion and chief executive of the foreign mission program. But in the last 45 years, it has, I suggest, become one of chief bureaucrat and guardian of *Policy*.

The whole focus of the GC headquarters had once been on recruiting and supporting missionaries, and on planning to expand missions. But gradually Secretariat shifted to policing policy, Presidential focused on administration and governance, and GC departments likewise gradually moved away from seeing foreign missionary work as a priority. For example, in 1981, a meeting of two associate secretaries with the North American Adventist college and university chaplains, to plan for Mission Emphasis Week, prompted a prolonged, almost philosophical, discussion within GC Secretariat of its role in the denomination's mission program. According to the minutes: "It was pointed out that there is a philosophical aspect that affects . . . Secretariat. We are not a 'promotional' office, we are an 'administrative' office." Some attendees expressed concern that suggestions arising from the chaplains' meeting "include quite a bit of promotion." This prompted comments that the "Communication Department *should* be the arm of all GC areas [and] *should* provide a 'service' to us."[68]

The concern expressed about the lack of promotion of missionary recruiting by the GC Communications Department is, I suggest, an early manifestation of the attitude still evident today in a number of GC entities that mission is the business of Secretariat and the Office of Adventist Mission. As we have seen, this had not been the case earlier in the twentieth century, when virtually all departments regularly contributed to missionary recruiting and promotion. But what is also striking is Secretariat's attitude: "We are *not* a 'promotional' office, we are an 'administrative' office." This was a remarkable shift in mentality: as we saw earlier, from the 1930s if not earlier, the Secretariat absolutely regarded itself as engaged in promoting as well as administering the Church's mission enterprise—and it was particularly committed to promotion in the 1950s and 1960s. A change in the Secretary and the passage of little more than a decade had been sufficient to effect a sea change in mentality; but the decade in question was the 1970s, which saw a major shift in emphasis for the world headquarters as a whole, and for Secretariat in particular.

This partly was a result of the expansion, in every sense, of the denomination. By 1970, 107 years after the General Conference was founded, it had 75 member unions, comprising 379 conferences and missions, employing a workforce of over 26,000, with more than 2 million members of 16,505 local churches. It was inevitable that administration would grow in size and complexity as well. In 1973, GC President Robert Pierson and Secretary Clyde Franz created the first permanent committees with significant authority delegated from the Executive Committee: the President's Administrative Council, or PRADCO; the President's Executive Advisory, or PREXAD; and the GC Administrative Committee, or ADCOM. Ten years later, PRADCO and ADCOM were merged. Meanwhile, the number of standing and *ad hoc* committees at the world headquarters multiplied.

Nobody loves bureaucracy, but the truth is, administration is necessary. Secretariat provided the indispensable administration of the expanding committee system; and the leader of the burgeoning GC bureaucracy was the Secretary. Increasingly, too, many division and union secretaries had their own snowballing administrative loads and needed assistance and advice. GC Secretariat had played a key role in the preparation and publication of *Working Policy* in 1926 when it was 63 pages long. But *Working Policy* became ever larger, and divisions adopted their own localized versions.

At the GC Session of 1975 the position of Undersecretary was created. Duties specific to the Undersecretary were serving as the agenda secretary for the GC Session, Annual Council, Spring Meeting, and officers' meetings; responsibility for *Working Policy*; and providing oversight to administrative and personnel matters within the office of the Secretariat. The creation of this new officer position and its assigned responsibilities speaks volumes about the trajectory of the Secretariat in the 1970s. Yet policy-related duties could not be restricted to the Undersecretary. Increasingly, the Associate Secretaries spent more and more time advising and training their counterparts at other levels of church structure, helping them to ensure they were in accordance with world church policies and practices, and assisting them to improve the professionalism and effectiveness of division and union Secretariats.

All these are worthy and valuable contributions to the global Seventh-day Adventist Church. But somewhere along the way, something had to give—and it was what for seventy years had been the most important function of the GC Secretary and Secretariat: foreign mission as it had been called, or global mission as it became known in 1990, when, tellingly, it was placed under Presidential. Distracted by heavy administrative responsibilities, Secretariat was not able to stop the world church's mission program experiencing mission drift. The record number of foreign missionaries (or "interdivisional employees" [IDEs] as they became in 1983),[69] recruited and dispatched in a single year was 473, in 1969; in 1970, the number was 470. But in the 45 years since then—the period in which Secretariat's focus gradually shifted—the number of IDEs sent to serve has steadily decreased. Only once (1986) did the number for one year exceed 400; and in five of the last eleven years the annual total was in double, rather than triple digits.[70] This decline is partly due to changes in the wider missional environment within the Seventh-day Adventist Church; but it is also a symptom of a larger problem.

This becomes especially clear if we consider not the annual totals of missionary appointees, but at the trend in appointee numbers expressed as a ratio of missionaries per 10,000 members, as shown in figure 3 (p. 17). This

shows the extent of support for the Adventist missionary enterprise in terms of the potential personnel resources available, which have risen, like total membership, year on year for over a century. If one looks at the figures thus, then the high point of Adventist missionary *commitment* was in 1920, when there slightly more than 16 missionaries for every 10,000 members, though there is still a spike in the figures in the immediate aftermath of World War II, reflecting the post-war mission expansion. In considering this ratio it is appropriate, again because of the inevitable fluctuations in annualized statistics, to view the data as ten-year moving averages. The trend thus revealed in figure 4 confirms the picture shown in the annual figures in figure 3.

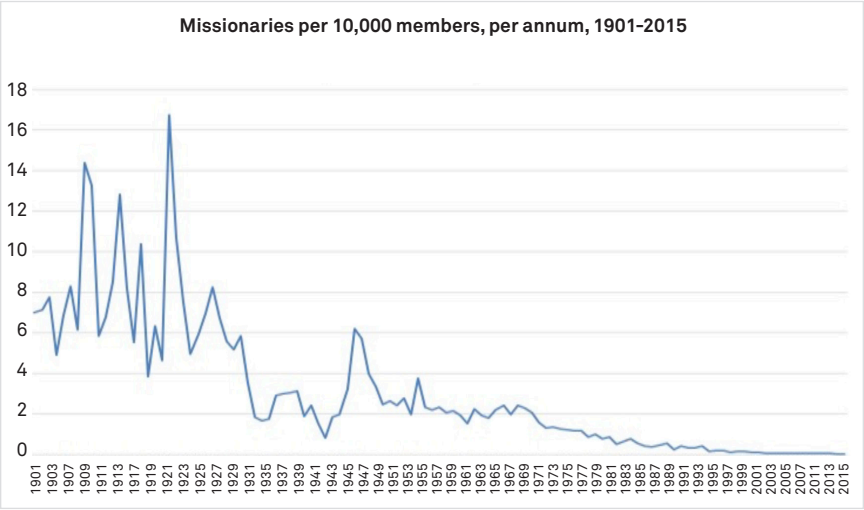


Figure 3

Indeed, the trend in the ten-year moving-average figures illustrates even more clearly the steady growth and stability from 1903 through 1930 and sharp decline during the Depression and World War II. In terms of resources available to the world church, the 25 years from the end of the war no longer appear quite as remarkable, while the decline since the late 1960s is even more marked. In sum, the collective missionary effort relative to world church membership is but a fraction of what it was half a century.

By the late twentieth century, Seventh-day Adventist mission was "on autopilot," as Dr. Ng put it in 2010.[71] Now, nobody took a conscious decision that Secretariat should downplay the world church's mission program; nor did anyone deliberately decide to shift the focus away from

entering new territories and reaching unreached people groups. Rather, both happened gradually. One reason was that the growing strength of the church in what once had been mission fields meant that the nature of global mission changed. But "as the church grew, mission appeared to lose its intentionality and attention." As a result, in the early 21st century, "mission appear[ed] to be running by default, without a strategic focus."[72] In the world headquarters, leaders often affirmed that the Church's focus was on reaching the unreached. Yet the great majority of baptisms from the "1000 Days of Reaping" and "Harvest 90" quinquennial programs and the various Net initiatives of the nineties came in areas that were *already heavily reached*. These global programs did little to advance Adventism where it was unrepresented or significantly under-represented. We said one thing, did another, concentrating on evangelizing easy territory.

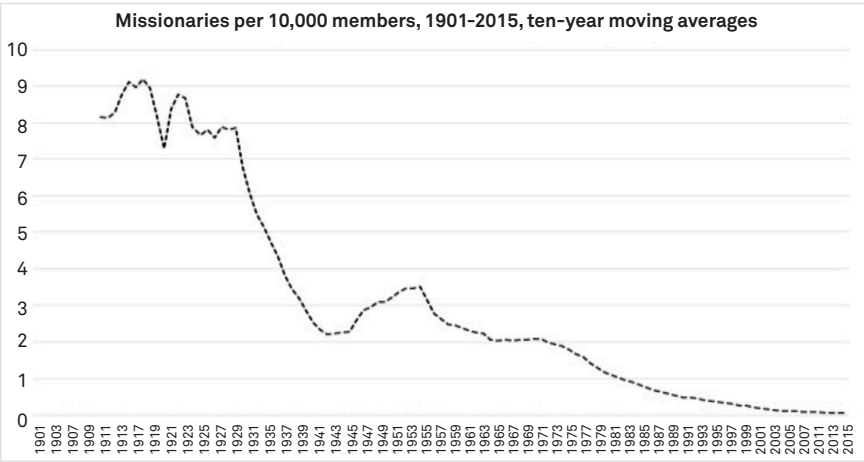


Figure 4

There was some awareness among church leaders of this problem. The "Global Strategy" document was an attempt at a corrective. As Wagner Kuhn points out, however, the Global Mission initiative stemmed from a realization of lack of missional success in certain territories, but missiological reflection on methods to realize the global mission strategy, and in particular about critical contextualization, came later and followed slowly. This hampered efforts to reach adherents of world religions (who once had been Secretariat's self-assigned primary target), in contrast to nominal Christians and animists who fueled Adventist conversion rates in the late 20th century.[73] At the same time, despite the creation of the Offices of Global Mission and of Mission Awareness, in 1990 and 1994 respectively, which helped to funnel GC resources and church-member donations to

the 10/40 Window, there was no major reallocation of resources by the world church from areas that have effectively been reached to those that have not (which include but are not limited to the 10/40 Window). As a result, while the Global Mission strategy has produced impressive church growth in some areas, it has achieved little in many others, and virtually nothing in West Asia and Northwestern Africa.

In sum, since c.1970, the world church, to a great extent, continued patterns of planning for and resourcing worldwide mission that reflect the mission needs of the early and mid-twentieth century, rather than of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. And, without anyone realizing it, those patterns became ruts that we just followed, repeating what we had done before without thinking about whether honoring our original goals meant doing something different.

Adventists in fact kept doing the same thing because it brought extraordinary success in Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa and the islands of the South Pacific and Southeast Asia. But as a result, we lost sight of the fact that across most of the 10/40 Window and much of Western and Central Europe, there were many unreached or under-reached people groups, especially (though not only) in large cities.[74] Meanwhile, the post-Christian culture poses new missional challenges to the Church in regions with large concentrations of church members, such as North America, Australasia and, increasingly, Latin America. Globally, during Secretariats third phase, we shifted from an emphasis on "pioneer mission to mission of least resistance."[75]

Secretariat: The Present

In the last quinquennium, at the world headquarters, things have started to change. By 2010 it had become plain that more collaboration and unity of purpose was needed. And so, the General Conference Mission Board was created, to exercise oversight of the world church's mission program. It is fair to ask whether the Mission Board is having the far-reaching impact that had been hoped for it, which also prompts questions about whether increasing its scope of authority and the number of standing committees responsible to it, might produce a change for the better.

But in the world headquarters, meanwhile, all the GC's mission-related entities have been placed under the Secretary: the Office of Adventist Mission (created in 2005 by the merger of Global Mission and Mission Awareness), Adventist Volunteer Services, the Institute of World Mission, the renamed and reshaped International Personnel Resources and Services (formerly TRIPS), and the renamed and reconceptualized Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research. Together with the Associate Secretaries

(the Secretariat proper), all these form the GC "Mission Family" of entities, headed by the Secretary. In 2012, the Office of Membership Systems was added. Vitally, all these entities work together, utilizing their different areas of expertise collaboratively, intentionally, and very amicably. There is a regular meeting of the senior management of these entities, the "Mission Leadership Council," a continuation, in effect, of the regular Secretariat Staff Meeting which had taken place from the 1950s through the 1990s, but which had been suspended during Matthew Bediako's Secretaryship (2000-2010). The leaders of these entities also serve on the Mission Board's Strategy and Funding Committee, though there are perceptions that it spends rather more time on funding than on strategizing for mission.

Have all the problems been solved? No. Much still remains to be done. But it does seem that the GC Secretariat has at least changed course.

Wider Conclusions

The chief conclusion of this study, undertaken for Dr. Ng and the Mission Leadership Council is that the Seventh-day Adventist Church, the "Great Second Advent Movement," has departed from the original goals and aspirations of its collective mission project. Change is natural and inevitable, but there is good reason to regret the shift that has taken place over the last fifty years. The changes, on the whole, were inimical to both the original goals of Seventh-day Adventist mission and to our current aspiration which is to reach the world. Furthermore, the changes were not the result of a conscious decision to alter course. They crept in, gradually, and by default, though we cannot say they took church leaders completely unawares. For, as we have seen, at various times, members of the Secretariat explicitly recognized that the church's missionary workforce was shifting from a primarily soul-winning one to a primarily technical one, much of it located in countries that already had a significant Adventist presence, and dedicated largely to maintaining institutions that were increasingly themselves corporately uncertain of how they related to the denomination's soul-winning objectives. But though Secretariat periodically identified the trend that was taking place, there seem to have been too few opportunities for thinking in big-picture terms, or asking almost philosophical questions about "what are we doing"; instead, the constant operational and administrative needs to respond to calls for employees from outside North America and to advise about policy and governance left insufficient time for reflection, and so Secretariat dealt with business at hand. It was, as Dr. Ng characterized it seven years ago, "on autopilot." Consequently, Secretariat proved unable to reverse the trend. Nobody took a decision; it just happened. The position we find ourselves in that reminds one of the old joke about the foreigner in Ireland, lost, asking a local

"How do I get to Dublin?" and being told "I wouldn't start from here." But here is where we are, without ever having intended to be here.

We also find ourselves in a position that perhaps mirrors that of church leaders in 1896, when Ellen White posed a rhetorical question. She asked whether "the men and women that God has appointed to do the most solemn work ever given to mortals, [are] in partnership with Jesus

Christ in His great firm?"[76] Christ's business is making disciples. Is that the real goal of the ISE program? Really, I mean, not rhetorically? Or has managing successful businesses become the real goal? If so, can we truly say we are partners with Jesus in His great firm whose business is to seek and save the lost?

Once it was easier: missionaries once took picture rolls and magic lantern shows into the wilds, in order to convert savages. Today the so-called savages are likely to be sending their best and brightest as missionaries to the worldly-wise overly sophisticated secular nations of what was once Christendom. There is no need to send Americans to Zimbabwe or Kenya to proselytize and do pastoral ministry, because we have local Adventists who do it better. Some would say that it is inevitable that most missionaries have become professors, managers, and technical specialists, since expertise in higher education, in high-tech medicine and nursing, in accounting, IT, and management, is what Adventism in the Global South still needs but cannot supply in sufficient quantity, and is what the Global North *can* supply.

But there *are* still parts of the world where local Adventist communities cannot supply the pastors and evangelists needed to proclaim the gospel or where clinics, in which medical personnel get personal with local people, would be cost-effective and socially appropriate ways of helping people towards good health. Is the problem, then, one of priorities? Should world church financial resources be deployed in countries where there are sufficient members (even sufficient funds, by local cost of living standards) to preach, teach, and make disciples? Ought they not instead be committed to those areas of the world where Adventists lack the critical mass to successfully evangelize? In words spoken by Gottfried Oosterwal to a Secretariat Staff Meeting in 1983, we "need to [have a] burden" ourselves and we "need to lay the burden on the Division leadership [for] pioneer missionary work."[77]

We also, however, need to ask ourselves what the role of Secretariat should be in the 21st century: What is its special mission, the function that it can particularly, perhaps uniquely, fulfill? The administrative duties it has taken on in the last forty years are important, but only at the world headquarters can planning that is truly strategic—planning for mission advances, of the kind that characterized the early 20th century Adventist

Church—take place. There is an unparalleled concentration of expertise in the "Mission Family" because of its responsibilities for recruiting, training, sending, sustaining, supporting and returning international service employees; for planning and resourcing global church planting; and for promoting cross-cultural mission service around the world. What, however, do we do with that expertise?

This is the conversation we have been having among the Mission Family entities. But the conversation has to be not just about how we do business. It has, we concluded, to be about how we can, as a Church, get back closer to the vision of church leaders a century and more ago, who ambitiously took on a whole-world approach to mission, something that rational minds would have deemed crazy, but our forefathers and foremothers thought all things possible by faith.

If the Seventh-day Adventist Church is to make significant advances in North Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and Europe, then in Secretariat we need to recapture the boldness and vision of church leaders in the past. We need to break out of the ruts we corporately fell into in the late 20th century. The world church would do well to give further, far-reaching consideration to how resources are distributed worldwide. There is a need for innovative, less bureaucratic structures and processes for mission and for international, intercultural service, so that church members with a passion for mission, as well as those with specialized technical or administrative skills, can be drawn from everywhere, and sent everywhere. The GC Secretariat should resume its historic place in shaping and directing the Seventh-day Adventist mission enterprise, and focusing its efforts once again on areas and people groups where the church's work is not well established. Church leaders cannot be content with the progress we made in the late 20th century. Our mission must never again be set to autopilot.

Abbreviations

ARH	*Adventist Review & Sabbath Herald/Review & Herald/ Adventist Review*
ASH	*Annual Statistical Report*
DB	*Daily Bulletin of the General Conference*
FMB	Foreign Mission Board
GC Ar.	General Conference Archives
GCB	*General Conference Bulletin*
GCC	General Conference (Executive) Committee
RC	Record Group
SDAE	*Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia,* 2nd. rev. [ie., 3rd] ed., 2 vols. (1996)

Endnotes

[1]Daniells to E. E. Andross, June 12, 1906, Presidential Outgoing Letters, GC Ar., RG 11, box 0147–48, Letterbook, no. 38, p. 864.
[2]The constitution text is in *ARH 21* (May 26, 1863): 204–5.
[3]*Yearbook* 1884, p. 73.
[4]Twenty-Second Session, 9th, 12th, and 13th meetings, Nov. 14 and Nov. 19, 1883, minutes in *Yearbook* 1884, pp. 38–39, 41; GC Constitution as amended in 1883, ibid., p. 69.
[5]Twenty-Fifth Session, 9th and 14th meetings, Nov. 29 (p.m.) and Dec. 6, 1886, minutes, *Yearbook* 1887, pp. 32, 41.
[6]Twenty-Sixth Session, 8th meeting, Nov. 20, 1887, *Yearbook 1888*, p. 37 (and *ARH* 64, 49 [Dec. 13, 1887]: 777); GC Constitution as amended in 1887, in *Yearbook 1888*, p. 91.
[7]Fourth Special Session, 5th Meeting, April 18 (2:30 p.m.), 1879, minutes, *ARH* 53, 17 (Apr. 24, 1879): 133.
[8]Eighteenth Session, 3rd and 13th meetings, Nov. 10 and 25, 1879, minutes, *ARH* 54, nos. 21, 23–24 (Nov. 20, Dec. 4 and 11, 1879): 161–62, 184, 190. See Jerry Allen Moon, *W. C. White and Ellen G. White: The Relationship Between the Prophet and Her Son* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1993), pp. 27–28.
[9]E.g., Twenty-Sixth Session, 9th meeting, Nov. 22, 1887, minutes in *Yearbook 1888*, p. 39. Note: A report from an ad hoc committee to the 1887 Session twice refers to "Mission Board(s)," but missions had boards instead of executive committees (*cf. Yearbook 1886*, p. 11, list of "European Mission Boards") and it is clear from the minutes that the references are to these governing committees, not to the GC Mission Board: Twenty-Fifth Session, 12th meeting, Dec. 5, 1886, minutes in *Yearbook 1887*, pp. 36–37.
[10]Fourth Special Session, 5th Meeting, April 18, 1879, see n. 7, above.
[11]Twenty-Sixth Session, 8th meeting, Nov. 20, 1887, *Yearbook 1888*, p. 37.
[12]The educational secretary's position had been discontinued, after a decade, by the 1897 GC Session. The creation of a department along the lines we currently understand that took place at the 1903 Session: cf. Thirty-Fifth Session, 19th meeting, Apr. 9 (p.m.), 1903, proceedings in *GCB 5* (Apr. 10, 1903): 158; *SDAE*, I, 495–96.
[13]Twenty-Sixth Session, 14th meeting, Nov. 27, 1887, *Yearbook 1888*, p. 46.
[14]Twenty-Seventh Session: Rreport published in full in *Yearbook 1889*, pp. 72–78.
[15]W. C. White to O. A. Olsen, Nov. 27, 1888, Presidential Incoming Letters, GC Ar., RG 11, box 3059, folder 11; see Moon, *W. C. White*, pp. 85–86.
[16]See *Yearbook 1890*, p. 59,
[17]J. O. Corliss, "The demands of foreign fields," *ARH* 67, 24 (June 17, 1890): 374.
[18]Twenty-Eighth Session Minutes in *DB* 3, nos. 1, 5, 6 and 14 (1889): 1, 45, 59, 139.
[19]B. L. Bauer, "Congregational and Mission Structures and How the Seventh-day Adventist Church Has Related to Them," unpublished DMiss diss. (Fuller Theological Seminary, 1982), 104–40; *SDAE*, II, 97.
[20]For actions of the thirty-second Session, see GCB, 2, nos. 1, 3 (1897–1898): 67, 129; and, for developments with the FMB see, e.g., thirty-third Session, 20th meeting, Feb. 25 (p.m.), 1899, *DB*, 8, 11 (1899): 102.

[21]J. E. White to E. G. White, June 18, 1899 (capitals in original), Ellen G. White Estate, Correspondence.

[22]*Cf*. Daniells speech at thirty-eighth GC Session, 13th meeting, May 22, 1913, *GCB* 7, 7 (1913): 108.

[23]A. L. White, "The Story of the Review and Herald Fire," *ARH* 154, 49 (1977): 3.

[24]Thirty-Third Session, 26th meeting, March 1, 1899, *DB* 8, 14 (March 3, 1899): 139.

[25]See the definitive study, Barry David Oliver, *SDA Organizational Structure: Past, Present and Future* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1989).

[26]"General Conference Officers": https://www.adventistarchives.org/gcofficers.

[27]Osborne was only 27 when elected secretary and may well have found the post too much for him. His life sketch from 1908 states: "He was two years secretary of the General Conference, when a severe attack of pleuropneumonia caused him to resign his position, and go to California for his health, which was quite rapidly restored." This may suggest a stress-related breakdown in health (he died at age 34, but of typhoid fever, leaving it open as to whether he had a weak constitution). See "Obituaries," *ARH* 85, no. 14 (April 2, 1908): 31. Mitchell may have suffered illness in office as well, since he died in 1904 (aged only 55) and his life sketch noted that he had been "suffering for several months with a complication of diseases," but as his death occurred 20 months after the 1903 Session, it seems unlikely that the illness from which he died was the cause of his replacement in 1903 (and the absence of GC representation at his funeral service may point to a falling out with Daniells). See "Obituaries," *ARH* 81, no. 52 (Dec. 29, 1904): 23.

[28]There is no authoritative biography of Spicer but see Godfrey T. Anderson, *Spicer: Leader with the Common Touch* (Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1983), which does draw on Spicer's correspondence. There are no biographies of Evans or Knox. See E. D. Dick, "Death of Elder I. H. Evans," *ARH* 122, no. 49 (Dec. 6, 1945): 24; H. A. Morrison, "I. H. Evans," *ARH* 122, no. 51 (Dec. 20, 1945): 1, 20, 23; C. H. Watson, "Death of Elder W. T. Knox," *ARH* 108, no. 48 (Nov. 26, 1931): 24; and A. G. Daniells, "Elder W. T. Knox," *ARH* 108, no. 51 (Dec. 17, 1931): 1, 21.

[29]"Informal Minority Council of General Conference Committee", [morning] Oct. 17, 1902, in GCC Proceedings (GC Ar., RG 1), vol. V, p. 115a.

[30]For Ellen White's critical view, see Oliver, *SDA organizational structure*, 133n.

[31]Thirty-Fifth Session, 23rd meeting, April 11, 1903, *GCB* 5, 13 (April 14, 1903): 195. For instances of continuing "Mission Board" usage, see Daniells to Conradi, June 24, 1904, and Daniells to Spicer, June 14, 1906, Presidential Outgoing Letters, GC Ar., RG 11, boxes 144–45 and 147–48, Letterbook no. 34, p. 196, and Letterbook no. 38, p. 938.

[32]There is no comprehensive study of this process but Bauer, "Congregational and Mission Structures" (cited in #19, above), is a key work that explores a number of the relevant issues.

[33]E.g., A. G. Daniells, "The Southern Union Conference," *ARH* 79, 5 (Feb. 4, 1902): 75; A. T. Jones, speech to thirty-fifth GC Session, 19th meeting, Apr. 9 (2 p.m.), 1903, in GCB 5 (Apr. 10, 1903): 154; A. G. Daniells, "The Canadian Union Conference," *ARH* 81, no. 42 (Oct. 20, 1904): 17; cf. Willie White's speech to the 1903 Session, cited below (n. 36).

[34]E.g., *Manual for Missionary Appointees: Issued by the General Conference Committee of Seventh-day Adventists* (the Mission Board of Seventh-day Adventists) (1927).

[35]A. G. Daniells, tribute to Smith, in *ARH* 80, no. 10 (Mar. 10, 1903): 4.

[36]W. C. White, Speech at the Thirty-Fifth Session, 19th meeting, April 9 (2 p.m.), 1903, *GCB* 5, no. 10 (April 10, 1903): 158.

[37]E.g., see Daniells to Andross, June 12, 1906 (cited in n. 1, above); GCC Council (in Gland, Switzerland), May 16 [p.m.], 1907, GCC Proceedings, VII, 291–94 ("discontinued" at p. 291). For the background (but a slightly cynical view of Daniells's motivations), see George Knight, *Organizing for Mission and Growth: The Development of Adventist Church Structure*, 2nd ed. (Hagerstown, MD: *Review & Herald*, 2006), pp. 134–35.

[38]A. W. Spalding, *Christ's Last Legion: A History of Seventh-day Adventists, Covering the Years 1901–1948* (Washington, DC: Review & Herald Publishing, 1949), p. 491; SDAE, I, 460–61.

[39]M. E. Kern, "The Secretary's Report." *ARH* 113, no. 24, *General Conference Report*, no. 3 (May 31, 1936): 59.

[40]The date of the creation of the Statistical Secretary's position is unclear. According to *SDAE*, II, 702, Harvey Edson Rogers, who had been statistical clerk from 1901, was appointed Statistical Secretary in 1905. Certainly both his appointment and that of Estella Houser as Home Secretary were voted by GCC on June 5, 1905, which also voted to "release . . . Professor Bland" from the "assistant treasurership" and to call Harvey A. Morrison to that post (GCC Proceedings [GC Ar., RG 1], VII, 24). Yet Rogers, Houser, and W. T. Bland were all listed in the previous year's *Yearbook*, by the titles voted in 1905, as the "appointed assistants" to the three officers (*Yearbook 1904*, p. 11). The most likely explanation is that the officers (rather than GCC) made these appointments in 1904 and they were retrospectively formalized by the GCC (except in the case of Morrison, who decided to remain at Union College—the position of Assistant Treasurer was not revived until the 1919 GC Session (see n. 42, below).

41Yearbook 1913, p. 5, *Yearbook* 1916, p. 5. A position of Assistant Secretary for Europe had been created in 1908 (GCC, Spring Council, April 22, 1908, GCC Proceedings [GC Ar., RG 1], VII, 469; it is listed in the *Yearbook* for that year (1908 p. 10) and up to the 1913 edition. However, this official was based at the European Division headquarters and was in effect the predecessor of a division secretary, rather than the later Assistant Secretary in GC Secretariat; indeed, he appears in the *Yearbook* under the European Division as Secretary after 1913, reflecting the reforms made to church structure at that year's Session (*Yearbook 1914*, p. 93).

[42]Thirty-Ninth Session, 16th meeting, April 10 (p.m.), 1918, *GCB* 8, 11 (Apr. 12, 1918): 162– 63; cf. *Yearbook 1919*, pp. 5, 264. The Assistant Treasurer position was also created at the 1918 Session, also an officer position (unlike the short-lived 1904 predecessor). However, a "Second Assistant Treasurer" was one of the "Appointed Assistants" and both positions were filled not at the Session but at the Autumn Council that followed: see GCC, Autumn Council, Oct. 14 (9 a.m. and 5 p.m.), 1919, GCC Proceedings (GC Ar., RG 1), XI, pt. ii, 433–34, 441; *Yearbook 1920*, p. 6.

[43]Meyers was appointed by the GCC in April 1920 but he had first to be released by the Australasian Union Conference and then travel to the USA; while Australian leaders forecast that he would arrive in Washington, DC in January 1921, he disembarked at San Francisco, Feb. 22, 1921 and did not arrive in Washington, DC, until late March. See GCC, meetings of Apr. 5 and June 27, 1920, and March 21, 1921 (the first meeting at which Meyers is listed "present" with the addition: "Just in from Australia"). GCC Proceedings (GC Ar., RG 1), XI, pt. ii, pp. 680, 757 and pt. iii, p. 1006; *Yearbook 1921*, p. 6; and Meyers's naturalization petition, Oct. 28, 1928, US National Archives and Records Administration, RG 21, NAI no. 654310, *Federal Naturalization Records, 1795–1931* [database on-line] (Lehi, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, 2016): https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/61200/007797160-00544?pid=15775. Uniquely (for an Associate or Assistant Secretary), J. L. Shaw later became GC Treasurer: see obituary, *ARH* 129, no. 35 (Aug. 28, 1952): 22.

[44]Fortieth Session, 26th meeting, May 28 (p.m.), 1922, in "Twenty-Sixth Meeting," *ARH* 99, no. 29, "General Conference Special," no. 9 (June 22, 1922): 30.

[45]Forty-First Session, 4th and 15th meetings, May 30 (a.m.) and June 3 (a.m.), 1926, in "General Conference Reports," *ARH* 103, no. 23 (May 31, 1926): 8, and no. 26 (June 4, 1926): 12; cf. *Yearbook 1927*, p. 321.

[46]Presidential address, in *ARH* 82, no. 19 (11 May 1905): 9.

[47]W. W. Prescott, "Editorial," *ARH* 84, no. 38 (Sept. 19, 1907): 3.

[48]W. A. Spicer, "I Know Whom I Have Believed," *ARH* 107, no. 37 (June 26, 1930): 3.

[49]W. A. Spicer, "Literature for India," *ARH* 76, no. 33 (Aug. 15, 1899): 18.

[50]W. A. Spicer, "From India," *ARH* 77, no. 7 (Feb. 13, 1900): 11–12.

[51]Spicer, speech to the thirty-fifth Session, 8th meeting, April 2 (a.m.), 1903, *GCB 5*, 5 (Apr.
3, 1903): 65.

[52]Meyers was born in Calcutta: see his 1928 naturalization petition (n. 43, above) and listing in the 1930 US Census, Takoma Park, MD, Roll 877, p. 3B, District 0034, microfilm 2340612, in *1930 United States Federal Census* [database on-line] (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, 2002), https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/6224/4606974_00327 ?pid=105510765. Meyers resigned in 1933 (see GCC, Annual Council, Oct. 1 7, 1933, GCC Proceedings [GC Ar., RG 1], XIV, iv, 1068) and was so completely forgotten that he has no *SDAE* entry.

[53]Kern had been the first Missionary Volunteer Department Secretary, 1907 to 1930, when he was elected GC Associate Secretary; in 1936, E. D. Dick became Secretary and Kern became President of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary: see Kern's obituary, *ARH* 139, no. 8 (Feb. 22, 1962): 21; *SDAE*, I, 863–64; and, for his election as Secretary, GCC, Annual Council, Oct. 22, 1933, GCC Proceedings (GC Ar., RG 1), XIV, iv, 1097.

[54]Calculated from *ASR* 1931.

[55]Kern, "Report," p. 59.

[56]Ibid., p. 60.

[57]"Council adjourns Saturday evening for public movie!" *Battle Creek Enquirer*, Oct. 20, 1932, p. 16. The subheader summarizes: "World traveler [i.e., Meyers] who convinced Adventists of value of educational films to give lecture at Sanitarium Union." A few months later, the GCC voted to authorize him to spend time in New York City "in work on his Ethiopian film" (perhaps on the soundtrack and/or editing): GCC, May 29, 1933, GCC Proceedings (GC Ar., RG 1), XIV, iii, 987.

[58]See Kern, "Report," pp. 60–61.

[59]GCC, July 20, 1936, GCC Proceedings (GC Ar., RG 1), XV, i, 37. GC Officers meeting, March 11, 1938, Officers Minutes, p. 2608 (and *cf*. meeting of Oct. 19, 1938, ibid., p. 2992); South American Division Executive Board, Dec. 18, 1938, in SAD Executive Committee Minutes (GC Ar., RG SA1), II, 1484–85 (quotation at p. 1484).

[60]See *SDAE*, II, 1–2 (McElhany) and on Dick (who, like Meyers, has no *SDAE* entry), see C. O. Franz, "Former GC Secretary Dies," *ARH*, 154, no. 31 (Aug. 4, 1977): 23; and the longer life sketch in *ARH*, 154, no. 48 (Dec. 1, 1977): 23.

[61]T. J. Michael to A. G. Zytkoskee, 13 Aug. 1942, GC Ar., RG 21, missionary appointee file no. 29973.

[62]GCC meeting, July 9, 1942, GCC Proceedings (GC Ar., RG 1), XVI, ii, 507.

[63]D. J. B. Trim, "Seventh-day Adventist Mission in the Middle East" (Office of Archives and Statistics; Report, January 2011), pp. 28–29.

[64]D. J. B. Trim, "Adventist Mission in China in Historical Perspective" (Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research; Report, April 2015), p. 12.

[65]Beach unquestionably played crucial roles in decision-making processes during Figuhr's presidency and in Pierson's first term (at which point Beach retired), but, again, there is no biography. For brief views of his life and significance, see "Former GC Secretary dies," ARH 171, no. 1 (Jan. 6, 1994): 6; "Beach," *North Pacific Union Conference Gleaner*, 89, no. 2 (Jan. 17, 1994): 24; and "Beach, Walter R." *Pacific Union Recorder* 94, no. 13 (Sept. 5, 1994): 29.

[66]Committee on Appointees, April 15, 1965: report of *ad hoc* "Committee on Procedures in Recruiting," and accompanying actions, in Committee on Appointees Minutes (GC Ar., RG 21), 1965–66: 1544.

[67]Ibid., point no. 5.

[68]Staff Meeting, May 4, 1981, GC Ar., RG 21, Minutes 1981: 90 (emphasis supplied).

[69]GCC, Oct. 11, 1983, GC Ar., RG 1, GCC Minutes 1983: 359.

[70]D. J. B. Trim, "Adventist Church Growth and Mission Since 1863: An Historical–Statistical Analysis." *Journal of Adventist Mission Studies* 8, no. 2 (2012): 51–74; and see fig. 1, p. 9, above.

[71]G. T. Ng, "Mission on Autopilot," in *Encountering God in Life and Mission: A Festschrift Honoring Jon L. Dybdahl*, ed. R. Maier (Berrien Springs, MI: Department of World Mission, Andrews University, 2010), pp. 203–24.

[72]Ibid., p. 203.

[73]Wagner Kuhn, "Adventist Theological-Missiology: Contextualization in Mission and Ministry." *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 27 (2016): 186–87.

[74]See ibid., p. 180; Ng, "Mission on Autopilot"; Marcelo Dias and Wagner Kuhn, "Adventist Mission: From Awareness to Engagement—Part 2," *Ministry* 87, no. 9 (2015): 23–26.

[75]Ng, "Mission on Autopilot," p. 221.
[76]Ellen G. White, Letter 8, 1896 (Feb. 6, 1896), p. 6; published in *Testimonies to Ministers and Gospel Workers* (1923), p. 397.
[77]Secretariat Staff Meeting, June 1, 1983, GC Ar., RG 21, Minutes 1983: 96.

D. J. B. Trim is Director of Archives, Statistics, and Research at the Seventh-day Adventist Church world headquarters. His PhD is from the University of London (2003) and he is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

D. J. B. Trim

Foreign Missionary Program of the Seventh-day Adventist Church

Introduction

This article presents a concise history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church's foreign missionary program, which would be true even of the full version: I have written rather more than can be presented even in the generous allocation of length. However, the exercise of elaborating the history has allowed me to identify, I hope, the key points. Even a longer history is far from a complete history of what A. G. Daniells, 111 years ago, called the Adventist "mission enterprise."[1] But as my team and I came to realize in doing the research for this history, the volume of documentation in the General Conference (GC) Archives (much less other collections) means that writing a truly comprehensive history is at least conceivable. This article presents sketches, or outline histories, albeit anchored in the original sources. Something that is omitted from both the longer history and from my two articles are stories of the men and women who served the church in foreign climes and cultures. I hope that IPRS will commission a study of Adventist missionaries, drawing on each appointee's file; which is something I have discussed with secretariat, which would yield rich insights that could improve our systems, but would also make it possible to tell the story of mission service from the missionaries' point of view.

These two articles give the perspective of the world headquarters. Although not as exciting as the stories of missionaries, denominational infrastructure is the indispensable foundation of missionary service.

The two articles are not wholly distinct; they are two chapters of one long study, connected by GC Secretariat. They overlap and intersect, but the reason they can ultimately be separated is that, as noted in the second article, Secretariat's role in planning, strategizing, promoting, and recruiting for, mission, something with which we are all familiar today, has not been a constant. However, that is for the second article. This article, which will touch on multiple aspects of the mission enterprise, will focus on foreign missionaries. G. T. Ng asked me earlier this year whether the current priorities of the ISE program are the same as those who founded its antecedent. I think he felt instinctively that the answer was no. In this presentation, I will share with you firm evidence that confirms that hunch. Priorities *have* changed.

The changes are connected to the changing priorities within GC Secretariat, which will be described in the second paper. But just to foreshadow, planning, strategizing, and promoting missions was downgraded, and fostering sound administration and policing policy was prioritized. We might call this, if a little unkindly, the bureaucratization of Secretariat, but as I will show in this paper, there was a largely contemporaneous and, in essential ways, a similar trend what sort of missionaries were funded, recruited and deployed: the missionary program in other words also bureaucratized and, moreover, medicalized, technologized, and specialized. Initially, its primary focus was on sending workers into all the world to preach and to teach (the great commission as given in Mark 16:15 and Matthew 28:20), with a secondary emphasis on supplying the needs of institutions. But there was a shift to a primary focus on finding and dispatching specialized administrators—technocrats and ecclesiastical bureaucrats—to work in institutions and organizations. This is of course a legitimate, even a worthy goal, but it is right to question whether it ought to be the primary objective of the denomination's cross-cultural mission program. Certainly it represents a significant shift.

A change in purpose is not always a bad thing; the world changes, and if organizations do not evolve they may die. Mission creep, however, can end up sapping an organization's very *raison d'être*. In the case of the IDE/ISE program, our shift in emphasis from working with people in order to make disciples, to protecting and perfecting administrative and institutional infrastructures, is one that would have taken our pioneers aback; it should also give us, at the very least, pause for significant reflection: in what direction do we take the church's missionary program in the future?

What Is a Missionary?

A significant part of this paper is based on statistics. One might say it is a mix of quantitative and qualitative analysis. The reason is that we have important data on missionaries for part but not the whole of our history. It will be helpful to clarify a few points about our missionary statistics, points that most, but probably not all, will be aware of.

The key metric for most of our foreign missionary program history was the annual number of "missionaries dispatched," that is, the total of new appointees (a term officially adopted in 1910),[2] sent out to the mission field. Why no count was kept of the number of missionaries in service, which on the face of it appears more important, is something I have never seen addressed (though I suspect it reflects the fact that up to the 1950s most missionaries served a long time so that monitoring fluctuations in the total in field may have seemed unnecessary). The GC only began reporting the annual total of IDEs in service in 1997,[3] and early this century GC Secretariat did a retrospective assessment of numbers "in field" back to 1979.[4] Starting then, we have statistics for the number of missionaries currently serving each year. For the main GC missionary metric, new missionaries or IDEs appointed, we have reliable annual figures from 1901 to the present (figure 1).

I must confess a *mea culpa* here. In ASTR we had thought we had statistics going back to 1874 but research for this project has revealed many errors.[5]

In addition, we have some information on where missionaries were called from and the type of work they were called to do. Some of this data was retrospectively compiled by Secretariat: one, report, prepared for the secretary's report to the 1970 GC Session, gives breakdowns of the annual totals of new missionary appointees, by division of origin, for 1958 through 1969.[6] A report prepared in the early 1980s gives annual breakdowns of the types of work missionaries were being sent to carry out for 1946 to 1980. The figures are incomplete, but constitute a large enough sample that the proportions can be assumed to be roughly accurate.[7] From 1998 on we have annual reports that include detailed classifications of the type of work IDEs were called to do as well as the divisions they were called to and from. Finally, we have what seems to be reliable statistics for the annual totals of appointees from NAD from 1903, but thereafter it was updated regularly.[8] By extrapolation, this gives us the figures for total non-NAD origin appointees from 1903 up to the present.

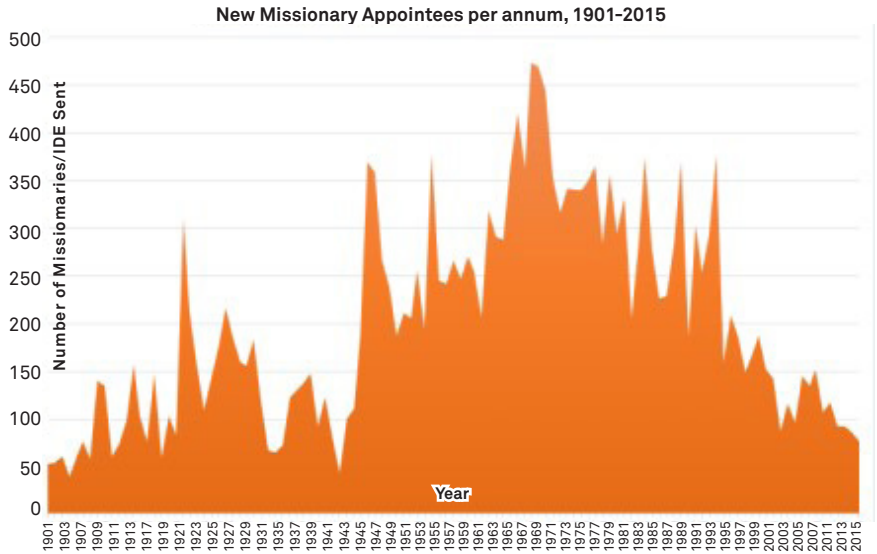


Figure 1

When I say that we have "reliable statistics" for certain periods, however, what are they statistics of? When I say, for example, that we have annual totals of new missionaries, who was or is regarded as a missionary? In other words, what was being counted? This is not only a question relevant for statistics; since we are looking at the history of Seventh-day Adventist Church's foreign missionary program, what are we actually talking about? Over the 143 years since the denomination dispatched John Andrews abroad, are we comparing apples with apples?

The Adventist Church only formally defined those working in its mission enterprise a century after Andrews sailed for Europe.[9] Everybody evidently knew what a missionary was, so why define it? Of the two formal definitions of a missionary adopted in the last 43 years, neither can simply be applied retrospectively. The definition of "interdivisional employee," adopted in 1974, cannot be applied before 1909 and arguably not until after the 1918 GC Session when divisions took on something like their present form. The definition adopted in 2013, "a denominational worker serving in a foreign country," cannot be easily applied to our history, for reasons that will become clear in a moment.

It is notable that, in official terminology, "missionary" has not been used for much of our history. For example, the *1925 Annual Statistical Report (ASR)* was the first to report statistics on missionaries, but the title of the relevant table was "Laborers Sent to Foreign Fields." Its title was changed the following year to "Evangelistic Laborers Sent to Foreign Fields," changed again in 1941 to "Workers Sent to Foreign Fields" and, in 1958, to "Workers Sent to Mission Fields." In 1975, after the adoption of the terminology of "IDE," the table was entitled "Regular new workers accepting calls outside the home division," which is absolute bureaucratese, but at least precisely describes what was being counted. In 1998, it became more briefly but even more blandly titled "International Deployment of Personnel" table (which did not include anything like all denominational personnel deployed internationally, making it a little misleading as well as boring). Back in the 1930s the forms would-be missionaries completed were for "workers in . . . mission fields," not missionaries.

Why the absence of the iconic term "missionary"? By the 1970s there were cultural and political reasons (see p. 91). Fifty years earlier, I suspect it is because church leaders liked to stress that there were home missionaries as well as foreign missionaries; in the 1920s when the designation "Laborers sent to foreign fields" was adopted, the Home Missionary Bureau was easily the largest at the GC in terms of number of staff.[10] It is likely, then, that a desire not to lessen the importance of "home missionaries" is why official terminology stressed service outside one's homeland or in a mission field.

In practice, though, Adventists talked and wrote about missionaries all the time for much of the twentieth century, even if not in official forms. In the absence of a formal definition for the period up to 1975, we have to try to deduce in hindsight what Adventists understood "missionaries" to be. Fortunately, it is possible to identify, from practice, a working definition.

Definition in the 1870s was easy: a missionary was someone sent overseas from the United States. Thanks to missionaries, however, the church first created, and then recruited from, new Adventist heartlands outside the original North American homeland. By the first decade of the twentieth century, if not earlier, British, European, Australian, and white South African workers were engaged in what Adventist editors, writers, and church leaders, all described, at the time and since, as missionary service. As early as 1908, missionaries from outside North America exceeded those from North America, though this would not be repeated again for another thirty years (see figure 2).

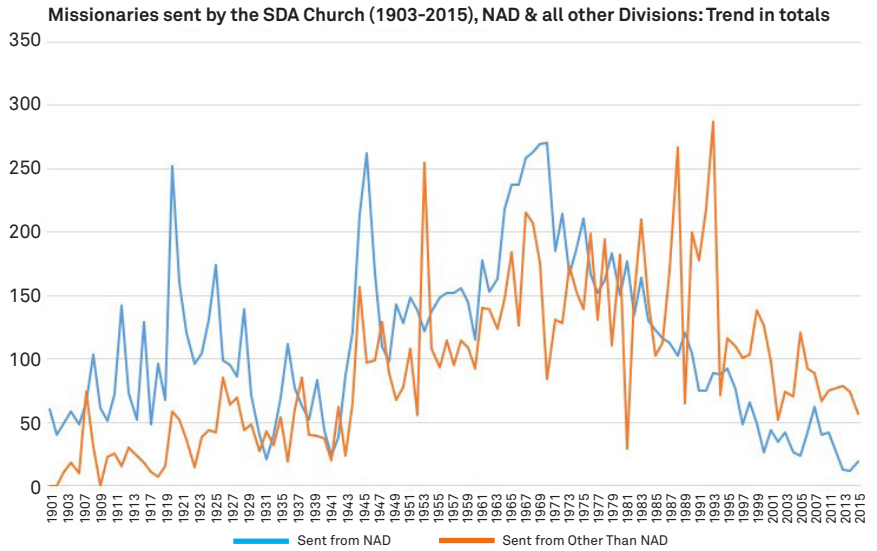


Figure 2

Thereafter, "foreign" could no longer mean outside the USA. But a foreign missionary could not simply be described as *any* "laborer" working a country foreign to him. For example, in the 1890s or early 1900s, a Dane working in Sweden or a German in Switzerland apparently did not count as a missionary, and neither did a US citizen working in Canada. But a German in the Middle East or a Swede in Africa did; at least early on, a Dane pastoring in Finland or a French pastor in Portugal were counted as missionaries, too. That seems to have been because Finland and Portugal were initially termed missions—yet an American or Canadian working in Germany, Scandinavia or Britain also counted as a missionary even after they ceased to be regarded as mission fields. The term, "mission field" is another that Adventists never formally defined. In practice, it meant more than an organizational unit with the title of mission: by the 1920s, regions clearly regarded as mission fields included conferences. Still if we accept that the term "mission field" was only loosely defined, then it is possible to identify a working definition of "missionary" for roughly the first hundred years of denominational mission outside North America. A "missionary" was an American working *anywhere* outside North America, or anyone else serving in a foreign country, *if* it was a mission field; and in either case, it was a person whose call to serve went through the General Conference Committee.

This, in sum, is what the statistics starting in 1901 count. When later in this article I refer to statistics on "missionaries," I mean, up to 1974, missionaries according to this working definition; and from 1975 onwards, I mean IDEs. In fact, this working definition continued to be broadly applicable even after the adoption of the terminology of IDE (on which see p. 91). In practice, probably most people who had been counted as "Workers Sent to Mission Fields" would have been counted as IDEs and vice-versa, so that the change would not have had much direct impact on missionary statistics.

There were exceptions. For example, church leaders from other countries called to the General Conference were often not classed as "sent to mission fields" but from 1975 have regularly been classified as IDEs. In recent years, former mission field divisions such as those in Africa and Asia are making greater use than in the past of expatriate, but intra-divisional (even intra-union), workers who have not counted as IDEs, but might have been counted as missionaries in the old days—but then, in the old days, mission fields were more likely to call Westerners to serve as missionaries than to make use of national workers in regional foreign mission fields. Moreover, during the five decades that the three European divisions incorporated African mission fields, calls to church workers to appointments within those division were frequently (though not invariably) made via the General Conference; more recently, EUD and TED used interdivision budgets for intra-divisional workers in the Middle East (and they are not alone in this kind of usage). All this points to the persistence, in practice, of the old informal definition, in spite of the adoption of a new formal definition that should in theory have changed things. Similar practices continued.

It is right to acknowledge that the statistics we have from 1901 can only be broadly, rather than entirely, consistent. Given the period and the lack of firm definitional criteria, there will be some workers counted as missionaries in the past who would not be now and vice versa. However, these would have been exceptions and would not affect the trends revealed by the statistics of the large number of "missionaries" as defined above.

It is also the case that we cannot say that statistics for the Adventist Church's official mission enterprise represents the entire missionary effort of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Only since 2013 have intra-divisional missionaries in foreign countries been included in missionary statistics; in the first year of new style reporting (2014), divisions reported 415 of these in service worldwide, which suggests their importance. As noted above,

however, there is reason to believe that their numbers have increased recently, with less use made of Westerners in several divisions. The many workers from Australia and New Zealand who since 1901 have served in mission fields in the Pacific island nations were all processed by the Australasian Union Conference (and later by the South Pacific Division), and never appear in GC records unless they later went to other continents. From the early twentieth century until as late as the 1960s, some British and European missionaries sent to East Africa were processed through the Northern European Division (NED), or even the British Union, and thus they never crossed the GC's statistical horizon. However, as already noted, many sent to the NED's African territories from its European territories *were* called through the GC, even though they went within their own division. In all these cases, the numbers involved for most of our history were relatively small. The statistics included in this report thus represent the majority of Adventists working in mission fields, so that the trends that emerge from the statistics can be taken as indicative of overall, world-Church trends in support for missionaries.

In sum, having acknowledged appropriate caveats, we have established what Adventists, in practice, understood "missionaries" to be. The Adventist understanding of missionary is consistent enough to allow evidence to be drawn from across the period as a whole, and still be comparing "apples with apples." It allows us to use, with appropriate caution, the statistics for GC missionaries since 1901. They have limitations but can be used to indicate trends in the Adventist mission enterprise.

Organization, Inter-faith Outreach, and Inter-church Relations

The administrative structures within which the Adventist Church's foreign missionary program has operated have been very complicated. A whole series of committees and entities, with their own various lines of command, overlapping as well as sequential, have been responsible and/or exercised oversight over the last 150 years.

Because of the complexity, the committees and entities relating to calling missionaries and to setting strategy and policy are illustrated in figure 3 (next page); the committees and other entities dedicated to travel, logistics and other financial support at illustrated in figure 4.

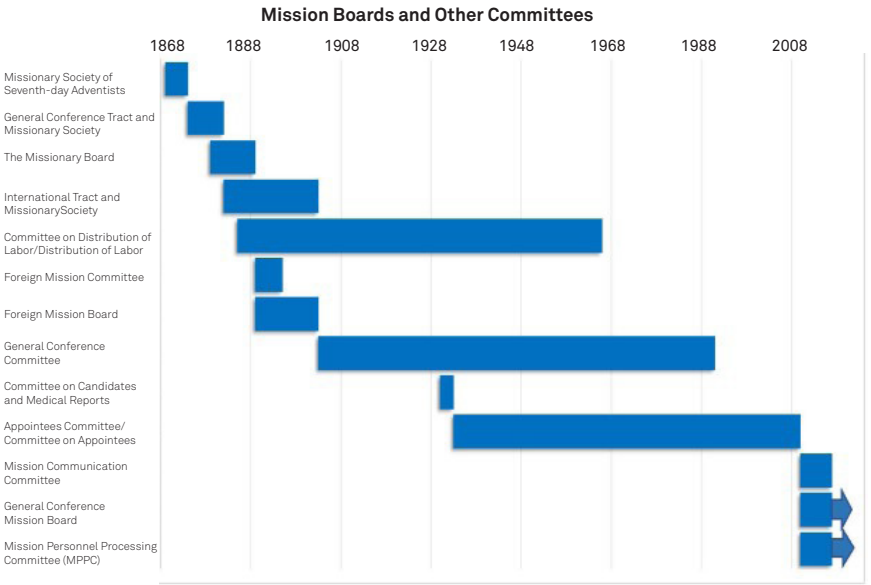


Figure 3. Missionary Committees/Entities Timeline

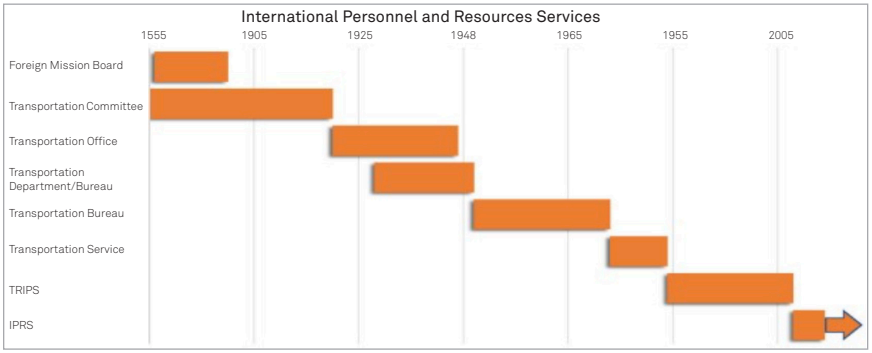


Figure 4. Travel and Logistics Committees/Entities Timeline

Other Christians and World Religions

What was the purpose of the Adventist Church's missionary program? Unsurprisingly, it evolved over time. As Barry Oliver observes, the "main objective" of the Adventist Church's "missionary endeavor" in its early decades was "the establishment of missionary outposts in societies whose cultural background was similar to that of the missionaries who left the shores of North America."11 Mission, then, was aimed at "people like us,"

who had not heard of "present truth." The situation in the 1890s was captured by William A. Spicer, secretary of the Foreign Mission Board in the early 1890s, missionary leader in India in the late 1890s, GC secretary from 1903-22 and then president until 1930. On retiring, he reminded delegates to the 1930 General Conference Session that, forty years before:

> We didn't have much of an idea of going to the heathen. We didn't expect to go in any really strong way. We never expected to go to the Catholic countries. We thought: We will get a few along the edges, and the Lord will come; but the Lord all the time had in mind this purpose, of calling the heathen, of calling through all the Catholic lands for His people to come.[12]

In the early twentieth century, this changed. This was due not least to Ellen White, who penned a series of testimonies emphasizing mission to adherents of non-Christian religions. She wanted nominal Christians in Western countries to hear full biblical truth, but as her life went on, she looked beyond what contemporaries saw as "civilized countries." She directed Adventist attention to the heartlands of animism and of what today we call world religions.[13] It also, however, owed something to leaders like Spicer, who had worked for Hindus in India, and Irwin H. Evans, who, after six years as GC treasurer (1903-9) then served as the first president of the Asiatic Division, where indigenous Christian groups were tiny and Buddhism, Shintoism, and Confucianism were major challenges.[14]

In the early 1900s, Adventist missionaries were going in increasing numbers to Africa, where they evangelized adherents of traditional religions, and to China and Southeast Asia, where they engaged with members of rival world religions. In India and the Middle East, to be sure, they largely targeted indigenous Christians, but they were still engaging with very different cultures. The situation of the late nineteenth century, described by Oliver, had shifted significantly. Under Spicer, Adventist mission became cross-cultural before that term was even coined.

By 1917, SDAs were regarded as so expert in mission to the non-Christian world that a leading interdenominational body, the Board of Missionary Preparation, asked the GC Secretariat for advice. Secretariat also had cordial relations with the nondenominational Missionary Education Movement and sent a representative to the meetings of the World Christian Fundamentals Association in order to be aware of its initiatives relating to mission.[15] Today, this might be seen as unusual or even suspicious, but early twentieth-century church leaders had few biases against working with other Christian missionary organizations. The Seventh-day Adventist Church sent two delegates to the celebrated 1910

World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, including Spicer, the GC secretary.[16] In both the 1936-37 and 1937-38 academic years, the first two academic years of the newly opened Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, at a time when the GC president regularly attended its Board, the Seminary had Samuel Zwemer, one of the best-known Protestant missionaries of the era and a distinguished scholar as well as missionary, give a series of three lectures to students—the lectures were subsequently published in *Ministry* magazine.[17] In the early 1940s, when the world church first began to look at specialized academic missionary training programs, GC leaders initially sent future missionary families "to attend the Kennedy School of Missions [at Hartford Seminary], in preparation for work among the Moslems," paying for Adventist pastors (and their wives) to study at what styled itself as "an interdenominational university of religion."[18] Whatever wider attitudes in the church may have been, the leaders of the Adventist mission enterprise, based in GC Secretariat were determined to cross cultural boundaries and in order to develop the competencies necessary to do so, they were willing to dialogue with other Christians.

Trends in Missionary Recruiting

The most significant trend in missionary recruiting can be summed up in a narrative of "rise and fall." As figure 5 shows, after the landmark 1901 reorganization (about which more will be in the second article) the number of mission appointees increased until World War I, then spiked again in 1920, before remaining buoyant for a decade until the coming of the Great Depression. In the first twenty years after the GC Committee replaced the Foreign Mission Board, the Adventist Church sent 2,257 "laborers to foreign fields." Even in the fifteen years from the start of the Great Depression until the end of World War II, there were 1,597 new appointees.

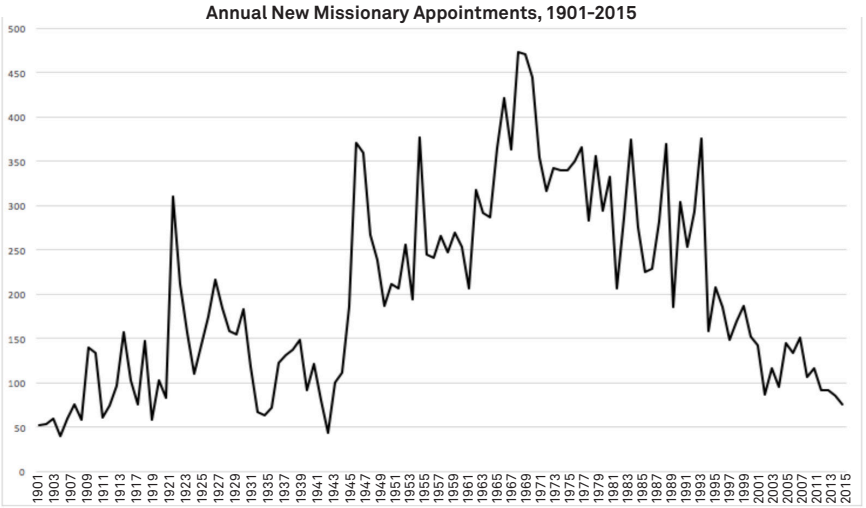


Figure 5

The following 25 years, culminating in 1970, were the golden age of the Adventist Church foreign missionary program. In that quarter-century, "Workers Sent to Mission Fields" totaled 7,385. Even during World War II, church leaders had boldly planned to make up for the inevitable recession during the war years, and they continued to build on success. However, 1969 and 1970 saw the highest and second highest numbers of new appointees in our history: 473 and 470 respectively. These two years were the apogee. Since then, the story has been one of decline. Figure 5 reveals considerable oscillation (annual fluctuations are inevitable), but the overall picture emerges more clearly in figure 6, which charts the annual number of new appointees using ten-year moving averages.

From the 1901 reorganization, there was a steady growth, checked only by the Great Depression and Second World War, followed by remarkable growth that plateaued at the end of the 1960s, since when there has been steep decline.

A similar story emerges from consideration of the numbers of missionaries *in service*, as opposed to new appointees. As noted above, there are annual totals of serving missionaries only starting in 1979 (see figure 7). Examining these statistics, one sees again that the middle and late 1980s and very early 1990s witnessed a sharp decline in the numbers of missionaries serving each year, but then the rest of the 1990s saw a minor revival and effective stability until the mid 2000s when, in common with the figures for new IDEs, a further decline began which continues to the present day.

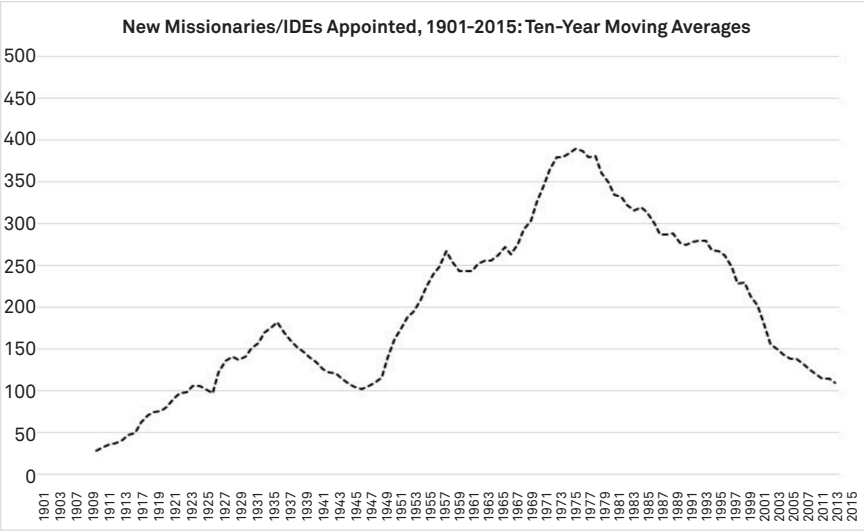


Figure 6

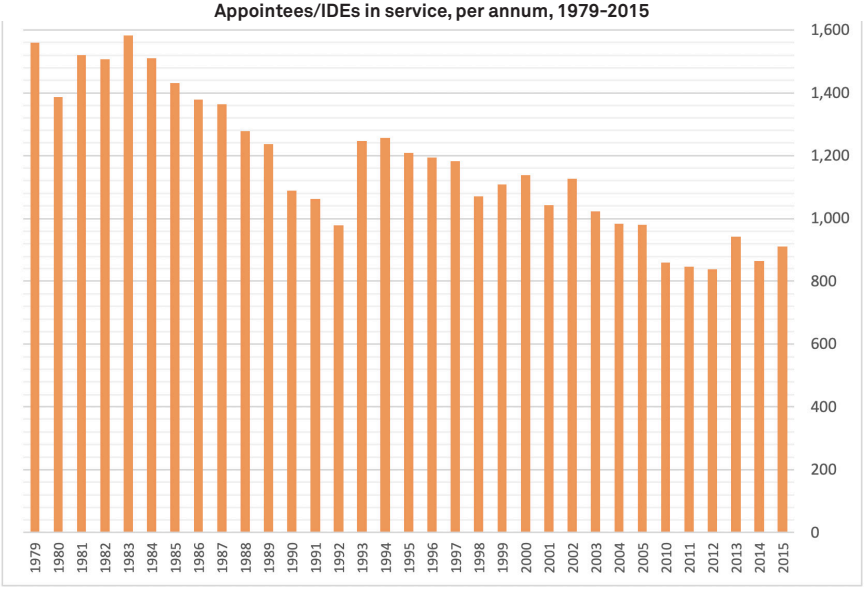


Figure 7

Furthermore, in the last 30 years volunteers have been a significant feature on the church's missionary landscape (see figure 8). In the last 20 years, in particular, the number of volunteers sent each year dramatically increased, and to some extent this makes up for the long-term decline in what today we call IDEs.[19]

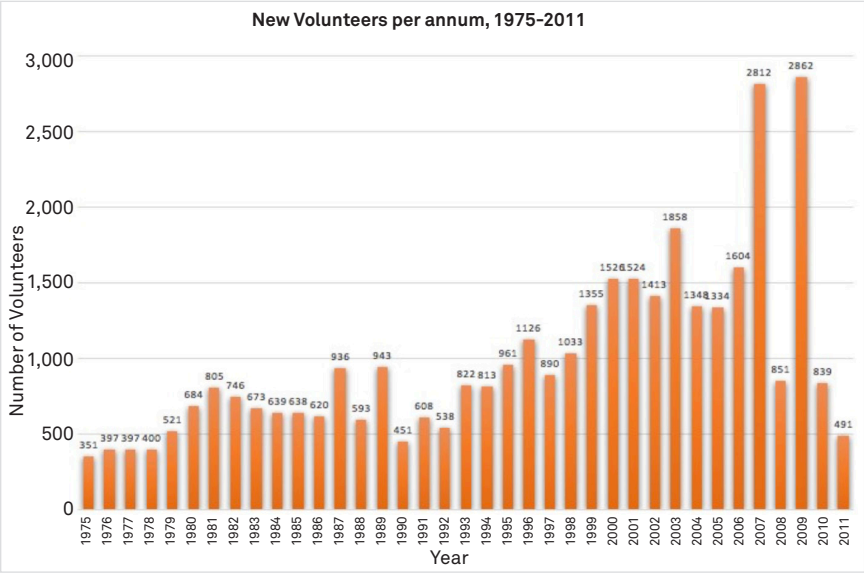


Figure 8

However, the majority of volunteers only serve for one year, whereas traditional missionaries went, and today's ISEs go, for several years, so one might need to send out four or five thousand volunteers to equal a thousand ISEs deployed. This is even apart from the fact that longer-term missionaries bring to bear considerably greater sensitivity and knowledge on the culture around them than do short-term volunteers. Thus, while the raw numbers of volunteers going out each year bear witness to a continuing interest in mission service among church members, and are welcome for that reason, they cannot make up for the decline in the numbers of long-term missionaries both sent out and maintained in the field. Indeed, we should be concerned by the extent to which, without any

real discussion among policy-makers, the church has allowed, by default, its mission program to rely on volunteers instead of long-term missionaries. Figure 9 shows the balance between new appointees/IDEs/ISEs on the one hand, and volunteers on the other, over a 55-year period from the late 1950s to 2013. In 1973, volunteers were more than half the total number of new missionaries for the first time but since then IDEs have never been as much as half; indeed, the last time they exceeded one in five was 1995.

The net decline in numbers of long-term missionaries is not the only thing that is an alarming trend. It is the fact that this decline has happened as the church has experienced dramatic growth. In the entire denomination, there is significantly less commitment now than in the past to the Adventist Church's foreign missionary program.

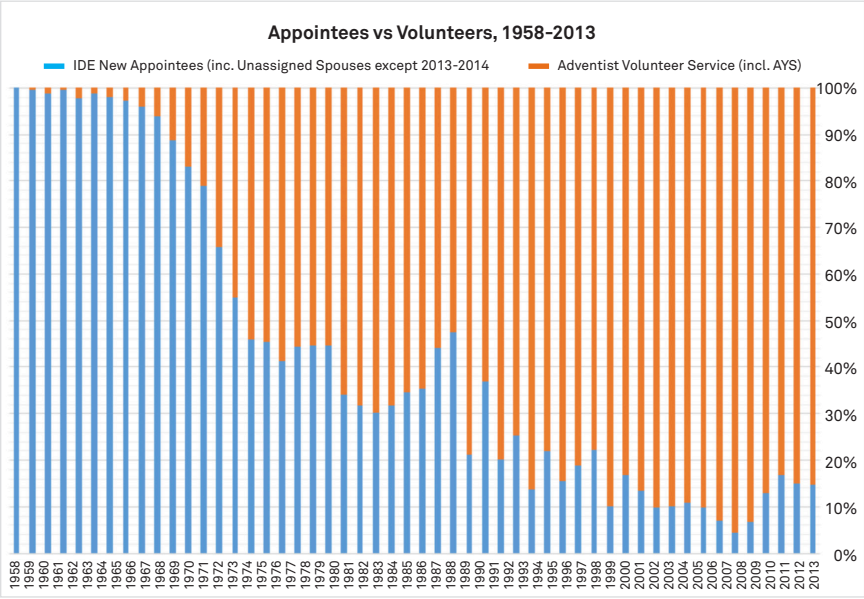


Figure 9

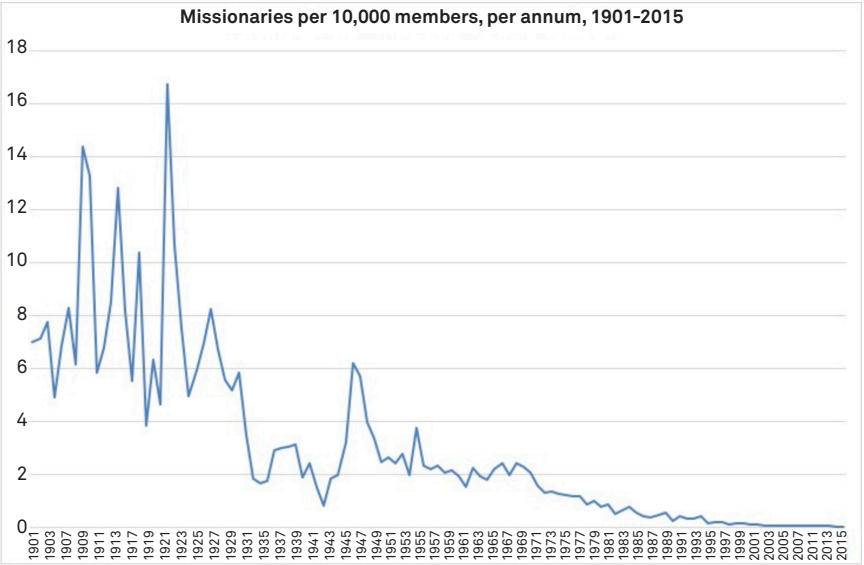


Figure 10

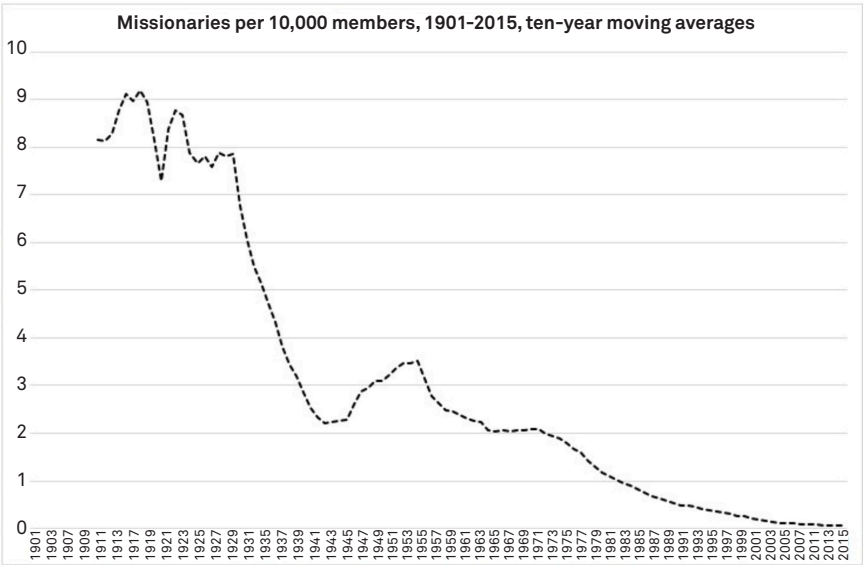


Figure 11

This is even more evident if one considers the trend in appointee numbers expressed as a ratio of missionaries per 10,000 members, as shown in figure 10. Looking at the figures thus, then one sees that the high point of

Adventist missionary *commitment* was in 1920, when there was a fraction over 16 missionaries for every 10,000 members, although there is still a spike in the figures in the immediate aftermath of World War II, reflecting the post-war mission expansion. In this case, again, due to the inevitable annual fluctuations, it is appropriate to view the data as ten-year moving averages (figure 11). The trend shown here only confirms the picture indicated by the annual figures. For more than 60 years the proportion of world Church resources committed to the foreign missionary program has been in decline.

If the main story is one of decline and fall, a second significant trend, and an encouraging one, is very considerable growth in the percentage of missionaries from outside NAD. The way in which missionaries from former (and even current) mission fields have taken on the burden of missionary work is evident in figure 12, which shows the trend in actual numbers of new appointees per annum from inside the NAD and from all other continents combined, for the time period 1903 through 2015. Even more revealing is the percentage split between NAD appointees and all non-NAD appointees in the same period (figure 13). This chart does not show actual numbers, which of course have declined overall, but it does highlight the extent to which missionaries from outside North America have increased in significance, now regularly providing twice or three times as many new appointees as the NAD.

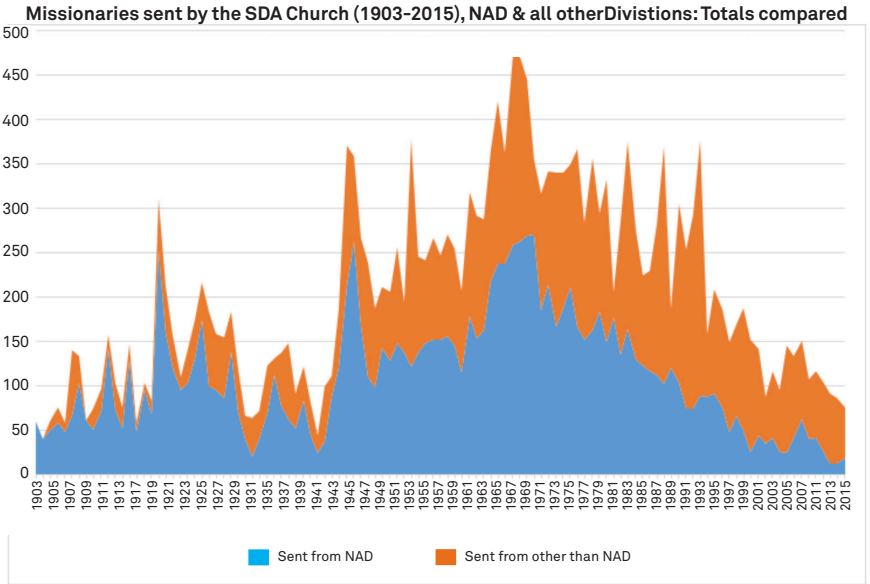


Figure 12

In sum, during the 1950s and 1960s, North American missionary recruitment was growing, helping feed the record numbers of appointees, and also was stable in terms of percentage. It is in recent years that the rest of the world has borne a greater share of the burden of recruiting for the denomination's missionary program.

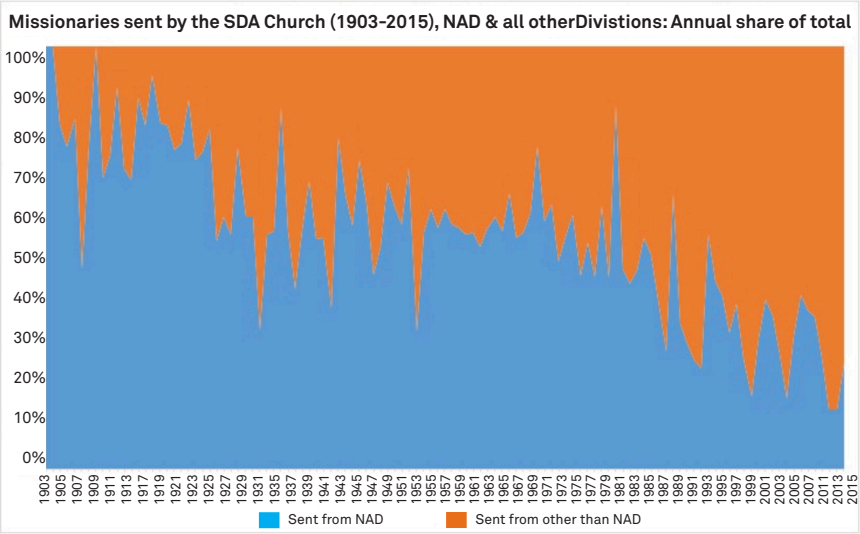


Figure 13

Trends in Missionary Employment

Having considered the trends in missionary recruiting, what do the data indicate about the work that missionaries do when in the field? In considering the trends in types of missionary employment, the first point to acknowledge is that one of the largest categories of employment (or non-employment) is in that of unassigned spouses (see figure 14). This data, as noted earlier, is incomplete but it is likely that the proportions are roughly correct. It is appropriate to acknowledge that the heyday of the foreign missionary program was only possible because of the willingness of many wives (and most were wives in this period) to sacrifice the potential of extra income and careers of their own.

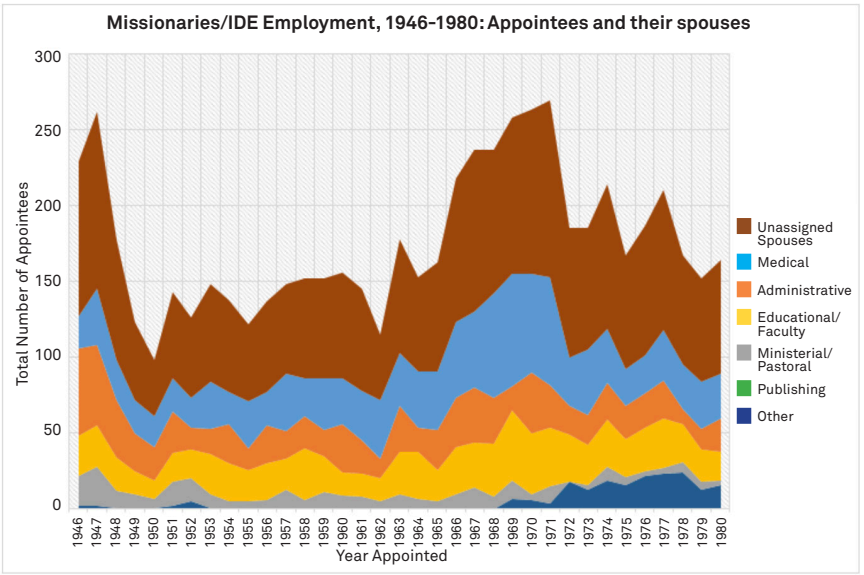


Figure 14

If we look, however, at the types of work appointees were called to perform, and performed, there has been a significant trend away from employing missionaries in front-line work, in soul winning. Of course, there are reasons for this: there is no need for American literature evangelists to work in Inter-America, South America, or the Philippines, which was the case in the early twentieth century. There is no need to call white missionary pastors or evangelists to Uganda or Tanzania (as was still happening in the 1960s) because there are local people who can do it, do it more cost effectively, and do it better. For that matter, whereas once missionaries would be conference and union presidents, now in most of the world that is increasingly unlikely (though the China Union provides an example). While missionaries *are* still called to division offices that means they have far less contact with the ordinary people of the areas in which they work than they would if they were a conference official—especially one in Africa or parts of Asia 60 years ago.

Therefore, we understand that the proportions of missionaries who will engage in soul-winning work is less than it once was. However, even beyond this trend, the story of the twentieth century was, I suggest, partly one of medicalization and bureaucratization. There is a range of evidence for this. First, there are the objective data of statistics, which illustrate both trends. There are also correspondence and minutes, but first notice the quantitative evidence and then at what might be termed the qualitative evidence of documents.

Statistical Evidence

As mentioned above, the statistical data on categories of employment for the period 1946-1980 was compiled retrospectively: the numbers for missionaries engaged in category of employment do not amount to the annual total of missionaries. It is likely that Secretariat could not find data for every appointee. Thus, these statistics are not complete, but they are a large enough sample from each year's pool of appointees that one can assume that the proportions are roughly accurate. These statistics are thus a reasonable guide to revealing trends.

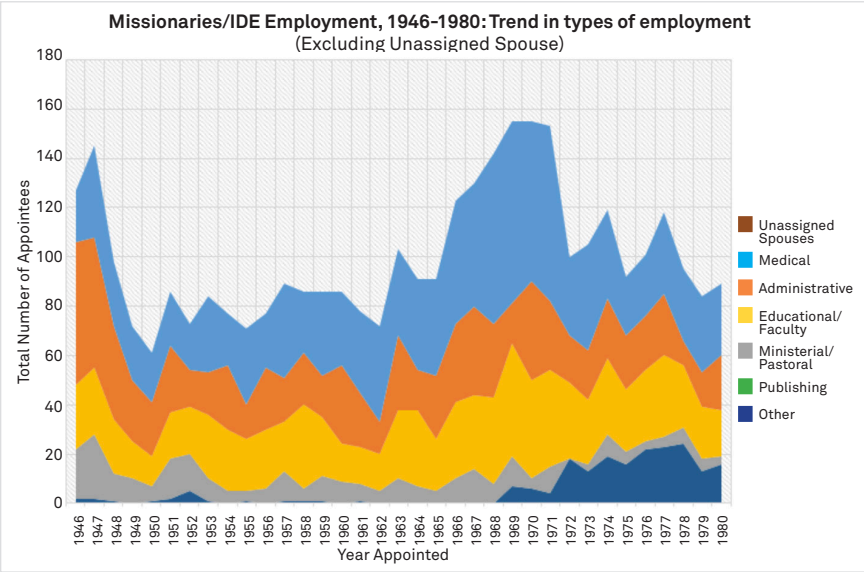


Figure 15

Figure 15, which shows actual numbers for 1946-1980, illustrates the increasing importance of medical employment in the 1960s and 1970s. This is underscored by figure 16, which calculates the percentage share of each category of employment for the 35 years in question. This illustrates clearly the importance of front-line evangelistic workers in the 1940s and early 1950s, and the way that category dwindled in the 1970s, even as employment in medical work loomed ever larger.

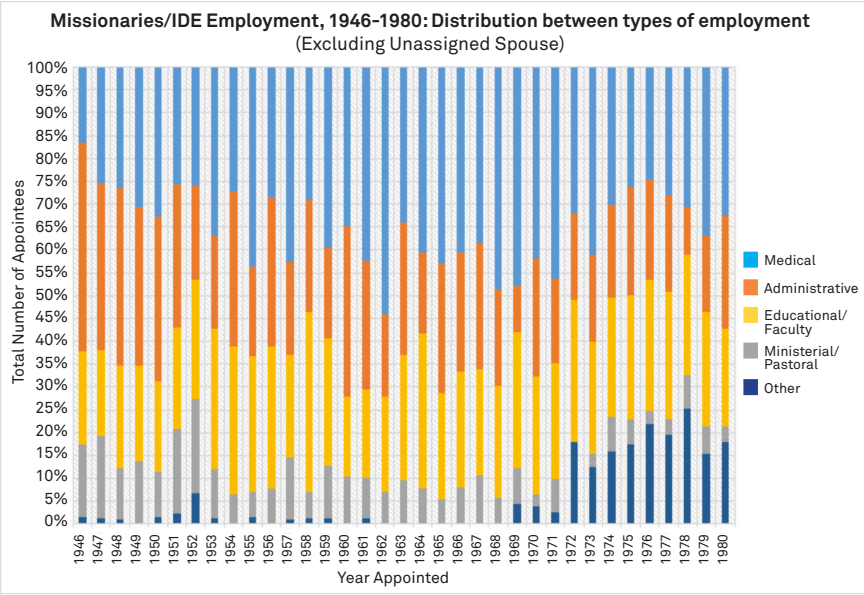


Figure 16

What of the last two decades? Figure 17, like figure 16, calculates the proportion engaged in each type of employment, though it should be noted that it has extra categories, because the detailed annual reports from which the statistics for 1998 to the present are taken allows the data to be broken down into extra occupational categories. There is a striking difference between the two periods—the share (of a diminishing pool of workers) engaged in health and medicine has not increased in the last twenty years; indeed, it decreased slightly. The huge area of growth since 1998 has been in general administrative employment and in education, though rather more so for faculty than for other staff. Pastoral and evangelistic workers do not lose much share, but they were starting from a very low bar, which does not improve at all.

What conclusions can be drawn from these statistical trends? There has been a trend towards (1) medicalization of missionary employment in the twenty years to *c.* 1980, (2) with the rise of for-profit Adventist education a well-educated workforce is needed, almost requiring an international workforce, and (3) because of the increasing importance of church bureaucracies, including, I suggest, the need for ever more specialized positions, not least being accountants who can meet GCAS standards and IT specialists, these positions have increased. These trends also emerge from the documentary evidence.

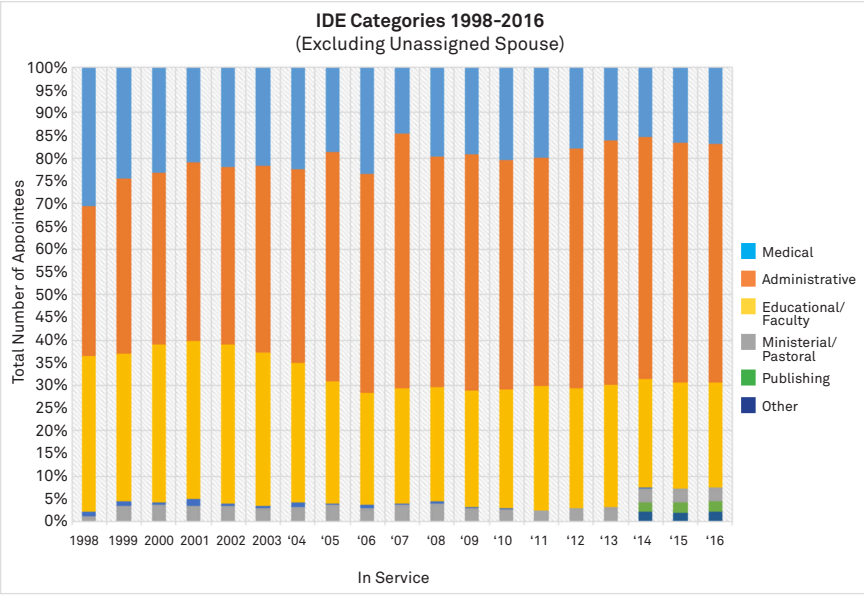


Figure 17

Medicalization

Medical missions were originally significantly evangelistic in nature. In the very early twentieth century, most Adventist medical "institutions" were clinics. This was true even of what later became hospitals but began in rather more humble fashion. Among the first missionary parties to many countries, including China and India, included nurses. Where there was no nurse, a pastor or evangelist would deliver basic medical or dental care. Examples include J. H. Krum, the first missionary to Palestine, and Ferdinand Stahl, the celebrated pioneer missionary to Bolivia and Peru, who performed basic dental surgery. Even when clinics had a physician on staff, missionary doctors in clinics were engaged in basic medicine, rather than being the distant, almost godlike figures that they would become in large hospitals. This meant they, like the nurses, were engaged up close and personal with local people and so medical work was innately missionary work in the classic sense of being evangelistic.

Evidence of this is the fact that, in the 1890s and early 1900s, doctors sent to the mission field were regularly ordained, though those that worked in sanitariums in North American often were not. The reason was that a doctor in the mission field was on the front line and, typically, would necessarily be engaged in ministry to souls as well as bodies.[20] There is

also explicit evidence of the way missionary doctors felt themselves to be on the front line of mission. For example, during the 1909 General Conference Session, at a meeting of the Medical Missionary Department, Dr. A. A. John "read an inspiring paper," emphasizing his experience of "medical missionary work—*preaching and healing—as one work*," and giving examples of how his medical work had "opened the way" for witnessing to Mexican people.[21] The professionalization and scientification of medicine that was taking place in this period began to have an effect on Adventist physicians and hospitals. However, in the 1920s, missionary hospitals were still conceived of primarily as an entering wedge to allow proselytizing work. In his report to the 1926 General Conference Session, African Division President W. H. Branson made the point that Bechuanaland (today's Botswana) had been "a closed country to us," where missionaries were unwanted—"but they said, we do want doctors. We have no doctors." The British colonial authorities admitted Dr. A. H. Kretchmar, a qualified physician, resulting, Branson testified, in "an opening in that tribe. Inside of a year the whole tribe held its doors wide open, and we had full access to go in and preach the gospel."[22]

Gradually, though, there was a shift in mindset to simply maintaining and expanding the institutions that had previously been created. Hospitals were obliged to keep up with the ever quickening pace of innovation in medical technology and practice—if they did not, they might decline and be forced to close, and the idea that institutions, like individuals, might have a lifespan is one that seems never to have occurred. Far too often, neither the did the question: What are we keeping an institution going *for*? Adventists apparently instinctively feel that institutions *must* be maintained, for their closure seems like defeat. There is no question that many hospitals in mission fields retained a strong mission ethos, but others seemed happy to become the institution of preference for elite clienteles. This might be justified in terms of the profits and contacts that could be made and that would be directed to mission, but in practice the success of the institution seems to have become an end rather than means to a greater end.

This tendency was evident at Shanghai Sanitarium-Hospital as early as the 1930s and later at Dar el-Salaam Hospital in Baghdad and the mission hospitals in Bangkok, Karachi, and Hong Kong (though only the latter retains its elite following). In each case, church leaders by the 1950s or 1960s would boast, to church members, if not to the outside world, of how favored they were by royalty and wealthy clients. An alternative example is Benghazi Adventist Hospital, opened in Libya in 1956, as a way of establishing an Adventist presence in what had been literally forbidden territory. The hospital was a great success, medically, but had minimal

missional impact on the indigenous population. In 1960, 17 members of the staff had organized a church, but by the time the revolutionary government of Muammar al Gaddafi nationalized Benghazi Adventist Hospital in late 1969, there had been just one baptism in Libya and that was of an Italian expatriate. All the Adventists in the country were missionaries or their family members and all were expelled. Thirteen years of high-quality medical work had resulted in no measurable missional results.[23]

As hospitals developed, moreover, they often abandoned the preventive medicine that had once characterized the Adventist approach to health and medical care. They also had ever larger needs for staff. Much of the Middle East Division administration's time went into oversight of Dar el-Salaam Hospital and Benghazi Adventist Hospital, and particularly into recruiting the very large staff that they needed, which, to be Adventist, had to be entirely drawn from outside. For example, at the time of Benghazi's nationalization, the hospital relied on an entirely expatriate staff of 105 missionaries who came from around the world (among them many from the Far East Division) and all of whom then required repatriation.[24]

At a Secretariat Staff Meeting in 1967, GC Secretary W. R. Beach "presented comparative statistics on the number of current missionaries from North America, as of March 1967 and as of October, 1964." He highlighted "that the medical and educational groups increased" significantly, while the administrative and ministerial groups decreased.[25]

By 1974, the staff needs of medical institutions loomed so large in the minds of those tasked with coordinating mission recruiting that, for the first time, the Appointees Committee seriously discussed "use of non-Adventist personnel to fill positions in overseas health-care institutions". Asked to produce a statement, Secretariat did so, which stressed "that the chief aim of our medical institutions is to cooperate in the evangelistic thrust of the church by revealing Christ to those who come under the influence of their personnel." Its draft statement included three points, "reaffirm[ing] the principle that SDA institutions should generally be staffed with SDA personnel" and making it difficult for divisions and institutions to take on "non-Adventist professionals"—yet it is telling that when the Committee of Appointees adopted the report it was only after "the addition of [a new] paragraph" which recognized "that there may be . . . circumstances where it may be desirable to appoint a non-Adventist."[26] The general tenor of the voted statement is, to be fair, still very much one of discouraging such appointments, but even to contemplate it as possible was very much a new departure. It indicates, I suggest, how medical employment needs were now driving the foreign mission program of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Bureaucratization

There has also, I suggest, been a tendency to bureaucratization—indeed, to technocratization, technologization, and hyper-specialization

In the 1950s, the pioneer missionary to the Middle East, George D. Keough, then based in Beirut, lamented that the new missionaries coming out from America only "want to administer, and if there is nothing to administer they do not get down to work, but seek to create administrative posts for themselves."[27] In the 1940s-1950s, there unquestionably was some cynicism among veteran European missionaries about the new generation of American missionaries; but that is not to say that there were not some grounds for their cynicism. Keough was not taking a cheap shot or engaging in rhetoric. He always retained his taste for direct work with indigenous people. He was later very proud that, in the late 1930s, though then the union president, he had "raised up the church in Amman," Jordan.[28] In the early 1950s, while in his 70s and holding senior administrative positions in the Middle East Division, he nonetheless, as the local union president reported, "had a hand" in a "series of evangelistic meetings" in the Arabic church in Beirut.[29] But these were the attitudes of an older generation; some younger missionaries, such as Robert Darnell, retained them: he is still remembered with great fondness by Egyptian church members as a result. However, the attitudes were changing.

In 1972, missiologist Gottfried Oosterwal gave a presentation to the Appointees Committee, which at that time exercised the key role, besides Secretariat, in the GC missionary program. Oosterwal observed: "Today, Seventh-day Adventists have more missionaries in the field than any other protestant denomination, and in more areas of the world." So far, so good, his audience may have thought, but then he added some less comfortable comments, observing that "a marked change in the pattern of missionary service" was taking place.

> The vast majority of SDA missionaries are going out not so much to work for unbelievers, but rather for the members of the church in overseas fields. This is clearly reflected in the type of missionaries the church is sending out: the majority serve as teachers and in para- educational professions in Adventist schools; another large group consists of medical and paramedical personnel. At the bottom of the list are administrators. [But a group came lower still!] Hardly any evangelistic or ministerial workers are leaving the shores of North American today. The new missionary can . . . be characterized by the term: specialists.

He then made the following prediction, of trouble ahead, based on the trends he saw: "Mission may become too much church-oriented, thereby spending increasing amounts of money on the build-up of the church and the institutional care of its members and too little for the evangelistic outreach." Later, in the lengthy presentation, Oosterwal summarized again: "Missionaries today are teachers, professionals and specialists."[30]

This is a recognizable trend, one that has only intensified. Indeed, with the addition of calls to work in Information Technology, ISEs are even more specialized, indeed technologized, than they were 45 years ago when Oosterwal made his prescient diagnosis.

The decision in 1974 to reclassify "Workers Sent to Mission Fields" as "Regular new workers accepting calls outside the home division," which was implemented in 1975, now makes even more sense. Of course, external factors were at work. Notably, decolonization and national liberation movements, while in Islamic, Buddhist, and Hindu countries, there was concomitant loss of privileged status previously enjoyed by Christian denominations. These forces made the term "missionary" unacceptable in many countries. In 1973, the Sabbath School Department raised this fact, delicately pointing that, "in some areas," terms such as "missions, missionaries, mission offerings, missionary service, mission fields, foreign missions, etc. . . . are seldom used; yet, denominational publications printed in 'home base' lands use them copiously to the perplexity of church members in other lands." In response, ADCOM appointed an ad hoc committee.[31] The result was a process culminating, more than a year later, in the action by Annual Council in 1974, "regarding acceptable substitute terminology," which cited the example of "'interdivision worker'. . . instead of the term 'missionary.'"[32] This led, in turn, nine years later, to the adoption by Annual Council of the familiar "interdivisional employee."[33]

What is notable is that for the first time, a missionary was defined by *church structure* rather than by service in a *mission field*. This is the very stuff of bureaucratic rationalization. Even if the intention was largely to make cosmetic changes, it is still revealing of a mindset. Indeed, it is consistent with the picture I will draw of Secretariat in the 1970s—this was when administrative tidiness began to loom larger than reaching unreached peoples.

What of Secretariat then? That will be largely left for the second paper, but as we draw to a conclusion, I will just observe that the people who worked in GC Secretariat were aware of what was happening. Eleven years after Oosterwal spoke to the Appointees Committee, he was asked by GC Secretary G. Ralph Thompson to speak to the Secretariat staff.

Oosterwal stressed: "The kind of missionary we are training now is different than those we trained 15 or 20 years ago." And then he offered the following keen insight:

> We have had a shift in the type of missionary we are sending out. This shift comes from our efforts to nationalize our staffs overseas. The supportive personnel that we are sending out are helping to prepare national leadership. We will, therefore, continue to need a large number of professionals, medical personnel, higher education personnel, and some administrative-level personnel.[34]

Does this sound familiar? Oosterwal concluded, incisively, that because the "Division and Union level is where the need is determined, and we can only recruit as they request," GC leaders "need to lay the burden on the Division leadership to do pioneer missionary work and pioneer evangelism."[35]

There is other evidence, too, of Secretariat's cognizance of trends. In 1984 for example, the undersecretary discussed with the associates the case of an American pastor who had been "under appointment to mission service," had his call fall through, but was still keen on mission service. The Minutes record, blandly and perhaps resignedly: "The Staff expressed their opinion that much of the problem in appointing [him] is the fact that there are such few openings for pastor-evangelists."[36] This had certainly not always been the case. Consider for example that sixty years earlier during a discussion of missionary recruiting at the 1924 Annual Council, it was noted: "That at the present juncture we call particular attention to the need of recruits in the ministry, Bible work, elementary teaching, and colporteur work."[37] The contrast with later years is stark.

With hindsight, the end of the Secretaryship of W. R. Beach was a turning point. He can be seen to have held certain tendencies at bay, though perhaps he was merely fortunate to have retired before they became irresistible. However, Beach foresaw what was coming. In his farewell report to the 1970 GC Session he warned: "For us the Advent Movement is too often the End of the World, Incorporated."[38] Whether or not he was thinking of the Adventist missionary program, soon enough it was to become far too incorporated. The same was arguably to be true of Secretariat, also; but we will save the bureaucratization of Secretariat for the second paper.

Conclusion

I will draw some conclusions from both articles in the second paper, but to conclude this first one, I offer the following thoughts.

143 years after Andrews sailed for Europe, the first "laborer sent to a foreign field," the number of new long-term missionaries, now called ISEs, being appointed to serve is remarkably low. The four-year average of appointees for 2012 through 2015 was 86: this is not much more than the 85 that was the average number of appointees in for the first four years of World War II, which included 1942, which with 44 had the lowest year for appointees of any year since the nineteenth century. In contrast, all the four-year averages for the period 1914 through 1919 exceed 96. The average for the last four years of the last quinquennium was higher than the average for the first four years of the Great Depression, which gives you some context. The last time before the last quinquennium that there were three years in a row with fewer than 100 appointees was 1932-34 and the last time that there were four years in a row (which was the case for 2012 to 2015) was 1905–8. The church membership in 1908, however, was 97,579 as opposed to 19,126,438. Now, using the new definition of missionary adopted at the 2013 Annual Council, our total number of missionaries *in service* is approximately 6,000. So how would we compare? Well, each year in the quadrennium 1905–8, just the new appointees were the equivalent of more than 6 per 10,000 church members, whereas today all the missionaries in service are a fraction over 3 per 10,000. And as we have seen, of this small body of missionaries, the proportion engaged in actually sharing the gospel is also lower than for decades.

There are now Adventist volunteers and many church members going on short-term mission trips, which was not the case half a century and more ago; in addition, there is television, radio and the internet, all of which have potential to reach far more people than many more missionaries. However, TV and radio have been around for a long time and the number of "workers sent to mission fields" was still rather higher. In any case, TV and internet in practice seem to convert successfully in already Christianized countries,[39] and although AWR is reaching millions, there is evidence that radio needs "boots on the ground" to follow up interests. Short-term mission trips do more to build support for foreign missions in Adventist heartlands than to reach unreached people groups. Volunteers are wonderful but they do not replace long-term missionaries who adapt to local cultures and local people. As Adventists, we want to preach "this gospel of the kingdom in all the world for a witness unto all nations" (Matt 24:14); and as A. G. Daniells put it: "Then, and not till then, will the end come, for which we so earnestly long."[40] Many of the nations of the world have had the gospel proclaimed. However, to adapt Erton Kohler's words to the Global Mission Issues Committee in 2015, if we keep reaching ever-larger percentages of the same nations, we have not preached the gospel to all nations and the end will not come. If we are to peach this

gospel of the kingdom to all nations, then there is a good case that we need more long-term missionaries.

To conclude this overview of the history of the foreign missionary program of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, it is, by all kinds of metrics, at a low ebb and approaching the lowest for over a century. If we want to reach the world, more of the Seventh-day Adventist Church's resources should be invested in cross-cultural mission and additional General Conference resources committed solely to those parts of the world where the local church lacks the ability to reach its territory. I will say more about this to conclude the second article since it would require more than funding and more than a resurgence of the foreign missionary program, it would require certain administrative reforms that probably only Secretariat could or would promote. However, there is no doubt that the foreign missionary program is no longer the denominational priority it once was, or that its focus is no longer as much on reaching the unreached as it once was. Perhaps the Adventist Church is ok with that; however, if it is not, then it should not keep doing business as usual.

Appendix

Timeline of Terms Used for Missionaries and Their Work

Approximate Dates	Term
1850–1974 (unofficially, to the present)	Missionary
1875–1971	Missionary worker
1878–1906	Missionary laborer
1911–Present	Appointee/Missionary appointee
1970–1995	Inter-division worker (IDW)
1974–Present	Inter-union worker
1977–Present	Interdivision/International service
1983–2014	Interdivision Employee (IDE)
2015–Present	International Service Employee (ISE)

Endnotes

Abbreviations in End Notes

ARH	*Adventist Review/Review & Herald*
ASR	*Annual Statistical Report*
fld.	Folder
GC Ar.	General Conference Archives
GCC	General Conference (Executive) Committee
n.d.	No date
YB	*Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook*

[1]Daniells to Andross, June 12, 1906, Outgoing Letterbook, no. 38, p. 864, in GC Ar., RG 11, box no. 0147–48.

[2]GCC, September 26, 1910, "Proceedings," vol. VIII, p. 275.

[3]*ASR* 1997, p. 5.

[4]"International Deployment 1958–2003," n.d., GC Ar., RG 21, Misc. Files.

[5]Figures from 1901 onwards were compiled by the Statistical Secretary and published in the 1925 *ASR* (p. 2); the *ASR* has reported annual totals ever since. In the late 1990s or early 2000s, AST (as it then was) attempted to compile statistics for the 27 years before 1901; these statistics were used in the ASTR director's reports to Annual Council in 2012 and 2015, and published in two articles: D. J. B. Trim, "Fit for purpose? The General Conference Secretariat and Seventh-day Adventist mission in historical purpose," *Journal of Adventist Mission Studies* 11:2 (Fall 2015), pp. 183–94, "Adventist Church Growth and Mission Since 1863: An Historical-Statistical Analysis," *Journal of Adventist Mission Studies* 8:2 (Fall 2012), pp. 51–74. The research carried out for this paper unfortunately showed that these statistics are unreliable. A detailed study would be needed to correct them.

[6]"Missionaries sent from world field [1958–69]" and "From home base to front line 1962–1969", both n.d. (but probably 1970), GC Ar., RG21, Misc. Files. The second document is clearly based on the first; it was published as a table in W. R. Beach, "Report of the General Conference Secretary," *ARH*, vol. 147, Supplement, *General Conference Report*, no. 2 (June 14, 1970), pp. 7–10, table at p. 9.

[7]"Categories to Which Missionaries Were Appointed," n.d., GC Ar., RG 21, Misc. Files.

[8]"New missionaries sent out from North America [1874–1983]", n.d., and "New missionaries sent out from North America 1900–," n.d. (c.1995: orig. only had one page, which ended in 1978, with a continuation page with data 1984–1995), and "New Interdivision Employees Sent Out from North America," n.d. (c.2011—this gives figures from 1874, the same data as the previous two files, but updates through 2011): all GC Ar., RG 21, electronic archive. The research for this study reveals that the statistics in these files are based on an incomplete assessment of American missionaries in the first 25 years. Figures from 1903 onward seem to be reliable.

[9]A definition was adopted in 2013: "Persons who are sent by the Seventh-day Adventist Church to work for periods exceeding two months in a foreign country or with unreached people groups" (Secretaries' Council at 2013 Annual Council). The term IDE *was* defined when adopted in 1974 (GCC, Oct. 9, 1974). But we have found no definition of "missionary" before 1974.

[10]See *YB 1926*, pp. 5–6.

[11]Barry David Oliver, *SDA Organizational Structure: Past, Present and Future*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, 15 (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1989), pp. 43–44.

[12]W. A. Spicer, "I Know Whom I Have Believed," *ARH* 107: 37 (June 26, 1930), p. 3.

[13]D. J. B. Trim, "Ellen G. White and Adventist Mission," in Alberto R. Timm and Dwain N. Esmond (eds.), *The Gift of Prophecy in Scripture and History* (Silver Spring, MD: RHPA, 2015), pp. 333–53.

[14]See the forthcoming articles on Spicer and Evans in *Encyclopedia of Seventh-day Adventists*.

[15]See correspondence between the Rev. Frank Sanders (Board), W. A. Spicer, and J. L. Shaw (Assistant Secretary), and Harry S. Myers (Movement) and Shaw, Jan.–May 1917, GCAr., RG 21, box no. 3291, fld.
"Board of Missionary Preparation." See also M. E. Kern, "The Secretary's Report," *ARH*, vol. 113, no. 24, *General Conference Report*, no. 3 (May 31, 1936): 61 (cf. comment on p. 60 on "leaders" of "the Christian Church").

[16]Keith A. Francis, "Ecumenism or distinctiveness? Seventh–day Adventist Attitudes to the World Missionary Conference of 1910," in R. H. Swanson (ed.), *Unity and diversity in the Church*, Studies in Church History 32 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 477–87.

[17]See Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary Board meetings, minutes of Jan. 12, 1937, p. 2, and of Sept. 21, 1937, p. 5, Andrews University Archives; *SDA Encyclopedia* (1996), vol. 1, p. 76; Alan Needy, "Zwemer, Samuel Marinus," in Gerald H. Anderson (ed.), *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1999), 763; and Andrew Tompkins, "Seventh-day Adventist Approaches to Other Religions: Preliminary Findings from 1930–1950, Part I," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 54 (Autumn 2016), pp. 343–44.

[18]GCC, July 9, 1942, "Proceedings." vol. XVI, pt. ii, p. 507, GC AR., RG 1. Hartford Seminary, "Our History": http://www.hartsem.edu/about/our-history/.

[19]In addition, since 1993, we have deployed considerable numbers of global mission pioneers—national workers rather than traditional foreign missionaries, but taking the gospel to unreached people groups.

[20]See D. J. B. Trim, "Ordination in Seventh-day Adventist history," Theology of Ordination Study Committee, East Laurel, MD (Jan. 15–17, 2013) [https://www.adventistarchives.org/january-2013papers-presented], pp. 22–23.

[21]"Medical Missionary Department" (meeting May 16, 1909), Minutes in *General Conference Bulletin* 6:3 (May 17, 1909), p. 29.

[22]"Africa Needs Medical Missionaries," *ARH*, vol. 134, Supplement, *General Conference Report*, no. 34 (June 17, 1926), p. 10

[23]Jay P. Munsey, "The Right Arm of the Gospel in Libya," *ARH* 137: 21 (26 May 1960), p. 22; David Trim, "Seventh-day Adventist Mission in the Middle East" (unpublished report, 2011), pp. 11, 31; Benjamin Baker, "The Vanished Mission Field," *Mission 360*, 5:1 (2017), pp. 20–21.

[24]Trim, "Seventh-day Adventist Mission in the Middle East," 33; Baker, "Vanished Mission Field," 2122. See Benghazi Hospital Files, 1963–73, GC Ar., RG ME 31, box no. R1355.

[25]Committee on Appointees, March 22, 1967, Minutes, 1967–68, p. 1797.

[26]Committee on Appointees, March 20, 1974: rubric "Offers of Service by non-Adventists" and voted statement with that heading, Appointees Committee Minutes, 1974:47-48.

[27]Keough to Arthur Vine, 17 Aug. 1950, Newbold College Library, Keough Papers, fld. 4, no. 69.

[28]Keough to Bodell, 4 Nov. 1970, GC Ar., Keough Papers.

[29]East Mediterranean Union President's Report, Nov. 1954, p. 2, in GC Ar., RG MEEM11, box R1327, fld. "Circular Letters."

[30]Committee on Appointees, Feb. 2, 1972, three-page attachment to Minutes between 1972:14–15, quotations at pp. 1, 2.

[31]GC ADCOM, Aug. 27, 1973, Minutes 1973:70.

[32]GCC, Oct. 9, 1974, Minutes 1974: 282; see also ADCOM, May 30, 1974, Minutes 1974:137; GC Officers meeting, Oct. 3, 1974, Minutes 1974:37.

[33]GCC, Oct. 11, 1983, Minutes 1983:359.

[34]Secretariat Staff Meeting, June 1, 1983, Minutes 1983:95.

[35]Ibid., 1983:96.

[36]Secretariat Staff Meeting, Feb. 6, 1984, Minutes 1984:22.

[37]GCC, Oct. 20, 1924, 10 a.m., "Proceedings," vol. XII, pt. ii, p. 747.

[38]Beach, "Report" (see above, n. 6), p. 11.

[39]E.g., the most successful Adventist television network is Novo Tempo in Brazil.

[40]A. G. Daniells, Presidential Address to 1905 GC Session, in *ARH* 82: 19 (11 May 1905), p. 9. Such sentiments are typical of Daniells's missiological and eschatological thinking: see Barry Oliver, "Why Are We Who We Are? The Ecclesiological Polemic That Shaped Reorganization," in *Faith in Search of Depth and Relevancy: Festschrift in Honour of Dr. Bertil Wiklander*, edited by Reinder Bruinsma, 444-47. N.p.: Trans-European Division of Seventh-day Adventists, 2014.

D. J. B. Trim is Director of Archives, Statistics, and Research at the Seventh-day Adventist Church world headquarters. His PhD is from the University of London (2003) and he is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

Lester Merklin

Seventh-day Adventist Mission in the Foreign Mission Board Era: 1889-1903

The first decades of the twentieth century are known for their great Adventist mission expansion. Most Adventists have heard of the 1901 General Conference session and the reorganization of the church for mission. This article looks at the events of the decade proceeding those decisions that led the church to such major adjustments. The research for this article consists mostly from General Conference reports, private letters of the period, and the *Missionary Magazine* printed during that time.

The existence of the Foreign Mission Board (FMB) corresponds with the decade proceeding the re-organization, so I have used its period of existence as the time period for this research. Much work was begun during this decade by the FMB and the church, so this article is limited to four main topics of missions during that era to better sense the mission vision and mission understanding that led up to the mission expansion of the twentieth century.

The Organization of a Mission Board

It was in 1874 that the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists finally officially entered the world mission enterprise. Some Adventists had gone on their own before this, and relatives of American believers had received Adventist literature. Thus, there were a few Sabbath keeping Adventists scattered through Europe. As a denomination, however, no work had been done outside of North America. With a growing conviction that the third angel's message must go to others, the General Conference

decided to officially send J. N. Andrews who was in the process of preparing to leave for Europe on his own.

During the next 15 years the work expanded somewhat, but not to the extent that it should have. At the General Conference Session of 1889, a change to the constitution was proposed that would allow the forming of a mission board.

Reports of that Conference do not reveal what motive existed for suggesting this change. Mission boards were a common characteristic of Christianity in those days. Possibly this influenced the Adventists to have their own board. It seems likely, however, that the desire to improve the church's outreach was a definite factor in the proposal to establish a mission board. Some of the same problems of mission were present then as were prevalent in the decade to follow. The Adventist Church seemed to be looking for a plan to better facilitate the challenge of the world mission given to it by their Lord.

The FMB of Seventh-day Adventists as it was legally incorporated consisted of a six-member Foreign Mission Committee and the none members of the Executive Committee of the General Conference. In practice, however, the committee itself was referred to as the "Board." As formed in 1889, the six-member board was actually only a working committee of the General Conference Committee. It had no executive power. The adopted constitution read: "no plan or suggestion of the Mission Board shall become operative until it has the sanction of the General Conference Committee." Its actual work was administrative in nature, even though plans must be approved. "The Mission Board shall take the general oversight of all foreign work and suggest ways and means for the expeditious propagation of that work" (Daily Bulletin of the General Conference (DBGC) 1889:5:45).

Nothing changed at the next General Conference Session in 1891. O. A. Olsen, President of the General Conference, commented in his report that the board is doing its duty to find the best workers for each field (DBGC 1891:1:6). Apparently, that is what it should be doing; and the session saw no reason to dictate differently.

The Board was given added responsibility at the 1893 General Conference Session. That session was more mission directed than the past ones had been. There were many talks on missions, but little planning for the future. Agreeing with Olsen again that the FMB was faithfully doing its work, the session voted that the "Foreign Mission Board be authorized to audit all the accounts of laborers in their employ, instead of this work being done by the regular General Conference Auditing Committee" (DBGC 1893:16:375). This seems to be a significant step in that it shows that the session members are beginning to see that the men best understanding

the situation should do the administration. This resolution was passed because the FMB is "better acquainted with the circumstances" involved.

It was at the 1897 General Conference Session that one finds the FMB significantly changed. As was also the case in the 1901 General Conference Session, the change that came to the FMB was a result of wider changes in the total organization of the Church. After many years of testimonies that too much of the work was concentrated in too few people in Battle Creek, this session endeavored to rectify the problem (see General Conference Daily Bulletin (GCDB) 1897:13:212). It was proposed that the work of the General Conference be completely divided into three areas of "responsibility" and "territory"—North America, Australia, and Europe. Each of these areas would have its own executive duties, each being equal in authority. The FMB was responsible for all other territories for the propagation of the gospel.

The FMB was reconfigured with nine members with its own president. Since the old organization plan had the General Conference President responsible for the total work, this was a great step forward in the work of missions. Now the board members could *all* devote their energies to the mission work alone and the world field could be treated more fairly, since the men used the opportunity to know the field and its needs better.

According to the General Conference discussion, the FMB was to move to some Atlantic state. There was some discussion as to whether the Board should separate itself that much from the work in Battle Creek, while other delegates proposed other locations. However, in the end, it was allowed that the FMB and the General Conference Committee could decide where it should be located to be most efficient. As it turned out, the Board moved to Philadelphia. The Board explained that the value of this location was that this city was a port city, yet without the high rent necessary in places like New York (Edwards 1898). However, why it stayed there only two years was never publicly stated.

The Foreign Mission Board retained this organizational structure until the church re-organization at the turn of the century. In 1901, it retained its independent structure, although the "chairman of the General Conference Committee" was its president. The Board's headquarters moved back to Battle Creek, then at the 1903 General Conference Session the Executive Committee of the General Conference became the Mission Board of the Church. Although the FMB remained a legal entity until 1919, in reality the Board's existence ended as of that 1903 session. The details and the reasons for this action will be discussed in connection with the re-organization and its relation to the mission work of the Church.

During the 13 years the FMB existed, what was its primary work? When it was first proposed in 1889, it was asked "to appoint, instruct, and direct

the foreign missionaries of the denomination" (DBGC 1891:4:49). When the FMB was made a separate board in 1897, the General Conference action specifically stated that it was to "take charge of all mission funds of the denomination, and all mission fields" (GCDB 1897:13:212-213). It is easy to see that the Board would need the support of a mission conscious church in order to do its job well.

The Mission Spirit among Adventists in the 1890s

The success or failure of the FMB would be determined largely by the Adventist Church's understanding of its mission. It would take total church involvement to make a world-wide work possible. That the church fell short in this area becomes very apparent because of the dearth of workers, the shortage of funds, and the lack of zeal for the growing mission work that were prevalent during this decade. There were voices crying for a change, but real mission consciousness came slowly. At the 1899 General Conference the need for more mission fervor was so desperately needed that most of the time during the meetings was spent dealing with mission related affairs. It took the re-organization of the Church in the following General Conference sessions to really transform the Adventist Church into a worldwide denomination. It is interesting to look at a few glimpses of the mission understanding of the Church before those sessions at the turn of the century.

Ever since the Gentile churches in Asia Minor sent money to help their Jewish Christian brothers in Jerusalem the willingness to give financial means to aid the work of the church has been a measure of a mission vision of God's people. The church of the l890s did not fare very well in this regard. Yes, much money was being spent to build up Adventist centers in the United States, but very little was given for mission work. During this time, 95% of the finances of the Church were being used in North America (*Mission Magazine* 1899:4:148).

The FMB was constantly appealing for more funds so they could do their work. As late as 1898 the *Missionary Magazine* asked, "Are we offering to the Lord as He has prospered us, when today we are not contributing one penny a week per capita for the work of carrying the gospel to the one thousand million heathen in the world?" (159). The years prior to this period had also been a time with widespread financial problems among the various mission boards of other Christian churches. The world financial situation had been hard on all mission work. This could account for some lack of funds for the FMB. In spite of this challenge the FMB did better than other boards and was able to expand some Adventist work (GCDB 1897:11:172). Yet a lot more could have been done if the people

had given more than just a penny per week. "Much has been done; much more remains to be done," was the appraisal of the work at that time by the secretary of the Board (GCDB 1897:12:179).

Different plans were tried to ensure a constant flow of funds. During that time, the denomination had not yet developed a systematic way of funding the operations of the church. The offerings that were collected at the weekly church services usually went for local work, while the tithe went to the conferences to pay for local workers. A notice in the *Missionary Magazine* reveals this lack of a systematic or definite mission funding approach. "All who wish to donate from time to time to the Foreign Mission Board can send their offering to the treasurer direct or through the secretary of their State Tract Society" (1898:3:112).

One plan for financing mission work was the "annual offering." The first issue of the *Missionary Magazine* as the organ of the FMB explained why such an offering was conceived. "Our annual offering is to provide funds for carrying the Gospel to the regions beyond. We might dispense with this offering if we were faithful in remembering to contribute continually as the Lord hath prospered us, so that His treasury might be supplied; but this we have failed to do (1898:1: 2).

The annual offering was the major source of income for the FMB during this period, and unfortunately, the church was not yet giving to missions on a week-to-week basis. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Board never really received the funds it needed.

One positive factor in the financial support of mission was the Sabbath School mission offerings. The Sabbath School was a separate association at this time, but beginning in 1885 many Sabbath schools began giving their offerings for mission work. It was also during this period (1890) that the mission ship Pitcairn was funded by Sabbath School offerings and a "new era in Sabbath School missions' offerings began" (*Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia* 1996:1125). It was also during this time that Adventist members were given the goal of 1¢ per member each week to support work in the mission fields. Later the goal was raised to 5¢ per week; however, the official Sabbath School mission offering did not come into being until after the establishment of the Sabbath School Department in the early 1900s.

There were other plans, since some churches followed what they called the "first-day offering" plan that was based on Paul's council in 1 Cor 16:2 to set aside weekly funds. The members were encouraged to set aside some loose change during the week and turn it in on Sabbath separate from their regular church offering as a special offering for missions.

Before the official action at the 1899 General Conference Session establishing the Sabbath School mission offering there were some places that were already using special envelopes for this type of weekly offering. The

FMB recommended this plan to all Adventist members in 1898, and the General Conference Committee passed an action stating "'that we endorse the envelope plan for collecting foreign mission offerings, as suggested by the Foreign Mission Board" (*Missionary Magazine* 1897:5:159).

Although these methods raised some mission funds, the fact remained that not much was given. In the early days of the church, the pioneers had sacrificed all to the cause they believed in. The 40¢ per member per year given for mission in 1897 reveals that the members still did not have much of a vision for a worldwide work. More than plans encouraging giving was needed; the church needed a revival of missionary spirit that would motivate people to gladly give.

The lack of people to enter mission work was another hindrance during this decade. At the very session when the FMB was formed to aid in the mission of the church (1889), the committee tasked with finding workers for foreign field was unsuccessful and made this final report: "Your committee finds itself quite unable to secure laborers for the greater number and the most important of these positions without taking men from their places whose loss would seem to be irreparable injury to the work in which they are now . . . engaged." Instead, they recommended that the Board select people "at as early a date as possible" and send them "as rapidly as the amount of the funds in the treasury will warrant" (DBGC 1889:16:154).

Lack of funds was the biggest challenge facing the FMB from the very beginning. In the letters that O. A. Olsen wrote to Ellen White and W. C. White in Australia, one can see the problem the FMB and Olsen as President of the General Conference faced in trying to supply workers for the growing mission field. After several letters referring to attempts to find the right men they needed to run the new school in Australia, Olsen finally found two men; and the Mission Board "acquiesced" and agreed to send them (May 1892). Neither of them went. One requested to stay for another year of schooling and the other did not want to go alone. Olsen remarked, "They pled the matter so urgently that I yielded" (June 1892). When a replacement was found the man's district refused to let him go for at least a year (July 1892).

During this time the Seventh-day Adventist Church was preaching "the gospel to all the world" as a concept, but in reality, the vision was not strong enough to cause action of any significant dimension. One paragraph from the Foreign Mission Board reveals the significance of the matters that mentioned above.

> Think! Forty cents was all that the average church member in the United States could spare last year out of his abundance to send the Gospel to the uttermost part of the earth! It took 7,862 church members to support one ordained foreign missionary. We have only given one sixty-fourth of our ordained ministers to carry the good tidings of great joy to the half that have never been told of Jesus' love! (*Missionary Magazine* 1897:11:427)

This is not to say, however, that there was not some missionary zeal in the church. There definitely was. The fact that the FMB had been organized reveals some desire to improve Adventist mission work. There were dedicated leaders committed to seeing the work progress.

O. A. Olsen, as head of the FMB for most of this period, revealed a strong interest in seeing the overseas work flourish. In his letters to Ellen White, he seems to be honest in his work to find the best men for the needs of the overseas fields. "I never was so determined," he said, "as I have been of late to do all I can for the work in foreign fields. Indeed, I am almost desperate" (July 12, 1892). Because of the urgent needs, he decided that missions must be put first, "even to the detriment of the work at home" (July 13, 1892). Although he gave positive reports at the General Conferences sessions of how the work has seen success and how the Board had "sent out many additional laborers" (GCDB 1887:107), he also emphasized the other side by saying that "compared with what we ought to do, it is very little indeed" (DBGC 1893:11:290).

Others recognized the need, and some of them did their best to convict others. At the 1893 General Conference Session, S. N. Haskell gave a series of sermons on "the Missionary Work," beginning during the Institute preceding the actual start of the session. A strong mission spirit is promoted and he suggested that anyone who has no interest in the gospel going to the whole world will "lose the kingdom of God just as surely as you remain in that condition" (DBGC 1893:10: 248). He believed that the time had come in a "special sense" to take the message to all the world (235).

Believing that "we have hardly struck the missionary spirit as God would have us" (275), he made this strong appeal to the church. "The thing of the greatest importance in the world is to carry the gospel to the world. How can we? If God says, Go, go we must, and go we will, if we have to walk on water. When we get the "go" in us, we will see the way open fast enough" (248).

The church during this decade tried various ways to get that "go" in the hearts of its members. There were new plans and exhortations that came out of the General Conference session to motivate the church. The 1891 session voted to send Mrs. White to help the work in Australia

(DBGC 1891:18:256), which is an action that moved beyond the talk about what needed done in the foreign fields. Every session during this period included reports of missionaries working in different areas of the world and their successes and failures. The reports emphasized the hand of God in the fulfilling of the Great Commission keeping the needs of the world field before the people.

Part of the work of the FMB was to instill a mission vision with the people of the Church. One method used was the Sabbath Mission Reading supplied to the churches for each Sabbath. This was the forerunner of the *Mission Quarterly*. The readings were supplied because "not a Sabbath should pass without the attention of the people being called to the need of the world and opportunity given to make offerings for the work" (*Missionary Magazine* 1899:11:516).

In 1898, the *Missionary Magazine* became the official publication of the FMB and its primary medium calling the Church to a deeper mission consciousness. When it first came out it was recommended to the Church by the *Signs of the Times* as a magazine that was "filled with 1ive missionary matters of interest to all who love to see the gospel of the kingdom going to all nations" (*Missionary Magazine* 1898:2:71). Every issue gave reports of missionaries just as was heard at General Conference Sessions. Mission interest grew as Adventists heard the stories of God's work in various fields and through the appeals for active involvement in mission work. As one missionary stated when writing for the magazine, "may the Lord speed the day when what His servant says *should* be; *sha11* be" (Andre 1889).

The *Missionary Magazine* included letters from the field, pictures of the work and the workers in foreign fields, and notices of departures to various parts of the world. The *Missionary Magazine* also printed the mission readings for each Sabbath of the month and the various actions of the Board. In these ways, Adventists were educated on the importance of mission work and the needs around the world.

It would seem with these missionary endeavors and mission fervor as seen in the leaders of the church would have resulted in a much more mission-minded church. What was the problem? One obvious conclusion is that some church leaders tried, but they were not able to do it on their own because the majority of the members slept. Ellen White wrote, "for years the appeal has been made, but the Lord's professed people have been sleeping over their allotted work" (DBGC 1893:19:420).

The problem was not just with local church members for there were also problems among Adventist leaders and poor organization for the facilitation of the needs. Some of the leaders were not all that they should be and their decisions were an offence to God "Who, I ask, . . . in your Foreign Mission Board is Christian in heart and soul?" (White 1896).

This lack of vision and poor decision-making was partially responsible for the Adventist Church not doing all it could have done during the 1890s. In 1893, White had written from Australia that she "felt deeply over the 1ittle burden many carry for the missionary work" (1893). Would the special attention paid to the mission of the church at the 1899 General Conference Session improve the situation? Would Adventists take up the challenge to reach out to the whole world? Would the Church operate more efficiently in the mission work it was involved in? These questions will be answered in part II of this article that will appear in the next issue of JAMS.

Works Cited

Andre, Hattie. 1889. *Missionary Magazine* 10, no. 2:129

Daily Bulletin of the General Conference (DBGC)
1889. Volume 3 from adventistdigitallibrary.org
1891. Volume 4 from adventistdigitallibrary.org
1893. Volume 5 from adventistdigitallibrary.org

General Conference Daily Bulletin (GCDB)
1897. Volume 2, Numbers 1-11 from adventistdigitallibrary.org

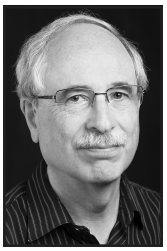
Missionary Magazine. 1898. Volume 2, Numbers 1, 2, 3, 5, and 11.

_____. 1899. Volume 11, Numbers 4 and 11.

Neufeld, Don F., ed. 1996. Sabbath School Offering. *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia.* Rev. ed. Boise, ID: Pacific Press.

Olsen, O. A. Unpublished Letters.

White, E. G. Unpublished Letters.



Lester Merklin is Professor Emeritus of World Mission at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary and Coordinator of the tentmaker-mission initiative for the Office of Adventist Mission of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. Lester has served cross-culturally in Belize, Pakistan, and the Philippines; and served as mission trainer in the Institute of World Mission and the Global Center for Adventist-Muslim Relations.

Bruce L. Bauer

Foreign Mission Board Era: 1880–1903

This article looks at the details surrounding the establishment of the Foreign Mission Board (FMB) in 1889 and describes the relationship between the FMB and the General Conference (GC). It is the thesis of this article that the church universal functions best when there are two distinct structures that care for various functions needed for dynamic growth, nurture, and outreach of the church. Those two structures have various names, but this article will use the term *Congregational Structure* to describe the role and characteristics of local churches and the administrative levels such as conferences, unions, divisions, and the GC and the term *Mission Structure* to describe the role and characteristics of entities focused on outreach, especially cross-cultural mission.

Beginnings and Structure of the FMB

Seventh-day Adventists in the twenty-first century have grown up and become accustomed to a highly centralized administrative church structure. However, it was not always so, for 130 years ago much was accomplished and much good done by small groups of individuals banding together in pursuit of a common goal. The denominational attitude and thinking was also much more inclined to encourage such independent action. Those were the days when semi-independent yet cooperative associations carried out much of the specialized work that was of interest to Seventh-day Adventists. There was an American Health and Temperance Association, a Health Reform Institute, an International Sabbath School Association, an International Tract and Missionary Society, a National Religious Liberty Association, and a Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association.

https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/jams/vol15/iss2/1
DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.32597/jams/vol15/iss2/

In such a climate it would seem only natural that as Seventh-day Adventists began to understand the implications of the Great Commission that they would also set up a missionary sending association. It is interesting to note that the impetus for such an action came from the denominational leadership at the time of the 1889 General Conference Session when an official action was taken appointing a Foreign Mission Board.

The original amendment to the General Conference Constitution severely limited the role and autonomy of the FMB.

> The Mission Board shall take the general oversight of all foreign work, and suggest ways and means for the expeditious propagation of that work; but no plan or suggestion of the Mission Board shall become operative until it has the sanction of the General Conference Committee. The Board shall, through its Secretary make a faithful report of its work, at the regular sessions of the Conference. (Daily Bulletin 1889:45)

The above recommendation was presented to the delegates by J. 0. Corliss, Secretary of the Judiciary Committee. However, the idea of having a Mission Board that had to seek authorization from the General Conference Committee for every plan and suggestion was voted down by the delegates. Instead, the Foreign Mission Board was given great autonomy and decision making powers. In order that coordination would be maintained with the other programs of the General Conference the delegates voted that

> The General Conference shall elect a Foreign Mission Committee of six, whose term of office shall be the same as that of the officers of the General Conference.
>
> The Executive Committee and the Foreign Mission Committee shall constitute a Foreign Mission Board of fifteen, for the management of the foreign mission work of this Conference. (1889:141-142)

The Secretary of the FMB was also given specific duties and far-ranging authority.

> It shall be the duty of the Foreign Mission Secretary to maintain a regular correspondence with superintendents of missions, and with the supervising committees of the foreign mission enterprises under the management of the Foreign Mission Board; to make regular reports of the condition and wants of the missions, to the Board, or to such standing committees as may be created for this purpose by the Board; to communicate the decisions of the Board to its agents in foreign countries; and to report to the [General] Conference at its sessions, the workings of the Board, and the condition, progress, and wants of its foreign missions. (1889:141)

Thus, the six members that made up the Foreign Mission Committee actually ran the day-by-day activities of the Board. The nine members of the Executive Committee of the General Conference joined them in constituting the Foreign Mission Board.

As indicated above, the FMB and the GC had a close working relationship, yet there was also a great deal of flexibility and autonomy in the setting of priorities, in decision making, and in all matters pertaining to Seventh-day Adventist mission work. Both the GC and the FMB were in agreement with a focus on missions. This agreed on focus helped smooth out the tensions and disagreements between the two entities over the use of resources since both the GC and the FMB were highly committed to the task of reaching the world with the gospel. This close relationship yet semi-autonomy can be clearly seen in the By-laws that were presented and accepted on July 25, 1890, and which governed the action of the Foreign Mission Board for the next thirteen years (see appendix 1 for the FMB By-laws). Even a casual reading of the Foreign Mission Board Minutes supports the idea of far-reaching decision making power. The By-laws also provided for the establishment of Standing Committees to better care for the needs of the different areas in the world field.

Initially the world was divided into three geographical areas with a Committee on Europe and Asia, a Committee on Africa, South America, Mexico and the West Indies, and a Committee on Oceanica (FMB 1:34). Provision was also made at the FMB Committee meeting on July 28, 1890 allowing local foreign mission fields to establish Advisory Committees that would have "general oversight of the work in that mission" (FMB 1:38, see appendix 2 for the complete policy). Such sharing of the decision making authority with the local fields allowed a much smoother running of the overseas missions than would have been possible if the FMB had tried to do everything from its Philadelphia headquarters. In keeping with the policy allowing for a delegation of power to local advisory committees the FMB voted at its March 20, 1893 meeting to nominate British, German, Central European, Russian and Australasian Advisory Committees to help supervise the work in those overseas fields (FMB 2:32).

Relationship of the FMB to the GC

Even though the FMB was led and directed by the General Conference president, and even though there was a very close working relationship between the FMB and the denominational organization the FMB enjoyed far-reaching authority and was semi-autonomous in that its decisions were not subject to the approval of any other decision-making body. Thus, the FMB was totally in charge of surveying the world to ascertain needs and

to develop new work in those overseas fields, it had the authority to select and send personnel, it set priorities and decided overall mission strategy, and it was free to respond to any need it perceived in the world field.

Points of Conflict between the FMB and GC

Even though the early FMB was closely tied to the denominational structure and in spite of the fact that the General Conference president also presided as the chairman of the FMB it was only natural to expect that sooner or later the far-reaching authority and semi-autonomous decision-making power would result in tensions developing between the two types of structures. As early as April 2, 1894 the General Conference president was concerned about the many calls coming in for overseas workers. He wanted the FMB and the General Conference to work together so that the needs of both the home and foreign fields would be adequately served. Thus it was voted "to appoint a committee from the Foreign Mission Board to cooperate with the Committee on Distribution of Labor appointed from the General Conference Committee' so that there would be no conflict between the two areas of need (FMB 2:87). However, when the first report of the joint committee was presented it was quite obvious that the needs of the foreign fields had occupied most of the committee's focus, for eight of the ten people appointed were sent in answer to the needs of the overseas work (FMB 2:92).

Congregational and mission structures often feel threatened by each other. Too often they look at each other as competitors for the same funds and personnel. Instead of realizing that both mission outreach and local programs for existing members are important and necessary in order to build a strong church, all too often mission and congregational leaders tend to look at their own function as the only legitimate one. Such thinking often results from poor understanding of the unique functions of each structure, and is also partially the result of the fallen nature of human beings rearing its head to selfishly hang onto finances and personnel. Thus, tension and misunderstanding are common occurrences when the two structures are in operation.

Such feelings surfaced at the 1903 General Conference session. At the twenty-third meeting of the session on April 9, some of the delegates felt that the proposed reorganization would result in the General Conference president continuing to promote his special area of interest and that as a result the other departments would suffer.

> It seems to me that the Foreign Mission Board has practically swallowed up the General Conference Committee; and the chairman of the Foreign Mission Board, or the president, has an advantage over any

> other department of the work. It gives the one in charge of the foreign mission department, an opportunity to work the territory and to turn means into the channel in which he is especially interested, so that other departments will suffer. And during the last two years this thing has been done. The Chairman of the General Conference Committee has been the Chairman of the Foreign Mission Board. He is intensely interested in the foreign mission work; God has put that burden upon him. But mistakes have been made in swinging everything so heavily toward the foreign mission work, that other departments of the work have suffered. (Sutherland 1903:108-109)

However, such attitudes and feelings were definitely in the minority during this period in Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) history. Instead, as will be noted below, missions enjoyed widespread support and were promoted by all levels in the organization.

Sources of Funds for the FMB

The funding of mission work is a crucial aspect that largely determines the success or failure of overseas programs. Early in the history of SDA mission work this importance was recognized and steps taken to insure that the FMB had the authority to solicit the funds needed to carry on its program. When the By-laws were originally voted on July 25, 1890, Article IV, Section 5 merely stated that "the Finance Committee was to present to the Board, annually, a report of all the funds received and expended, and an estimate of the funds necessary to carry on the work of the Board, . . . and to suggest plans for the raising of funds for foreign mission work" (FMB 1:36). By January 29, 1891 it was recognized that the Finance Committee must not only have the right to suggest plans for raising funds but must also have the "authority to execute the plans for the raising of funds for foreign mission work that has been approved by the Board" (FMB 1:68). This change was voted and the By-laws were amended allowing this greater flexibility and power to raise the needed funds.

The Board used this new power to vigorously promote the First Day offerings (FMB 1:51; 1:68; 3:17), The Envelope Plan 112 (FMB 3:68), and the Annual and Special offerings (FMB 3:26a). In 1897 the Annual Mission offering was pushed and promoted by the FMB in order to emphasize the tremendous needs both at home and abroad. That particular year one third of the Annual offering went to home mission needs and two thirds to the FMB's general fund to cover the expenses in the world field (FMB 3:26a). Later on, in July of 1899 the Board adopted a new plan urging that each member set aside ten cents a week for missions (FMB 3:168). This plan was widely accepted and became a major source of funds for missions.

Another primary source of mission funds came through the International Sabbath-School Association from the Sabbath School missions offerings. In 1885 the Sabbath School in Oakland, California decided to send all their weekly offerings to help begin Adventist mission work in Australia. Later in the same year the Sabbath Schools in Upper Columbia and California voted to do the same. In 1887 the International Association asked all the Sabbath Schools to give their offerings to begin new work in Africa, and within a short time $10,615.00 was collected (Schwarz 1979:161).

By 1897 the Sabbath-School Association was turning in over $20,000.00 each year for missions (Jones 1897:131), so it was a wrenching experience for the FMB to receive a letter from M. H. Brown, head of the International Sabbath-School Association, dated June 10, 1899 in which he requested a change in the procedures and promotion of the Sabbath School offerings. It is easy to see why such tampering with a primary source of SDA mission funding drew a quick and blunt response.

> Your letter to Elder I. H. Evans of recent date has been laid before our Board for our consideration and our advisement. We wish to say that we view with seriousness the attitude that you assume as Secretary of the International Sabbath-School Association toward the matter of donations to foreign missions by the Sabbath Schools.
>
> As we have looked your letter over, we feel that your attitude is dangerous to the best interests of our denominational work, and see no reason why you should assume such an attitude at this present juncture. It was a proper time for you to express your convictions at the General Conference of last February, as you are aware that you held those convictions prior to that time. The General Conference expressed itself openly that the Sabbath Schools should continue as they had been doing in the past, and make their donations to foreign missions. At that time it was your privilege to have publicly declared that you were opposed to the system and would not accept a position as Secretary of that Association if they continued that policy. Having voted that the present system should be continued, and, later, you assuming the responsibilities openly before the General Conference of Secretary, we think that your attitude in inaugurating new policy hardly right.
>
> The propositions that the Sabbath-School donations have been a failure we think you do not substantiate, but the facts prove that they have been a success. But for a year or so, since you have held these views, Sabbath School donations to foreign missions have been gradually decreasing.
>
> This is not in any way owing to a lack of interest in the Sabbath-Schools to make their donations, but rather to those who are in charge, we fancy, who are not in favor of the plan, thus lending their influence to antagonize it.

> We do not believe that a donation once a month to foreign missions can equal a weekly donation, if worked with vigor and all take hold together in unity. We trust, therefore, that you and your associates shall see fit to cooperate as far as your influence and line of work extend, to increase foreign mission donations, rather than to discourage our Sabbath Schools in making them; and to this end we pray, and shall hope, that the work of God may be advanced, and the heathen lands enlightened with present truth. (FMB 3:156-157)

When one realizes that the chairman of the FMB was also the General Conference president one can quickly see the strength and force of such a letter.

Development of Mission Strategy by the FMB

The FMB Was Aware of Current Missionary Thinking

As I read the FMB minutes for the period 1889-1903 I was encouraged by the fact that the FMB members were obviously aware of current happenings in missionary thinking and were actively involved in the larger evangelical missionary thrust of that day. At the December 5, 1897 meeting the Board considered a communication from John R. Mott of the Executive Committee of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions in which he invited J. E. Jayne, the secretary of the FMB, to attend the International Student Volunteer Convention to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, from February 23-27, 1898. Jayne was requested to represent the Seventh-day Adventist FMB and take charge of the students from his denomination attending the meetings. Mott's invitation was accepted and Jayne represented Seventh-day Adventists at the Convention (FMB 3:54).

It also becomes obvious that the FMB members read widely in other denominational mission publications for many articles from such sources were republished in the *Home Missionary* and the *Missionary* magazines to help promote Adventist missions. Large missionary maps published by Colton and Company showing the extensive unreached areas in the world were also subscribed to and then sold at subsidized prices to help develop an awareness of missions (FMB 1:92). Thus, in these varied ways, we have a pretty good indication that our early mission leaders were aware of the missionary thinking of their day.

FMB Members Were Sent on World Survey Trips

Elder Haskell spent his first two years (1889-1891) as a FMB member traveling around the world in order to visit and survey the needs in

England, Norway, South Africa, India, China, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand (Robinson 1967:95- 101). In 1901 two Board members were authorized to visit the West Indies, Central America, and the Northern part of South America to ascertain the needs in that region (FMB 4:13). The significant point in all this early travel was that in contrast with the travel done by today's General Conference representatives, these FMB members did not travel to only visit work already started but primarily to survey new fields, chart new areas for future work, and search out unentered language and tribal groups that had as yet been untouched by Christian missionaries. Their travel was directed by the priority of missions—reaching the lost, and not by the priority of the congregational structure—which often spends most of its time and focus visiting existing members, leaders, and institutions.

The FMB Developed Priorities

The FMB had only been in operation for seven and a half years when on July 7, 1897 R. A. Underwood and J. E. Jayne were requested to prepare some guidelines to help the Board in deciding when and under what circumstances institutions should be established (FMB 3:30-31). These men brought in their recommendations the very next day, and they were accepted as listed below.

Report of Committee on Institutions:

The Committee on the Erection of Buildings reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, the rapid advancement of the message makes it necessary to establish and maintain various institutions in other lands, and

Whereas, the Testimonies have spoken against investing means in institutions which should have been used for the purpose of supporting laborers in the field; and experience has also demonstrated the impropriety of such a course, and

Whereas, at the present time the demand for means to sustain laborers in the field and to maintain existing institutions consumes the income of the Mission Board, therefore,

Resolved,

1. That we hereby express our hearty appreciation of the cooperation which the Foreign Mission Board has ever received from our people, as manifested in words of sympathy and approval, and in liberal donations for the work in foreign lands.
2. That we earnestly invite the careful study of these fields and their needs, to the end that a lively interest may be awakened and our consciences quickened to a greater sense of our obligation to carry the Gospel to those who sit in darkness.
3. That information necessary for such study be provided immediately.
4. That we maintain the policy of providing institutions only when and where a sufficient constituency is secured to properly support them.
5. That further purchase of property, or erection of institutions, be deferred until sufficient means is secured for that purpose, or warrant the same. (FMB 3:31-32)

Even with such a policy and even in spite of clearly defined priorities, Seventh-day Adventist missions were plagued with ever escalating costs in operating their overseas institutions. Some incurred large debts, others demanded large appropriations for operation. With this type of background one can appreciate another statement by the FMB in December, 1899 clearly outlining policy and priority concerning preaching the Word of God and the building of institutions.

> Whereas, experience has demonstrated that in all foreign fields to the extent we have left the Gospel plan of "preaching the Word," we have failed in bringing souls to Christ; and
> Whereas, building institutions and running industrial schools and missions before we have a constituency of believers to assist in sustaining them by moral and financial support seems unwise, and tends rather to embarrass the work than to help it:
> Therefore, we recommend that the future policy of the Board shall be to encourage its workers in foreign fields to adhere closely to teaching the Word of God, and the circulating of literature on present truth. (FMB 3:222)

Part of the pressure to erect institutions came from Dr. John Harvey Kellogg who helped organize and operate a parallel mission organization, the Medical Missionary Board (MMB). Several times in the early history of Adventist missions the MMB started a medical institution overseas and then came to the FMB for help in building expenses, help in meeting operating expenses and/or help in paying the medical personnel employed in such institutions. Since the FMB had only limited funds and towards the Spring of 1899 had been forced to underpay many of its missionaries

already in the field the Board voted to "invest no more means at present in erecting and equipping sanitariums or furnishing appliances and supplies" (FMB 3:72).

By October, 1901 the Board was also growing uneasy about the disproportionate expenditure of funds being spent in various areas and were realizing that appropriations had not taken into consideration population size and the influence of an area or field. Therefore, at the October 26 meeting the Board voted a policy that clearly stated that henceforth island fields and fields with small populations and little international influence should no longer receive more mission funds than the "great nations of influence" (FMB 4:30). A few days later, on October 29, this policy was given greater clarity when it was further explained that it would be the policy of the Board to increase appropriations to those fields which were centers of influence, and not increase appropriations to fields not so considered (FMB 4:31).

The FMB Set Future Policy

This new direction and priority greatly affected the direction of Seventh-day Adventist mission work. The European, South American, and West Indian fields now, according to official policy, had priority over other areas in the world. Now the goal was to build up these areas to the point where they would become self-supporting so that additional workers could be recruited from such areas and where a strong financial base would help furnish funds for the next phase of outreach. Here was a critical policy decision that delayed expanding into the "purely heathen countries such as Africa, the Orient and certain islands of the sea" (FMB 3: 288).

This policy seemed to pay off in at least one area in that Europe, within a few short years, did become self-supporting and did become a strong missionary force, both in finance and personnel for the continent of Africa.

Responsibilities of the FMB

There are certain responsibilities one would expect any mission board to carry out. However, many present-day Adventists have grown up within a highly centralized denomination so it is interesting to note that the FMB was semi-autonomous and had far-reaching authority and decision-making power. The FMB was, for all practical purposes, given full responsibility for all aspects of Seventh-day Adventist work in the world field. It was also given the authority to recruit, raise funds, promote missions, and set mission priorities. Since many of the above activities depended on having direct access to the members and churches in North America, the Board also had an influential voice in the home field.

The FMB Promoted Missions

While the FMB was not involved in the day by day work in the home field it did have a great deal of influence over the home conferences as it helped them begin to see the whole world as their field and to divide their finances and personnel among the needs in this larger area. Thus, in reading the early Mission Board Minutes it is common to find appeals being sent to the various conference presidents asking them to suggest names of their workers who could fill specific needs in some overseas country (FMR 1:111). In 1897, after North America had been divided into districts, the Executive Committee of the FMB made special appeals to the district superintendents, requesting their help in finding qualified overseas workers and in raising funds for the world field (FMB 3:18).

The Board also promoted missions through the *Review and Herald* and *Signs of the Times*, two denominational papers. When special needs came up, the *Review* cooperated and printed special "Missionary Extras" outlining the pressing needs (FMB 3:10, 58).

In 1898 the FMB took over the *Home Missionary*, a monthly magazine, changed its name to *Missionary Magazine*, and used this paper as a main means of presenting the needs of the world field to Seventh-day Adventists. This magazine was used by the FMB to create an awareness of the tremendous needs in the world. In order to educate the membership, each year a list of monthly topics for study was decided on by the Board, the list was published in the *Missionary Magazine* and articles dealing with the culture, religion, and needs of that particular area were published.

In 1891 the following areas were studied each month: January—The World, February—Russia, March—South Africa, April—Central and Western Africa, May—Spanish America, June—Brazil, July—Oceanica, August—Scandinavia and Finland, September—Papal Europe, October—Germany and Switzerland, November—Syria and the Jews, and December—The United States (FMB 1:60).

Camp meetings provided another forum whereby the FMB could promote and challenge Adventists concerning the needs of missions. Board members were expected to visit as many camp meetings as possible each summer, and were challenged to give the people attending a thorough course of instruction that would help them sense the importance of foreign mission work and that would encourage them to contribute regularly and systematically to the foreign fields. By 1898 camp meetings were recognized as playing a vital role in educating the people concerning the needs of the world. Thus, the Board voted at its March 30 meeting "that more time be granted at each camp-meeting in the interests of the foreign mission work, as its importance demands" (FMB 3:70).

At the July 31, 1899 Board meeting one further promotional device was set up to strengthen the education of the membership in the area of overseas needs. The chairman of the Board suggested organizing missionary reading circles that would be conducted in every home in the denomination. These circles would study the *Missionary Magazine* in order to increase the knowledge, and therefore the interest, of the members in foreign mission work. The Board was especially concerned and interested in these missionary reading circles since they would serve to "impart information to the youth and children of the denomination concerning opportunities to become workers in the cause of God . . . and in regard to the needs of foreign fields . . . " (FMB 3:166-167).

As Adventists became aware of the tremendous needs in the world, they responded. The denomination began to look outward, to feel that the world was their mission field.

Another interesting result of the growing commitment to global mission work was that local conference boundaries were ignored when it came to finances and personnel for unentered areas. At the 1901 General Conference session I. H. Evans expressed this growing awareness when he said that

> we do not ask that the Conferences shall give all their tithes to foreign fields; but I do ask, Why not every State Conference consider if they ought not to have as deep an interest in the foreign field as in the home field? Why should I today, if I am located in Iowa or in Michigan, surround myself with a strong constituency and let the work in Mexico be barely started?
>
> Is it right? Ought not such great Conferences as Indiana, Iowa, and Michigan, and all these Conferences, say, That territory is ours? Why, our tithe is just as sacred to that field as it is to Iowa, or to Michigan, or to any of our home Conferences. Ought not that to be so, brethren? Now I do not say, Send every worker to foreign fields. I do say, Let there be an adjustment; let there be an equalization; let there be an equality of interests, and then let there be absolute cooperation and mutual confidence, and the whole problem is solved. (1901:77)

A few years later it becomes very apparent that the FMB had been very successful in educating not only the members but also the leaders concerning the responsibility to help share the Good News in foreign lands.

> Elder Farnworth and I had a most excellent time at the Iowa camp-meeting the first of June. The Lord laid upon us a very strong burden to set before the brethren the needs of our mission fields. Their hearts were touched, and they passed a unanimous vote to send one-half of their laborers and one-half of their annual tithes to mission fields. You will no doubt have seen my report of this in the REVIEW.

> We have already arranged for nearly one-half of their laborers to leave the state. The Iowa Conference sends the money to the General Conference, and we shall see that the laborers receive the amount from the General Conference, equal to what they were drawing in the State. . . . Gradually our conferences are getting toward the point of sharing one-half of their annual tithes with the mission fields. It takes time to make such a great revolution as this; but it is working, and I believe that the day is not far away when every Conference that can consistently do so will be devoting, at least, fifty per cent of its yearly tithes to mission fields. (Daniells 1904:196)

The FMB had been successful in promoting missions. However, in May of 1902, just six months before the FMB era ended, Adventist missions suffered a loss that remained for over 110 years, for at that time the *Missionary Magazine* was "merged" with the *Review and Herald*. Not until 2013 did Adventist Mission start a new magazine—*Mission 360*—which is also available in digital format. Mission Spotlight, a mission promotion DVD is only sent to churches requesting it and is available for digital download. Mission 360 is also broadcast on the Hope and 3ABN TV networks (Krause 2020).

The FMB Appointed, Instructed, and Supervised Personnel

In addition to the regular mission board work of recruiting, screening, appointing, and supervising mission personnel the FMB was also involved in setting up training programs for national workers. Adventists seemed to have a difficult time in turning over responsibility to leaders in Africa, Asia, and South America, but in Europe and Australia the denomination moved quickly to develop national leaders.

In 1890 plans were made to conduct a minister's school in Scandinavia in order to prepare several young men for ordination (FMB 1:64), and in 1891 plans were formulated for a similar school for the French speaking peoples that would train canvassers, Bible workers, and preachers (FMB 1:86). Two years earlier a similar school had opened in Hamburg, Germany to prepare workers for that country (Neufeld 1976:509).

It is also interesting to notice the Foreign Mission Board's attitude towards pre-departure training for missionary candidates. At the June 24, 1891 board meeting when a plan of action was being decided as to what strategy to use in entering Argentina it was voted to send a team of canvassers to begin work in that country. Before leaving they were given a list of books that they were to study. The Board also voted that "while we encourage them to study the Spanish and Portuguese languages what they can in connection with their regular work, before starting for South

America, we believe that they will make more rapid progress after reaching the field, where they will be surrounded by those speaking the language to be learned" (FMB 1:106).

Pre-departure training was also required for those going overseas to work in health institutions. As early as 1895 it was felt that all personnel going overseas to work in health work should spend six months studying at Battle Creek Sanitarium (FMB 3:146-147). However, it was not until 1907 when Washington Foreign Mission Seminary was established that ministers, before going overseas, were expected to enroll for an intensive study of the geography, history, and culture of the countries to which they were being sent (Neufe1d 1976:334-335).

The FMB Supervised Overseas Work

In reading the FMB Minutes it soon becomes very obvious that the board involved itself in the small as well as the large decisions necessary for the operation of overseas work. In spite of the provision made in the FMB By-laws for local Advisory Committees to help with the general oversight of overseas fields, the FMB continued to be closely involved in many of the day-by-day problems and in the decision-making process that decided local issues. All building plans, estimates, and blueprints had to be authorized, not only by the local Advisory Committees, but also by the Foreign Mission Board itself (FMB 1:101).

When a small cylinder press broke down in the Scandinavian printing house in Christiania, the Scandinavian Publishing Board needed FMB approval in order to purchase a larger replacement press (FMB 1:25). The requests for tents for public evangelism for the British Guiana field in 1893 (FMB 2:64) and for the Fiji field in 1900 (FMB 3:303) were both referred to the FMB headquarters in the United States for approval. However, perhaps nowhere is the close involvement of the FMB in field activities seen more clearly than in the decisions and actions the board took in regard to the ship Pitcairn.

At the July 14, 1890 meeting, the board adopted the following plans that detailed the work to be accomplished on the first sailing of the Pitcairn.

> First, that the matter of selecting a crew be left to the committee having charge of the construction of the ship.
>
> Second, that two ministers, with their wives, and Brother J. I. Fay, constitute the missionary force. That one of the ministers shall be a man of mature judgment and good executive ability, who shall have charge of the missionary enterprise, as superintendent. The other minister may be a man of less experience, but of strong constitution, enthusiastic, energetic, and determined. That Brother Fay shall act as

carpenter and sailmaker, having an oversight of keeping in repair the ship, etc., but to be free from all official duties when needed for missionary work.

Third, that the ship sail direct to Pitcairn where the younger minister and his wife may be left, while the ship with the superintendent and other workers from the Island, proceed to Nor Fork Island, to ascertain what labor is needed there, and to undertake whatever work may be required.

After returning to Pitcariana, the missionaries will have gained an experience that will enable them to plan much better than we can do from our quiet houses thousands of miles away. A council for future plans should be held with the superintendent as chairman who should always be recognized as the presiding officer in all councils relating to missionary work.

Fourth, the missionary council should be free to act outside of the general instructions given them before leaving, and which will be more definite than can be embodied in a general plan like this.

Fifth, to accomplish this work, the ship should be furnished, in addition to the ordinary supplies and provisions for such a trip, with—

a. A good library of histories, books of travels, lives of missionaries, etc.
b. With a well-chosen stock of dry-goods, suitable for trade among the Islanders.
c. With a large and carefully selected stock of our religious books in English, German, Dutch, and French, with a few in the Scandinavian languages. Also a good supply of whatever we may have in the Spanish and Portuguese languages; as well as a large and well-chosen stock of our periodicals in the various languages for free distribution.

Sixth, we suggest that the Superintendent of the missionary forces, the captain of the ship, and Brother J. I. Fay constitute a committee for the decision of such matters relative to the course of the ship and the work to be done as this Board may decide to leave to their discretion.

Seventh, we would recommend that the superintendent should assign every member of the force regular lines of study, and that, as far as reasonable, the time of the missionaries during the passage be diligently employed in fitting themselves for the work in which they are to engage.

We recommend that the chairman of this Board shall appoint two others to act with himself in selecting workers to go with the "Pitcairn" on her first trip. (FMB 1:27-28)

In spite of such close involvement by the Board in the Pitcairn project it is encouraging to see provision made for local initiative (See points 3, 4 and 6 above) and for local decision making. It is also true that the Board soon developed more flexibility and granted greater decision making authority

to the local Advisory Committees as new work was started in more and more countries. It is helpful, at this point, to trace the steps taken by the FMB in setting up new work in an unentered country, and then watch the process whereby the foreign fields moved from being directly under the control of the mission Board, to having their own Advisory Committee, and finally to becoming an organized mission or conference.

As mentioned earlier in this article it was common for FMB committee members to travel extensively, not only to visit established missions but also to survey unentered and unreached areas. Often these men would send back letters to the Board while still on their overseas trip, urging the FMB to begin laying plans for entering the unentered country they had just visited. The Board received such a report from S. N. Haskell in 1890 after he had visited India. In his letter he made specific suggestions for beginning Adventist mission work in India. He advocated that the best way to begin would be to send a few young men to India to first learn the language and then begin educational work. He also suggested that medical missionaries be sent as well as ship missionaries to work in Calcutta and Bombay. Haskell felt that it would be impossible for an Indian mission to be self-supporting as were many of the other early missions that largely consisted of canvassers and medical missionaries (FMB 1:26).

Almost four years later at the April 16, 1894 meeting a small committee consisting of W. W. Prescott, J. H. Kellogg, M.D., J. H. Durland, and G. C. Tenny gave their report and made the following recommendations for beginning work in India.

1. That the work should be vigorously entered upon as soon as consistent.
2. That a man of good executive ability, broad discernment, and sound health, be selected to go to that field for the purpose of superintending the work permanently. And that before sending a large company of workers, time be given for looking the country over, considering the situation by correspondence with your Board, and establishing a home and headquarters for the mission.
3. That this home shall be intended as a training school for nurses and Bible workers, and, if consistent, as a sanitarium for the treatment of the sick.
4. That there may accompany the one sent out to superintend the work, a limited number of workers whose previous training and experience shall fit them to care for the sick, and to canvass for health works, and thus be as far as possible self-supporting.
5. That when headquarters shall have been established, such other workers, including a well qualified physician, be sent as the work may demand. And we recommend that the health and temperance work and teaching be given special prominence in our work in India.
6. We further require that satisfactory medical certificates of fitness for laboring in that country be required of those going to India.

7. We recommend that the canvassing and medical work be made to contribute as far as possible to the financial support of the work, by placing earnings and profits into the general fund from which the expenses of the mission shall be paid. (FMB 2:94)

It was common procedure that once several missionaries were working in a given area that one of them would be designated as the superintendent and would act as the chairman of a local Advisory Committee. This local Advisory Committee was appointed by the FMB and consisted of three to seven of the missionaries working in that area (for a detailed list of duties and responsibilities of the Advisory Committee see Appendix II). In general this committee functioned as the eyes and ears of the FMB. It was expected to carry out the plans of the FMB and was able to decide local issues and matters as long as such decisions did not necessitate additional appropriations from the FMB.

When an area had won a significant number of converts, the Advisory Committee could request that the work be organized as a mission. Thus, when Allen Moon returned from his visit to the West Indies in 1897 and reported about one thousand believers in the Caribbean area, his recommendation that these believers be organized into the West Indian Mission was voted by the FMB (FMB 3:48).

L. R. Conradi, pioneer Adventist worker in Germany, Austria, and Russia was one superintendent who constantly pushed for quick local control. On November 18, 1890 he wrote from Odessa, Russia after having attended a general meeting in the Caucasus, requesting the organization of a German Conference that would include Holland, Germany and Russia. Conradi understood the difference between conference and mission status. When an area attained conference status it was considered self-supporting and the constituency of that area elected their own officers. Mission officers were appointed by the FMB back in the States. When the Board received Conradi's request for conference status for Germany they turned it down and instead organized two separate missions, one for Russia and another for Germany with Conradi being appointed as the superintendent of both of them (FMB 1:61).

The German Mission was reorganized as a conference in 1898 and included Austria, Hungary, the Netherlands, Romania, Bulgaria and Serbia. Conradi was elected president at that time with H. G. Schuberth elected secretary, and Bertha Severin elected treasurer (Neufeld 1976:510).

These then were the steps that were taken by the FMB that eventually led to self-support and self-rule. By the end of 1903 when the FMB era came to an end there were 78 conferences and 48 missions in the world field (Neufeld 1976:1326).

Means Used by the FMB

In the early days of the FMB funds were scarce and the needs many. Thus in order to satisfy as many as possible of the pressing demands for overseas missionaries the FMB developed a varied and flexible approach in sending out workers. Because of the scarcity of funds many of the early Adventist workers were self-supporting canvassers.

Publishing Work

The Adventist Church from its earliest beginnings had relied on the published page to help spread its message. Between 1844 and 1900 seven weekly and monthly journals were begun and became a regular part of SDA life. By 1901 Adventists were operating four publishing houses in North America as well as operating the Christian Record Braille Foundation that specialized in material for the blind (Neufeld 1976:1170-1171). Shortly before 1878 George A. King began selling SDA publications door to door, and within the next few years this type of ministry became one of the entering wedges used by Adventists to begin new work (1976:792).

By the time the FMB took over responsibility for overseas work in 1889, canvassing had become widely accepted as a means of spreading the gospel. When the Board was faced with the challenge of beginning work in South America they decided to send two teams of canvassers, one to Argentina and the other to Brazil, to begin work in those countries (FMB 1:102). Missionaries engaged in the canvassing work were not only highly successful in spreading the Gospel among the people they worked for, but they were also the cheapest missionaries to support since they could usually earn enough from their book sales to cover their living expenses.

Adventists began work in every South American country except Peru either by first sending in colporteurs or because someone sent SDA publications into the country. Thus when the first ministers arrived in those countries there were already groups of believers meeting (Neufeld 1976:792).

At the FMB meeting of June 8, 1893, the Board approved William Lenker's request to go as a canvasser to India. The Board voted to pay his fare but they also voted that once he arrived in India he was on his own and must be self-supporting (FMB 2:36). This became a commonly used means by the Board for beginning work in unentered countries.

The FMB was also in charge of developing publishing houses in foreign countries and printing literature and books in the various languages. During the thirteen years the FMB was in operation it helped establish publishing houses in England (1889), Germany (1889), Argentina (1897), Finland (1897), and India (1898) (Neufeld 1976:1170).

Medical Work

Dr. John Harvey Kellogg was the early force behind the development of Adventist medical work. During most of the years that the FMB was in operation medical missionaries were sent out primarily by the Medical Missionary Board or the International Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association (IMMBA). The IMMBA was founded in 1893 and was dissolved in 1904 when its activities were largely taken over by the Medical Department of the General Conference (Neufeld 1976:667). The few medical missionaries sent overseas by the FMB were expected to be largely self-supporting and were expected to bring in enough income from their health programs to help defray the expenses of the other missionaries in the area. This plan often did not proceed as hoped for and often large sums of money were requested to pay not only the medical missionary's salaries, but also to help cover the cost of operating health institutions.

The prime example of this failure of the medical work to be self-supporting is detailed in the story of the Medical Missionary Board's first attempt to begin work outside of the United States. In 1893 D. T. Jones and Dr. Lillis Wood along with several others went to Guadalajara, Mexico, and opened a medical mission and school. Later the work there developed into the Guadalajara Sanitarium (1976:873). From 1895 to 1903 when the FMB era came to an end there were numerous instances when the Guadalajara Sanitarium requested operating funds and financial help to cover medical personnel salaries. It was largely because of the failure of this one project that the FMB developed its policy of not building institutions until the local constituency could support them (see under The FMB Developed Priorities above). For all practical purposes, the medical work did not play a very significant role during the FMB period.

Lay Missionaries

At the January 7, 1890 Board meeting there was a discussion as to how the FMB could most effectively begin work in South America. Since funds were very scarce it was voted

> that mission work in that country [South America] be made as nearly self-sustaining as possible. To this end, we would recommend that young men and women who have good trades or professions be selected, and encouraged to prepare themselves for that field; also that businessmen of some capital be selected, and encouraged to go there and establish themselves in business, and form an acquaintance and standing with the people, and a nucleus, or center, from which missionary work can be done. (FMB 1:9, 10)

This was the attitude and official position of the FMB towards lay missionaries going to unentered areas. No further word is found in the FMB minutes to indicate whether or not anyone actually did go to South America in this capacity. However, lay missionaries did play an active part in Mexico. Alfred Cooper left Guadalajara Sanitarium in 1907 and settled in Mexico City where he developed a canning factory that grew into a nationwide business. He devoted his spare time to evangelism and helped strengthen the work in Mexico City. Julius Paulson operated a large bakery business and fruit cannery in San Lois Potosi while also conducting an active missionary work (Neufeld 1976:874).

Self-Supporting Missionaries

More common than lay missionaries were the many men and women sent out as self-supporting missionaries. There were many canvassers who went out under this type of program, but there were others who went and worked full-time at evangelistic and Bible work. In March of 1896 the Battle Creek Church was asked to provide one or two families to go as self-supporting missionaries on the missionary ship Pitcairn (FMB 2:21). A lady, Georgia Burrus, was authorized by the FMB to go to India in 1894 as the first official SDA missionary to that country after she made a proposition signifying her willingness to work in that country for the first year completely free and that also included her promise to pay her own fare to India (FMB 2:120). At the July 3, 1894 Board meeting the FMB secretary, F. M. Wilcox, recommended and the Board granted him the authority to send out letters to some of the "brethren of means" asking that they consider the possibility of going overseas as self-supporting missionaries (FMB 2:108).

This action was probably in response to an earlier Board action taken November 12, 1893 in which the FMB voted "that the Board is in harmony with the idea of responsible brethren, able to do so at their own expense" being allowed to go to foreign lands (FMB 2:62). In response to the growing number of dedicated members who were requesting to be sent out under such a program the Board voted the following guidelines at its March 8, 1895 meeting indicating the relationship between the FMB and the self-supporting missionaries.

> Whereas, Certain difficulties are likely to arise in connection with the plan of self-supporting missionary work in both home and foreign fields, therefore, Resolved, That the following principles be recognized by this Board in relation to the regulation of this line of missionary work:

1. No person should be encouraged to engage in work as a self-supporting missionary whose qualifications for missionary work are in any respect less than those which would be required of a missionary receiving compensation from the Board.
2. Persons laboring as self-supporting missionaries shall be subject to the same supervision and direction as the missionaries who are supported wholly or in part by the Board.
3. Self-supporting missionaries who enter missionary fields with the expectation of engaging in agriculture or other manual pursuits as a means of gaining a livelihood, will not be expected to engage in other pursuits except so far as may have been authorized in the instructions given under the direction of this Board in each individual case. (FMB 2:149-150)

Conference Supported Missionaries

In 1896 the FMB began a practice that soon had a significant impact on the number of missionaries being sent overseas each year. At the March 18 Board meeting it was voted to send Professor W. C. Grainger and his wife as well as T. H. Okahira to Japan to begin mission work there. What was unique about this appointment was the corresponding request presented to the California Conference in which that conference was asked to support these three workers in Japan for a year or more (FMB 2:21-22). At the December 5, 1897 Board meeting a similar request was made to the Kansas Conference, requesting that they appropriate from their tithe an amount sufficient to support one worker in Jamaica (FMB 3:58). This marked the first time that tithe was mentioned as the source of funds for supporting an overseas worker by a home conference.

Adventist conferences at that time were paying all their ministers in that conference a salary based on the same wage scale irrespective of congregational size or the amount of tithe turned in to the conference by the churches they served. Thus, the FMB leaders were interested in tapping into the conference tithe money for they rightly perceived that such tithe funds could become a significant source of funding for overseas work. In March of 1899 George A. Irwin, president of both the General Conference and the Foreign Mission Board, made a motion that was accepted by the Board suggesting that the secretary of the FMB send out a letter to all conference presidents asking them to consider supporting overseas workers (FMB 3:128).

This idea of having the local home conference support overseas workers with their tithe did catch on and became a very important means in getting workers to unentered areas in the world. At the 1901 General Conference Session I. H. Evans reported that:

> I am much interested in regard to the work in foreign fields and the securing of funds to carry on that work. I think we all agree that there is a vast work to be done by us as a people in the region beyond. The vast majority of the population of the world lies outside of the organized territory, and it will take a great many men and laborers to carry on the work in a strong manner in these fields.
>
> For many years the Foreign Mission Board, through the General Conference, has been trying to operate in these fields. Their funds have been always limited. They have only been able to send out a few men. In the last two years there has been a new condition of things coming in among us. At the last General Conference, several of our conferences agreed that they would send out some of their own laborers and support them from the tithes. This has been done. (1901:56-57)

A year later Elder A. T. Jones reported that "the amount of the tithe now going to foreign fields from the California Conference is practically half the amount raised in the Conference" (1902:121-122). This practice of having conferences support overseas workers with their tithe funds not only played a major role in dramatically increasing the number of workers sent from 1898 onward, but it also demonstrated the widespread support for missions among the conference leaders.

Board Supported Missionaries

Besides the above means used to proclaim the Good News to the world's unbelieving millions the FMB also sent out missionaries that were supported by the funds that came to the Board from various sources. It is impossible because of lack of records to ascertain what percentage were supported in the various ways, but it seems likely that before 1900 most missionaries not considered self-supporting were supported by the Board.

Seeds for Future Decline

There were two administrative procedures that developed during the Foreign Mission Board era that quite possibly are largely to blame for the sad state of missions in the Seventh-day Adventist denomination today.

The FMB Turned Mission Territory Over to Union Conferences

The FMB voted at its May 20, 1901 meeting to ask the Pacific Union Conference to take charge of the work in the Hawaiian Islands, suggesting that the Hawaiian mission field be attached to the Union Conference (FMB 4:7). The Pacific Union, in response to the FMB's request to supervise the Hawaiian Mission, agreed to take over responsibility for that field but

asked that the Pacific Union be allowed to retain the second tithe it had been paying directly to the Mission Board. It wanted to use that tithe money to operate the new mission field. This request was granted and the Pacific Union took over responsibility for the work in Hawaii (FMB 4:17).

Eighty years later (1981) Hawaii was still a mission attached to the Pacific Union Conference. Something definitely is wrong when a strong union like the Pacific Union can oversee a mission field for eighty years and not be able to develop the work in that area to the point that conference status can be granted. Is it possible that congregational structures like a union conference are more focused on the needs, programs, and priorities of existing Adventist members than they are to the needs and programs necessary for developing and strengthening new work in a mission field? It seems that by turning mission fields over to leaders and administrators that were rightly more concerned with nurture and development within existing congregations than they were in reaching out cross-culturally to different races and language groups that the FMB began a process that has slowed down the Adventist ability to reach unreached groups. Fallen people have a history of not being able to see the needs and wants of others who are different from themselves as well as they can see their own needs and wants. Thus, when a mission field containing different races, languages, and groups has to compete within a union with a majority group administered by their own leaders it is only natural to expect that much that could have been done for the field would be left undone for the simple reason that many needs are not perceived. Hawaii probably would have been better administered by the FMB because the FMB had as their primary purpose the crossing of cultural and linguistic barriers and the reaching of groups different from their own with the Good News. By tying Hawaii to the Pacific Union the unique and special needs of cross-cultural witness were lost sight of.

The FMB Did Not Develop Mission Structures Overseas

The FMB had a strategy of establishing Adventist work in every country in the world. Therefore, as soon as was possible the Board organized local missions and conferences so that it could be freed to enter other unentered areas. However, once an area achieved conference status the FMB had very little say in the work in that area. Conference status gave the elected officials complete charge of developing the plans, priorities, and programs. Unfortunately, the FMB only planted congregational structures overseas and did not help establish mission boards at the local level that would have as their focus the needs of the unreached within the local mission or conference territories.

Instead, when areas were placed under mission or conference control, all too often they were turned over to leaders primarily concerned with congregational needs and pressures. Such leaders tended to respond more to the needs of their constituency than to the needs of the unreached within their territory. This tendency to respond more to the needs of the congregation than to the needs of the unreached can be seen in the types of calls that the FMB and then the General Conference received from overseas. A larger and larger percentage of calls were for missionaries to nurture and care for the existing members in the overseas fields, and a smaller and smaller percentage of calls were for missionaries that would have an active role in witnessing to unbelievers.

Some would argue that this switch in the percentages is a healthy indication that the local national church is doing the evangelizing of their own people and that they only need specialists from overseas to help in certain areas. I would argue, however, that the switch in percentages vividly demonstrates the fact that the needs of the congregational structure completely overshadowed the needs that a mission structure champions by allowing the needs of those who were already Adventist to dominate and crowd out the also legitimate needs of the unreached to hear the Good News. By not developing mission structures overseas that would have kept the needs of both the members and the unreached in tension, the FMB started Seventh-day Adventists down the road toward a lifestyle turned inward to the needs of local congregations, thereby allowing them to ignore the needs of the unreached in the world.

The FMB started the practice of turning whole sections of the world over to missions and conferences and then locked itself out of any say in reaching the unreached within that area. Even in 2020, the General Conference only responds to calls initiated from the field. This means that more than a hundred years after the FMB has passed from the scene that the Seventh-day Adventist denomination finds itself in a situation where 2.4 billion of the world's people live in people groups where there is very little or no Christian witness available to them from any denomination. In this situation Adventist missions is hindered from starting new initiatives in most of the areas where those 2.4 billion people live since they live within the geographic boundaries of national missions and conferences. This places millions of unreached peoples under the responsibility of the leaders of congregational structures who have traditionally been much more responsive to the needs of those who are already Adventists in their areas than they are to the different people groups who can only be reached through a cross-cultural presentation of the gospel.

Thus, by turning mission areas over to leaders more concerned with the inward needs of their constituency and by failing to develop mission

departments and/or mission boards in the overseas areas the FMB, over a hundred years ago, started the Seventh-day Adventist denomination in a direction that today is resulting in a dying mission program. The tragic part in all this is that Adventist missions is in decline at a time when thousands of people groups still have not heard of Jesus Christ.

One additional challenge is that in areas of the world where Adventist membership is in decline (several countries in Europe and some countries in Asia), Adventist Mission cannot engage in those areas without the permission and invitation of conference leaders. This means that the Adventist leaders in those countries cannot keep other Christian denominations out of their territory, but they can hinder Adventists from other parts of the world being given easy access to help in the rebuilding and re-evangelization of those territories.

Appendix 1

By-laws of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference

Article I

The President of the General Conference shall be chairman of the Board of Foreign Missions, and shall, after each regular election of the Board, appoint, unless otherwise provided for, such standing committees as are provided for by these by-laws.

Article II

Sec. 1. The Foreign Mission Secretary shall be secretary of the Board, and his duties shall be to maintain a regular correspondence with superintendents of missions, and with the supervising committees of the Foreign Mission enterprises under the management of the Foreign Missions Board; to make regular reports of the condition and wants of the missions, to the Board, or to such standing committees as may be created for this purpose by the Board; to communicate the decisions of the Board to its agents in foreign countries; and to report to the Conference at its sessions, the workings 237 of the Board, and the condition, progress, and wants of its foreign missions.

Sec. 2. The Treasures of the General Conference shall be treasurer of the Foreign Mission Board; and it shall be his duty to receive all money belonging to the Board, to keep an account of the same, and to disburse it by order of the Board, and to make a full report thereof annually to the Board.

Article III

Sec. 1. The Board shall meet semi-annually, at such time and place as may be decided upon by the Board, or appointed by the president.

Sec. 2. Special meetings may be called by the president and secretary when such meetings shall be considered necessary to the interest of the work in foreign fields.

Sec. 3. Seven members of the Board shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Article IV

Sec. 1. The standing committees of the Board, for the present shall be:

a. A committee of three on Europe and Asia.
b. A committee of three on Africa, South America, Mexico, and the West Indies.
c. A committee of three on Oceanica.
d. A committee of three on the education and qualifications of missionaries.
e. A committee of three on finances.
f. A committee of three on appointments and general references.

Sec. 2. The Board may appoint such other committees from time to time as the interests of the work demands.

Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the committees on different fields to make a careful study of their fields, and to make such recommendations as may seem to them expedient for the interest of the work.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of the committee on the education and qualifications of missionaries, to look out for those who have a burden for the foreign mission work, and lay out for them a course of study, and encourage and assist them in preparation for missionary work.

Sec. 5. It shall be the duty of the committee on finance to present to the Board, annually, a report of all the funds received and expended, and an estimate of the funds necessary to carry on the work of the Board for the succeeding twelve months, and to suggest plans for the raising of funds for foreign mission work.

Sec. 6. The committee on appointments and general reference shall nominate persons for appointment by the Board, and take into consideration such miscellaneous matters as do not belong to other standing on special committees.

Article V

The Board may appoint Advisory committees in different mission fields to take an oversight of the local work, when they consider it to be for the interest of such fields.

Article VI

No missionary shall be sent abroad until he has first passed a careful examination by the committee on education as to his educational and spiritual qualifications, also by a competent physician as to his physical ability for such a work (FMB 1:34-36).

Appendix 2

Advisory Committees in Mission Fields

1. Whenever the Foreign Mission Board deems it advantageous to its work in any mission field, they may appoint an Advisory Committee, of not less than three, nor more than seven members, of which the superintendent of the mission shall be one, to take a general oversight of the work in that mission.

2. The superintendent of the mission shall be chairman of the committee. A majority of the committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

3. The committee shall choose of its members, or otherwise, a treasurer, a recording secretary, one of more corresponding secretaries, and as many field secretaries for the superintendence of special lines of work, as the growth of the mission demands. All appointments of the committees shall be subject to the approval of the Board of Foreign Missions.

4. It shall be the duty of each Advisory committee—(a) To carefully study the field under its care; (b) To counsel together relative to the best way of advancing the work of the mission; (c) To collect, and submit to the Board, information relative to the necessities of the mission, the efficiency of the several workers employed in it, and the character and number of additional laborers needed; (d) To assist the superintendent in the economical and efficient management of the mission; and to encourage the spirit of liberality and self-support.

5. For the consideration of these matters, the committee should meet as often as once a quarter, except where large expense would be incurred, or important work interrupted.

6. At each regular meeting of the Advisory Committee, the following subjects should be considered:

a. The progress of the work of the traveling preachers reported by the superintendent.
b. The condition of the treasury and the state of the canvassing work, reported by the Treasurer.
c. The condition of the churches, the Sabbath schools, and the local tract societies, reported by the corresponding secretaries.
d. Following each report, the subject introduced should be discussed; and before the close of the session, plans should be laid for the advancement of the work in all its branches.

7. At the first meeting after the close of the fiscal year of the General Conference, the committee shall audit the accounts of all persons employed in, and having claim against the mission, and then forward them

to the General Conference Auditing Committee, for final settlement. At the same meeting, the committee shall prepare a careful estimate of the funds necessary for the support of the mission for the ensuing year, and of the amount of tithes and contributions that can be expected from that field.

8. The Treasurer shall leave the custody of all the property belonging to the General Conference, and of all funds furnished by it for use in the mission; and he shall disburse the same, as the Board of Foreign Missions may direct. He shall also receive all tithes and contributions from those in the field, and pay out the same on the order of the Advisory Committee.

9. The recording secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of all meetings of the committee, and at the close of each session shall transmit a copy of the minutes of the same to the Board of Foreign Missions.

10. The corresponding secretaries in each mission field, shall conduct such correspondence with the churches, Sabbath schools, and local tract societies, as may be directed by the committee.

11. The committee shall have no authority to purchase or lease real estate, nor to involve the Board in any financial enterprise except by vote of the Board.

12. The committee may grant colporteur's license, subject to the approval of the General Conference.

They shall submit to the Foreign Mission Board recommendations of those they deem fit to receive ministerial license or credentials, with a statement of their qualifications and Christian experience.

All decisions relative to giving ministerial license, granting credentials, and ordination of ministers, shall be made by the General Conference (FMB 1890:38-40).

Works Cited

Daily Bulletin. 1889. *Daily Bulletin of the General Conference*. General Conference of Seventh-day Adventist Archives. Washington, DC.

Daniells, A. G. 1904. Letter written to L. R. Conradi, June 24. 11 Outgoing Letter book #34, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventist Archives. Washington, DC.

Evans, I. H. 1901. General Conference Session Recording Secretary's Minutes. April 9, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventist Archives. Washington, DC.

FMB 1. 1892. Records of the Foreign Mission Board of Seventh-day Adventists, Vol. 1. (1889-June 1892). General Conference of Seventh-day Adventist Archives. Washington, DC.

FMB 2. 1896. Records of the Foreign Mission Board of Seventh-day Adventists, Vol. 2. (July 27, 1892-Nov. 2, 1896). General Conference of Seventh-day Adventist Archives. Washington, DC.

FMB 3. 1901. Records of the Foreign Mission Board of Seventh-day Adventists, Vol. 3. (March 16, 1897-Feb. 21, 1901). General Conference of Seventh-day Adventist Archives. Washington, DC.

FMB 4. 1903. Records of the Foreign Mission Board of Seventh-day Adventists, Vol. 4. (February 22, 1901-1903). General Conference of Seventh-day Adventist Archives. Washington, DC.

Jones, A. T. 1902. General Conference Committee Minutes, Vol. 5. General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. Washington, DC.

Jones, C. H. 1897. *Daily Bulletin of the General Conference*. February 24. General Conference of Seventh-day Adventist Archives. Washington D. C.

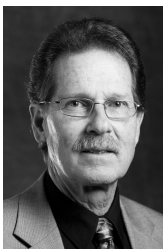
Krause, Gary. 2020. E-Mail to author. January 20.

Neufeld, Don F., ed. 1976. *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald.

Robinson, Ella M. 1967. *S. N. Haskell, Man of Action*. Washington, DC: Review and Herald.

Schwarz, R. W. 1979. *Light Bearers to the Remnant*. Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press.

Sutherland, E. A. 1903. General Conference Session Recording Secretary's Minutes. April 9. General Conference of Seventh-day Adventist Archives. Washington, DC.



Bruce Bauer worked in Japan, Micronesia, and Cambodia for 23 years and has taught at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary for 28 years. He is the Director of the Doctor of Missiology program and the editor of the *Journal of Adventist Mission Studies.*

Koberson Langhu

Seventh-day Adventist Educational Mission in India: A Historical Sketch and Retrospection for the Future

Introduction

In 1896, Seventh-day Adventists (SDA) opened their first school in India on 14 Bow Bazaar Street in the bustling city of Calcutta (now Kolkata). Georgia A. Burrus and Martha May Taylor, two young American missionaries, administered the school where there were seventy girls in the first year (Wilcox 1896:573-574; Watts 2006:349). Over 123 years have passed since then and Adventist educational mission to the people of India has certainly come a long way. Statistics are evidential. At present, there are 144 mission schools (primary, high school, and secondary schools), 8 colleges, and one university (ASTR 2019:57).

This article seeks to present a brief historical overview of the SDA educational mission in India, the current educational scenario, and its future prospects. It is important to remember the movers and shakers of Adventist education, historic events, developments, and vicissitudes of the Adventist educational mission. The Spanish-American philosopher George Santayana, warning against the peril of forgetting the past wrote, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it" (Atkinson 2011:232). Seventh-day Adventist pioneer Ellen White beautifully captured the importance of remembering the past when she penned these inspiring words: "We have nothing to fear for the future except as we shall forget the way the Lord has led us and his teachings in our past history" (1915:196). It is thus, a healthy exercise to look back to the past to better understand the present as one moves into the unknown future.

https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/jams/vol15/iss2/1
DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.32597/jams/vol15/iss2/

It is equally important to feel the pulse of the current Adventist educational heartbeat in India in order to make sure that one is faithful to the distinctive Adventist philosophy of education. When there is faithfulness in the present, the future is secure and there is no cause for fear. The challenges of a rapidly changing educational scene in the country may be a threat to Adventist educational mission if Hindu fundamentalist ideology prevails causing Adventists to compromise religious and educational principles. However, many of the challenges can also be opportunities rather than threats in the effort to stay relevant both for the church as well as the society at large. Before delving into the history of Adventist education in India, it is important to understand the aspirations of missionaries for Adventist education in the country and their response to the challenges of the Indian caste system in educational setting.

Adventist Schools as Centers of Evangelism

When Adventist missionaries began their work in India, they employed multiple strategies to reach the Indian masses—publishing, direct evangelism, medical work, charity, and educational. While they could target mostly adults (both Christian and non-Christian) with direct evangelism, they could reach adults as well as children (of different religious backgrounds) with education. In fact, missionaries recognized schools as "one of the best agencies for teaching the gospel, not only to the children and youth, but also to their parents" (Shaw 1911:10). Floyd Greenleaf in his book *In Passion for the World*, observes that "education was the preferred method of evangelism" for Adventist missionaries in India (Greenleaf 2005:194). Homer R. Salisbury, who served as the president of the India Union Mission until his tragic death at sea (1915) wrote,

> Perhaps no other single agency or mission work appeals more strongly to the Indian mind than the mission school. . . . The very character of heathenism makes Christian schools a necessity. . . . Heathen errors must be corrected and right thinking encouraged. For this reason, mission schools offer the means of accomplishing this end. They form a regular congregation and give the missionary the surest means of overthrowing heathen sophistries, cultivating right principles, and erecting Bible standards. It has been through the medium of schools that the Roman Catholic Church, which has more adherents than any other church, has largely made her converts. (Salisbury 1913:18-19)

Another pioneer missionary, G. G. Lowry, the founder of the South India Training School and the president of the Southern Asia Division (1941-1942), also pointed out that although evangelism through schools was a slow process, it was the "most successful and permanent" (1926:2-3).

Adventist mission schools have played a significant part in the conversion of many Indians to Adventism through the years. For instance, during the years 1926-1929, 270 students were baptized, which was about 29 percent of those baptized across the Southern Asia Division (Meleen 1930:6). Recognizing the importance of education, early missionaries made great efforts and invested a lot of resources in establishing schools in different parts of the country, both to educate the local people as well as to lead them to accept Jesus Christ as their Lord and Savior. Undeniably, the later was often the final motive of the missionaries, which they carried out with great dedication.

Adventist Schools as Charitable Institutions

Besides serving as centers of evangelism, Adventist schools became charitable institutions as they provided free education to children of the poor who could not afford their school fees. W. W. Fletcher, the president of the India Union Mission in 1917 reported that the denomination supported nearly all of the boarding school students in the mission schools (Fletcher 1917:24). Such charitable initiatives put a lot of strain on the financial condition of the fledgling denomination. Many questioned the psychological impact of free education on the minds of the local people. As a result, the Southern Asia Division in 1926 introduced work-study programs where students could pay off their school fees by working in the schools (Torrey 1926:4). Further, the 1938 educational council of the division directed all village day schools to become self-supporting (Meleen 1938:2-4; Steeves 1939:1-3; Steeves 1941:4-6). This action reduced the numbers of schools, teachers, and students. Many students dropped out of school as they could not or refused to pay school fees. In 1939 A. E. Nelson pointed out, "the days when we provided free room, board, tuition, clothing, and pocket money are passed" (1939:2, 3). The new educational policy brought some financial stability to mission schools. It also brought long term benefit as Indian parents began to realize that they must be ready to make financial sacrifices to educate their children and not continue to depend on foreign aid. Work-study programs, though not as rigorous as they used to be, remain in place in some Adventist mission institutions. Students who are able to pay their school fees or receive private sponsorship from some Adventists in the West are usually not required to follow the work requirements.

The Caste System Challenge to Adventist Schools

Adventist missionaries came face to face with the challenges of the Indian caste system in their effort to provide education for Indian children.

Luther and Georgia Burgess founded a school in Dehra Dun in 1909 in order to educate Hindustani Sabbath-keeping girls and to train them for zenana work. They also desired to educate both Hindu and Muslim girls to provide opportunities to share the Christian faith with them. After the school was relocated to Najibabad (north of New Delhi), the Burgesses faced difficulty in operating the school. Local Hindus and Muslims refused to send their girls to study in the same school, which compelled them to admit only Christian girls (O'Connor 1910:3). Such were the challenges of the missionaries that they had to open separate schools for the lower caste and upper caste Indians. At times, missionaries had to accommodate caste distinctions within the school. In 1910, the Burgesses established an industrial school at Garhwal for Hindustani boys upon the repeated request of the Hindus. All the boys were ages 12 to 24 and of Brahman and Rajput high-castes. The rigid Indian caste system did not permit them to share the same space in the school cookhouse. The school authorities accommodated their caste distinctions by drawing marks to make divisions in the cookhouse so students of different castes could cook and eat in their assigned places (Salisbury 1913:18, 19).

History of Seventh-day Adventist Education

Although a panoramic historical survey of the 123-year history of Adventist education is under discussion, the focus of this article is on the early formative period (1896-1947) when several important training schools were established across the country, many of which are still in operation, upgraded as higher secondary schools or colleges.

The First Adventist School in India

When Adventist missionaries began their first school in Calcutta, they restricted the admission to high-caste Bengali girls. The rationale for this decision was based on the prevailing social condition of the times. As mentioned earlier, upper-caste Indians refused to send their children to school with children from lower castes. Besides, very few Muslim and Hindu girls were allowed to attend school. Most Indian girls and women were confined to their homes with no hope of education. Thus, the decision of the Adventist missionaries to open a school for Indian girls was strategic, timely, and bold. In a country where most girls were oppressed and denied basic human rights, it was an intentional statement to the Indian people that social reforms were needed. It would not be inappropriate to point out that Western missionaries were leading pioneers in many areas of reform—social, economic, political, and religious. Many Indians,

educated in the West eventually picked up the zeal and reform ideas of the missionaries and organized their own indigenous welfare societies, whether out of love for people or to save the reputation of their religion. Indians must confess that it was the people from the West, especially missionaries, who initially woke them from their slumber to discharge their duty to their fellow less fortunate Indians.

The Bengali school opened in 1896 in the mission bungalow at Bow Bazaar, Calcutta. It was placed under the administration of Burrus and Taylor who also served as teachers. Korada Bose, a Bengali Baptist Christian, who eventually became the first Indian convert to Adventism, was employed as the Bengali teacher. She spoke English, Hindi, and Bengali. D. A. Robinson and his wife Edna Dewey also assisted with the teaching (Wilcox 1896:573, 574). Unfortunately, the school faced many setbacks. On June 12, 1897, an earthquake damaged the mission house, which compelled the missionaries to relocate the school to the other side of the Sealdah Railway Station. If this was not enough, the continual communal tension between Muslims and Hindus over the building of a temple made it unsafe for Europeans to walk on the streets. As a result, the school was closed for a while, but then was reopened in 1898 on Bow Bazaar Street as an English day school. Unfortunately, it was closed again due to lack of funds but was reopened in 1902 as a school for missionary children at Karmatar and then relocated to Calcutta in 1904 so that it could admit more students (Robinson 1899:236; Shaw 1902:18; Shaw 1904:14).

Gradually, Adventists established schools in other places, which became channels for outreach. However, in those early years the denomination did not have a systematic plan in the establishment of schools. "Due to a lack of coordination, most schools simply closed down after the departure or death of the missionary. The absence of mission-owned school buildings also meant a lack of stability. The missionaries needed to keep finding buildings to rent for the school. They did not always find what they needed nor were buildings always available. This scenario remained until after the first decade of the 20th century" (Langhu 2017:121).

The Rise of Adventist Industrial Training Schools

In the first part of the 20th century, Adventists were keen on establishing a different brand of schools, which usually included either or both of the words "industrial" and "training" in their names. They were called industrial or training for the reason that students not only received the basic education of reading and writing but also training in productive and industrial labors such as gardening, agriculture, electrical, carpentry, poultry, dairy farm, cooking, and baking. Further, at the 1919 India Union

Conference at Ranchi, a pivotal decision was passed to establish a training school in each union mission (Resolutions Adopted 1917:25-28, 32). These schools eventually became centers for developing and producing workers across the division for decades. In many of the schools, the agricultural and industrial products became popular items among the local people.

William A. Barlow's school was most likely the first such Adventist training school in the country during the early formative years of Adventist education in India. Barlow established the school in 1900 at Simultala, about 320 kilometers from Calcutta in the state of Bihar. The Santal boys (ages 16-24 and mostly married) engaged in study, gardening, agriculture, weaving, and other useful labor. They also regularly visited the surrounding villages to do evangelism, set up other village schools, and established churches. However, it was a private venture, which the denomination purchased from Barlow at a subsidized rate (Barlow 1903:14; Barlow 1905:4). The second industrial school was established at Karmatar in 1904 with the purpose of training local workers to labor among their own people. It was named Karmatar Orphanage and Training School. Every Sabbath, both boys and girls under the guidance of their teachers visited the neighboring villages to share the Christian faith (Burroway 1906:15, 16). As a result of the efforts of the missionaries and the local believers, today there is a sizable number of Adventist converts among the Santal people.

As pointed out earlier, the decision to establish a central training school for each union resulted in several outstanding union schools. The Northwest India Union, the largest union territory in the division had two union training schools—North India Christian Training School in Lucknow and the Northwest India Union Training School in Roorkee (Smith 1926:19; Williams 1927:5). For the Bombay Union (now Western India Union), the union training school was located at Lasalgaon (Meleen 1931:4). T. R. Flaiz in early 1921 established Telugu Intermediate School in Narsapur (Fletcher 1921:1-2). Today, this school is known as Flaiz Adventist College. The Northeast India Union Training School established in 1917 was located in Ranchi (Meleen 1931:4; Lowry 1934:5). In 1941, American missionary O. W. Lange founded the Assam Training School (now Northeast Adventist College) in Meghalaya to train workers for the seven northeastern states (Lange 1942:3, 4). As pointed out, several of these union schools have now become colleges.

South India Training School

A brief historical overview of South India Training School (SITS), the forerunner of Spicer Adventist University is essential. Missionary Judson S. James founded a school at Prakasapuram (Nazareth, Tamil Nadu)

in 1909 (James 1909:3). The growth of the school necessitated the need for a high school. Thus, South India Training School was established at Coimbatore under principal Gentry G. Lowry. It opened on July 12, 1915, just four days before Ellen G. White died and was designated as a training school for the South India Mission. Bertha Lowry supervised the girls section (known as South India Girls Training School). She pointed out that the girls school was established to provide educated wives for mission workers. Missionaries felt that Indian workers achieved little since their uneducated wives could not give them able support (Lowry 1921:12). The 1936 Southern Asia Division council voted to operate all mission schools as co-educational (*Eastern Tidings* 1937:13). Available records indicates that all mission schools in the division became co-educational by 1940 (Langhu 2017:370).

On November 3, 1915, a little over three months after the establishment of SITS, Indian Christian Training School was opened in the city of Lucknow as a union school to train workers across the then India Union Mission. Unfortunately, the school went through many setbacks and was closed down in 1919 (*Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia* 1995: Spicer Memorial College). This paved the way for SITS to become the leading Adventist educational institution in the Southern Asia Division.

The Southern Asia Division committee made a pivotal decision in 1929 when they designated SITS as the lone institution in the division to provide advanced study beyond tenth standard for Indian students (*Eastern Tidings* 1929:4-17). The union schools were to offer up to the tenth standard. The school already had a multi-national student community and superior facilities than all the other schools in the division. In 1937, the SUD committee voted to operate SITS as a division co-educational junior college for the training of Indian workers. All other schools except Vincent Hill School and College were directed not to offer higher than the tenth standard. The committee also renamed SITS as Spicer College in honor of W. A. Spicer for his pioneering missionary work in India (Steeves 1937:3).

The limitation of accommodation due to the rapid increase in student enrollment necessitated a relocation to its present location at Aundh, Pune. The General Conference granted significant financial assistance for the relocation along with several donations from well-wishers. Spicer College reopened at its new location on August 28, 1942, under the instruction of nine foreign teachers (Pohlman 1942:3-6; Pohlman 1942:7-8). Two years later in 1944, it was renamed Spicer Missionary College (SMC) to indicate its missionary purpose (Pohlman 1944:4). The importance of the institution for the Southern Asia Division can never be overemphasized. N. C. Wilson echoed this sentiment when he said, "The success of our work in Southern Asia is very closely bound up with the success of this major

institution" (Wilson 1940:3). G. G. Lowry added that Spicer "is to be to this Division what Avondale has been to Australia" (1941:1-2). R. B. Thurber rightly called Spicer Missionary College "the Indian Worker Manufacturing Company" (1936:5-6).

Spicer Missionary College had a vibrant industrial program consisting of poultry farm, dairy farm, agricultural farm, printing press, laundry, tailoring, auto workshop, steel workshop, and food industry. The poultry farm under the management of L. B. Losey at one point had 1,000 American turkeys and chickens. The eggs produced in the farm were exported to Ceylon and sold to kings, landowners, and high-ranking government officials. The college also offered short agricultural training to *zamindars* (landowners) and soldiers. Visitors to the campus often praised the various production units of the college (Losey 1934:7; Mookerjee 1935:5-6; Losey 1937:12-13; Pohlman 1941:2-3; Rao 1944:5). Unfortunately, most of these units were shut down several years ago.

Education for Indian Girls

In spite of the efforts of Adventist missionaries to educate Indian girls, they remained a minority in all the co-educational mission schools throughout the first half of the 20th century. For instance, in 1931, there were 604 girls out of 1,740 students in mission schools (Thomas 1931:4-6). Both parents and teachers did not entertain high expectation for girls. The words of A. H. Williams echoes the prevailing general sentiment of those years. He wrote, "For the moment it appears that our need is not so much for girls educated to look forward to professional careers of one sort or another; we hope that by far the greater proportion of them will become just good honest housewives, whether for our workers or for our lay members" (Williams 1931:14-18; Schutt 1946:3). Missionaries were realistic as they were personally aware of the reality among the local people. Although they wished for women to pursue higher education and professional careers, it was almost impossible due to the social conditions of the times, so they chose to be more modest at that particular time in history.

E. D. Thomas was one of the earliest national pioneers in women's education for professional careers. In 1931, he pointed out that women "would make earnest, prudent, warm-hearted, tender wives, mothers, nurses, canvassers, Bible and office workers" (Thomas 1931:4-6). He also said, "If women are not raised to the intellectual level of men, men will be pulled down to the mental level of women" (4-6). Unsurprisingly, Minnie Grace Thomas, the daughter of Thomas became the first female to graduate from Spicer College in 1930 (*Review and Herald* 1930:216). The increase of Adventist women in higher education gradually led to the increase of women in professional careers.

The Beginning of Indigenous Leadership

During the period 1895-1947, all the primary church positions were in the hands of foreign missionaries including the president of the division and the unions. The union training schools, Vincent Hill School and College, Spicer Missionary College, and other key institutions were all under the leadership of missionaries. This was not a unique situation of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the country. The scenario in all other Christian denominations was similar. The primary reason was the lack of qualified Indian leaders. E. D. Thomas, L. G. Mookerjee, and a few others were the only notable Indian leaders in those early years. General Conference president N. C. Wilson, speaking at the 1938 Division Educational Council pointed out that the SDA Church in India ranked very low among mission societies in terms of raising indigenous church leaders, which he believed was mainly due to a lack of qualified Indian workers (Wilson 1938:3-4).

It was also observed that the missionaries' lack of trust in local workers was another major reason. Missionaries did not believe that "the church in India" was "ready to stand on its own feet (Flaiz 1928:1-2)." E. M. Meleen and H. G. Woodward, who served in various responsibilities in the Southern Asia Division argued that missionaries were partly responsible because they failed to place leadership responsibilities on Indians (Meleen 1934:6). It would be fair to say that the lack of indigenous leadership in those early years was a combination of several factors including the above mentioned reasons.

A definite shift in church leadership of the Southern Asia Division occurred in the 1930s and the 1940s. The 1936 Division Council granted ministerial credentials to seventeen Indian ministers and ministerial licenses to fifty Indian evangelists ("Licenses and Credentials Granted at the Council" 1937:11-12). The church also appointed several Indian nationals as directors and superintendents of local missions (*Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook* 1933:190-198; *Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook* 1938:205-218; *Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook* 1943:179-190; *Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook* 1948:181-195). Furthermore, the political unrest in the country caused by India's struggle for political freedom became a catalyst for indigenous leadership as many missionaries departed from India. The onset of the Second World War precipitated the situation even further. Many missionaries were forced to leave the country for their own safety. This leadership vacuum catapulted many Indians into church leadership including at educational institutions. More and more Indians were also entrusted with top church leadership positions in the post-independent era.

Challenges for Adventist Education

The days of foreign missionaries have long gone. Today, indigenous church leaders fill all the departments of the Southern Asia Division. Although this is a remarkable scenario, many pertinent questions need to be asked and answered. How have indigenous leaders performed since the departure of foreign missionaries? What is the condition of the educational institutions in the division? Have Indian leaders been faithful to the distinctive Adventist philosophy of education? Do institutional leaders have a clear understanding of the purpose of Adventist education? Do they effectively implement the educational policies and principles of the church? Do Adventist institutions have sufficient and qualified Adventist teachers? Do educational mission workers receive just and equal treatment in the institutions? What is the general perception by Adventist lay members toward Adventist educational institutions? What is the future prospect of Adventist education in the Southern Asia Division?

All these questions may not be minutely answered in this article. However, a general answer to the questions needs to be attempted. Foreign missionaries were known to be men and women of integrity and dedication to their work. Stories about their commitment and sacrifice to the mission of the church have been etched in the annals of Adventist history in the Southern Asia Division. They were men and women of imperfect character. Yet, no one would question their integrity and dedication. Many of them have attained legendary status in the memories of Indian Adventists. Missionaries such as Georgia Burrus, Homer R. Salisbury, William A. Spicer, Gentry G. Lowry, Judson S. James, Theodore R. Flaiz, and W. G. Jenson have become household names.

In today's ruthless world where there is less forgiveness and more finger pointing, many Adventists express that there is a dearth of sufficient men and women in top leadership positions who are known for their immaculate integrity, dedication, sacrifice, and service. Social media has made communication so easy and fast that information reaches us in seconds. Although one can find many positives, one is also bombarded with many negatives. Unfortunately, the negatives seem to captivate our attention more than the positives. One keeps hearing about financial corruption, misuse of leadership positions, mistreatment of mission workers, and unethical political activities of leaders. Repeated exposure to such rumors and reports on social media can chip away ones confidence in the leadership of the church. Many such reports may only be rumors. Yet, several of them seem to be backed up by evidences.

An issue that needs to be addressed is the leadership style in several Adventist educational institutions in the division. A democratic system

is in place according to the working policy. However, it is possible that in some institutions, democracy operates under the supervision of camouflaged monocracy. In such institutions, more often than not, the committee may be compelled to make decisions according to the whims and dictates of the leader. At times, church members bemoaned the John Harvey Kellogg style of leadership that seems to have tentacles in many directions for its vertical movement. Many allege the existence of a religious nepotism in several Adventist institutions. Consequently, some Adventists, both mission workers and lay people, lose their trust in denominational institutions. As a result, they send their children to secular rather than Adventist institutions. Sadly, their children miss out on an Adventist education. The impact can only be unfortunate for all parties. However, it must also be pointed out that amidst human moral frailties, many Adventist educational leaders and their institutions remain faithful to Adventist principles of education. It would not be wrong to claim that most Adventist parents still put their trust in the denominational institutions for their children's education for the simple reason that Adventist education, even at its weakened state, is still a better and a wiser option as far as spiritual aspect is concerned.

Religious compromise is one area where Adventist educational institutions in the country can encounter a Shadrach-Meshach-Abednego-situation. The current BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) government headed by Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Amit Shah (both hard core RSS activists) with all their partisan and divisive ideologies and policies makes it difficult for one not to entertain ideas and thoughts that complete educational freedom is an impossibility. Recognized educational institutions are expected to organize certain programs and activities. Unfortunately, some of the activities may contradict Adventist principles. When that happens, heads of Adventist institutions are faced with a difficult dilemma of whether to remain faithful or compromise its principles. It is possible for institutions to succumb to the pressure for fear that non-compliance may jeopardize government recognition. In the process, Adventist principles and beliefs may be compromised.

Another area of concern for Adventist educational institutions is the difficulty in balancing mission and business. Missionaries established mission schools with the primary purpose of educating Indian Adventists for mission service in various denominational responsibilities and to provide education without difficulties in Sabbath observance. However, it is possible for Adventist institutions to become highly commercialized and for mission to become a secondary matter. Student enrollments in such institutions can become paramount as the school seeks higher financial income. This is an opportunity for mission on one hand and a challenge

to retain Adventist distinctiveness on the other. High enrollments has a corresponding high number of non-Adventist teachers due to the lack of qualified Adventist teachers, especially in the field of mathematics and sciences. As a result, such teachers cannot present or promote a distinctive Adventist philosophy of education in the classrooms. The result is that the education provided in such institutions can only resemble those provided in other commercialized institutions. This can lead to a muddy reflection and implementation of the distinctive Adventist philosophy of education, which is to educate students not only for this world but also and especially for the world to come. In addition, Adventist children may find themselves in the minority in their own schools and vulnerable to unfavorable influences from the non-Christian students. Church leadership in the division need to seriously look into this matter.

Adventist educational institutions across the Southern Asia Division constantly face the issue of faculty satisfaction and retention. Many Indian Adventists feel the magnetic pull of the West. The past few decades have seen a good number of qualified Adventist teachers leave their teaching jobs in India in exchange for the same in another country. Among the many possible reasons people leave is the low financial remuneration and poor job satisfaction (the financial remuneration in the Southern Asia Division, if not the lowest, is one of the lowest among all thirteen divisions of the world). The vacancies created due to their departure need to be filled. In many cases, the desperate need to fill those vacancies leads to poor choices. Such choices in turn can compromise the quality of education. Many among those who choose to remain within Adventist institutions are compelled to engage in moonlighting in order to make ends meet, which may lead to a conflict of interest. Thus, to provide top quality education, Adventist institutions must retain their top qualified faculty and see that their faculty are satisfied in all aspects. The best educators must be convinced that they play a vital role in the institution. The institutional leaders must recognize and appreciate the contribution of their faculty since job satisfaction is directly linked to quality education and faculty retention.

The important role of Spicer Adventist University, its current status, and how it plans to impact the future in the Southern Asia Division needs to be seriously discussed. Spicer has operated for over a century, which is remarkable in itself. However, the question that begs a serious response is, has Spicer progressed proportionately? I am of the opinion that some progress has certainly been made. However, that progress has not been proportional. Today, Spicer should be one of the most outstanding educational institutions in the country. It should offer top quality education in many fields. Unfortunately, it appears that it is still in its infant stage in

many areas. Spicer needs a renaissance, a rebirth to compete with the best. Hope for a better tomorrow is what keeps those who continue to labor in this century-old division flagship institution going.

Until 2014, Spicer was an autonomous institution, providing an autonomous undergraduate liberal arts program and graduate program from Andrews University. The autonomous program of the institution was excellent. A failed grade in a certain course including one's work assignment could result in the student having to repeat the course. The college could also hold back a student from graduation. A student would be given an A grade if he scored 90 percent or more. Such requirements fostered the spirit of hard work, accountability, and responsibility among the students. The program included an all-round development of the physical, mental, and spiritual aspects of education. Spicer has now become Spicer Adventist University, a government-recognized minority university. The academic requirements are modest compared to the requirements under the autonomous program. For instance, a student can get an A grade if he scores 60 percent. Many students skip their classes. If they fail the exams, they do not have to repeat the course but are allowed to re-take the exam several times until they pass. Most students are no longer expected to fulfill any work requirements. Because of these changes, a thorough self-assessment needs to be done in order to find out whether the current program is still providing the holistic education Adventists have always been known for. A blend of the current program with the former liberal arts program may be a more useful method of education for the long-term benefit to the students.

In the past a good number of foreign students were admitted every school year: Burmese, Bangladeshis, Sri Lankans, Thais, Malaysians, Nepalis, and Africans. Although there has been a substantial decrease of foreign students in the recent past, a small number continue to come to Spicer for their education. Spicer must reinvent itself so that it once again becomes an attractive destination for foreign students, which can only be financially beneficial for the institution. The greater benefit is for the student body who will have the opportunity to learn from a thriving multinational community. Affordable and comfortable accommodation will then become a necessity in order to attract foreign students. The cafeteria may need to be revamped in order to provide a better vegetarian diet with more varieties.

The UGC (University Grants Commission)[8] also requires a doctoral degree for a university to teach at the master's level. The desperate need for faculty with terminal degrees is a positive thing. However, it can become negative if the degree leads to a deviation from Adventist philosophy of education. What is more essential is that a faculty member be faithful to

Adventist beliefs and understands the purpose of Adventist education. There must also be an adequate number of Adventist faculty in every department of the institution. If this is not so, it is not possible to expect the department to provide quality and distinctive Adventist education to its students. The increase in the number of non-Adventist faculty members should ring an alarm bell.

The UGC expects educational institutions to stress on excellence in academic research for students as well as faculty. This can only bring positive results if carried out in a systematic manner. Institutions must give students adequate instruction in research methodology right from the undergraduate level which can prepare them for a more thorough and correct research work in the postgraduate level. In the case of faculty members, institutions must strike a fine balance between workload and research expectations. It would be preposterous to expect faculty members to carry out regular research work while their class loads are ludicrously heavy.

Finally, Adventist institutions in India operate on a hierarchy which can put the egalitarian message of the church in jeopardy. The organizational setting in which there is an increase of privileges with the increase in ones' position and rank can cause disharmony and the desire to climb up the leadership ladder in order to enjoy the superior benefits. Equality among mission workers should not be confined to spiritual aspects only but should also cover other aspects including housing, remuneration, value, and respect. When there is a sense of equality among workers, there is a better job satisfaction and better retention of workers in an institution.

Conclusion

The future of Adventist educational institutions and Spicer Adventist University in the Southern Asia Division has great potential both in terms of human as well as divine perspectives. Adventist institutions should be and can be centers of excellence in all areas of learning. Above all, they must continue to fulfill the divine purpose for which they were established. They must continue to be agencies for the spread of the Gospel, the three angels' messages in particular, and for the salvation of humanity. If these goals are fulfilled, Adventist educational institutions will continue to be relevant. However, for these goals to be fulfilled, spirit-filled leaders must lead the institutions. Such godly leaders will then be able to create a spiritually conducive environment where equally godly staff and faculty can labor together to provide quality and distinctive Adventist education.

Notes

[1]*Zenanas* were homes among the Hindus as well as Muslims where women folk lived. Only women were allowed to enter the *zenanas* for any reason including medical. Since male doctors were prohibited in these women quarters even to provide medical care for sick women, many lost their lives due to lack of medical care.

[2]Vincent Hill School and College was also a division educational institution. However, in its early years, admission was limited to children of foreign missionaries and Anglo-Indians. It began to admit a few selected Indians and Parsees from 1930.

[3]According to R. B. Thurber, W. A. Spicer "mildly and modestly protested against using his name" for the institution. R. B. Thurber, "Spicer College: Standing Room Only," *Eastern Tidings* (July 1937):6.

[4]Units which have been shut down include the auto workshop, dairy farm, poultry farm, agriculture, laundry, carpentry, printing press, and tailoring. The food industry continues to produce a few items such as soya drink, grape juice, tofu, and peanut butter. The steel workshop is still in operation but in need of many resources. Barely any work is done on the farm.

[5]Schutt noted that most girls studied up to eight standard before they were married. Few women from the NEIU and SIU completed junior college. C. A. Schutt, Education of Our Young Women, *Eastern Tidings,* April 1946, 3.

[6]For a better understanding of the attitude of many missionaries in India toward indigenous leadership, see Robert E. Frykenberg, *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010), 412; Samuel Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia: 1500-1900*, vol. 2 (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2004), 445; Stephen Neill, *The Story of the Christian Church in India and Pakistan* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1970), 136-140; Elisabeth Elliot, *A Chance to Die: The Life and Legacy of Amy Carmichael* (Grand Rapids, MI: Revell, 1987), 268.

[7]R. B. Thurber reported in 1937 that since 1933, 1,746 missionaries departed from India while 4,467 missionaries still continued to work. J. R. Barnes, Welcome for W. H. Williams, *Eastern Tidings,* January 1937, 10-11.

[8]The University Grants Commission is a statutory body of the government of India which is tasked to coordinate, determine, and maintain the standard of higher education in the country. Every university in India is expected to follow the policies of this body in order to offer government-recognized degrees.

Works Cited

Armstrong, H. 1904. India, Calcutta. *Review and Herald,* January 28, 17.

ASTR. 2019. 2019 Annual Statistical Report: 155th Report of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists for 2017. Silver Spring, MD.

Atkinson, Sam, ed. 2011. *The Philosophy Book*. Strand, London: Dorling Kindersley.

Barlow, W. A. 1903. Among the Santals. *Review and Herald,* November 26, 14.

_____. 1904. India: Santal Mission School, Simultala, Bengal. *Review and Herald,* October 6, 15.

_____. 1905. Simultala. *Eastern Tidings Supplement,* November, 7.

_____. 1906. Simultala. *Eastern Tidings,* December, 4-5.

Barnes, J. B. 1937. Welcome for W. H. Williams. *Eastern Tidings,* January 1, 10-11.
Blue, I. F. 1915. Opening the Indian Christian Training School. *Eastern Tidings,* November, 2-3.
Burroway, Della. 1906. India: Karmatar. *Review and Herald,* June 21, 15-16.
Burrus, G. A. 1910. "Transfer of Hindustani Girls' School from Dehra Dun to Najibabad. *Eastern Tidings,* April, 2-3.
Elliot, Elizabeth. 1987. *A Chance to Die: The Life and Legacy of Amy Carmichael*. Grand Rapids, MI: Revell.
Flaiz, T. R. 1928. Kodaikanal Missionary Convention. *Eastern Tidings,* June 15, 1-2.
Fletcher, W. W. 1917. Report of the India Union Mission. *Asiatic Division Outlook,* April-June, 24.
_____. 1921. Visit to Narsapur. *Eastern Tidings,* December 15, 1-2.
Frykenberg, Robert F. 2010. *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
Greenleaf, Floyd. 2005. *In Passion for the World: A History of Seventh-day Adventist Education*. Nampa, ID: Pacific Press.
James, J. S. 1909. Southern India. *Eastern Tidings,* December 3.
Lange, O. W. 1942. The Assam Training School. *Eastern Tidings,* January 15, 3-4.
Langhu, Koberson. 2017. The Origin and Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in India (1895-1947). Doctoral dissertation, Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, Philippines.
Losey, L. B. 1934. School Work Made Practical. *Eastern Tidings,* October 1, 4.
_____. 1934. South India Training School. *Eastern Tidings,* September 15, 7.
_____. 1936. South India Training School. *Eastern Tidings,* March 1, 6.
_____. 1937. Report of the South India Training School. *Eastern Tidings,* January 8, 12-13.
Louis, S. J. 1947. S. M. C. News. *Eastern Tidings,* August 15, 5.
Lowry, Bertha. 1921. South India Girls' Training School. *Review and Herald,* July 28, 12.
Lowry, G. G. 1924. Truth Taught to Hindu Boys Has Effect. *Review and Herald,* October 23, 11.
_____. 1926. Boarding Schools as Mission Agencies. *Eastern Tidings,* April 15, 2-3.
_____. 1934. Ranchi Training School. *Eastern Tidings,* September 15, 5.
_____. 1941. Spicer College and the Advent Movement in the Southern Asia Division. *Eastern Tidings,* May 1, 1-2.
Meleen, Eric M. 1930. With Our Schools in Southern Asia. *Eastern Tidings,* August 1, 6.
_____. 1931. The Bombay Union Training School. *Eastern Tidings,* March 15, 4.
_____. 1931. The Northeast India Union Training School. *Eastern Tidings,* April 15, 4.
_____. 1934. Lay Member Service. *Eastern Tidings,* March 1, 6.
_____. 1938. The Problem of the Village School. *Eastern Tidings,* December 1, 2-4.
_____. 1943. Spicer College 1943-1944. *Eastern Tidings,* July 1, 2-3.
Moffett, Samuel. 2005. *A History of Christianity in Asia: 1500-1900*. Vol. 2. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis.

Mookerjee, L. G. 1935. How the Third Angel's Message Can Be Brought to the Attention of People of Influence. *Eastern Tidings,* December 15, 5-6.
Neill, Stephen. 1970. *The Story of the Christian Church in India and Pakistan*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
Nelson, A. E. 1939. Finance and Education. *Eastern Tidings,* March 15, 2-3.
O'Connor, A. 1910. Najibabad. *Eastern Tidings,* May 3.
Pohlman, E. W. 1941. Brief Report of Spicer College for the Years 1939 and 1940. *Eastern Tidings,* February 1, 2-3.
_____. 1942. Spicer College 1942-1943. *Eastern Tidings,* July 1, 3-6.
_____. 1942. Spicer College News. *Eastern Tidings,* October 15, 7-8.
_____. 1944. A Good Name Rather Than Great Riches. *Eastern Tidingefs,* January 15, 4.
Rao, M. S. Prasada. 1944. The Military Appreciate S. M. C. *Eastern Tidings,* April 15, 5.
Robinson, D. A. 1896. Our Work in India. *Review and Herald,* June 30, 408-409.
_____. 1897. Our Work in India. *Review and Herald,* October 12, 649-650.
_____. 1899. Calcutta, India. *Review and Herald,* April 11, 236.
Salisbury, H. R. 1913. Our Schools in India and Burma. *Review and Herald,* May 15, 18-19.
Schutt, C. A. 1946. Education of Our Young Women. *Eastern Tidings,* April 15, 3.
Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook. 1933. Takoma Park, MD: Review and Herald.
Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook. 1938. Takoma Park, MD: Review and Herald.
Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook. 1943. Takoma Park, MD: Review and Herald.
Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook. 1948. Takoma Park, MD: Review and Herald.
Shaw, J. L. 1902. India. *Review and Herald,* June 24, 18-19.
_____. 1904. Karmatar (India) Training-School. *Review and Herald,* April 14, 14.
_____. 1904. School Work in India. *Review and Herald,* June 30, 20-21.
_____. 1911. India. *Review and Herald,* April 27, 10.
_____. 1912. A Trip to Garhwal. *Eastern Tidings,* July, 7.
Smith, F. W. 1926. North India Christian Training School. *Review and Herald,* August 19, 19.
Southern Asia Division. 1929. Minutes of the Biennial Council of the Southern Asia Division; Educational. *Eastern Tidings,* May 1, 10.
Spicer Memorial College. 1996. *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*. Rev. ed. Hagerstown, MD: *Review and Herald*.
Steeves, J. M. 1937. An Announcement. *Eastern Tidings,* April 15, 3.
_____. 1939. Department of Education: Biennial Report—1937, 1938. *Eastern Tidings,* February 15, 1-3.
_____. 1941. The Educational Department Biennial Report—1939-1940. *Eastern Tidings,* April 15, 4-6.
Thomas, E. D. 1931. Education of Indian Women. *Eastern Tidings,* December 1, 4-6.
Thurber, R. B. 1936. First Impressions of the South India Training School. *Eastern Tidings,* April 1, 5-6.
_____. 1937. Spicer College: Standing Room Only. *Eastern Tidings,* July 15, 6.
Torrey, C. L. 1926. Division Committee Recommendations. *Eastern, Tidings*, February 15, 4.

Watson, A. G. 1905. A Visit in Simultala, India. *Review and Herald,* March 23, 14.
Watts, Dorothy. 2006. *Faith Triumphant: Inspiring Stories of God's Church*. Pune, India: Intra- Church Publications.
Wellman, S. A. 1910. The Hindustani Work, India. *Review and Herald,* May 19, 8.
White, Ellen G. 1915. *Life Sketches of Ellen White*. Nampa, ID: Pacific Press.
Wilcox, F. M. 1896. Summary of Mission Work. *Review and Herald,* September 8, 573-574.
Williams, A. H. 1931. Northwest India Union Mission Report. *Eastern Tidings,* January 1, 14-18.
_____. 1927. Training School at Roorkee. *Eastern Tidings,* December 1, 5
Wilson, N. C. 1938. The Need for Indigenous Leadership. *Eastern Tidings,* May 1, 3-4.
_____. 1940. Relocation of Spicer College. *Eastern Tidings,* April 1, 3.
Woodward, H. G. 1937. Relationship and Attitude of the European Workers to the Vernacular Peoples. *Eastern Tidings,* January 8, 13-14.

Koberson Langhu is an assistant professor at Spicer Adventist University in Pune, India, where he teaches church history and systematic theology. He completed his doctoral studies in church history from Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, Philippines.

Gottfried Oosterwal

The Legacy of J. N. Andrews

This was a sermon given at the Sabbath morning worship service on July 21, 1979, at 11:00 a.m. in Pioneer Memorial Church in Berrien Springs, Michigan, as a part of the sesquicentennial celebration at Andrews University of the birth of John Nevins Andrews.

"Grace, mercy, and peace to you from God our Father and from our Lord Jesus Christ."

Beloved sisters and brothers, dear friends I invite you to read with me from the Word of God as it comes to us through Acts 1:6-8 (RSV):

> So when they had come together, they asked him, "Lord, will you at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" He said to them, "It is not for you to know times or seasons which the Father has fixed by his own authority. But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the ends of the earth."

Our God is a universal God. He has no favorites. So great is his love, so deep, so wide, that it embraces all nations, kindred, tongues, and people (Matt 28:19, 20). It includes men and women of all ideologies and classes and religions. He does not want that any person continue to suffer from guilt, from sickness, or from any of the terrible effects of sin in the world. God wants all people to be saved and come to a knowledge of truth (1 Tim 2:4). Is not this the heart of the gospel, that God has in Christ reconciled the whole world unto himself, no longer holding people's misdeeds against them, but redeeming them of their sins, taking away their guilt, and restoring them into his own image? (2 Cor 5:14-21; Rom 8:29; Col 3:10).

Furthermore, every person who hears this Word and accepts it, is thereby also enlisted in God's service of reconciliation. As Ellen White

once put it: "All to whom the heavenly inspiration has come are put in trust with the gospel. All who receive the life of Christ are ordained to work for the salvation of their fellow men. For this work the church was established, and all who take upon themselves its sacred vows are thereby pledged to be coworkers with Christ" (White 1940:822).

Mission is the very test of our faith in God and of our fellowship with Christ. It is the heartbeat of the church. If it fails, the church ceases to be. If it is irregular or weak, God's people are sick. Beyond that, the tragedy is that the whole world continues to suffer. In order to reach the whole world with his gospel, God has always chosen particular men and women as his channels of communication, his instruments of loving service. That means that whenever God, in his mercy, endows a particular people with a special portion of his grace, be it a deeper knowledge of truth, a special revelation, or even an abundance of material goods, God does not give those gifts for the people's own enjoyment or edification, but that they may become a blessing to the whole world.

Our God is a universal God; he has no favorites. His election, be it of individual persons or of a whole nation, a community, a country, a church, is always an *election for service.* That was true of Abraham, and of Moses, and of Israel; it is also true of the church. The church exists by mission as fire exists by burning. It is just impossible to sing in church, "Redeemed, redeemed by the blood of the Lamb" without committing oneself to God's service of redemption in the whole world. How can we pray, "Your kingdom come," without becoming involved in the service of that Kingdom so that it truly may be established?

Throughout the history of God's people, from the election of Israel to the days of the church of the remnant, this special election has always been threatened by two misunderstandings among God's people.

First is that the elect have tended to consider their own election as the *very end of God's work in the world.* Israel conceived of itself as the world, and so did the church. As soon as they received their special portion of grace, their particular knowledge of truth, their riches of salvation, they thought that God was about to finish his work of salvation right then and there.

The second misunderstanding has been that salvation, or the Kingdom, was God's special gift to them, thereby limiting its power and glory to their own people, race, country, or church.

These two misunderstandings actually belong together like the proverbial two sides of a coin; for the concept of salvation now, the arrival of the Kingdom in my time, means that it excludes thousands, even millions, of others who have not yet heard this message.

From its very inception, the Christian church has been threatened by this twofold misconception. As the text says, the disciples asked him, "Lord, will you at this time [now] restore the kingdom to Israel?" (Acts 1:6). "At this time" (now) and "to Israel." Jesus clearly dispelled this notion that the Kingdom belongs to only one people, one race, one country, one church, or that it would come "right now"—that is, on demand, at the time when his chosen people wanted it. "It is not for you to know times or seasons which the Father has fixed by his own authority," Jesus said. "But you *shall receive power* . . . [and] *be my witnesses* in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth" (Acts 1:7, 8).

This does not mean that God's people should not carefully watch the signs of the time of Christ's return when he will establish his Kingdom in power and glory. However, Jesus defined the coming and the establishment of his Kingdom as "*bearing witness of me*," through the power of the Holy Spirit. Everyone who is longing for that Kingdom to come now will show it in a life of service to Christ, of bearing witness for him.

Like God's people of all ages, the Seventh-day Adventist Church (SDA) has not been spared this double threat to its worldwide mission. In fact, throughout our whole history it has raised its ugly head, thereby threatening the work of the church in all the world and weakening its witness. It is in this light that the name of J. N. Andrews—whose 150th birthday we are celebrating this weekend—stands out as a model and a challenge to all of us.

In the late 1840s the pioneers of the SDA movement were convinced that the Lord would return and establish his Kingdom at any moment. So strongly was this believed that they limited their mission to only those who had been in the 1844 Movement. No attempt was made to spread the word of the Sabbath or the sanctuary truth to other Christians, let alone to non-Christians.

As James White once put it, "Our work is only for those of the Laodicean Church." Ellen White added that in 1844 she believed that "no more sinners would be converted" (1958:74). So strongly was this believed that some Seventh-day Adventists even refused to share their message with those who had not been in the 1844 Movement. After all, what good would that message do a person who stood outside of the ark of salvation, with its door already shut?

It was not until the early 1850s that this vision began to change, mainly as a result of visions given to Ellen White, which clearly indicated that the three angels' messages were to be given not just in Jerusalem, but in all Judea, and Samaria, and in the whole world. Another factor was that the Lord did not come "now," "at this time," as the believers had expected, to take *them* home.

It is good to remember that our God is a universal God. He has no favorites. He wants all people to be saved and come to a knowledge of truth. When a number of spontaneous conversions took place of people who had never even heard the message of the 1844 Movement, the pioneers became convinced that their mission had to extend beyond Jerusalem, into all Judea. *All the people in North America* now became the focus of SDA mission.

No thought was given in those days, however, to expanding the mission of the church outside of North America. A number of very powerful reasons stand out for this rather limited view of mission:

First, the believers were still convinced that the Lord would come at any moment and that he would establish his Kingdom "in Israel, now." There would not even be enough time to reach all the people and places in North America before the Lord would return.

Second, the pioneers believed that the people outside of North America had already heard the eternal gospel and had rejected it.

Third, the last events of this world's history would be shaped and determined in the United States of America.

J. N. Andrews himself was at one time at the forefront of this school of thought. He was, in fact, the first expositor in the history of prophetic interpretation who saw in the lamb-like beast of Revelation 13 a representation of the United States of America. Adventist mission, then, became America-centered and America-oriented.

In those days the text of Matthew 24:14 (RSV), "And this gospel of the kingdom will be preached throughout the whole world, as a testimony to all nations; and then the end will come" was quoted very often.

However, our pioneers interpreted that text not as a *promise* that the whole world would hear the eternal gospel clearly, but as if it had already been fulfilled. In the words of D. M. Canright, "That word is being fulfilled right before our eyes, here in the United States of America" (1872:138).

When A. H. Lewis asked the editor of the *Sabbath Review and Advent Herald*, "Is the third angel's message being given, or to be given, except in the United States?" Uriah Smith answered: "We have no information that the Third Message is at present being proclaimed in any country besides our own. Analogy would lead us to expect that the proclamation of this message would be co-extensive with the first, though this might not perhaps be necessary to fulfill Rev. x, 11, since our land is composed of people from almost every nation" (1859:87).

This argument was being heard over and over again. The United States was considered a representation of the whole world, and the country where the last-day events would be decided in fulfillment of Revelation 13:11-17.

Ellen White would later chide the brethren for holding such a narrow view of mission, comparing them to the leaders in Israel, who also conceived of their nation as being identical to the whole world, which led to the mistaken notion that the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth was identical with the salvation of Israel.

It is in this context that Christ commissioned his disciples to proclaim a faith and worship that would have nothing in it of caste or country, a faith that would be adapted to all peoples, all nations, all classes of people (White 1940:820), and it is in this context that the service of J. N. Andrews becomes our great model. It is a heritage that our church should keep and treasure forever.

There were some people who had suggested that the church should not limit its witness merely to Jerusalem and to Judea, but that it should also extend its mission into Samaria and into all the world. Two names stand out in particular: Hannah B. More and H. B. Czechowski.

Hannah More was a missionary in Liberia with the American Board of Missions. During a furlough in the United States, she embraced the three angels' message, and she went back to her post of labor rejoicing in her newly-found faith, and sharing her witness. Her testimony brought her into difficulty with her board, which requested her to return to the United States. There she immediately offered her services to the church leaders in Battle Creek.

However, they repudiated her, even questioned her belief in the soon coming of Christ. Disappointed, and somewhat disillusioned over such shortsightedness, Hannah More left Battle Creek to live with a former missionary colleague of hers. A few months later she died. When Ellen White, who was not then at Battle Creek, heard about this tragedy, she sternly criticized the leaders of the church and rebuked them for their shortsightedness and unbelief and lack of missionary vision.

> Already a great deal of time has been wasted, and angels bear to heaven the record of our neglects. Our sleepy and unconsecrated condition has lost to us precious opportunities which God has sent us in the persons of those who were qualified to help us in our present need. Oh, how much we need our Hannah More to aid us at this time in reaching other nations! (1948:3:407)

Another person who constantly held before early Adventists the "wider circle of mission to Samaria" and to the ends of the earth, was Michael B. Czechowski. When the leaders of the church saw no light in sending him to Europe, he just went on his own and against their wishes, to spread the word of the three angels of Revelation 14:6-12, and to establish the SDA church in Europe.

Yet it took another pioneer to help the church to go beyond the boundaries of Jerusalem and Judea, into Samaria and to the ends of the earth. That pioneer was John Nevins Andrews. Already he had established himself as a pioneer Sabbath keeper, a pioneer editor, a pioneer interpreter of Scripture, a writer, an organizer, and an administrator. In 1874 he would also become the first official American pioneer missionary, who helped the church to enlarge its vision and to become the most widespread Protestant missionary body.

The circumstances surrounding this great pioneering act are well known. A group of Swiss Seventh-day Adventist churches, raised up by the undaunted Michael B. Czechowski, requested the leaders of the church in Battle Creek to send them a minister who could help them to grow in spirit and in truth, in knowledge and in number, in organization and in mission. The brethren did not see their way clear yet, with their strong belief in the nearness of the coming of Christ and their concept of the role of the United States in last-day events. However, they did invite the Swiss believers to send one of their own men to attend the General Conference session in Battle Creek. That led to the arrival of James Ertzberger, who for more than a year stayed in the United States, mostly in the home of James and Ellen White, who then lived on a farm near Greenville, Michigan. Before Ertzberger returned to Switzerland, the brethren ordained him as a Seventh-day Adventist minister.

After James Ertzberger, the Swiss sent another minister, Ademar Vuilleumier, who studied under Goodloe Bell in the denominations first permanent church school.

One would think that the presence of these promising Swiss believers would have convinced the brethren that their work extended beyond Jerusalem and Judea and that they would respond positively to the request to send a missionary to Switzerland, but they did not. In 1873 James White made a rather passionate plea with the leaders of the church to respond positively to this Macedonian call from Europe and to send a worker; however, even his plea fell on deaf ears. It was at that moment that J. N. Andrews stepped in. It is unfortunate we do not have the records of the private conversations held between James White and J. N. Andrews, during which the former pleaded for Andrews' support to get the church to change its view of mission, even over against the wishes and actions taken by the other leaders of the church. J.·N. Andrews gave more than his support. He gave himself. He was persuaded, not only by James White, but also by Ellen, who early in 1874 had received a powerful vision confirming these men's view that the church had fallen captive to a limited view of mission. "You are entertaining too limited ideas of the work for this time," Ellen White wrote to the leaders of the church. "You are trying

to plan the work so that you can embrace it in your arms. . . . Your house is the world" (White 1915:209). "Never lose sight of the fact that the message you are bearing is a world-wide message. It is to be given to all cities, to all villages" (White 1948:7:35, 36).

After talking with James White, J. N. Andrews decided to go to Switzerland, even though the leaders of the church had turned down the Swiss believers' request for a worker. That decision, when it became known, created quite a stir at the General Conference. However, the fact that both James and Ellen White were supporting Andrews in his decision gave the other leaders the strange feeling that perhaps they were wrong with their refusal to send someone to Switzerland. This dilemma was resolved when in the August meeting of the General Conference session of 1874 Elder G. I. Butler, then the president of the General Conference, first recommended to take some action in the matter, especially in consideration that Andrews *is about to take his departure to engage in the cause in Switzerland*. A vote was taken, in which a majority agreed to send Andrews to Switzerland as soon as practicable. This historic vote took place on August 14, 1874. A month later J. N. Andrews, accompanied by his two children and Ademar Vuilleumier, was already on board the Cunard liner "Atlas" on his way to Liverpool. In a letter to the Swiss believers Ellen White wrote, "We send you the ablest man in all our ranks" (1878).

It is important to reflect on this historic occasion for two reasons. First, to create an awareness of the events that led to the worldwide expansion of the Seventh-day Adventist Church—now the most widespread single Protestant denomination, with the church established in over 90 percent of all the countries of the world. For, unless we consider these events of the past and the way God has led us, we are bound to repeat the same mistakes again and again.

Second, to allow the powerful lesson from the past to become a guideline to help us today, when the church is faced with a similar situation. We live again in a time when powerful forces are at work that seem to allow the church to forget that mission is always *world mission, that it includes all people, wherever they are and whoever they are.* No argument of tradition or culture or theology should ever hinder us in implementing that biblical vision.

There are forces at work that seem to make the church itself the focus of mission—the Kingdom of God to be established in Israel—and that calls the church to separate itself from the world in order to be ready for the day of the Lord, now. The legacy of J. N. Andrews, then, is twofold.

First, to keep constantly before us the biblical truth that God is a universal God. He has no favorites. He wants all people to be saved and to come to a knowledge of truth. Mission, therefore, is always world mission. It embraces all nations, kindred, tongues, and people.

Second, to keep in remembrance that the divine election to belong to God's remnant church is an *election for service.* The Adventist faith, expressed in the confession of our belief in the nearness of the coming of Christ, is therefore best expressed in a life of bearing witness, by the power of the Holy Spirit (Acts 1:6-8).

How does this legacy apply to our situation today? For have we not already reached the ends of the earth? Has the church not already been planted in nearly 95 percent of the countries of the world? Are we not fulfilling our mission as a world mission by sending out some 350 missionaries every year?

It is true that the SDA Church is the most widespread single Protestant denomination. However, the term *world* in Scripture is not, first of all, a geographical or a political concept. What counts is not the number of countries or political units the church has entered, but the number of people that are being reached with the gospel of Jesus Christ. Today 3.5 billion people are in the world who have never heard the eternal gospel clearly. It is true that a thousand souls are added to this church every day or 360,000 a year. However, these come largely from a Christian background. We are still basically in Judea, with a little work in Samaria. Three groups stand out among these 3.5 billion people who are living—and dying—today without Christ. If the Person of Jesus Christ means anything to you, you must be convinced of the real misery and poverty of these people. There are 650 million Muslims, 600 million Hindus, 350 million Buddhists, 250 million people of other faiths—a total of 1.5 billion people. Then there are the large number of *secular people,* people of other ideologies, people who do not believe or who can no longer believe—the secular world—with another billion people. A third category—overlapping somewhat with the second—is the *cities.* In North America, Europe, Australia, and Japan 75-90 percent of the population lives in large cities. In Africa it is already 35 percent and in Asia, 40 percent for a total of over 1.5 billion people.

These three groups add up to 3.5 billion people who at present, by and large, are not being reached by SDA mission. In fact, our traditions—cultural and theological—prevent us from reaching out to these people in a meaningful way. Our methods of work, our forms of worship, our message, even our particular lifestyle, make it impossible for many of these millions to hear the Word of God for this time with clarity and power. Adventists are quite effective in winning people from "Jerusalem" and "Judea," but not those from "Samaria" and from "the ends of the world."

The legacy of J. N. Andrews challenges us today to develop such methods of work and strategies of mission as will open new ways of communicating the precious gospel to these people who are now living—and dying—without the certainty of their salvation in Jesus Christ. As Ellen White wrote some years ago: "The varying circumstances taking place in our world call for labor which will meet these peculiar developments. The Lord has need of men who are spiritually sharp and clear sighted. . . . Upon the minds of such, God's Word flashes light, revealing to them more than ever before the safe path" (1888: para. 6).

That same legacy also challenges us to recognize that the missionary task of the church is not accomplished merely by those few missionaries who are officially sent out by the organization. These are merely a token of what the church and its message stand for. What we need is not *token involvement* but *total involvement*—the whole people of God proclaiming in word and deed the message of Jesus Christ in all the world. Every believer in Christ is born into the Kingdom of God as a missionary.

There are thousands of opportunities for American believers to be directly involved in overseas mission work, not in the employ of the organization, but of governments and multi-national corporations, international organizations, and academic institutions. We have no church in the Sudan, and only a handful of believers in Turkey. Yet the governments of these countries are crying out for help in the exploration of their resources, in their universities, in technical development, in health care, etc. Thousands of such overseas jobs are listed, many of them in areas where there is no SDA church, or where its message is barely heard. The church has shown great vision by establishing an office, called Adventists Abroad. The legacy of J. N. Andrews challenges us to make use of these thousand-and-one opportunities of mission service abroad, to bear witness of Jesus Christ, in the power of the Holy Spirit.

The Word says in Acts 1:6-8: "So when they had come together, they asked him, 'Lord, will you at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" He said to them, 'It is not for you to know times or seasons which the Father has fixed by his own authority. But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth." The Lord's own promise is that "this gospel of the kingdom will be preached throughout the whole world; and then the end will come" (Matt 24:14, RSV). To Him be the glory.

Works Cited

Conright. D. M. 1872. Present Conditions of Our World. *The Advent Review and Herald of the Sabbath* 39, no. 18 (April 16): 137, 138.

Smith, Uriah. 1859. Response to Question from A. H. Lewis. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 13, no.11 (February 3):87.

White, Ellen G. 1878. Letter to the Brethren in Switzerland. Letter 2a, August 29, para. 18. http:www.egwwritings.org.

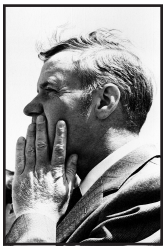
_____. 1888. MS 8a, October 21, para. 6. http:www.egwwritings.org.

_____. 1915. *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White.* Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press.

_____. 1940. *The Desire of Ages.* Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press.

_____. 1948. *Testimonies for the Church.* Vols. 3, 7. Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press.

_____. 1958. *Selected Messages from the Writings of Ellen G. White.* Vol. 1. Washington, DC: Review and Herald.



Gottfried Oosterwal, 1930-2015, was a long-time professor of World Mission at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary and lead at the Institute of World Mission. He mentored and inspired a whole generation of missiologists with his stories and challenges to engage in mission.

Youssry Guirguis

History of Contextualization

Introduction

The concept of contextualization has played a great role in mission circles but has also stimulated a lot of debate in theological circles (Koschorke, Ludwig, Delgado, and Spliegart 2007:129). The term *contextualization* was coined in 1972 by Shoki Coe (Shenk 2005:206; Wheeler 2002:77-80)[1] as a technical term with regard to the field of missiology (Coe 1993:23; Rothenberg 2017:125)). Since contextualization as a word has been heatedly debated, it does not have a standard definition[2] (Peters 2000:ix). Antony Billington adds that contextualization is a "notoriously slippery term" (2015:75) and that there is "massive theological disarray in the area" (Carson 1987:213). Contextualization has in one way or another replaced the traditional model known as indigenization; however, one should think twice before rejecting indigenous ideas or indigeneity and indigenization. Indigenization is "an attempt to make missionary Christianity 'native' in cultural terms" (Koschorke et al. 2007:129; Mammo 1999; Suda 2006; Akinsanya 1980),[3] that is, "not a static concept" (Nicholls 2003:21). Indigenization is best defined as the "transfer of ownership into national hands. This transfer may include private actors as well as the state" (Chazan, Mortimer, Ravenhill, and Rothchild 1992:291).[4]

Theological Education Fund and Contextualization

After World War II, a movement crept towards the world of mission known as the reform of theological education (Ott 2016:17). From that point onward, the concept of *theological education* became part of the agenda of the International Missionary Council (IMC), 28 December 1957 to 8 January 1958 (Nkrumah 1958:148-150), which took place in Accra,

https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/jams/vol15/iss2/1
DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.32597/jams/vol15/iss2/

Ghana (Gunther and Cook 2006:509; see also Sunquist 2013:42-302). The Theological Education Fund (TEF) was formed at that time by the assembly of the IMC and played a significant role in addressing this challenge (Betz 2008:6; Allen 1960). Initially, the TEF was responsible for giving guidelines for the various programs of education and for ecumenical organizations. The establishment of the TEF led to the formation of three mandates.

First Mandate

The launching of the First Mandate (1958-1964) encouraged academic training and formed infrastructures that would sustain the churches' hierarchy, such as leadership, faculty members, and improving libraries. It also focused on developing and strengthening indigenous theological education (Coe 1973:235). It further questioned whether or not the influence of Western standards had strengthened indigenous theological education (Palmer 2011:227).

The First Mandate had for its theme "advance" (Klaus and Triplett 1991:134) as most younger churches wrestled with the influence of the Western view of Christian ministry and theology upon indigenization. Those responsible for the implementation of the mandate were forced to revisit their presuppositions regarding how to do theology in the world. The board of trustees discussed three areas: structure (sociological issues), method (pedagogical issues), and content (theological issues). These three areas are discussed in the third mandate in a more detailed way. The first mandate discussed the structure, content, and method from the viewpoint of indigenization. Thus, the First Mandate focused on indigenization.

Structure (Sociological Issues)

Concerning this issue, Lesslie Newbigin states: "The patterns of ministry, and therefore of ministerial formation, introduced by the western missions are now seen to have been the imposition of a style of leadership foreign to the cultures in which the church was being planted" (1997:104; see Laing 2009). The focus of the structure dealt with foreign missions who imposed foreign leadership styles and worship, which in turn, created barriers between Western missions and indigenous people.

Method (Pedagogical Issues)

The method that was used in the first mandate took language seriously, where the dire need was to concentrate on developing theological education in the vernacular languages. At that time, Newbigin disagreed with Bengt Sundkler (1961)[5] because Sundkler was in favor of using the English

language as a medium of education. Newbigin records that to Sundkler the highest standards were to use the English language as a medium of education in theological matters before "returning to recover the proper primacy of the mother tongue" (Newbigin 1997:105). To Newbigin, the continuous use of the English language as a medium of education would create a negligence of education in the local languages. It suffices to say that using the English language as a medium of education would make indigenous foreigners in their local cultures. Men trained in their mother tongue are able to communicate the gospel effectively, competently, and most importantly, in a contextualized manner.

Content (Theological Issues)

The issue of using one's mother tongue continued to be the focal point of the discussion in the first mandate. The method of education affected the content of education in *general* and in theology in *particular*. There was a danger of theological education being taught from a Western perspective rather than from one's own local context or perspective. The major focus of the first mandate was the concept of indigenization.

Second Mandate

The Second Mandate (1965-1969) was formed to reflect on the issues of definitions of excellence to be sought in theological education. Coe insisted that

> the aim should be to use resources so as to help teachers and students to a deeper understanding of the Gospel in the context of the particular cultural and religious setting of the Church, so that the Church may come to a deeper understanding of itself as a missionary community sent into the world and to a more effectual encounter within the life of the society. (Coe 1973:236)

The above line of thought led to a deeper investigation as to whether or not the gospel and culture reflected institutional theological education. Tension between the gospel and culture if solved will lead to a great awareness of the mission of the church. Thus, it can be stated at this point that non-evangelicals have been early advocates of the concept of contextualization before the evangelicals themselves. Evangelicals may have been tardy and reluctant to address contextualization for fear that such an idea may be liberal in its theology; however, such fear was not to last for long (Standing 2013:169; Larkin 2009).[6]

The mandate further recommended the dire need to rethink theological education based on an ecumenical understanding of both the gospel

and culture. Coe advocated "that kind of theological training which leads to a real encounter between the student and the Gospel in terms of his own forms of thought and culture, and to a living dialogue between the church and its environment" (Standing 2013:169). Paul Duane Matheny reflected on this thought and indicated that the purpose of theological training was to bring a transformative change among peoples who live in the Third World (2012:68).

How should the church enculturate its faith when increasingly its field of mission is not just a single culture but a multi-faceted cultural mosaic? The different understanding between the gospel and culture has created a substantial role in the contextualization dispute. According to Coe, for the gospel and culture to be integrated, three things should emerge (Coe 1973:236).

Christian Formation

Christian formation requires a commitment; it is a lifelong process that involves an imitation of Christlikeness. "I have been crucified with Christ; and it is no longer I who live, but Christ lives in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me, and delivered Himself up for me" (Gal 2:20). This takes place in a communal context "let *us* go on toward perfection" (Heb 6:1), which embraces a love for God and a love for humans.

Christian formation, taking place within a communal context, is a lifelong process that brings *explicit* and *implicit* theology. Explicit theological formation happens when people are engrossed in thoughtful reflection on their experiences. Implicit theology takes place when we consider our "biblical and theological precepts and our way of being" (Holeman 2012:33).

Theological Formation

To Wonsuk Ma, theological formation is the "shared process of theology-making" (2018:243). "Have this attitude in yourselves which was also in Christ Jesus" (Phil 2:5). Theological formation is similar to that of ministerial information where learning takes place collectively.

Ministerial Formation

To J. N. Kritzinger, ministerial formation "is a holistic formation of church members for ministry" (2010:212), which should be built on three pillars of intellectual (theological) insight, practical (ministry) skills, and personal spiritual growth. In other words, ministerial formation incorporates the academic, evangelistic, and spiritual features of formation. Church members are called to witness to the truth everywhere they go. "Have this attitude in yourselves which was also in Christ Jesus" (Phil 2:5).

The Uppsala Assembly of the World Council of Church (WCC) held in 1968 emphasized renewal in mission (Goodall 1968). That year the IMC and WCC jointly worked on the theme *Christians and People of Other Faiths*, which aimed at involving all of creation in the world in reconciliation and unity in Christ Jesus (Lin 2002:220). The Second Mandate, while it focused on the reflection of theological issues in relation to the gospel and culture—through indigenization, still focused on the idea of indigenization (still supposed).

The Third Mandate

The Third Mandate (1970-1977) and its Iranian chairman, Karekin Sarkissian (Coleman 1999:209) from the Armenian Orthodox Church, called on the TEF to assist especially those who were looking for meaning in the new secularizing context, to confront social injustice and to contextualize the biblical text to the receiving culture. The idea of contextualization was first used in the Third Mandate to be applied to the area of "mission, theological approach, and educational method and structure" (Rin Ro 2007:104). As early as 1972, Coe, the director of the "new and colorful TEF team" and Aharon Sapsezian, the associate director, used a new word known as contextualization (Nicholls 2003:112). The TEF board of trustees at the time defined contextualization as "the capacity to respond meaningfully to the gospel within the framework of one's own situation" (Hiebert 2002:225).

The TEF in the Third Mandate discussed four major areas of contextualization and linked each with a question.

Missiological Contextualization

Missiological contextualization asked the question, "Is the seminary seeking to develop a style of training which focuses upon the urgent issues of renewal and reform in churches and upon vital issues of human development and justice in its particular situation?" Thinking missiologically contains a process, which first considers the ecclesiology of the missionary or mission, followed by the second step, contextualization. Missiology helps reflects on and analyzes issues, while contextualization is determined by the successful implementation of the missiological aspects. Fred W. McRae states that the missiological aspects reproduced on and examined result in showing the positive and negative features of contextualization (2011:213). Missiological Contextualization focuses on following six major tasks.

Translation of the Scriptures: The first task of translating the Bible to the local languages is one of the missiological aspects that opened a new field

of written literature. It also added great influence to the growth of the Christian church and to understanding theology (Gruder 2013:17).[7] Bible translation and linguistic study, for instance, enhanced people's "ability to read the Bible in their native languages as well transforming their languages into writing" (Olofinjana 2010:16). Lamin Sanneh states that the translation of the Bible into various languages "created a paradigm that illuminates the way Christianity has been received and appropriated by the local culture" (1988:34). Bible translations have empowered local people to think indigenously while at the same time refraining from the canonization of a particular culture.

Language and culture are inseparable. Using one's own vernacular language helps recover cultural identity (Gener 2009:192).[8] Using one's cultural background also enhances one's own adaptability to use the local language. Bible translation into vernacular languages helped expand the work of the Christian Church throughout the world. Thus, the first task of missiological contextualization is to have the Scripture translated into the language the people understand best.

Interpretation of the Scriptures: This second task has led people to have a deeper understanding of the gospel. It helped readers of the Bible come to a common understanding of vital truth and solved many challenging biblical questions. It took the believer to a higher realm of spiritual growth and a unique understanding of God's Word (Hoare 2015:10-20). What Augustine suggests is worthy to mention: "One is able to speak more or less wisely to the extent that one has made progress in the holy scriptures. I don't mean just reading them frequently and committing them to memory, but understanding them well and diligently exploring their senses, . . . to see into the heart of them with the eyes of the heart" (cited in Beeley 2012:86). The aim of interpreting the Bible is not to learn what the biblical text says, though it is important; the focal point is to allow the Bible to transform and convert the reader to the love of God.

Communication of the Gospel: The word *communication* seems to be similar to that of contextualization, where is hard to find a standard definition for (Hoban 1958:165).[9] The first and foremost task of communication is to open individuals to the conviction of the Holy Spirit. There are various ways in which one can communicate the gospel such as, orally, visually, through media, and publishing (Littlejohn 1992:4-413).[10] Shane R. Colledge says that the communication of the gospel "will sometimes get a message through to those who would not normally respond to more 'conventional' means" (2004:72). In other words, communicating the gospel is a vital and key issue in preaching the Word. One of the tasks that missiological contextualization brought to the Christian world is the communication of the gospel in an understandable way. Communication must be culturally sensitive and biblically faithful.

Instruction of believers: The fourth task of contextualization is the instruction of believers. The language of the local people ought to be in a way which enables the learners to acquire competency in understanding the Word of God. Contextualization of instruction is a contribution that comes to missiologists from the area of education, according to Lois McKinney (1984:311).

Incarnation of truth in the individual and corporate lives of believers: This fifth task has to do with the incarnation of truth, that is, not a mere theological *description* of what Christ has done on the cross; rather, it is the theological *prescription* of believers who ought to imitate the example of Christ. In other words, the message of a crucified Christ does not only *proclaim* God's message of salvation but also portrays God's *method* of communication. The Scripture is "God's method book of contextualization" (Love 2000:12). The incarnation of Christ is his self-disclosure and is the greatest example of missiological contextualization (Van Rheenen 2006:7). The New Testament gives believers a pattern for cultural adaptation; the incarnation of Christ is the ultimate form of contextualization (John 1:14).

Systematization of the Christian Faith (i.e., Theologizing): The sixth task (Hesselgrave 1984:694) of missiological contextualization is to present the core teachings of the Christian faith in a balanced theology or a balanced Christian doctrine. Origen (end of the 3rd century) systematized Christian doctrines from creation to eschatology. The development of Christian doctrines should not be seen as a negative development (González 2015:120), but should systematize the Christian faith to fit the contemporary world with its challenges.

Each of the above-mentioned tasks aims to bring relevance, reflection, to enhance, and to analyze the biblical text and to make its theology suitable in diverse cultures. These missiological contextualization tasks should encourage contextualization that is biblically faithful while being culturally relevant. The practice of contextualization should always keep in mind that faithfulness to biblical principles are basic to the process. Contextualization should never encourage a watering down of the biblical message.

Structural Contextualization

Is the church, school, or program seeking to develop a form and structure appropriate to the specific needs of its culture in its peculiar social, economic, and political situation? (Theological Education Fund 1972:31). Structural context is a crucial component of the contextualization model. The goal of structural contextualization is to rank higher those elements most vital to success in a given context. For instance, one specific element may have an important role to play, but the same element gains even more

meaning in its relation to other elements (Kunin 2004:13). The examination of that particular item, culturally and historically, cannot be done in isolation of other items. Thus, if structural contextualization is taken into consideration, then its value must be context specified. Structural contextualization, therefore, seeks to develop a program or a structure applicable to the precise needs of the particular culture and its social, economic, and political situations.

Theological Contextualization

Theological contextualization asks whether the seminary is seeking to do theology in a biblically faithful and culturally appropriate way for its given situation. Does it offer an approach to theological training that seeks to relate the gospel more directly to urgent issues of ministry and service in its particular cultural setting? Does it move out of its own milieu in its expression of the gospel? Theological contextualization proceeds from the understanding "that theology must not only be rooted in the biblical story, it must also engage the concrete (local) realities in which Christians find themselves" (Gener 2009:192). Contextualized theology involves two models: inculturation and revolution. The term *model* is used to refer to the conceptual approach to contextualization. Both terms carry different nuances and suggest that only these two models qualify as contextual theologies (Masuku 2009:45).

Inculturation Model: This model traces its origin to Joseph Masson SJ, a Belgian Jesuit theologian who thought that theology needs to be relevant to cultures due to the challenges arising from cultural disparities. Masson, who was a professor at the Gregorian University in Rome, first introduced the term *inculturation* to the Roman Catholic missiological discussion in the eve of the Second Vatican in 1962 (1962:1038, see also Udoye 2011:276). The terms *inculturation* and *Areopagus* models are used interchangeably; the Areopagus model was also reaffirmed by the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) (Ucerler 2016:44). Inculturation is concerned with explaining the message in the language people understand best. Ciril J. Kuttiyanikkal defines inculturation as "a process of integration of the Christian faith into local [a] culture or cultures" (2014:74). Similarly, Anscar J. Chupungco said it is "the process of inserting the texts and rites of the liturgy into the framework of the local culture" (1992:30). In other words, people's thought, value, language, symbols, rituals, and patterns assimilate into the rites and the text.

Revolutionary Model: This model necessitates a new way of "doing theology which grows out of a clearly definable set of presuppositions" and hermeneutics (Hesselgrave and Rommen 2000:92). The revolutionary model is similar to liberation, politics, and *minjung* theologies, which are

considered a theology of the post-Christian era. A revolutionary model distances itself from the development of theology that has to do with evolution and reform.

Theology done in a revolutionary way is branded as unorthodox and heretical and is sometimes barred by church authorities. It speaks against tradition and hence is criticized for "serving the ideology of the ruling class" (Moltmann 2010:61).

Contextualization takes notice of the plurality that exists in churches, while at the same time calling for a missionary focus in all theologies, contrary to the static and detached understanding of theologies. The local theology of a particular church or congregation gives rise to contextual theologies in different places around the globe. Theology must be indigenized or contextualized. I like the words of Wilbert R. Shenk who said that there is a need for indigenization or contextualization from *without* and from *within*. Indigenization or contextualization to Shenk "does not necessarily mean without borrowing from outside as long as the outcome is one suitable to and understood by the people; it rings true in that time and place" (1999:78).

Pedagogical Contextualization

Is the seminary a school seeking to develop a type of theological training which in its approach attempts to understand the educational process as a liberating danger of elitism and authoritarianism in both the methods and the goals of its program to release the potential of a servant ministry? Is it sensitive to the widespread gap between the academic and the practical? (Slackhouse 1988:235).

Pedagogical contextualization emphasizes that learning becomes effective when it is fashioned by the context, culture, and tools in the learning environment. Teachers need to respect the unique personality of each student and at the same time develop the potential of each one considering the ideas and cultural contexts. Pedagogical contextualization was a critical factor in the teaching ministry of Christ "that reflected who his students were, where they were from, and where they were going" (Lee 2017:21). For that reason, Hee Kap Lee and Ivy Yee-Sakamoto suggest a model of contextualized pedagogy comprising three phases: de-contextualization, contextualization, and re-contextualization (2017:64).

De-contextualization/Entextualization: De-contextualization implies entextualization, which "refers to the substitution of one object for another" (Hughes 2010:76). According to Amy Shuman, de-contextualization "refers to the creation of written texts that can be understood by audiences unfamiliar with the contextual details familiar to the author" (2006:117).[11]

De-contextualization focuses on language and the use of language contributing to the "pragmatic enrichment of underspecified meaning, entextualization (Fetzer and Oishi 2011:2), where it takes the person to his communicative task and describes how such a message is related to context. Decontextualization is best explained as referring to thinkers who are willing to treat the cognitive unit in isolation from background information. It functions opposite to that of contextualization; whereas contextualization contains "extra-unit connectedness." Decontextualization, on the other hand, includes "extra-unit separateness" (Berry 2012:337). According to Yair Lior, decontextualization takes place on multiple levels: cognitive, metaphysics, and ethics. The cognitive level focuses on formal logic, that is, free from any relationships; it integrates concepts and ideas. The metaphysical level concentrates on cosmological structures and objects. In the domain of ethics or the deontological ethics, decontextualization is directed towards "categorical rules of conduct in which one's unique context of operation is subordinated to a universal and constant moral rationalism" (Loir 2015:74).

Contextualization: This model of pedagogical contextualization maintains the value of transmitting the gospel message, while being cognizant of the cultural background and realizing that culture plays a vital role in the process of contextualization. The model emphasizes the "dialogical nature and the changing nature of experience, and culture" (Lee 2015:12). Ultimately, this model is an ongoing movement with regard to its theological implications. It focuses on the good and the valuable aspect of human culture and context.

Re-Contextualization: Re-contextualization "presents wording from biblical texts without [an] explicit statement or implication that the words 'stand written' anywhere else" (Robbins 1996:48). It is mainly found in narratives or in attributed speech. Re-contextualization in a narrative (Mark 15:24) states: "And they crucified Him, and divided up His garments among themselves, casting lots for them, to decide what each should take." The biblical text is re-contextualized from Psalm 22:18: "They divide my garments among them, And for my clothing they cast lots" (48, 49).

As for attributed speech, John 2:16 states, "and to those who were selling the doves.

He said, "Take these things away; stop making My Father's house a house of merchandise." "And there will no longer be a Canaanite in the house of the LORD of hosts in that day" (Zech 14:21b). The result from the two texts is that there are not any paraphrased expressions in the words of Jesus, thus, re-contextualization is implied in the words of Jesus without any indication that they are from another text.

A re-contextualization process is bi-directionally semiotic, in other words, one form of semiotic construction is re-contextualized with respect to the second form of semiosis (the mathematical symbolism), and vice versa. The linguistic text is also part of the re-contextualization process making mathematics and science multi-directionally semiotic. There is room for such "bi-directional" and "multi-directional" re-contextualization processes. The directedness of the re-contextualization process in mathematics leads to what could be called a strong grammatical interconnectivity (O'Halloran 2009:221. The moving of one item from its social context to another context is called re-contextualization (Gross 2001:143).

Five Stages of Contextualized Pedagogy: There are five stages of contextualized pedagogy: First, Inspiring Learning by Asking Essential Questions. This phase aims at asking essential questions, which require a higher thinking skill, such as analysis, synthesis, and evaluation.

Essential questions help to develop the ability of students "to sustain inquiry and critical thinking, which is also at the heart of the skills, dispositions, responsibilities, and self assessment" (Brown 2007:27). K. Brown lists the following benefits of asking essential questions. First, essential questions encourage multiple perspectives. Second, they connect learning with personal experience. Third, they address overarching themes. Fourth, they foster lifelong learning (27).[12] These essential questions promote learning from active participation to gradual learning to finding conclusions to questions.

Second, contextualized pedagogy facilitates situated learning experiences This second phase discusses the learning experiences that are situated in culture, language, and the background of the learner. Most challenges in learning become visible when separating what is learned from how it is learned and implemented. "Situations might be said to coproduce knowledge through activity. Learning and cognition, it is now possible to argue, are fundamentally situated" (Brown, Duguid, and Saks 1989:32). Jesus' teaching methods were culturally situated; he used stories about casting seeds, birds, lilies, vineyards, and fig trees. Jesus knew the cultural background when teaching first century Israelites and Gentiles. The teacher today is encouraged to use lessons that are culturally relevant and memorable to the listeners.

Third, contextualized pedagogy allows learners to explore hypotheses. This third stage focuses on learners testing hypotheses regarding how a language works, particularly when trying to solve linguistic problems. Jack Mezirow calls this process perspective transformation (1991:45). Jean Piaget describes this phase as disequilibrium in which the human mind allows discontinuity that produces a strong motivation to learn (1985:72). Learners at this stage "can regain equilibrium by either adding new

information and facts into their present schema, or by accepting new ideas and changing their prior schema" (Lee 2010:78). Thus, learners need to be inquisitive to change old ideas and beliefs and to enhance the new ideas that can only be gained through deep reflection and insight.

Fourth, contextualized pedagogy encourages learners to transfer applications. The basic purpose of this phase is to encourage learners to apply the lessons gained during the course of study. For this to take place, three academic goals should be implemented: First, learners need to acquire knowledge and skills. Second, learners should make meaning of the content learned. Third, learners need to be creative enough to transfer their learning to a new environment (Broad 1999:xi). Practical applications of the lessons learned are the goal of contextualized pedagogy.

Fifth, contextualized pedagogy has the potential to transform society in a community. The final stage stressed the fact that learners undergo, as Shannon Sullivan calls it, a "co-constitutive process" (2001:1), where static learning is not encouraged but rather dynamic and transformational learning that calls for a change is needed. In other words, the co-constitutive process sees that all "participants are transformed through their action in the community" (Lee 2010:80). In a nutshell, this kind of learning is called "a community of practice," as the anthropologist Jean Lave coined it in 1991 (Lave and Wenger 1991:32).

Three characteristics, should define this community of practice. First, the *domain*, that should be shared among its members; second, it must have a *community* where interaction, discussion, and sharing of ideas among members is applied; and third, the *practice* should be the domain that encourages practitioners with resources, experiences, and tools to be used to enhance the mission (Saks, Hoccoun, and Belcourt 2010:47). This principle advocates for the total participation of the people for mission. It improves not only contextualized pedagogy but also organizes performance and develops skills. For that reason, the *community of practice* principle has been embraced by institutions all over the world.

Summary

This article sought to explain the history of contextualization, the term coined by Coe in 1972. The formation of the TEF in 1957 played an important role in discussing the concept. Three mandates were launched: the first mandate (1958-1964) concentrated on the idea of indigenization. The second mandate (1965-1969) focused on theological education based on an ecumenical understanding of both the gospel and culture, with indigenization still its focus. The third mandate (1970-1977) discussed for the first time the concept of *contextualization*. Consequently, four major areas

of contextualization were the focus of the TEF: missiological, structural, theological, and pedagogical contextualization.

Each of the aforementioned phases aimed to bring a relevance to contextualization without watering down the biblical message. Contextualization in and of itself is not the challenge; the greatest challenge is when contextualization is used to pave the way for Christians to bring about internal variances in their respective contexts. Indigenization or contextualization as stated above should be practiced from both *without* and from *within*. Theology should be re-rooted and re-routed in every local culture where it goes.

Notes

[1]Shoki Coe (20 August 1914–8 October 1988) was a Chinese minister of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. He is also known under his Chinese name Huang Chang-hui. He is widely known for his coinage of the concept of "contextualizing theology," later better known as "contextual theology," which argues for theology's need to respond to the sociopolitical concerns of a local context. He died of lung cancer in England at the age of 74. For further information see Shank 2005:206 and Wheeler 2002:77-80.

[2]Some of the definitions that have been attempted are: "Contextualization means tailoring the gospel presentation for a particular context or culture (see McRae 2011:3). "How the gospel revealed in Scripture authentically comes to life in each new cultural, social, religious and historical setting" (see Flemming 2995:296). May defines contextualization as "The message (or the resulting church) is defined by Scripture but shaped by culture" (2005:346-352). "The process whereby Christians adapt the forms, content, and praxis of the Christian faith so as to communicate it to the minds and hearts of people with other cultural backgrounds. The goal is to make the Christian faith as a whole—not only the message but also the means of living out our faith in the local setting—understandable" (see Moreau 20012:36). "Presenting the supracultural message of the gospel in culturally relevant terms."

[3]The term *indigenization* is used interchangeably with nationalization, see Mammo 1999: 27-29; Suda, 2006:73160, and Akinsanya 1980:7-9.

[4]John Coates and Mel Gray suggest six aspects of indigenization: (1) *West is best* reflects the awkwardness of fit in directly applying a Western treatment model to another non-Western Context; (2) *awareness of context* wherein good social work practice is about 'being where the client is' and issues relating to the 'goodness of fit' with service provision and the needs of clients; (3) *the cultural construction of social work practice* involves understanding that social work is a culturally constructed profession and the need to unpack this; (4) *learning by doing and using local knowledge* includes making pragmatic judgements as to 'what works' in applying knowledge in everyday practice; (5) *reflexivity* was defined as 'continuing reflection in evaluating both process and outcomes;' and (6) the *thread of creativity*

was woven by practitioners with intellectual inventiveness and imagination. See Coates and Gray 2016:17.

[5]Sundkler (May 7, 1908-5, 1995) was one of the pioneer scholars who involved systematic study of what later became popularized as *Auxiliary Conference Interpreter* (ACIs). His crucial study ended in a monograph *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*. He was a Swedish-Tanzanian church historian, missiologist, professor, and bishop of Bukoba (a city situated on the southern shores of Lake Victoria in the United Republic of Tanzania).

[6]In 1974 the relationship between the Gospel and culture began to be questioned by Lausanne Congress on World Evangelization. This has caused evangelical theologians in 1978 to look into the issue from the lines of contextualization. The Congress explored the topic of "The Gospel, Contextualization, and Syncretism." See Larkin 2009:150-151; 174-175.

[7]The Septuagint translation, a Greek version of the Hebrew OT was written between 250-132 BC. That was considered the basic Scripture of the Apostles. The Latin Vulgate in the late 4th century AD by Jerome played an important role as well. For further information regarding the impact of the Bible translations on the world see Greider 2013:17-320. The translation of the Bible into Ilonggo in Negros Occidental resulted in having the highest percentage of Seventh-day Adventist members in the Philippines. Philip C. Stine reports about Bishop Danny C. Arichea Jr. of the Methodist church in the Philippines described that the translation of the Bible into Ilocano led to a growth in the number of Bible study groups throughout the Methodist church (Stine 2004:6).

[8]Regarding language learning and the realization of two challenging cultural identities: "Who am I when I speak this language?" and second "How am I me when I speak this language?" See Liddicoat and Scarino 2013:1-121.

[9]Some of the definitions that have been attempted are: "Communication is the verbal interchange of a thought or idea." See Hoban 1958:165-171. "The process that links discontinuous parts of the living world to one another." See Ruesch 2012:12.

[10]For a comprehensive survey of different ways in which theorists understand communication, see Littlejohn 1992:4-413.

[11]Other definitions of decontextualization are: It is "the deliberate process of extracting experience-based and procedural-based knowledge from its client and project-specific contexts, to combine and reconfigure it with the pre-existing knowledge base in order to develop new knowledge products." See Cooke, De Laurentis, MacNeill, and Collinge 2010:191. "Decontextualized definition of a term and applying it into the law, even though they were couched in more lexicographic terms." See Harris and Hutton 2010:182.

[12]The Bible is filled with essential questions asked by Jesus in the NT. "Did you not know that I had to be in My Father's house?" (Luke 2:49). "How long shall I stay with you?" (Matt 17:17). "Do you believe this?" (John 11:25-26). "Who touched my clothes" (Mark 5:30).

Works Cited

Akinsanya, Adeoye A. 1980. *The Expropriation of Multinational Property in the Third World.* Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

Allen, Yorke.1960. *A Seminary Survey: A Listing and Review of the Activities of the Theological Schools and Major Seminaries Located in Africa, Asia, and Latin America which are Training Men to Serve as Ordained Ministers and Priests in the Protestant, Roman Catholic and Eastern Churches.* Greenville, SC: Harper.

Beeley, Christopher A. 2008. *Leading God's People: Wisdom from the Early Church for Today.* Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Berry, John W. 2012. Contextual Studies of Cognitive Adaptation. In *Intelligence and Personality: Bridging the Gap in Theory and Measurement*, edited by Janet M. Collis and Samuel J. Messick, 337. Mahwah, NJ: Psychology Press.

Betz, Hans Dieter. 2008. *Religion Past and Present.* Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.

Billington, Antony. 2015. *For Their Rock Is Not As Our Rock: An Evangelical Theology of Religions.* Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity.

Broad, Mary L., ed. 1997. *Transferring Learning to the Workplace.* Alexandria, VA: American Society for Training and Development.

Brown, J., A. Collins, and P. Duguid. 1989. Situated Cognition and the Culture of Learning. *Educational Researcher* 18, no. 1:32-42.

Brown, K. 2009. Questions for the 21st Century Learner. *Knowledge Quest* 38, no. 1:24-27.

Carson, Donald A. 1987. Church and Mission: Reflections on Contextualization and the Third Horizon. In *The Church in the Bible and the World: An International Study.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker.

Chandler, Diane J. 2016. Introduction. In *The Holy Spirit and Christian Formation: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. New York: Springer.

Chazan, Naomi, Robert Mortimer, John Ravenhill, and Donald Rothchild. 1992. *Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa.* London, UK: Macmillan International Higher.

Chupungco, Anscar J. 1992. *Liturgical Inculturation: Sacramentals, Religiosity, and Catechesis.* Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press

Coates, John, and Mel Gray. 2016. From 'Indigenization' to Cultural Relevance. In *Indigenous Social Work around the World: Towards Culturally Relevant Education and Practice,* edited by John Coates, Mel Gray, and Michael Yellow Bird, 17. New York: Routledge.

Coe, Shoki. 1973. In Search of Renewal in Theological Education. *Theological Education* 9, no. 5 (1973): 235.

_____. 1993. *Recollections and Reflections.* New York, NY: Formosan Christians for Self-Determination.

Coleman, John, ed. 1999. I. Karekin I, Catholicos-Obituary. In *The Conscience of Europe,* 209. London, UK: Council of Europe.

Colledge, Shane Rodney. 2004. *Change the World: Lead One Soul to Jesus Plus New Testament.* Raleigh, NC: Lulu.

Cooke, Philip, Carla De Laurentis, Stewart MacNeill, and Chris Collinge. 2010. *Platforms of Innovation: Dynamics of New Industrial Knowledge Flows.* Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.

Estep, James R., and Jonathan H. Kim. 2010. Introduction. In *Christian Formation: Integrating Theology and Human Development*. Nashville, TN: B&H.

Fetzer, Anita, and Etsuko Oishi. 2011. Introduction. In *Context and Contexts: Parts Meet Whole?* Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.

Flemming, Dean. 2005. *Contextualization in the New Testament: Patterns for Theology and Mission.* Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity.

Gener, T. D. 2009. Contextualization. In *Global Dictionary of Theology: A Resource for the Worldwide Church*, edited by William A. Dyrness and Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, 192-196. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity.

González, Justo L. 2010. *A History of Christian Thought Volume III: From the Protestant Reformation to the Twentieth Century*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press.

Goodall, Norman, ed.1968. The Uppsala Report Official Report of the Fourth Assembly of the World Council of Churches. Upps[a]la, July 4-20, Geneva, Switzerland.

Greider, John C. 2013. *The English Bible Translations and History.* New York: Xlibris.

Gross, Joan. 2001. *Speaking in Other Voices: An Ethnography of Walloon Puppet Theaters.* Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.

Günther, Wolfgang, and Guillermo Cook. 2006. "World Missionary Conferences." In *Dictionary of Mission: Theology, History, Perspectives*, edited by Karl Muller, Theo Sundermeier, and Steven B. Bevans, 509. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock.

Harris, Roy, and Christopher Hutton. 2010. *Definition in Theory and Practice: Language, Lexicography and the Law.* New York: Bloomsbury.

Hesselgrave, David J. 1984. Contextualization and Revelational Epistemology. In *Hermeneutics, Inerrancy, and the Bible,* edited by Earl D. Radmacher and Robert D. Preus, 694. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.

Hesselgrave, David J., and Edward Rommen. 2000. *Contextualization: Meanings, Methods, and Models.* Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library.

Hiebert, Paul G. 2002. From and Meaning of Contextualization of the Gospel. In *The Word Among Us: Contextualizing Theology for Mission Today*, edited by Dean Gilliland, 225. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock.

Hoare, Liz. 2015. *Using the Bible in Spiritual Direction.* London, UK: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Hoban, C. F. 1958. Hope and Fulfillment in ETV Research. *AV Communication Review* 6, no. 3:165-171.

Holeman, Virginia Todd. 2012. *Theology for Better Counseling: Trinitarian Reflections for Healing and Formation.* Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity.

Hughes, Fergus P. 2010. *Children, Play, and Development.* Los Angeles, CA: SAGE.

Klaus, Byron D., and Loren O. Triplett.1991. National Leadership in Pentecostal Missions. In *Called and Empowered: Global Mission in Pentecostal Perspective*, edited by Murray W. Dempster, Byron D. Klaus, and Douglas Petersen, 134. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker.

Koschorke, Klaus, Frieder Ludwig, Mariano Delgado, and Roland Spliesgart, eds. 2007. *A History of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, 1450-1990: A Documentary Sourcebook.* Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Kritzinger, J. N. J. 2010. Ministerial Formation Praxis in the Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa: In Search of Inclusion and Authenticity. *Missionalia* 38, no. 2 (2010): 211-234.

Kunin, Seth Daniel. 2004. *We Think What We Eat: Neo-Structuralist Analysis of Israelite Food Rules and other Cultural and Textual Practices.* New York, NY: Bloomsbury.

Kuttiyanikkal, Ciril J. 2014. *Khrist Bhakta Movement: A Model for an Indian Church?* Zweigniederlassung, Germany: LIT Verlag Münster.

Laing, Mark. 2009. Recovering Missiological Ecclesiology in Theological Education. In *Missiological Education: Theological Integration and Contextual Implications, Papers from the 13th CMS Consultation.* Kashmere Gate, Delhi, India: ISPCK.

Larkin, William J. 2009. *Culture and Biblical Hermeneutics: Interpreting and Applying the Authoritative Word in a Relativistic Age.* Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Lave, Jean, and Etienne Wenger. 2010. *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Lee, David. 2015. *Contextualization of Sufi Spirituality in Seventeenth-and Eighteenth-Century China: The Role of Liu Zhi (c. 16620c. 1730).* Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock.

Lee, HeeKap. 2010. *Faith-Based Education That Constructs: A Creative Dialogue between Constructivism and Faith-Based Education.* Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock.

_____. 2017. The Pedagogy of Shalom: What, How, Why, and Who of Faith-Based Education. In *The Pedagogy of Shalom: Theory and Contemporary Issues of a Faith-Based Education*, edited by HeeKap Lee and Paul Kaak, 21. New York, NY: Springer.

Liddicoat, Anthony, and Angela Scarino. 2013. *Intercultural Language Teaching and Learning.* New York: John Wiley.

Lin, Jan van. 2002. *Shaking the Fundamentals: Religious Plurality and Ecumenical Movement.* New York, NY: Rodopi.

Lior, Yair. 2015. A Matter of Context: Comparing Kabbalah and Neo-Confucianism. In *The Value of the Particular: Lessons from Judaism and the Modern Jewish Experience*, edited by Michael Zank and Ingrid Anderson, 74. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.

Littlejohn, Stephen W. 1992. *Theories of Human Communication.* 4th ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Love, Rick. 2000. *Muslims, Magic and the Kingdom of God: Church Planting Among Folk Muslims.* Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library.

Ma, Wonsuk. 2018. The Theological Motivations for Pentecostal Mission. In *Pentecostals in the 21st Century: Identity, Beliefs, Praxis*, edited by Corneliu Constantineanu and Christopher J. Scobie, 243. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock.

Mammo, Tirfe. 1999. *The Paradox of Africa's Poverty: The Role of Indigenous Knowledge, Traditional Practices and Local Institutions-The Case of Ethiopia.* Lawrenceville, NJ: The Red Sea Press.

Masson, Joseph. 1962. L'Église ouverte sur le monde. *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, 84, no. 45:1038.

Masuku, Francis G. 2009. *The Encounter Between Christian and Traditional African Spiritualities in Malawi: The Search for a Contextual Lomwe Christian Spirituality*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press.

Matheny, Paul Duane. 2012. *Contextual Theology: The Drama of Our Times.* Cambridge, UK: Casemate.

May, Stan. 2005. Ugly Americans or Ambassadors of Christ? *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 41, no. 3:346-352.

McKin, Donald K. 1994. *The Bible in Theology and Preaching*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press.

McKinney, Lois. 1984. Contextualizing Instruction: Contributions to Missiology from the Field of Education. *Missiology* 12, no. 5:311-326.

McRae, Fred W. 2011. *A Case Study in Contextualization: The History of the German Church Growth Association 1985-2003.* Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock.

Mezirow, Jack. 1991. *Transformative Dimensions of Adult Learning.* San Francisco, CA: Wiley.

Moltmann, Jürgen. 2010. Minjung Theology for the Ruling Classes. In *Asian Contextual Theology for the Third Millenium: Theology of Minjung in Fourth-Eye Formation*, edited by Veli Matt Karkkainen and Kim KyoungJae. Cambridge, UK: James & Clarke.

Moreau, Scott A. 2012. *Contextualization in the World Missions: Mapping and Assessing Evangelical Models.* Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel.

Newbigin, Lesslie. 1997. *The Open Secret: An Introduction to the Theology of Mission.* Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Nicholls, Bruce J. 2003. *Contextualization: A Theology of Gospel and Culture.* Columbia, UK: Regent College.

Nkrumah, Kwame. 1958. A Speech by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana. In *The Ghana Assembly of the International Missionary Council*, edited by Ronald K. Orchard, 148-150. London, UK: Edinburgh.

O'Halloran, Kay. 2007. Mathematical and Scientific Forms of Knowledge: A Systemic Functional Multimodal Grammatical Approach. In *Language, Knowledge and Pedagogy: Functional Linguistic and Sociological Perspectives*, edited by Frances Christie and J. R. Martin, 205-238. New York, NY: Bloomsbury.

Olofinjana, Israel. 2010. *Reverse in Ministry and Missions: Africans in the Dark Continent of Europe; An Historical Study of African Churches in Europe.* Bloomington, IN: Author House.

Ott, Bernhard. 2016. *Understanding and Developing Theological Education.* Cumbria, CA: Langham.

Palmer, Delano Vincent. 2011. *Romans in Context: A Theological Appreciation of Paul's Magnum Opus.* Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock.

Papazian, Iris, ed. 2002. *Karekin I: In His Own Words*. Moscow, Russia: Karekin I Theological and Armenological Studies.

Peters, George F. 2000. Foreword to *Contextualization: Meanings, Methods, and Models.* Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library.

Piaget, Jean. 1985. *The Equilibrium of Cognitive Structures: The Central Problem of Intellectual Development.* Chicago: IL: University of Chicago Press.

Rin Ro, Bong. 2007. Asian Theology. In *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, edited by Walter A. Elwell, 106. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker.

Robbins, Vernon K. 1996. *Exploring the Texture of Texts: A Guide to Socio-Rhetorical Interpretations.* New York, NY: Bloomsbury.

Rothenberg, Ronald M. 2017. *Solving the Immigrant Church Crisis: The Biblical Solution of Parallel Ministry.* Eden Prairie, MN: Lifetouch Portrait Studios.

Ruesch, Juergen. 2012. *Semiotic Approaches to Human Relations.* Hague, France: Walter de Gruyter.

Saks, Alan Michael, Robert R. Haccoun, and Monica Belcourt. 2010. *Managing Performance Through Training and Development.* Florence, KY: Cengage Learning.

Sanneh, Lamin. 1988. *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on the Culture.* Maryknoll, NY: Orbis.

Shenk, Wilbert R. 1999. *Changing Frontiers in Mission.* Maryknoll, NY: Orbis.

_____. 2005. Contextual Theology: The Last Frontier. In *The Changing Face of Christianity: Africa, the West, and the World*, edited by Lamin Sanneh and Joel A. Carpenter, 206. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

_____. 2005. The Missionary Encounter with Culture Since the Seventeenth Century. In *Appropriate Christianity,* edited by Charles H. Kraft, 35-48. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library.

Shuman, Amy. 2006. *Storytelling Rights: The Uses of Oral and Written Texts by Urban Adolescents.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Stackhouse, Max L. 1988. *Apologia: Contextualization, Globalization, and Mission in Theological Education.* Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Standing, Roger. 2013. *As a Fire by Burning: Mission as the Life of the Local Congregation.* Norwich, UK: Hymns Ancient and Modern.

Stine, Philip C. 2004. *Let the Words Be Written: The Lasting Influence of Eugene A. Nida.* Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.

Suda, Ryan. 2006. Bilateral Investment Treaties on Human Rights Enforcement and Realization. In *Transnational Corporations and Human Rights,* edited by Olvier De Schutter, 73-160. Portland OR: Bloomsbury.

Sullivan, Shannon. 2001. *Living Across and Through Skins: Transactional Bodies, Pragmatism, and Feminism.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Sundkler, Bengt. 1961. *The Christian Ministry in African.* London, UK: SC.

_____. 2014. Bantu Prophets in South Africa. Cambridge, UK: James & Clarke.

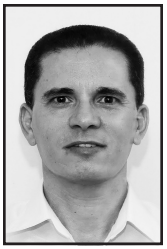
Sunquist, Scott W. 2013. *Understanding Christian Mission: Participation in Suffering and Glory.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker.

Theological Education Fund (TEF) Staff, ed. 1972. *Ministry in Context: The Third Mandate Programme of the Theological Education Fund (1970-77).* Bromley, UK: Theological Education Fund.

Ucerler SJ, M. Antoni J. 2016. The Jesuits in East Asia in the Early Modern Age: A New Areopagus' and the 're-invention' of Christianity. In *The Jesuits and Globalization: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Challenges,* edited by Thomas Banchoff and José Casanova, 27-45. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Van Rheenen, Gailyn. 2996. *Contextualization and Syncretism: Navigating Cultural Currents.* Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library.

Wheeler, Ray. 2002. The Legacy of Shoki Coe. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 26, no. 2:77-80.



Youssry Guirguis is an OT scholar with a special interest in the area of Islamic studies at the Asia-Pacific International University in Thailand and the Andrews MAR (extension site) program director for the Asia-Pacific International University. He is an adjunct professor in Middle East University's Master in Islamic Studies Program and has conducted research in the areas of biblical studies, Islamic studies, and biblical rituals.

William Wells

Foreigners in America: A Study of Migration, Mission History, and Ellen G. White's Missional Model

"People are on the move as never before. Migration is one of the great global realities of our era. It is estimated that 200 million people are living outside their countries of origin, voluntarily or involuntarily." (Lausanne Movement 2011)

Introduction

Migration and mission for the Seventh-day Adventist Church creates the backdrop upon which several missional actions took place in the fledgling years of the church. The two combined to contribute to the worldwide growth of the Advent movement. From fairly early the Adventist Church had an interest in sharing with the world the wonderful news of the second advent of Christ. By about 1871, there was a growing comfort in the fledgling Seventh-day Adventist Church regarding the nature of reaching the world. Arthur W. Spalding (1962) notes that at first the concept of a global mission was reduced to a manageable idea of reaching only those nations that lived in America. Uriah Smith added in a paper in 1859, as Spalding quotes, that the message of the third angel was to go where the first angel went thus limiting the advent mission to America "since our land is composed of people from almost every nation" (2:193). Many had grown complacent in believing that all Protestant missions, working together, would carry the gospel to the world, until 1873-1874. During those years decided messages were spoken and written which stirred up

https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/jams/vol15/iss2/1
DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.32597/jams/vol15/iss2/

Adventist believers to consider that the three angels' messages would be taken globally (White 1915:203). One of the keys to reaching people globally was the emphasis on reaching the migrant populations in America (Jasper 2018:14).

Ellen G. White, both co-founder and co-leader in the development of the Advent movement and Church, spoke widely on the topic of mission. During a review of her writings, there is a clear progression of thought and understanding of the young church's mission and how reaching migrants was to be included. What was the development of her thinking regarding mission to migrants and in what ways did it overlap with immigration trends between 1870 and 1920? What actions were taken by mission pioneers during the same period? The purpose of this article is to explore the progression of three areas, namely, White's council, migration trends, and what mission activities were taken in response to both White's appeal and the arrival of new populations.

The article is delimited to a study of published writings and statistics between the years 1870 and 1915. A brief reflection is provided for the years prior to 1870 to provide a clearer knowledge of background events to help when analyzing the trend of missional development for migrants.

Immigration by the Numbers: 1870–1915

Immigration trends to North America fluctuate from year to year, and are often determined by push and pull factors such as conflict, famine, or economic opportunity. Even though Canada and Mexico are part of North America, the statistics used in this article will be from the United States. Currently, the U.S. Census Bureau keeps records of all its decennial surveys. Although foreign-born persons were recorded to some extent in America's immigration history, the census reports did not begin recording on a regular basis the foreign-born populations in America until 1850 (Campbell and Lennon 1999: Table 1).

Immigration grew more or less year to year from 1870 to 1915. Matthew Soerens and Jenny Yang observe that there were two large immigration waves. The first was from 1820-1860 and the second from 1880-1920. Then finally in 1921 and 1924 laws were passed enacting immigration quotas limiting the numbers of Europeans and barring Asians from entering the United States (2018:48-53). During these decades, immigration before 1880 primarily consisted of Northern and Western Europeans. They were termed as the "old" immigrants and were mostly Protestant. After 1880, a new wave of Southern and Eastern European migrants began to arrive and were labeled the "new" immigrants. These newer immigrants were mostly Catholic (Halswick 2013:14) with about a hundred thousand being

Asian (Gibson and Lennon 1999: Table 2), while the Chinese were completely blocked from immigrating in 1882 (Soerens and Yang 2018:51).

Notice in the table below that there is a net increase of foreign-born population between each decade.

	U.S. Census Data on Foreign–Born Population:			
Year:	Total Foreign–Born Population:	Percentage of Foreign–Born:	Decade:	Foreign–Born Population Net Increase/Decade:
1870	5,567,229	14.4	1870–1880	1,112,714
1880	6,679,943	13.3	1880–1890	2,569,604
1890	9,249,547	14.8	1890–1900	1,091,729
1900	10,341,276	13.6	1900–1910	3,174,610
1910	13,515,886	14.7	1910–1920	404,806
1920	13,920,692	13.2		

Source: Gibson and Lennon 1999: Table 2

By 1920 there were more than 13.9 million foreign-born persons living in America. When considered by the decade there are patterns of growth of which the two largest decades are 1880-1890 and 1900-1910.

When reflecting on these numbers, many of these immigrants transitioned to living in the big cities of America. For example, in 1870, New York City was the number one ranked city with a foreign population with Chicago in fifth place. Yet both had just under 50% of their population listed as foreign-born. By 1890, Chicago moved up to second on the list with New York City still in first place and both still maintaining more than 40% foreign-born population. By 1920, both cities had experienced exponential growth rates of foreign-born persons with each city holding the same first and second places (Gibson and Lennon 1999: Table 19).

Immigration numbers reveal that mass migrations during these decades created the opportunity and challenges for the young Adventist body of believers. While exponential growth was taking place in the cultural and linguistic dynamics of America, the missional vision was still developing to see God's providences in bringing these large numbers of migrants to a new territory.

Pre-1870: Pioneering Mission to Migrants

Before Ellen White's passionate appeals for publishing in other languages in 1871, a small beginning had already been made. These beginnings were the first steps of what soon became a pressing missional need that both vision and resource were slow to respond to until the 20th century. In the years leading up to 1870, migration trends often fluctuated, but the trend was towards greater numbers of new immigrants. Soerens

notes that in the decades leading up to 1870, an increase of nearly five million immigrants (Western European and mostly German and Irish) significantly added to the variety of ethnicities living in America (2018:48).

Arthur W. Spalding notes that some of the first mission activities focused on other languages began in 1857 when the first tracts were published in German and French (1962:2:200). In 1866, the first Danish and Norwegian papers were published for distribution among the numerous Scandinavians (2:201). As a result of the publications in Danish, Norwegian, and French and through the efforts of some Adventist ministers, several workers from other nationalities began to labor for their countrymen. For example, J. G. Matteson and the Olsen family, both converted in the early 1860s, and started to work with the Danish and Norwegians, establishing the first Adventist churches for those groups (2:201). M. B. Czechowski, a Polish convert, begun to labor for the French in 1858 until he left for Europe to pioneer mission work there (2:198).

M. Ellsworth Olsen (1926), son of O. A. Olsen who played a significant role in mission, notes the Bourdeau brothers began to work intermittently with the French speaking population until in 1873 they had established three French-speaking congregations and began to work internationally in Europe (1926:691, 692). As for the Irish influence, the first convert in Ireland in 1861 was the result of sharing tracts by believers in North America (Spalding 1962:2:195).

1870s: Migration and Awareness

After nearly a decade and a half of publishing a few tracts in other languages, the 1870s saw rapid growth in Adventist mission. The prominent foreign-born groups that saw significant growth develop in mission were the Danish, Norwegians, Russian, Germans, French, and Swedes. It was during this decade that three French churches were founded; two leading German-born converts took charge of mission to Germans, namely, Henry Schultz and L. R. Conradi. Two converts from a Swedish background pioneered church planting and publishing for their language group, and the Danish and Norwegians continued to experience rapid growth. For many of these groups, they began to send literature overseas to their families, friends, and acquaintances, which resulted in establishing bridges for Adventist mission in Europe (Spalding 1962:2:200, 2001).

Along with the development of reaching foreigners in North America, immigration increased by 1.1 million foreign-born persons during the 1870s. The growth of immigration coupled with immigrant mission work in the previous decade added to the sense of urgency in White's writings. Translators, publishers, and means were needed to meet the demands of reaching the multitudes of ethnicities living in both the large urban centers and rural frontier areas.

Ellen White's article, recorded in the book *Life Sketches* and entitled "Missionary Work," brought to the forefront the need for a global focus. The editors of the book note that in 1871, a worldwide advent movement was not fully understood or grasped. Rather many at that time believed that the gospel would be generally fulfilled by all Christian mission efforts rather than with the specific advent message. Yet, three years later, that understanding had shifted. By 1874, the young Seventh-day Adventist Church embraced the global challenge of reaching the world (White 1915:203).

In that article, White gives several arguments that begin the development of a theme—calling men, women, and means to the forefront of mission as the first declarative utterances of a global mission call. Repeatedly, White called for tracts, papers, pamphlets, books, etc. to be published in other languages that the nations of the world may come to understand the truth, be warned, and saved. The second need that she points out is the lack of individuals who are learning languages so they can be prepared for wider service. Translators, publishers, and available persons both women and men were urgently needed to meet the missional demands. (204, 205). Several key leaders like O. A. Olsen, J. G. Matteson, the Bourdeau brothers, and in the late 1870s, Henry Shultz and L. R. Conradi had begun to work for foreign language groups, but in 1871, those leading the work for foreign-born migrants in North America, were few. Thus, the call and the scope of the task remaining needed urgent attention by the church.

In 1874, an article titled "Other Nations" published in what seems to be a circular called *The True Missionary* continued the appeal, which built on the previous article. In addition to the call for money and workers, a fair warning is given. White writes, "We are far behind other denominations in missionary work, who do not claim that Christ is soon to come, and that the destiny of all must soon be decided" (White 1874: para. 3). Although she does not mention the ways in which Adventists were behind, it is likely that a slow response to her previous call to publish in other languages, learn those languages, and reach people from other nations was still lacking. By 1874, progress remained slow.

> We are not keeping pace with the opening providence of God. . . . If we would follow the opening providence of God, we should be quick to discern every opening, and make the most of every advantage within our reach, to let the light extend and spread to other nations. God, in his providence, has sent men to our very doors and thrust them, as it were, into our arms, that they might learn the truth more perfectly, and be qualified to do a work we could not do in getting the light before men of other tongues. We have too often failed to discern God's hand, and we have not received the very ones God had provided for us to work in union with, and act a part in sending the light to other nations. (1974: para.10)

In other words, while a start had been made, there was much lacking in publishing, translating, and reaching other nations according to God's providence. Three times she mentions that God's providence is working to bring persons of other tongues and nationalities to "our very doors." These men and women were "thrust" into places by God's miraculous doing where they might partake of the Advent message and use their language skills to reach people who share their native language.

White is suggesting that these individuals of linguistic talent were brought to North America where they could become acquainted with the Advent message for in 1874 there was little Adventist influence beyond North America. Multitudes from other nations were living in America. Reaching globally would be easier by starting locally.

Here is the beginning of White's strategy of reaching foreigners living in America. This idea is further built upon in later articles. The urgency increased as immigration continued to grow exponentially. God providentially provided immigrants from all over the world to come to America as a means of helping to spread the influence of the gospel and the unique Adventist message to the world. As foreign immigrants became Adventists in America, White encouraged them to send publications in their heart language to their friends and relatives in their home countries. This approach would result in a reduction of prejudice and superstition and cause hearts to be prepared to further receive and pass on to others the publications coming from America. This was the case for Gerhardt Perk in Russia (1882) where there were many German-speaking immigrants. He received tracts in German that he shared with his friends and relatives (Olsen 1926:473, 474). This was one way for the small Adventist membership to engage globally.

1880s: Progress and the First Immigration Wave

The next year in which a direct statement is given about mission to migrants living in America, is in 1887. During the intervening years between 1874 and 1887, much happened in terms of global mission for Adventists, with much of it through the printed page. However, by 1887, a large influx of immigration to America had been underway for several years.

In the 1880s, Adventist mission to foreign-born people groups in America continued to grow. The first German churches were started in 1881. In 1886, M. J. Van Der Shuur, moved from Holland to both learn and lead mission with Dutch-speaking persons in Michigan (Olsen 1926:692). Classes for French, Danish, Dutch, and German-speaking converts were started in 1889 at Battle Creek College to begin training more workers. In 1891, the language departments were transferred to Union College where

they continued to train for another two decades (Spalding 1962:3:313). Louis Halswick, director of the Foreign Home Mission Department in the 1940s, notes that between the 1870s and 1880s more than half a million Italians migrated to America. However, little was done for them until more than a decade after their initial arrival ([1946] 2013:43). In the decade of the 1880s work among the people groups that had been ministered to during the 1870s was strengthened. Ultimately, as these groups increased more resources were given to help establish mission outposts in their native countries including the sending of missionaries.

In White's article from 1887 called, "Partakers of the Divine Nature," her tone, urgent though general, still continues the theme of appealing for laborers and means for mission. Between the appeals for a spiritual renewal and commitment to mission, she provides her first direct statement on mission to foreigners in America.

> And even in our own country there are thousands of all nations, and tongues, and peoples who are ignorant and superstitious, having no knowledge of the Bible or its sacred teachings. God's hand was in their coming to America, that they might be brought under the enlightening influence of the truth revealed in his word, and become partakers of his saving faith. (1887: para. 8)

Since this is the first time she mentioned this topic and since it is not quoted from another article, this quote makes her point all the more important. Yes, all nations are to receive the light of God's truth. Foreign missionaries are to be sent; however, there is still a work to do in America for, as shown above, there are millions of people whom God has brought to America for the purpose of hearing the truth. This helps to show that God has a hand in the migration of persons. God's providence is still working to bring multitudes to a new land where the opportunity to hear the Advent message is made possible.

1900s: The Next Immigration Wave and New Organization

Migration was at an all-time high at the turn of the century. Renewed appeals from Ellen White encouraged the believers and leaders of the Advent movement to directly address the missional task of reaching the newly arrived foreigners. As seen above, in this first decade of the new century, migration numbers peaked.

In the decade leading up 1900, new work was pioneered through printed tracts for additional language groups. Between 1880-1900, about one million Jews immigrated to America. It was in 1894, that F. C. Gilbert took notice and interest. Work began with tracts but little progress was made for

several years (Halswick [1946] 2013: 52, 53). The Italians who arrived the previous decades began to come in even greater numbers. Unfortunately, little was done for the hundreds of thousands of Italians until the 1900s when concerted efforts were finally taken (Spalding 1962:3:316, 317).

Two other groups, which began to receive attention, were the Spanish and Japanese. In 1894 in California, the first Japanese convert joined the Advent movement. T. H. Okohira immediately took to his mission and began to labor for his people. He began in America and later went to Japan to start the work there. Eventually, some thirty years after Okohira's conversion, the first Japanese Adventist church was organized in America (Halswick [1946] 2013:57). Among Spanish speaking peoples in America, the first ordination of a Spanish-speaking pastor took place in 1898. Evangelistic work had begun some years before, but was slow (Spalding 1962:3:315). Over the last hundred years, more than any other language group, the Spanish- speaking peoples of the world have rapidly extended the three angels' messages among Spanish-speaking countries and beyond.

During the 1890s there was another lengthy gap of 16 years in writing about home missions because Ellen White spent most of her time ministering in Australia. In 1903 she repeats her call to minister to foreign-born migrants in America. The *Review* published a March 3 article titled, "A Neglected Work;" however, the material dates to August and October of 1902 and January 23, 1903 when the original manuscripts were first authored. What was the neglected work during these years? The cities were yet unwarned by the heralds of the Advent movement. Ministers and church workers had mostly avoided the masses of people living in large urban centers like New York. The reason for such neglect is that the church was so focused on mission abroad that it neglected the home mission field.

White reminds the church of the necessity to remain balanced in its outreach activities. "There is a work to be done in foreign fields, but there is a work to be done in America, which is just as important. In the cities of America there are people of almost every language. These need the light that God has given to his church" (1903:para. 4). The unreached abroad need just as much focus as the many nationalities that live in America. German-Americans and the larger population of Adventist believers were challenged to take up work among the many foreigners near them and in urban centers.

In the years that followed some work was started in this mission field in America. Some of the large urban centers in America were entered and on one of Ellen White's travels across the nation, she visited a mission in Chicago, which focused on reaching Swedish-speaking immigrants. She

praised the focus of the mission in reaching Swedes. Elder. S. Mortenson had procured a large hall for meetings, operated a vegetarian restaurant, and had housing for guests. Even so, her February 9, 1905, counsel makes note of what more could be done. First, she points out that large cities are home to thousands of people from different nations and language groups. Thus, it is an easy place to meet with people from around the world. Second, the work among Swedes in Chicago is to be duplicated in every large city. This is a deep desire and wish that White has long had, but with no evidence until 1905 that any plans or intentions to reach other foreigners in the cities of America had been made (White 1905: para. 3, 4).

For 20 years mission to German, Scandinavian, and Swedish groups had been going on and were fairly well established. It was time to enlarge the vision. Missionaries had planted a European church, and there was a growing presence in Australia, Africa, and beyond. Yet, in America, foreign-born immigrants were still relatively unreached. It was in this decade that large numbers of Russians, Czech, Yugoslavians, and other Slavic groups made America their home. Another major development in this decade was the organization of the North American Foreign Department in May 1905. G. A. Irwin was the director of this department with several secretaries under his leadership specifically overseeing mission to each people group (Spalding 1962:3:312). Though small at first, this department provided the first direct efforts to coordinate mission to immigrants in America. In 1909, the department was further streamlined with O. A. Olsen as its director (Olsen 1926:694, 895).

These groups by the end of the first decade of the 20th century saw their first churches planted. The first Russian churches were organized in 1905 and 1908 in Canada and United States respectively. By the 1940s, there were more than 30 Ukrainian churches (Halswick [1946] 2013:49-51). As for the Yugoslavians and other Slavic speaking peoples, the first church was established in Saskatchewan, Canada in 1907 with others to follow in America a few years later ([1946] 2013:47). The Czech-speaking people had their first church established in 1907 and the first Italian-speaking churches were organized in 1907 and 1908 in and around New York City (Spalding 1962:3:316-9). By 1910, a multitude of new nationalities began to receive the Advent message.

1910s: Final Appeals and an Expansion of the Work

Between 1910 and 1920, several new developments took place even though migration numbers began to lessen. In 1909, O. A. Olsen became secretary of the North American Foreign Department and under his leadership, French work was revived and strengthened. Halswick notes that

after forty years of intermittent labor, by 1913 there were only 250 French-speaking believers in all of North America ([1946] 2013:42). Because of this dismal growth, Olsen brought workers back from Europe to focus solely on reaching French-speaking immigrants in New England and Canada (Spalding 1962:3:316). Because of this concerted effort by Olsen, a strong French work was revived. In 1910, the first Hungarian church was planted in New York followed by a second in 1918 in Chicago. Work was slow with the Hungarians until the following decade when churches began to grow and more congregations were established (Halswick [1946] 2013:55, 56). By 1911, Romanians had their first Adventist convert and missionary in John Klepea and the first Romanian congregation in 1913 in Cleveland, Ohio ([1946] 2013:62). One of the last groups to receive attention were the Portuguese. F. Gonçalves was converted in 1912 and established a ministry with his language group. Six years later, in 1918, the first Portuguese church was established ([1946] 2013:60).

A year after O. A. Olsen's appointment to the North American Foreign Department, Ellen White gave significant counsel to the Pacific Union Conference in Mountain View, California titled "Mission Fields at Home." Her counsel strikes a balance between mission abroad and mission at home. What prompted White to write her article was the Pacific Union's desire to send means to help support work in China (1910: para. 2). White supports the desires of the Pacific Union to help in China while reminding them of their duty of reaching the foreigners in America. Not only did she continue to speak to this balance of mission at home and abroad, but this article, more than any previous one, gives her full counsel on mission to foreigners in the clearest terms.

While building on the idea of God's providential leading of immigrants to America, she reminds church leaders about the need for creating clear plans in the execution of this ministry.

> Those in responsibility must now plan wisely to proclaim the third angel's message to the hundreds of thousands of foreigners in the cites of America. . . . Many of these foreigners are here in the providence of God, that they may have opportunity to hear the truth for this time and receive a preparation that will fit them to return to their own lands as bearers of precious light, shining direct from the throne of God. (1910: para. 4)

The reason she suggests the need for clear plans is so that efforts of reaching other lands can also be improved. The tone is one of urgency, which has not abated from her earliest comments regarding this subject in 1871. She makes note of this urgency through specifying that there are hundreds of thousands of foreigners living in America (in reality there

were millions, but her point is no less important). These hundreds of thousands (or millions) of foreigners are to be included in the mission of the church.

Although some improvement happened with home missions between 1905 and 1910, yet White suggested that "comparatively little" has been accomplished to this end. As a rebuke, she emphasizes that the matters of reaching the urban centers where large numbers of foreign migrants live has been presented on multiple occasions with little to no action on the part of the church (1910:para. 5). Even back in 1887, she mentioned that there was only one laborer where there ought to be a hundred (1887:para. 8). Previously, in 1874, she wrote that if the church, meaning both people and the institution, had zealously taken up the work of mission to immigrants, then there would be hundreds of converts where there are only just a few (para. 7). What more needed to be done? White continues saying that one of the more effective means of accomplishing work in the cities is through a partnership between physicians, evangelists, ministers, and regardless of one's skill or trade, all believers are to be involved in mission in these large cities (1910:para. 7).

White then goes on to show the many benefits that would come as a result of making mission to migrants a priority.

> Great benefits would come to the cause of God in the regions beyond if faithful effort were put forth in behalf of the cities in America. Among the foreigners of various nationalities who would accept the truth, there are some who might soon be fitted to labor among those of their own native land. Many would return to the places from which they came, that they might win their friends to the truth. (1910: para. 8)

The church should train the new immigrant believers so in the future some could be sent out as laborers to their own nations. More than a hundred years ago, White saw the importance of reaching cross-culturally to the people from many lands in America, realizing this would increase the number of those who would become available as missionaries to their own people.

The two major cities that White mentions are New York and Chicago. As noted above, both of these cities between 1910 and 1920 registered about 40% of its total population as foreign-born. Yet this missional need and opportunity was largely missed, for although beginnings had been made, most urban centers with large foreign populations were neglected (1910: para. 9). White emphasized that great growth could be realized if there was more zeal and passion for reaching unreached people groups.

> When God's chosen messengers recognize their responsibility toward the cities, and in the spirit of the Master-worker labor untiringly for the conversion of precious souls, those who are enlightened will desire to give freely of their means to sustain the work done in their behalf. The newly converted believers will respond liberally to every call for help, and the Spirit of God will move upon their hearts to sustain not only the work being carried forward in the cities where they may be living, but in the regions beyond. Thus, strength will come to the working forces at home and abroad, and the cause of God will be advanced in His appointed way. (1910: para. 10)

This last line is important and is the only one of its kind up to 1910 in any of White's writing or presentations. God's appointed means for reaching the world is through the model she proposes: reaching immigrants already living in America.

In 1914, about a year before her death, White published one last article with the title, "The Foreigners in America." Much of the article is a compilation of her comments from 1903, "A Neglected Work," and 1910, "Mission Fields at Home." It stands as her magnum opus in which she summarizes her conclusive words about the mission of the church to foreigners.

Although much of the article is compiled from previous articles, some of the language is updated to reflect changes in the church's mission between 1910 and 1914. White acknowledges that decided changes have been made in urban and foreign immigrant mission work. Advances in both plans and actions have taken place and the work is moving forward.

First, she acknowledges improvement with the appointment of O. A. Olsen as the director of the North American Foreign Department. She affirms the nature of the plans made by Olsen and his department. White (1914) specifically names several nationalities being reached, namely Germans, Scandinavians, French, Serbians, Russians, Italians, Romanians, and other nationalities (para. 16). The work she had urged for so long now had a foothold within the mission vision of the Adventist Church, yet much remained to be done, and more means were greatly needed. There was to be no end of support or planning to this end. Her final concluding remarks capture her vision for the church.

> God would be pleased to see far more accomplished by his people in the presentation of the truth for this time to the foreigners in America than has been done in the past. . . . As I have testified for years, if we were quick in discerning the opening providences of God, we should be able to see in the multiplying opportunities to reach many foreigners in America a divinely appointed means of rapidly extending the third angel's message into all the nations of earth. God in his providence

> has brought men to our very doors and thrust them, as it were, into our arms, that they might learn the truth, and be qualified to do a work we could not do in getting the light before men of other tongues. There is a great work before us. The world is to be warned. The truth is to be translated into many languages, that all nations may enjoy its pure, life-giving influence. This work calls for the exercise of all the talents that God has entrusted to our keeping,—the pen, the press, the voice, the purse, and the sanctified affections of the soul. (1914: para. 17)

The church was challenged to use every possible means for reaching the foreign-born population of America. Nothing should prevent the pursuit of this important goal. God has appointed the means and given the blueprint, it is now up to the church to fulfill its mission and duty to the nations. Although White's voice and appeals may no longer be in person, yet her counsels still confront the church with God's divinely appointed means of getting his truth before the nations.

Conclusion

From 1870 to 1915, much was done to proclaim the Adventist message to immigrants. By the time Spalding's four volume series on Adventist history was published in 1962, the North American Foreign Department had reached out to twenty-five language groups by the mid-1940s (3:312). Thanks to Ellen White's nearly constant appeals for mission in this direction, focused work was eventually taken up and progress made. Without the balanced approach of mission to foreign language groups in America and mission to nations around the world, the Advent movement would have been slower in taking up its task of mission. Olsen put it best in a quote from A. R. Bailey in his book *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists* (1926:697).

> The coming of this great foreign army to us spells opportunity and responsibility for the church of the living God. For years, we have been sending men and money to foreign fields with the gospel. It seems as if God has looked down upon us and says, "you are too slow. You will never evangelize the world at the rate you are now working." So, he has stirred up these people to come to us, and with the coming of these millions from foreign lands the church and every individual Christian ought to see the greatest opportunity for evangelism that has ever been given to any people.

In the search to discover the correlations between Ellen White's statements on reaching foreigners in America, immigration, and Adventist

mission history, I believe there are several observations that can be made. First, the understanding of world mission grew as the church matured and began to minister to the German, French, Norwegian, and Danish populations in America. White had inherited a vision of world mission early on but it took the church many years to see and adopt this vision. Second, White's repeated calls for laborers to reach specific people groups increased as immigration increased. It was clear that Adventist mission was not keeping up with the rapid growth of diverse populations in America. Even until the year before she died, White continued to speak of the need for more laborers, more effort, and wise planning. Third, a common pattern emerges from this survey regarding how the various language groups were initially approached. Most of the groups received publications in their heart language, which led to the first conversions. Those first conversions were followed up with further distribution of tracts and personal work. Eventually, as congregations were established, they began to send young people for education and training with the hope to duplicate the mission to others.

Some questions, which need further research, include whether those groups who only received delayed mission attention continue to be weak or challenged in mission today? Second, after World War II, what changes did the North American Foreign Department undergo to represent mission in the latter half of the 20th century? Third, what advances were made for the continued publication of materials in other languages in America after 1915? What models of ministry were adapted for later generations of ethnic churches after they assimilated into American culture? Finally, what more was done to continue to facilitate mission or provide means of channeling later generations of ethnic churches into ethnic ministries?

Since 1915 much has changed in the trends of immigration including the fact that the majority of those migrating to America are no longer of European descent. Both the United States and Canada continue to be top destinations for immigrants and today multitudes of nations are represented in both countries. The counsel of Ellen White is just as pertinent today as it was over a hundred years ago. A renewal in intentional planning, raising of funds, and training of workers must be revived. Just as dozens of unreached peoples came to America in the migration movements between 1870 and 1920, today the story is being repeated. God's providences have not changed nor has his intended mission model.

Works Cited

Gibson, Campbell, and Emily Lennon. 1999. *Table 1: Nativity of the Population and Place of Birth of the Native Population: 1850 to 1990*. U.S. Bureau of the Census. Accessed October 21, 2018. https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab01.html

——. 1999. *Table 2: Region of Birth of the Foreign–Born Population: 1850 to 1930 and 1960 to 1990.* U.S. Bureau of the Census. Accessed October 21, 2018. https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab02.html

——. 1999. *Table 19: Nativity of the Population for the 50 Largest Urban Places: 1870 to 1990*. U.S. Bureau of the Census. Accessed October 21, 2018. https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab19.html

Halswick, Louis M. [1946] 2013. *Mission Fields at Home*. Nampa, ID: Pacific Press.

Jasper, Anthony. 2018. *Appendix A - Ellen White on Work Among Immigrants*. Unpublished Manuscript, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI.

Lausanne Movement. 2011. The Cape Town Commitment. Section II–C–5. Accessed October 17, 2018. http://www.lausanne.org/content/ctc/ctcommitment#p2-3-5

Olsen, M. Ellsworth. 1926. *Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists*. Takoma Park, MD: Review and Herald.

Soerens, Matthew,and Jenny Yang. 2018. *Welcoming the Stranger*. Downers Grove, Il: InterVarsity.

Spalding, Arthur W. 1962. *Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists*. 4 vols. Washington, DC: Review and Herald.

White, Ellen G. 1874. Other Nations. *The True Missionary*. 1 January.

——. 1887. Partakers of the Divine Nature. *The Review and Herald*, 1 March.

——. 1910. Mission Fields at Home. MS 45. 28 January.

——. 1914. The Foreigners in America. *The Review and Herald*, 29 October.

——. 1915. *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White*. Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press.

Bill Wells serves as the Refugee Ministry Coordinator at ASAP Ministries. Currently he is studying at Andrews University in the Doctor of Missiology program. Since 2014 he has been passionately engaged in ministry to refugees in North America and beyond.

Jeff Scoggins

Paul's Athenian Treasure for the Church

In the story in Acts 17, Paul was forced to escape from Berea quickly when trouble makers stormed in from Thessalonica. Evidently the Jews from Thessalonica were seeking Paul personally, so Silas and Timothy remained in Berea to continue studying with those noble-minded people, while Paul traveled south to Athens with an escort. In Athens, Paul sent his companions back home to Berea with instructions to send Silas and Timothy as soon as possible. Paul planned to wait for them in Athens.

Naturally, Paul kept busy during his wait in Athens. According to Acts 17:17, Paul worked in three directions simultaneously. First, he worked the synagogues, reasoning with the Jews. Second, he worked among the God-fearing Gentiles wherever they could be found. And third, he hung around the marketplace with the pagans shopping there.

Jews

Of those three groups, Paul would have been most naturally comfortable working among his fellow Jews. Not only were they intimately acquainted with Scripture but they also shared a common background, culture, language, eating and purity habits, ceremonies, feasts, etc. Paul's fellow Jews were family. And so long as Paul was careful not to cross them too much with his distinctive Christian beliefs, the Jews were glad to have him.

So how easy it would have been for Paul to operate carefully enough to avoid upsetting his comfort zone. Had he worked more cautiously and conservatively in the synagogues around Asia Minor, he could have been a welcome celebrity among the Jews most anywhere. Additionally, he could have racked up a great number of nominal conversions, so long as the changes required were minor. He could have felt really satisfied about incrementally deepening his flock's spirituality, increasing their tithing,

building up their community outreach activities, establishing Jewish-run institutions. He could have spent the rest of his life in productive work and lived as a hero among the Jewish people.

God-fearing Gentiles

But Paul was more mission minded than that. He refused to be satisfied with working among only his own people because he had been commissioned by Jesus as a messenger to the Gentiles. Yet, even then, had Paul been so inclined he could have been much more comfortable working with the many God-fearing Gentiles who were available to him. And while it would have been more difficult than working with the full-blooded Jews, at least the most difficult hurdles had been overcome already. After all, these Gentiles were God-fearing. Their worldview had previously undergone substantial alterations. These people already possessed a foundation for Paul to build upon, but they also had serious room for improvement. Therefore, Paul could have felt particularly missionary-like working among them because they did not necessarily share the same background, culture, language, eating, and purity habits, etc. These God-fearing Gentiles were not family. Indeed, Paul was already pushing the proverbial envelope among the Jewish leadership by working among these Gentiles as much as he was. Some token work among converts, that was fine. Judaism had room for that, but not a lot of room. Thus, Paul could have played it much more safely by working among the God-fearing Gentiles, even while convincing himself that he was living dangerously and obediently to his commission.

Pagans

However, Paul was even more mission minded than that. Verse 16 says, "Now while Paul was waiting for them at Athens, his spirit was provoked within him as he observed the city full of idols." I can imagine two reasons why Paul was provoked by the city full of idols; he was provoked for God's sake because here was a city full of false gods masquerading as true gods. Consequently, Paul was legitimately upset for God's sake.

Another reason Paul was provoked was out of compassion for the people of Athens who did not know God and would die in their sins if they did not turn to God.

Our cities are still full of idols, of course, even though they are less obvious than what Paul saw; and unfortunately, most of us are fully capable of walking through a city without being provoked in the least by the city's idols. Where is our sense of God's honor? Where is our compassion for the people?

Thankfully, Paul was tuned into the Holy Spirit enough to be provoked. And not only did he feel strongly about the situation, he was determined to do something about it because Paul, out of step with the beliefs of his people, believed that God wanted the Athenians to be saved as well. He understood the Global Mission concept was to take the gospel to those who were entirely unreached, including idol-worshiping pagans.

Therefore, Paul hung out at the marketplace where plenty of pagans were to be found. We might say that he formed the first Global Mission Study Center where he used the marketplace to study and test methods of reaching the hearts and minds of pagans in ways they would understand and respond to. He talked to people. He studied their literature, their poets, and their gods. He probably asked many questions. Paul knew that he could not blindly start preaching to the Athenians in the same way that he approached Jews or even God-fearing Gentiles. Paul, through the Holy Spirit, understood that the worldview of the Athenians required an entirely different approach to reach them.

The people at the marketplace reacted to Paul's investigation and speaking in a variety of ways. Some rejected him immediately by saying, "What would this idle babbler wish to say?" "This man is proclaiming strange deities."

Studying His Audience

It seems that Paul did not know exactly how to reach the pagans in Athens. Evidently, he experienced a few dead ends, but he learned as he mingled directly with the people as one desiring their good. And by this direct contact some people began to want to know more until some said, "Hey, let's listen to him. Bring him to the Areopagus."

Luke pauses the story here to parenthetically inform us that the people of Athens did nothing all day long but talk about and listen to the latest ideas. What did Luke intend by inserting that choice nugget of information in his writing? Initially the impression is that he was accusing the Athenians of being lazy or slothful. But on reflection, the context does not really warrant that impression. It seems more likely that he was actually indicating that the Athenians were experienced thinkers and debaters because they spent so much time doing it. We know the ancient Greeks were philosophers and intelligent thinkers and that they were people well-versed in mathematics, politics, ethics, logic, in creative problem solving, in stretching their minds, and in intelligently destroying any proposition that did not hold together in their way of thinking.

This was the group that produced men like Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle—men whose legendary work was well known and respected even in Paul's day, and even today they remain nearly as famous as Jesus

Christ himself. If Paul felt at all intimidated by speaking to the Athenians at the Areopagus, I cannot say that I would blame him. In fact, some of Ellen White's comments lead me to believe that Paul was a little too impressed with the reputation of the philosophers of Athens, causing him to call upon his eloquence, logic, and oratory, which he later regretted doing.

> It has been Paul's custom in his preaching to adopt an oratorical style. He was a man fitted to speak before kings, before the great and learned men of Athens, and his intellectual acquirements were often of value to him in preparing the way for the gospel. He tried to do this in Athens, meeting false philosophy with true philosophy, eloquence with eloquence, and logic with logic, but he failed to meet with the success he had hoped for. His aftersight led him to see that there was something needed above human wisdom even of men of learning. God taught him that something above the world's wisdom must come to him. He must receive his power from a higher source. (White 1899:453, 454)

When Paul's day on the rock arrived, of course the Holy Spirit was at work in him. But in addition, he also possessed a reservoir of experience with the Athenian people. His study of their culture, their beliefs, their religion, and their worldview had begun to inform his mind. And the Holy Spirit, using that education, transformed Paul's method of speaking to the Athenians, *but* not the way Paul had reckoned the Holy Spirit would work through him. Paul thought that the Holy Spirit might effectively use his oratorical skills and eloquence that he had gained in his upbringing and his education under Gamaliel. But in reality it was Paul's education on the streets of Athens that the Holy Spirit was able to use. Ellen White says, "The wisest of his hearers were astonished as they listened to his reasoning. He showed himself familiar with their works of art, their literature, and their religion" (1911:337).

To me this is an extremely important point. God did not work through Paul's eloquence and skill as a preacher. God did not work through the skills Paul learned in Jerusalem and that he brought with him to Athens. Instead God used what Paul had learned on the streets in Athens during his direct contact with the people. God used his study of the people, their customs, their literature, and their religion, as Paul worked among them as one desiring their good. Notice what happened next.

Respect

One vital point that leaps out of the story is that Paul did not in any way disparage the false religion or false gods of the Athenians. He gathered

whatever points of good he could find, few as they were, and capitalized on them. "People of Athens, I see that in every way you are very religious" (Acts 17:22).

This was a compliment from Paul the Christian to the Athenian pagans. Their religion was misguided in every way, but Paul complimented their devotion to it because the fact is that caring about even misguided religious things is more commendable than not caring at all about religious things. Paul continued: "As I walked around and looked carefully at your objects of worship. . . ." By describing his own study of the Athenian religion, Paul communicated a respectful attitude toward the people. He did not come rushing in as a self-proclaimed expert with all the answers for how the people needed to change. The reality was that he was an expert with the answers people needed, but he did not present himself that way or else he would have been rejected outright by everyone. And rightfully so. Instead, he was seen as someone who cared for the people and the culture and desired their good.

I remember when I was working in Moscow at the Euro-Asia Division, an American pastor came to do a series of meeting. When he returned to Moscow to fly home after his meetings, my wife and I invited him to have a meal with us. As we visited his words stunned us as he shared his feelings regarding the culture of the Russian people. He said literally, in these words, "I don't care about the culture or about the people, I only care about preaching the gospel." I just hope God was able to control the damage such an attitude leaves in its wake.

Bridge

"As I walked around and looked carefully at your objects of worship," said Paul, "I even found an altar with this inscription: to an unknown god" (17:23). In his study and contact with the culture and the people, Paul had stumbled upon a valuable point of contact, a bridge that might open the way to deeper conversation, and one that would not turn people away. He did not scoff at the negative idea of an altar to an unknown god. Instead, he appreciated and admired a people who, in their ignorance, cared enough about spiritual things to go to the effort and expense of worshiping something they did not even know, just in case they were missing something. Were they misguided? Yes, but that could be fixed. What was important in the beginning was that they were devout in what they did understand. That, Paul recognized, was material the Holy Spirit could work with.

Paul continued, "What you worship as unknown, this I publicly make known to you."

Imagine the way Paul's words may have impressed the people. "Here is something you don't know, and the reason I know you don't know it is because you said so. I do know what it is, and I welcome the opportunity to share it with you." Paul had found a hook that would pique their interest. This was not a radical, instantly life-changing way to begin sharing the gospel; rather it was a relatively novel opening to people's minds. Paul had not created a fantastic new formula for mass evangelizing Asia Minor. To our knowledge this was the one and only time that he opened his proclamation in this way because this is the only instance in which such an opening would work.

Transition

Now that Paul had their attention, he turned his words to the God of heaven.

> The God who made the world and everything in it is the Lord of heaven and earth and does not live in temples built by hands. And he is not served by human hands, as if he needed anything, because he himself gives all men life and breath and everything else. From one man he made every nation of men, that they should inhabit the whole earth; and he determined the times set for them and the exact places where they should live. God did this so that men would seek him and perhaps reach out for him and find him, though he is not far from each one of us. (Acts 17:24-27)

For a people who cared enough about spiritual things to build an altar to an unknown god, Paul's words were intriguing—a creator God who does not live in a temple, needs nothing from humans, but instead supplies human needs. For people steeped in Greek mythology, where the gods needed humans in some way or another, where the gods were finicky and unpredictable, could we even say the gods were immature and at times cruel, the idea of a God who created human beings not for what they could do for him but for what he could do for them was a wonderfully intriguing thought.

And the men from Aeropagus took their first baby steps toward a God of love. This God that they did not know, Paul said, could be known. Indeed, this God wanted to be known. And he sounded like a God they would like to know. "God did this so that men would seek him and perhaps reach out for him and find him, though he is not far from each one of us" (Acts 17:27).

Putting myself in the place of the Athenians, I can imagine my heart being stirred by such words. Then, because Paul had been studying their

culture, he was able again to bridge these thoughts with words from their literature. "For in him we live and move and have our being. As some of your own poets have said, 'We are his offspring'" (v. 28).

This connection to their poets was minimal. Probably Paul could not find a great deal he could use in their literature. But he used what he could. Just a few words. Not particularly profound words or words that in their context had anything at all to do with the God of heaven. But they were words that could be used as a connection point. And it was that connecting point that Paul recognized as invaluable, not to his message as much as to his method of delivering the message.

Basic Concepts

My guess is that Paul probably spoke longer at the Aeropagus than just the few words Luke shared in this account. It seems reasonable that for the sake of space Luke summarized Paul's speech. If that is true, then each of the concepts mentioned so far, Paul actually added far more details in his presentation. Notice the concepts in Paul's speech:

1. Paul first spent some time complimenting the current spiritual awareness and sincerity of the Athenians.
2. Then he spent some time showing that he had studied them and that he appreciated and respected what he had learned.
3. Next he told them about one particular thing that he had discovered in his study of their religion that they admitted they did not understand.
4. After that he shared with them the aspect of God that he knew they desperately needed, which was the love God had for them.
5. Finally, at the end of his speech Paul moved to warning them of what it means to reject the knowledge of this God they did not yet know.

Crossing the Line

Therefore, since Christians are God's offspring, they should not think that the divine being is like gold or silver or stone—an image made by human's design and skill. In the past God overlooked such ignorance, but now he commands all people everywhere to repent. "For he has set a day when he will judge the world with justice by the man he has appointed. He has given proof of this to all men by raising him from the dead" (Acts 17:29-31).

After his speech there was some squirming at the Aeropagus. Paul crossed a line that he had carefully avoided to this point. He had avoided it because to cross this line too soon would close the minds of the people

against what he had to say. But he also knew that eventually he had to cross the line and share the inevitable consequences of continuing to ignore the true God.

Luke provides two reactions to Paul's closing words. Some sneered at the idea of resurrection. Others said they wanted to hear Paul again on the matter. But what is key in this story for today's purposes is that *all of them had actually listened*. And that was Paul's hope from the beginning.

There will always be some people who will reject the gospel, but we must do everything possible to ensure that before those reject it they understand what they are rejecting. For the Athenians who rejected the gospel, Paul, by his method of working among them, by his strategic use of what he had studied and learned of them, ensured that they understood that a God existed whom they did not know but who had created them, who still loved them, who had been merciful to them in spite of their ignorance, but that judgment day was coming, and there was verifiable evidence for all of this in the resurrection of Christ.

Treasure of Knowledge

One of the primary conclusions from this story is Paul's on-the-ground study of how to approach an unreached group of pagans, which resulted in a small group of believers starting in Athens. In *Acts of the Apostles* Ellen White notes that later in Corinth Paul decided to abandon the oratorical strategy he used in Athens. He recognized that his reliance on his skill as a speaker had profited little, but she notes the following at the end of the story:

> The words of the apostle, and the description of his attitude and surroundings, as traced by the pen of inspiration, were to be handed down to all coming generations, bearing witness of his unshaken confidence, his courage in loneliness and adversity, and the victory he gained for Christianity in the very heart of paganism.
>
> Paul's words contain a treasure of knowledge for the church. He was in a position where he might easily have said that which would have irritated his proud listeners and brought himself into difficulty. Had his oration been a direct attack upon their gods and the great men of the city, he would have been in danger of meeting the fate of Socrates. But with a tact born of divine love, he carefully drew their minds away from heathen deities, by revealing to them the true God, who was to them unknown. (1911:240, 241)

Paul, by his direct contact with the people, his study of their culture and religion, and his respect for their ignorant devotion, managed

something notable in Athens—something that is a treasure of knowledge for the church. *He avoided irritating his listeners*. That was in and of itself a major accomplishment. That, according to Ellen White, is the treasure of knowledge that we as a church need to pay attention to in this story.

Works Cited

White, Ellen G. 1899. Not in Man's Wisdom. *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 76, no. 29: (July 18): 453, 454.
_____. 1911. *Acts of the Apostles.* Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press.

Jeff Scoggins is the Planning Director for the Office of Adventist Mission at the Adventist World Headquarters in Washington, DC.

Petr Činčala

Seventh-day Adventist Educational Mission in India: A Historical Sketch and Retrospection for the Future

Introduction

Imagine a city where the Seventh-day Adventist Church has had a presence for over a century, with a church of about 100 members, with 60-70 attending on a regular basis. Through the years, people move in and out, a few non-Adventists accept Adventist teachings and join from other denominations, while only a few non-believers are converted.

After some time this church is able to purchase a building in a great location, close to the downtown area. The goal of this purchase is to make the church more visible and accessible to the urban population. After some necessary remodeling, the church holds its opening ceremony, which is attended by several hundred people—many of them visitors from other local Seventh-day Adventist churches.

As time passes, this church conducts a number of public evangelistic campaigns and participates in satellite evangelism, but only a few new members join. The majority of the residents in this area of the city are unchurched, secular people. They are not interested in religious organizations or attending meetings in a church—concepts that have no relevance to their way of thinking.

Church members are discouraged and wonder what they are doing wrong. They question whether they made a mistake in buying the building and ask why the usual methods for saving souls is not working.

Now imagine that God calls you to go to such a city and win people for Jesus. How would you go about it? Where would you start? What strategies would you employ?

https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/jams/vol15/iss2/1
DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.32597/jams/vol15/iss2/

Population Growth in Cities

Currently, over half the world's population lives in urban areas, and according to the United Nations, by the year 2050 this number will increase to two-thirds (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2014:1). According to the census conducted every 10 years by the United States Government Department of Commerce, in 2010 80.7% of Americans lived in urban areas (United States Summary 2010; Population and Housing Unit Counts 2010:12). Similarly, according to the *United Nations Demographic Yearbook* almost three fourths of Europeans live in urban areas (Eurostat 2016). As you can see, cities provide a large mission field.

However, in spite of the mission potential of cities, only a small percentage of Adventists live in urban settings. A recent study (Sahlin, Činčala, and Richardson 2018) of church members in the North American Division showed that only 4.2% of Adventists live in downtown areas, while another 14.6% live elsewhere in the city, meaning that only 18.8% of Adventists currently live in cities. This number has dropped considerably since the study was last conducted in 2008, when 27% of respondents reported living in a city (Sahlin and Richardson 2008).

While research does not provide a clear "why" as to the cause of this decrease of Adventists living in urban or city settings, it is clear that the Adventist presence in these settings is declining. Could it be that local churches have given up on reaching cities? Monte Sahlin writes, "By far the largest number of Adventist congregations in America are located in small towns and rural communities. . . . This . . . reflects the failure of Adventist evangelization to effectively penetrate the large cities. While about one American in five lives outside the major metropolitan areas, fully 50 percent of Adventist members live there" (2007:44).

The United Nations predicts the continued growth of city populations (2014:1). Adventists agree that the church has a God-given purpose and responsibilities to minister to those living in cities, so it is clear that something needs to change.

Rethinking Mission to Cities: Theological Misconceptions

While there are church initiatives (such as Mission to the Cities) attempting to respond to the realities in urban areas, the question is to what degree these efforts are efficient and/or effective. The numbers and stories emerging from urban settings offers a hint of what is really happening.

In many cases, there is a false assumption regarding what the role of the church ought to be in urban settings. These assumptions may be

contributing to the present inadequate response. Sadly, the response is often designed to give the appearance of success. There are expensive advertising strategies, evangelistic meetings conducted by guest speakers, attractive teams put temporarily together for the occasion, and then counting of visitors, decisions for Christ, and celebrations for each baptism. Then, church life goes on as usual.

"In our church-centered understanding, we focus on what the church does when it gathers" (McNeal 2015:90). The church seeks to develop, celebrate, and/or improve, when necessary, its worship services, small groups, ministries, and other church-related endeavors.

When it "goes the extra mile" for reaching those in cities, it may develop a contemporary worship style and employ a charismatic worship leader or pastor. Occasionally a church is planted, which generally means that (sooner or later) a building is fixed up where members can invite people to attend worship, and if they come, members celebrate. The church conducts Bible studies with the new interests until a few adopt Adventist views and interpretations; then baptisms take place. The church may feel as if they have encouraged more members to join their "club"—members who believe and behave as they do—and thus church life moves on.

The question is, however, Is the church fulfilling the mission Jesus gave it? Is it truly following and serving him? Where is Jesus in this equation?

As Christian believers, Adventists follow the baptismal "formula" in Matthew 28:19, "baptizing [disciples] in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (NIV). However, somehow the rest of Jesus' last words (called the Great Commission), specifically his instructions to make disciples of all nations, are often omitted. This happens in several ways: (1) members expect people to *come in*, instead of God's people *going out*; (2) most churches lack a good disciple-making process and in too many cases, it is nonexistent; and (3) Adventist churches teach a lot, but do not necessarily focus on what Jesus taught or commanded.

As a result, in urban areas especially, winning lost souls and discipling them has become of secondary importance, as if they are optional. One excuse frequently made is that urban people do not respond in great numbers to evangelism. Less often, it is admitted that the established methods of evangelism do not work in secular, urban contexts. Yet, according to Jesus, the primary purpose of the church is to do mission. "Since the Kingdom of God had entered the human situation through Jesus and brought [us] into direct confrontation with Him, . . . the church is nothing less than the missionary people of the Kingdom of God" (Bright 1953:234).

What priority does the King have? Parable after parable teaches the central focus of God's kingdom. God's kingdom is like yeast that makes the dough rise, it is a small mustard seed that can grow exponentially, it is a seed that falls into good soil and grows into a productive crop (Matt 13),

and so on. The term God's kingdom is interpreted with various spoken or unspoken assumptions.

Seventh-day Adventists anticipate that Jesus will soon come again and emphasize the importance of preparing for his Second Coming. Because of this deep-rooted belief, it makes perfect sense for Adventists to assume that when Jesus taught about the kingdom, he referred to a heavenly kingdom yet to come; however, this is not exactly how Jesus presented it. Besides preparing disciples for his Second Coming, he also clearly stated, "The kingdom is here." Some believe that he was talking about the church, which he came to establish.

Is this really what Jesus meant? If people read the New Testament text carefully, they may conclude with Friesen, that "Jesus did not walk the roads of Palestine announcing the coming of the church" (2009:39). Careful analysis points out that Jesus was actually referring to himself when he discussed the kingdom; "[Jesus] is, in Himself, the kingdom. As the stories were told, 'entering the kingdom' became the favorite metaphor for experiencing Christ. Jesus' own person and work are the establishing of a new humanity" (Sweet and Viola 2010:106).

Jesus described the kingdom of God as a reality where he, himself, is present. The kingdom is the reign of Jesus Christ, our Lord and King, in our lives. "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God has come near. Repent and believe in the good news!" (Mark 1:15). "Sandwiched in the middle of those two short sentences is the thrust of Jesus' message: the kingdom of God is here and now" (Mims 2003:40).

When referring to his "kingdom," Jesus was not referring to a specific physical spot. Similarly, his kingdom is not just for a particular group of people who qualify by geography, age, gender, ethnicity, or religion. Both Jesus' words and ministry demonstrate that anyone who repents is welcome to be a part of his kingdom. As God's people hope to unlock the doors of the kingdom to secular urban people, they need to listen to what Jesus said about the kingdom (and he said a lot). His teaching is too important to be misunderstood.

If the kingdom itself is Jesus, and if mission is so important to him, how does he want us to reach the cities? Before discussing some practical aspects of missionary work in cities, it is important to clarify some basic theological principles about the Kingdom.

Putting Urban Mission into Perspective: Kingdom Theology Unfolded

What is the relationship between the church and the kingdom to which Jesus referred? As stated before, the church exists for the sake of missions.

"The church is missionary people—if she is not that, she is not the church" (Bright 1953:217; see also Glasser, Van Engen, Gilliland, and Redford 2003:227). In that sense the church functions as "a kingdom agent" placed in human society "to be salt and light" to the urban people who are often without "clue or hope."

> The kingdom has always been and never changes, but the church is dynamic and is always changing. The kingdom is universal, and the church is first and foremost local, geographical. Churches are part of their cultures, colored by languages, races, and social standings. The kingdom transcends all these characteristics. The kingdom of God contains the church, and the churches exist on behalf of the kingdom of God. (Mims 2003:72)

In the light of Jesus' teaching, it is important to note the following. "The kingdom of God is the conception placed above that of the church; the church is not the kingdom of God. She exists for the sake of Kingdom; she represents the Kingdom of God on earth in the present age till through the coming of Christ . . . [the church] receives all her substance, her power and hope" (Skydsgaard 1951:386).

When thinking about the role of the church in urban society, we must not forget that the church "does not establish the Kingdom. It is rather the custodian of the Good News of the Kingdom. It bears witness to the fact that the Kingdom has already been set up by its King" (Bright 1953:234). The church is at her best when serving the King, not the other way around. "The church is the instrument of the Kingdom" (Glasser et al. 2003:125).

God is in charge of mission. He "will decide who will enter the eschatological Kingdom and who will be excluded" (Glasser et al. 2003:125). If it is his responsibility, what is our responsibility then? If "the kingdom is the ultimate reality and sovereign movement of God in the universe" then "the kingdom of God must be the central life focus that every person should seek and align with in order to know the full and abundant life God created people to experience in Christ" (ix). The focus of mission must be on his rule, his movement.

The kingdom of God is based on a different set of principles than the kingdoms of the world. "God's kingdom has no geographical borders, no capital city, no parliament building, no royal trappings that you can see" (Yancey 1995:248). In his discussion about the principles for urban ministry, Thompson underscores the issue of values as follows:

> Values are often unwritten assumptions that guide our action. Values demonstrate our conviction and priorities and are confirmed by our actions, not just our words. Values are not a doctrinal statement but,

> rather, convictions that determine how our church operates. Values provide the foundation for formulating goals and setting the direction of the church's ministry. Core values are statements that affirm what is distinctive about a church. (Thompson 2011:24)

God's kingdom is built on love—a love so intense that God sent his own Son to become a servant and die in our place. Everything else stems from God's love and desire to save the lost. That may, however, not always be reflected in the church. Mims rightly argues when talking about church that lost people "will never feel welcome in a place where bickering, selfishness, coolness, and tension hang heavy in the air" (2003:82, 83). Yet, God's kingdom is all about mission *because* it is all about love.

This is where the tension between the kingdom and the church often occurs. "Christianity is now almost impossible to explain, not because the concepts aren't intelligible, but because the living, moving, speaking examples of our faith don't line up with the message" (Halter and Smay 2008:41). "The institutional church expends much energy positioning itself against the sinful world outside. . . . All too often, sinners feel unloved by a church that, in turn, keeps altering its definition of sin—exactly the opposite of Jesus' pattern" (Yancey 1995:259). While the church focuses on delivering the "message," many times it does not translate in their posture (Halter and Smay 2008:42). The church shares the good news about salvation, but mixes it with the subtle rejection of the lost. As a result, many feel as though they are not "good enough" on the outside and/or do not comply with the external requirements upheld by the church.

"But the kingdom manifesto calls us beyond and beneath this kind of morality" (McLaren 2005:123). First, God's people are called to deal with their arrogance and prejudice and are called to move from the "external conformity to internal change of . . . mind and heart" (121; see also Halter and Smay 2008:46). Why, because the kingdom is presented as a place where: "captives find freedom, where those who can't see find new vision, where those who are stuck find movement again, where those without power are empowered, where the weak find strength, where the strong humble themselves in service, where those who feel lost are found, where, when the lost are found, celebration erupts" (Friesen 2009:39).

In such a setting or culture disciple-making is facilitated. The institutional church, however, often places its main focus elsewhere—on making converts (i.e., church members). "It is assumed to be enough for church leaders to make converts or induct members and leave discipleship to take care of itself or be cared for by 'specialists'" (Willard 1998:303). Yet unchurched, urban people often cannot see merit in such a modus operandi; the process of becoming a member of a church does not add value to their

lives. However, they do see value in the idea of becoming better people and of making an impact in their community. If this is what Jesus offers, urbanites would most likely be among the first to accept it.

Yet, for whatever reason, the "making of disciples is pushed to the very margins of Christian existence. Many Christian groups simply have no idea what discipleship is and have relegated it to para-church organizations" (Willard 1998:300, 301). Willard goes as far as to say that "to explicitly intend to make apprentices to Jesus could be quite upsetting to congregational life" (303). "Non discipleship is the elephant in the church" (301). While discipleship was a central element in the early church, part of the good news often presented today is that "one does not have to be a life student of Jesus in order to be a Christian and receive forgiveness of sins" (301).

It is clear that "moving from a church-centered approach to a Kingdom-centered narrative will demand a complete change of principles, priorities, and practices—in other words, a culture shift" (McNeal 2015:134). How can the church adjust to such a role? This concept is explored in the next section.

The Role of the Church: Following Jesus' Example

Although Jesus spoke often of the kingdom, the word "church" is only mentioned by him three times. When Jesus was choosing his disciples, on whom his church was supposed to be built (Matt 16:18), he selected unusual people: a tax collector, an insurgent, a revolutionary, and several fishermen. These men were not royalty—the type of people you generally think of as inhabitants of a kingdom! It is also notable that not one among them had any elite religious training or background (i.e., no theologians among them). Of all the twelve disciples, Judas (who ultimately betrayed Jesus) was closest to the religious community and Pharisee sect.

When Peter said Jesus was the Messiah, the one who was sent to save them, Jesus answered him, "Yes, you are right. You didn't come up with this idea on your own, though. This idea was inspired by the Father." In this account, Jesus goes on to play with words, saying: "You know, you are Peter (the Greek *Petros*, which is a small stone or a small rock), and I will build my CHURCH on that rock (Greek *Petra*, a huge rock). Peter, you are a small rock, but I will set up my CHURCH on this huge rock" (Matt 16:18, my paraphrase).

In this context, the word church (*ecclesia*) appears for the first time in the New Testament (In all, Jesus mentioned the word church just three times during two occasions). The word *church* at that time was a commonly used word that did not have any religious connotation as it does

today (for more on this topic see The Correct Meaning of "Church" and "Ecclesia"). When women met together to read poetry, the church met. When people met to talk about the family, it was church. When men met and talked about finances, their meeting was called the church. The church simply meant meeting together, a gathering of people.

Peter acknowledged that Jesus was the Messiah, and Jesus said that based on that truth statement, he would build his church. His church did not imply any indication of formal organization, buildings, offices, sacraments. Church was simply a meeting of believers—a community, an assembly—that acknowledged that Jesus came from God and that he is the Son of God.

Jesus continued to speak with Peter and the other disciples. He told them that he was giving them the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. When they helped other people discover the rock (that is, the truth that Jesus is sent from God and that Jesus is the messenger of heaven who can save from sin), those truths open the door to the kingdom of God. This allows people to live in communion with God, under God's influence and protection.

This is why a discussion about a "kingdom-focused church" among mission-minded leaders is important. Such a church is not operated as a mechanical model or an organization focused on programming (Mims 2003:16). A kingdom-focused church is invested in people and the community in a different way. Such a church understands its mission (unlocking doors to God's kingdom) as its primary reason to exist.

A Cry for a Kingdom-Centered Church

Various contemporary authors have depicted a church that embraces the values of the kingdom Jesus promoted. Snyder's vision in the 1980s was that local churches would grow into communities following kingdom principles. He pictured church as a "*countercultural* community, the embryonic community of the kingdom, distinct from the surrounding society at every point where that society is in bodice to the 'basic principles of this world' (Col. 2:8, 20)" (1985:115). Mims affirmed this vision approximately 20 years later, saying that a "church is a kingdom community of believers gathered locally in dynamic fellowship under Christ's lordship." "Nothing is more important to the kingdom on earth than the church" (2003:ix, x).

There is a cry for a church reflecting a community of God the Father, Jesus his Son, and the Holy Spirit; these three entities live in loving relationship and fellowship with each other. "In rather amazing, often hidden ways, the church embryonically embodies the kingdom *now*, on earth"

(Snyder 1985:88). Such a church connects rather than divides, restores harmony, settles conflict, and chooses "relationship over separation" (Friesen 2009:134). Such a church is characterized by welcoming people as they are "with all their problems and imperfections," as Jesus demonstrated in his ministry by fellowshipping "with notorious sinners" and wanting "to help them experience transformation" (McLaren 2005:162, 163).

A kingdom-centered church means that everyone is to be actively involved in ministry. "One cannot have the church which is paralyzed in gifts and yet potent for the kingdom." All are gifted—"women and men, young and old, rich and poor, new converts and seasoned saints" (Snyder 1985:116, 117). There are no exclusions or restrictions on whom God bestows gifts.

Such a mission-minded church crosses boundaries, whether cultural, ethnic, social, economic, political, or religious. As "the body of Christ," the church is the most diverse, harmonious unit on earth. It is God's intention to bring oneness in the church from the diversity of people in it (1 Cor 12:13; Gal 3:27; Eph 2:11-14). McLaren suggests that the kingdom approach remains balanced by not being exclusive or rejecting people on the one hand or on the other hand by foolishly being so accepting in its inclusion that it self-sabotages itself. He talks about "*purposeful inclusion.* . . . The kingdom of God seeks to include all who want to participate in and contribute to its purpose, but it cannot include those who oppose its purpose" (2005:167).

In the context of urban mission another kingdom principle is incarnational ministry (Jacobsen 2003:81; Thompson 2011:25). It is vital that a missionary church be an incarnational church. By being sent the way Jesus was sent (John 1:14), the church reaches into every culture, context, and circumstance. Just as Jesus was aware of and sensitive to the culture in which he lived, so the church (sent by him) lives within its culture. What exactly this looks like continues to be researched, tested, and debated.

Thompson discusses the meaning of an incarnational model in urban context as follows:

> To be incarnate means that we will become a part of the people, studying the culture and language of the inhabitants we are trying to reach. This culture may not be different ethnically, but there is also the urban cultural as well as social and economic elements that make each person unique. To truly understand the people one must rub shoulders day in and day out, to share in their culture, living where they live. (2011:26)

Thompson indicates (knowingly or unknowingly) that to win urban people today requires a similar process to that of sending missionaries to

culturally and geographically remote places where there is no Christian presence. Research of the context is needed, a new language must be learned, and a new lifestyle and way of living with the people must be adopted. "Being incarnate means that we will plant our roots and plan to stay for the long haul, . . . by doing this we will develop love for the people, and the people will begin to love us as we grow 'in favor' with the people we are serving" (27).

Today the church faces a dilemma: on one hand, many are willing to learn from Jesus and his teachings and desire to see the church grow among those learning the good news. Leaders talk about a kingdom-focused church and cast a vision for their churches to grow. God's people cherish the hope that if they create a "warm, loving fellowship, our church will grow (Mims 2003:82, 83). However, is it possible that urban Christians have become blind due to their addiction to and focus on the church? Working with urban secular people may require letting go of the church as Christians know it today.

Churches are not part of most urban cultures or part of secular people's identity. To follow Jesus' example of an incarnational ministry means to become one with those for whom the church often makes no sense. Perhaps only after fully understanding and adapting to their way of thinking will it be possible to credibly communicate (both verbally and non-verbally) the gospel. Meeting urban people where they are allows Christians to start where the unchurched, non-believing people are. It is important to understand all the prejudices they may have against Christian churches. This deepening understanding may open the door to non-traditional forms of evangelism and churching by allowing God's urban people to speak a "language" that the non-churched people understand and in a manner to which they can relate.

Does it mean a compromising of Christian (Adventist) values or, more importantly, one's own faith? No, absolutely not. It only changes the way in which those values and standards are presented. An important question is whether or not urban Christians are open to search for ways of communication that allow, empower, motivate, and inspire new believers to grow? That may require the church to "increasingly manifests itself outside the walls of the traditional, institutional organization" to expose "every crack or crevice of our culture . . . to the gospel of the Kingdom" (McNeal 2015:103), because "a Kingdom oriented ecclesiology focuses on the work of the church *in the world*" (90).

God's people must not succumb "to the temptation to mark the advance of the Kingdom merely in terms of institutional growth" since nowhere does the New Testament encourage identifying "ecclesiastical structures with the Kingdom" (Glasser et al. 2003:125). In the relational

modus operandi of mission places and practices, it is important to seek to "serve the relationships," not the other way around (McNeal 2015:94).

Being a part of God's kingdom provides freedom to go (out of the church) and "make disciples of all" (Matt 28:19). To be faithful to Jesus requires providing cultural bridges to secular urban people (Mehta 2013; Lipka 2016) so that when they become part of the kingdom they can live lives as God created "us to live—life at the maximum" (Mims 2003:40). That means to be released from the boundedness of the Western paradigm—"do this and you're within the bounds, do that and you're out" (Friesen 2009:165). Whatever structure is provided must allow a place where they "may grow in their faith and discipleship, serving as part of the world fellowship of believers" (Global Mission Issues Committee 1998).

Church—the way we know it—"must not be the goal of the gospel anymore," particularly in urban secular contexts. "Church should be what ends up happening as a natural response to people wanting to follow us, be with us, and be like us as we are following the way of Christ" (Halter and Smay 2008:30). In order to be non-church for the urban Nones, the issues "are fundamentally different than from those that concern leaders and managers of institutional churches" (McNeal 2015:86). Mission-minded disciples of Jesus, according to McNeal,

> are not obsessed with *how* or *where* they worship or *who* is authorized to do *what* at church gatherings. Their spiritual journey is not defined by the form of the church they attend. They are found in every tribe. Some attend cathedrals, while others participate in program-heavy evangelical congregations and still others gather in homes. Whether they are stay-at-home moms or executives of multinational corporations, their focus is on creating greater missional intentionality in every part of their lives—where they live, work, go to school, and play. (2015:86, 87)

"At times experimental organizational structures can be approved for testing, especially as a part of new initiatives in the mission of reaching resistant or previously unreached peoples" (Global Mission Issues Committee 1998). "The mission to non-Christians demands that we understand and relate . . . in new ways" (Global Mission Issues Committee 1999).

How then can the existing local churches support mission in the cities? In 1996, Mike Regele and Mark Schulz wrote a book with a provocative title called, "Death of the Church." On the cover, they made the following statement: "The church has a choice: to die as a result of its resistance to change or to die in order to live." A quarter of a century later, it is clear that this change is easier to talk about than do. However, for the majority

of urban people, the church *is* dead, as they see no value in being part of such an organization. If going to a typical church does not make sense to them and is of no value, a mission-minded church must be willing to serve the King by sending the "*ecclesia*" (i.e., apostles or missionaries) outside the church walls to the urban tribes and by humbly supporting and blessing them.

Where the Rubber Meets the Road: Practical Application

Imagine that you are called to go to a city to reach the non-churched people. While there are cases where the local church (for whatever reason) refuses to be involved in sending missionaries to urban areas, your local church leadership is behind you. They are ready to welcome new people in the church; they are supportive of planting a new church, if needed, and they stand behind and support the mission team. As you begin your work in the city, what is your ministry going to look like? What are some practical methods you might employ?

As with any venture, before any formal steps are taken, a mission into an urban community should be surrounded in prayer. The mother church should pray, the missionary team should pray and search for what God is doing in the city, and each and every member within the mother church should lift up the urban ministry in prayer. In the following sections try to walk with the team in your imagination to better understand the major milestones on their missionary pathway.

Building Bridges

It does not take rocket science to find needs in the city. Cities are filled with all kinds of people with diverse needs and struggles. "Broken and dysfunctional families, poor health, destructive lifestyles, institutional and generational poverty, racism, crime—you name it" and you can find it in cities (McNeal 2015:127). The key, however, is for the ministry team to figure out, based on their calling and gifts, the needs to which they feel called to intentionally respond (Thompson 2011:27).

Whether one is trained as a good craftsman, a social worker, a nurse, or a Bible teacher, each of these professions is potentially able to build powerful bridges with people. Mission to the city requires holistic involvement, seasoned with intercession. In my own experience, the best modus operandi is to start (or get involved with an existing) non-profit organization, allowing for organic integration into the community.

In such situations, the model of "felt-needs seminars" followed by evangelistic lectures is not an effective or preferred strategy. First, the team needs to build essential credibility in the community. If you examine

Jesus' model, you will see that to relate appropriately to societal needs one must not just use an "in and out" approach. The focus of such a ministry should not be on public campaigns so much as on meeting and mingling with people, building relationships, and seeking their counsel about how best to respond to particular needs in the community. This interaction has the long-term goal of winning their friendship, confidence, and trust. To make a difference, urban ministry must be personal (Thompson 2011:31).

Another aspect of effective urban ministry is immersing oneself in every area in which the ministry is occurring. Thompson goes as far as to say that if you truly want to make an impact, you cannot commute (2011:27). While making a move such as this may be a daunting idea to many who currently live comfortably in rural or suburban areas, to understand the ins and outs of an urban community, as well as to become truly accepted by a community, one must become part of that community.

Once such a move has been made, it becomes easier to meet with people in their everyday lives, specifically in public spaces. Public spaces are key for urban ministry, as they provide "neutral territory that is necessary for the formation of informal relationships and for the building up of existing relationships" (Jacobsen 2003:79). Additionally, Jacobsen writes, "Public spaces provide a context for incarnational ministry" (81).

This is exactly how Jesus mingled with people during his time on earth, and how he can continue to do so through his ambassadors in various cultures, contexts, and circumstances. Jesus was not only aware of and sensitive to the culture in which he lived, but he also embraced his Jewishness and lived among the people as one of them. As such, those who are following in his steps should live in the city to meet people where they are, minister to them, show them love, and win their confidence in order to be able to invite them to follow Jesus (White 1909:143).

Finding Church in Unexpected Places

Seventh-day Adventists are mission-minded people. When it comes to intercessory prayer on behalf of people who do not know Jesus Christ, Adventists are very active. Thirty percent more Adventists than the average number of other Christians reported they try to deepen relationships with people who do not yet know Jesus Christ (Činčala 2018b:239). At the same time, however, mingling with or befriending those who do not agree with Adventist beliefs or those who other Adventists might not "approve" of is not common or generally encouraged. This "us" and "them" mentality creates a barrier of mistrust, particularly in urban settings. Therefore, the key is to love and accept people even when you do not agree with them. The type of friendship described is "not just a matter of talking together about religion, but more of living together, sharing the gifts of life

together—attending one another's weddings and funerals and birthday parties, even sharing in one another's holidays" (McLaren 2012:229, 230). With-ness precedes and completes witness (239).

Our method of relational evangelism has been to initially build friendships with people in order to invite them to church later. While this may be done with good intentions, this may actually damage the relationships that have been so carefully formed. The Bible tells us that where two or three are gathered in his name (Matt 18:20), he is present (i.e., church happens). This means that church can happen when meeting on a street corner to share the love of Jesus; when encouraging and ministering to someone in need, church can happen; when cooking a meal and sharing it with a neighbor, church can happen. Church is not limited to four walls within a specific church building. Wherever you meet, be it in homes or various public spaces where you meet regularly with people, as long as you are gathered in Christ's name, that is church.

Secular urban non-churched people are often far away from Christianity both in terms of beliefs and in terms of a biblically-shaped culture. Because of this, it generally takes more than simply inviting them to evangelistic meetings for them to experience Jesus. My personal experiences show that when working with such people it is not primarily about providing biblical, theological, or doctrinal information they may lack, as much as ministering to facilitate inner spiritual healing. This type of ministry takes time, personal investment, and also "supernatural" intervention (Thompson 2011:42).

Engaging others exactly where they are in life allows them to become more vulnerable, to take down their protective walls, and to quit pretending that everything is okay. By interacting with and loving them as they are, God's people may help them experience the transformation that only Jesus can bring. Such intentional friendships that create an internalized sanctuary where God works miracles is life-changing. "Time after time, when I dare to risk friendship across barriers, I experience the Spirit just as Peter did with Cornelius. I've come to accept it as axiomatic: *a Christian moves towards the other in friendship*" (McLaren 2012:229).

How can this work? Imagine meeting with someone in a bar. While many of those living in an urban setting would have qualms about entering a church building, many of them would not think twice before entering a bar. While meeting in such secular environments, bar people may develop their first relationship with Jesus and start a mentoring process by Adventist Christians. In a public setting that is both familiar and comfortable, they can pray and hear Bible stories, getting a taste of what it means to follow Jesus and worship God. Should any non-churched person ever want to experience "official" or more traditional church, the mission team can gladly show them the way.

This relational and personal missionary approach is risky. Not everyone is called to cross boundaries into other people's lives and develop close-knit friendships far from the safety of church walls. In this type of authentic ministry, Christian witnesses become vulnerable and exposed. To have other believers hold you accountable and with whom you can meet and share your experiences, is essential. Jesus was accountable to his Father, with whom he spent time every single day of his ministry. When he sent out disciples for mission, he met with them afterwards to debrief them and hold them accountable.

Discipling Non-Churched Urban Secular People

In my work with urban secular people, it was fascinating how they were often eager to grow personally as well as how they were relationally open. After mutual trust was established, mentoring became a natural way in which I could support them. However, this kind of relationship cannot be simply event-oriented or a short-term task. This type of natural discipling takes place outside of a classroom and goes beyond a 1-2 hour event (such as one church service a week). It also is not limited to short bursts of activities or programs.

I want to emphasize the fact that the Adventist ideal that seeks to create discipling churches where newcomers "feel at home" (Mims 2003:82, 83) is heading in the right direction; however, it is important to not underestimate/deny/overlook the urban reality and secular culture. Research and experience indicate that many urban people may never feel at home in our "church" the way we feel comfortable and appreciative towards "having" church.

As mentioned above, non-churched people are often numb towards typical church membership recruitment or enrollment processes (i.e., the business of membership/conversion versus true discipleship). Yet they are typically responsive to an inclusive approach that encourages them to get involved and helps them feel as if they belong long before they change their beliefs and behaviors. By getting them involved in community projects, leisure activities, and meeting up in public spaces, they begin to feel as if they belong to a group.

As time goes on, these group relationships can grow into meaningful friendships. Church missionaries and members of the community alike can support and mentor each other, growing people as well as growing in Christ. McNeal makes a good point by saying that we ignore the wealth of people we minister to when "we take the approach of doing things *for* people rather than *with* them. Just because people lack money does not mean they don't have other resources—time, labor, talent, connections,

and insights. People need to participate in their own recovery. Not only does this promote responsibility and accountability, but it also preserves dignity" (McNeal 2015:125, 126).

It is important to note that very rarely are non-churched folks interested in or drawn to a typical church experience. The feeling of a student-teacher relationship (or of a pastor-congregant relationship) is off-putting to them. The classroom-like setting is simply not effective for this population. However, they are likely to become part of meaningful projects (or ministries) and along the way they will grow through mentoring and coaching.

Creative Ways of Communicating the Gospel

A major need for urbanites is not for information alone, but for healing and connection. In my own past ministry experiences, the team and I were able to see how people became more receptive as their hearts were healed and touched by God's love. Following Christ's example, the balance between information (brain), compassion (heart), and action (hands) proved to be an effective method of communicating the gospel. The gospel invites us to have an intimate relationship with God. That does not happen quickly. It takes time, just as forming friendships or deepening a dating relationship develops over time.

Creative ways of communicating the gospel, using familiar language and common examples is a great way to begin forging connections. Sometimes, Christians impose "sacred" manners on potential believers—manners that are not biblically or theologically normative nor culturally sensitive. If someone wants to dance to express joy in their experience with God, or if someone wants to write a poem reflecting their spiritual experience, the mission team has a great opportunity to participate and share the Good News in ways that mere words can hardly convey.

When working in an urban secular setting, it is often necessary to think outside the box when it comes to engaging brains, hearts, and hands. In my own experience, the following have been effective methods of doing just that.

Art and Music: Both art and music have proven to be great methods to initially engage new faces, especially in urban settings. In the past, ministries I have worked with have had great success holding art bees for both adults and children. These provide a low-stress vehicle for building relational networks, as well as for communicating the gospel (Činčala 2013:49).

Music is also a great way to form a connection. In my homeland—the Czech Republic—proclaimed atheists who were attending a class to learn

English formed a choir. During the class, the group expressed interest in learning gospel songs in the style of the movie "Sister Act." This small group attracted others until a full gospel choir had formed—all singing praises to their Savior without even realizing it. As time went on, the group started sharing prayer requests and praying together corporately before practices and performances; some of the group met outside of choir practice for Bible studies as well (Činčala 2013:50-51; 2014; 2018a).

Sharing stories: While I was involved in a non-profit family outreach center for secular people, my group and I experienced God presenting himself to those who called themselves "atheists." Such stories shared through e-mail communication or at our Gospel Choir concerts provided opportunities to witness how God loves all people and demonstrates his love to "atheists." These stories have been well received by both believers and non-believers alike.

Sharing stories through movies or videos is also an effective tool. At the center for secular people where I was involved, some people who came to the center were openly against studying the Bible. However, they were open to attending the showing of Christian movies at the center, and afterwards shared that they had been touched by the message. It is true that you never know how God will use an experience for his glory.

Media: The use of technology and social media has become an increasingly important method of communication as well as relating. It provides an instant connection with others, be it nearby or globally, and offers the possibility to have open discussions and opportunities to share a word of encouragement. Young people have taken over Instagram and left Facebook to their parents. Facebook chat provides a way to personally interact with those who become open enough to invite you to be their virtual friend. It has become a natural way to share stories, pictures, and video-clips that may help secular people build their spiritual net, which may one day help them reach the point where they want to tell the world they are followers of Jesus and desire to serve the King.

Conclusion

The urban (secular?) population is growing, while the Adventist population in cities is declining. Throughout this article, it has been emphasized that our current methods of reaching urbanites and non-churched people are insufficient. There is still much work to be done in urban areas. We must not become discouraged by this but, in fact, should be energized and motivated to find new ways of taking the Good News to these areas.

When looking at the example of Jesus, we get a picture of how we ought to interact with people in urban areas. He provided a clear model

for the church in light of his kingdom. Yet somehow, along the way, this model has fallen by the wayside. In recent years, many authors, pastors, and missionaries are turning their attention back to the original missional model established by Jesus.

The incarnational church—modeled by Jesus—not only involves meeting people exactly where they are, but demands a true sacrifice of self. God's people must be willing to change their methods in order to meet people where they are, while putting away their pride and preconceptions of what Christian ministry should look like.

Making changes to the methods used to reach urbanites cannot be simply a cosmetic change. It is important to rethink the church's entire missional approach. God's people must *unlearn* everything they think they know about what church looks like, and then begin building their mission from the ground up within the current urban context.

In the Practical Application section of this paper, milestones were mentioned that allow missionaries (sent out by their mother church) to engage in meaningful missional work with secular urbanites. Each of these requires a step away from the usual methods employed by the Adventist Church, but each is more relevant to the needs and lifestyle of non-churched people living in urban settings. By employing such radical methods, the people of God will make a true impact.

The role of the church in urban ministry must be *sending out* rather than *inviting in*. By employing radical, Christ-modeled methods, mission just might "reorganize organized religious" life in the city (McLaren 2012:248).

Works Cited

Bright, John. 1953. *The Kingdom of God.* Nashville, TN: Abingdon.

Činčala, Petr. 2013. Mission to a Secular City: The Value of Research for Reaching the Unreached. *Spectrum* 41, no. 1 (Winter): 47-53.

_____. 2014. Witnessing in the Czech Republic: Not "business as usual." *Adventist World,* September, 20-21.

_____. 2018a. Outreach Mission Model in a Post-Christian Secular Society: A Czech Case Study. Presented at Evangelical Missiological Society, North Central Region, Chicago, IL, 17 March.

_____, ed. 2018b. A Comparative Analysis of Vitality of the Seventh-day Adventist Congregations and Its Implications for Retention of Young Adults. In *A Fresh Look at Denominational Research: Role, Impact, & Scope,* 229-245. Berrien Springs, MI: Institute of Church Ministry.

Eurostat. 2016. Urban Europe—Statistics on Cities, Towns and Suburbs - Executive Summary. *Eurostat: Statistics Explained*. http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Urban_Europe_-_statistics_on_cities,_towns_and_suburbs_-_executive_summary.

Friesen, Dwight J. 2009. *Thy Kingdom Connected*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books.

Glasser, Arthur, Charles E. Van Engen, Dean S. Gilliland, and Shawn B. Redford. 2003. *Announcing the Kingdom: The Story of God's Mission in the Bible*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic.

Global Mission Issues Committee. 1998. Guidelines on Mission Issues. Annual Council of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Silver Spring, MD.

Global Mission Issues Committee. 1999. Global Mission Issues Statements. *General Conference*, of Seventh-day Adventists, Silver Spring, MD, January 12-14.

Halter, Hugh, and Matt Smay. 2008. *The Tangible Kingdom: Creating Incarnational Community*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Jacobsen, Eric O. 2003. *Sidewalks in the Kingdom: New Urbanism and the Christian Faith*. Grand Rapids, MI: Brazon Press.

Lipka, Michael. 2016. Why America's 'Nones' Left Religion Behind. August 24. http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/08/24/why-americas-nones-left-religion-behind/.

McLaren, Brian D. 2005. *The Secret Message of Jesus*. Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson.

_____. 2012. *Why Did Jesus, Moses, the Buddha, and Mohammed Cross the Road? Christian Identity in a Multi-Faith World*. New York: Jericho Books.

McNeal, Reggie. 2015. *Kingdom Come.* Carol Stream, IL: Tyndale Momentum.

Mehta, Hemant. 2013. Where Did the Term 'Nones' Come From? *Patheos*, January 11. http://friendlyatheist.patheos.com/2013/01/11/where-did-the-term-nones-come-from/.

Mims, Gene. 2003. *The Kingdom Focused Church: A Complete Image of an Achievable Future*. Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman.

Regele, Mike, and Mark Schulz. 1996. *Death of the Church*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.

Sahlin, Monte. 2007. *Mission in Metropolis: The Adventist Movement in an Urban World.* Lincoln, NE: Center for Creative Ministry.

Sahlin, Monte, and Paul Richardson. 2008. *Demographic Survey of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in North America.* Unpublished research conducted by the Center for Creative Ministry.

Sahlin, Monte, Petr Činčala, and Paul Richardson. 2018. *North American Adventist Demographics 2018*. Presented at the Summit on Adventist Higher Education, Chicago, IL, 10 August 2018.

Skydsgaard, Kristen E. 1951. The Kingdom of God and Church. Quoted in Arthur Glasser, Charles E. Van Engen, Dean S. Gilliland, and Shawn B. Redford, *Announcing the Kingdom: The Story of God's Mission in the Bible.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003.

Snyder, Howard A. 1985. *A Kingdom Manifesto*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press.

Sweet, Leonardo, and Frank Viola. 2010. *Jesus' Manifesto: Restoring the Supremacy and Sovereignty of Jesus Christ*. Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson.

The Correct Meaning of "Church" and "Ecclesia." Accessed 25 September 2019. http://www.aggressivechristianity.net/articles/ecclesia.htm.

Thompson, John L. 2011. *Urban Impact: Reaching the World through Effective Urban Ministry*. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock.

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. 2014. World Urbanization Prospects: Highlights. https://esa.un.org/unpd/wup/publications/files/wup2014-highlights.pdf.

United States Department of Commerce. 2010. United States Summary: 2010, Population and Housing Unit Counts. https://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/cph-2-1.pdf.

Yancey, Philip. 1995. *The Jesus I Never Knew*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.
White, Ellen G. 1909. *The Ministry of Healing.* Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press.
Willard, Dallas. 1998. *The Divine Conspiracy: Rediscovering Our Hidden Life in God.* San Francisco, CA: HarperSanFrancisco.

Petr Činčala, PhD, MSW, MDiv, serves as the Director of the Institute of Church Ministry and holds an Assistant Professorship with the Department of World Mission at Andrews University's Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary. Prior to his work at Andrews University, Dr. Cincala served as a Bible Worker for the Bohemian Conference from 2012-2013 and a Tent-maker Missionary 2003-2012.