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A Theory Base and Mission-Sending Model for the South American Division of the Seventh-day Adventist Church

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ABSTRACT

A THEORY BASE AND MISSION-SENDING MODEL
FOR THE SOUTH AMERICAN DIVISION OF THE
SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH

by

Silvano Barbosa

Adviser: Bruce Bauer

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Dissertation

Andrews University

Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

Title: A THEORY BASE AND MISSION-SENDING MODEL FOR THE SOUTH
AMERICAN DIVISION OF THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH

Name of the researcher: Silvano Barbosa

Name and degree of faculty adviser: Bruce L. Bauer, DMiss

Date completed: October 2017

Problem

Effective missionary work normally depends on a combination of three preconditions, equally indispensable: (1) a body of committed and adaptable personnel who are prepared to transmit to another cultural group the relevance of the Christian message; (2) an organization that is equipped to recruit, train, fund, send, and care for such a missionary force; and (3) sustained access to international unreached areas. Throughout its history, the missionary movement has been based on these three factors and the absence of one or more of them has resulted in less than optimum achievement and has sometimes led to failure. In 2014 the South American Division decided to actively engage in the worldwide mission of the Seventh-day Adventist Church by sending twenty-five families to serve as frontline missionaries in different countries in

Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Even though the South American Division can positively identify the first and third requirements, it lacks the second.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research was to propose a model that will enable the South American Division to engage in cross-cultural missionary work as a growing and continuous activity.

Methodology

This dissertation analyzed biblical and theological principles, historical lessons, and successful practices of current mission-sending organizations in order to provide the South American Division with a model that fits the organizational structure and theological presuppositions of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. First, an attempt was made to provide a theological basis for the establishment of mission-sending organizations by conducting an analysis of the *missio Dei* through a literature review, observing the missionary-sending nature of God, and the missionary-sending nature of the church as fundamental principles of how God operates in His universal mission. Moreover, an exegetical study of Acts 3:1–3 pointed out the Holy Spirit's initiative in leading the Antioch church to cross-cultural missionary work as well as to the formation of missionary bands, marking the beginning of the church's engagement in organized mission. Second, historical research of mission structure manifestations in different epochs, formats, and locations was conducted through an analysis of primary and secondary sources. Five movements were observed: the Celtic Christian communities, the Waldensians, the Moravians, mission societies, and the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

The purpose was to extract applicable missionary lessons. Factors such as the role of the leaders of these movements, beliefs, practices, training, and mission strategies were considered. Third, ethnographic research was conducted through observation, questions based on participant observation, and interviews. A description and analysis of the functioning of current successful mission-sending organizations in Europe, the United States, and Brazil was conducted in order to present best practices related to key aspects of the execution of missionary work.

Conclusions

The study suggested a mission-sending model for the South American Division that was based on three fundamental characteristics of mission-sending structures since the apostolic times: (1) flexibility; (2) decentralization; and (3) a self-reproductive system. In addition, special characteristics of the division such as (1) number of members, (2) number of institutions, (3) finances, (4) qualified workers, and (5) youth were considered in order to orient the model. The suggested model proposed that, while the South American Division should remain the official voice of missionary work within its territory, universities, unions, and conferences of the division whose leaders felt called to engage in cross-cultural missionary activity should establish Mission Institutes. These mission-sending organizations will be equipped to perform all the crucial tasks related to the execution of mission work: (1) an organized structure, (2) recruiting, (3) training, (4) providing mission opportunities, and (5) funding. The envisioned Mission Institutes are expected to observe the fundamental principle of partnership, being both sending organizations as well as receiving communities, in order that the blessings of the worldwide church can be received back in South America.

Andrews University

Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

A THEORY BASE AND MISSION-SENDING MODEL
FOR THE SOUTH AMERICAN DIVISION OF THE
SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH

A Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

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FOR THE SOUTH AMERICAN DIVISION OF THE
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFM   Adventist Frontier Mission

CATRE   Centro Adventista de Treinamento

CMS   Church Mission Society

DTS   Discipleship Training School

FADBA   Faculdade Adventista da Bahia

IDE   Inter-division Employee

JOCUM   Jovens com uma Missão

OM   Operation Mobilization

U of N   University of the Nations

YWAM   Youth With a Mission

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I give thanks to God, my Creator, Redeemer, Sustainer, and Provider, who has given me strength, and in spite of all my inadequacies has "considered me trustworthy, appointing me to his service" (1 Tim 1:12). I know He has been with me each and every step of the way, but at crucial decisive moments of this long journey He made His presence especially evident. To Him be honor and glory forever.

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I am particularly thankful to my professors Dr. Wagner Kuhn and Dr. Gordon Doss, for sharing their experience and missiological expertise. Along with Dr. Bruce Bauer, Dr. Boubakar Sanou, and others, they have turned the World Mission Department into a learning community and a safe haven.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Problem

The South American Division of the Seventh-day Adventist Church[1] was

organized in 1916.[2] Over the next hundred years, the division grew in strength and

maturity,[3] becoming a consistent expression of Adventism in its theological, pastoral,

financial, and institutional manifestations.[4] Now, in an unprecedented initiative, the South

American Division has decided to actively participate in the worldwide mission of the

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[1] From now on referred to as the South American Division.

[2] General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Seventh-day Adventist Church Yearbook, 2014* (Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 2014), 257–307.

[3] Floyd Greenleaf, *Land of Hope: The Growth of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in South America* (Tatui, Brazil: Casa Publicadora Brasileira, 2011).

[4] According to the latest statistical report of the General Conference of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church, the South American Division holds the highest indices of the denomination in several areas. First, membership per country. With over 1.5 million Adventists, Brazil is the country with the largest number of members. Second, churches and companies. The total number is 27,333. Third, active ministerial credentials and licenses. This Division maintains a total of 4,377 ministers and graduates around five hundred new pastors annually in eight theological seminaries. (4) Tertiary educational institutions. The Division runs 17 institutions, which maintains the largest number of largest number of students enrolled, 18,724 in total. (5) Publishing houses. Over the past decade Brazil Publishing House has kept the highest total sale of the denomination. In 2016 only the dollar amount was US$66,319,225. Currently, the three publishing houses of the Division are responsible for 44% to total sale of the sixty-four publishing houses operated by the Church. (6) This Division has also experienced a strong growth in its finance. The tithes contributions in 2016 added up to US$611,825,174. It represents the second highest collections among the divisions of the church, with projections to equal the amount collected by the North American Division in 2020. In addition, this division also has the second largest number of total active employees, 43,126, and the third greatest number of hospitals and sanatoriums, 16. For a complete analysis of the indices of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church, see Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research, *Annual Statistical Report* (Silver Spring, MD: Office of Archives, Statistics and Research, 2016), 10–84.

Seventh-day Adventist Church by sending out frontline missionaries.[5] The goal of this

research is to contribute to this process by providing biblical and theological principles,

historical lessons, and current missionary practices in order to create a mission-sending

model that will enable the division to engage in mission work in a growing and

continuous way.

Mission historian Andrew Walls analyzed the process of the transmission of the

Christian faith[6] as well as the origin of the modern missionary movement.[7] His studies

suggest that successful missionary activity needs three preconditions that are equally

indispensable: (1) a corps of committed people; (2) an organization equipped to mobilize,

send, and maintain such a force; and (3) sustained access to specific international

locations.[8] The first necessity refers to a body of people with the degree of commitment

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[5] A division of the Seventh-day Adventist Church is an ecclesiastical organization through which the activities of the church are conducted in a specific geographical area. Even though it is a separate legal entity, in practical terms, a division is also considered an extension of the General Conference of the Seventh-day Adventist Church and acts under its supervision. Each division supervises others ecclesiastical organizations within its territory, such as local churches, local conferences and missions, and unions. The South American Division is one of the thirteen divisions of the Seventh-day Adventist Church and its territory includes Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Falkland Islands, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay, with adjacent islands in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

[6] Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996), 3–68.

[7] Andrew Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission and Appropriation of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), 200–221.

[8] Throughout history the concept of missionary activity has been understood in different ways. Beginning with Augustine and reaffirmed by Aquinas, the term mission was used until the sixteenth century exclusively about the doctrine of the Trinity, in reference to the missionary activity of God. That is, to refer to the sending of the son by the father, and of the Holy Spirit by the father and the son. The Jesuits were the first to use it in terms of the spread of the Christian faith among people who were not members to the Catholic Church. David Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), 1, 15, 16, 372. In this context, warfare was also seen as missionary activity, as the several crusades exemplify. Walls remarks that by ca. 1500, the period when the European maritime expansion began, the only model of Christianity that Western Europe knew was the Christendom model, the model of Christian territories, frequently acquired by the use of the sword. Conquest and conversion belonged naturally together. The Portuguese, however, began the modern mission movement as a result of a mandatory paradigm shift. With the same theology and experience as the Spanish, but with a

required to live on others' cultural terms. In order to succeed in their enterprise, missionaries have to adapt to the conditions of life and ways of thinking of another cultural group. Furthermore, mission work requires people who are prepared to explain, commend, and illustrate the Christian message without coercing acceptance of it.[9]

The second precondition highlights the crucial role of an organization equipped to recruit, train, send, and maintain committed people, providing a link between them and the areas where they serve. Important characteristic of these organizations is flexibility.

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small army, they had to accommodate the Christendom idea to its military reality. The crusade model was not only inappropriate but also impossible. As a result, they developed a new category of Christian personnel whose function was to persuade without the instruments to coerce, living in terms set by other people. The Portuguese first applied this strategy in Asia, as they established a trading relationship with the great Moghul and Chinese empires. It was far from being new in the total Christian history but certainly contrary to what was at the heart of the Western Christian understanding of missionary work. Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process*, 198, 199, 220. As a consequence of this new missionary reality, over the course of the following centuries until at least the 1950s, mission gradually came to be used to refer to the sending of people across frontiers to propagate the faith, convert the heathen, plant churches and to do social work. R. Paul Stevens, *The Other Six Days* (Vancouver, BC: Eerdmans, 1999), 192–93. Karl Barth added to this the fundamental understanding that mission is the activity of God himself. When the church engages in mission, it is participating in the sending of the Son. See Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, IV/3.2, 830. In this research, the terms mission, mission activity or mission work, refer to the sending activity of God in partnership with his servants who accept the challenge to cross boundaries for the purpose of spreading the good news of salvation in Jesus Christ.

[9] An example of this fact is the missionary work of the Jesuits in Brazil. In a letter to King John IV of Portugal in 1654, the Jesuit father and diplomat Antonio Vieira advises His Majesty concerning the methodology to be applied for the conversion of the native Brazilians, named Indians. Among other things, he recommends that: (1) the governors and captains should have no jurisdiction over the Indians; (2) the Indians be governed by religious personnel, as was the custom throughout Brazil; (3) the Indians be allowed to unite themselves in the way they judge appropriate, since this action would favor their indoctrination and preservation; (4) no Indians be required to work away from their villages for more than four months, so that they could take care of their families, crops, and be converted to the Catholic faith; (5) incursions to the countryside be undertaken only by ecclesiastical personnel, and that these religious people be the same ones who manage the Indians in their villages; (6) all the Indians should learn the same doctrine in order to avoid divergent opinions; (7) religious personnel should have no farm, tobacco crops, or mills, in order to avoid distractions. Antonio Vieira to el-rei, Maranhao, April 6, 1654, in *Obras do padre Antonio Vieira*: *Cartas* [Works of the Father Antonio Vieira: Letters]*, eds. J. Seabra and T. Antunes, vol. 1, *Cartas do padre Antonio Vieira* [Letters of the Father Antonio Vieira] (Lisbon, Portugal: Tipografia da Revista Nacional, 1855), 51–58.

Adaptability, creativity, and innovation are indispensable for the accomplishment of their missionary purpose.

The establishment of mission sending organizations became popular in the nineteenth century with the creation of mission societies. Long before that time, however, mission structures[10] were already functioning and in great measure were responsible for the spread and transmission of the Christian faith.[11] The significance of what happened at the end of the eighteenth century, however, was that this new form of mission organization was devoted explicitly to foreign mission.[12] William Carey is the best known representative of this phase and thus is called the father of the modern

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[10] Considering the fact that throughout history mission organizations assumed different forms and characteristics in different movements, the term mission structure will also be applied in this research with reference to these various manifestations of mission-sending organizations.

[11] A few examples of different forms of these mission organizations are: (1) the Celtic Church, which under the leadership of Patrick, who died around AD. 460, developed a distinct, influential, and intensely mission-minded type of monasticism. See F. F. Bruce, *The Spreading Flame: The Rise and Progress of Christianity from its First Beginnings to the Conversion of the English* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1958), 371–96; Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder, *Constants in Context: A Theology of Mission for Today* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2006), 171; Paul Pierson, *The Dynamics of Christian Mission* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey International University Press, 2009), 72; Christopher Dawson, *Religion and the Rise of Western Culture* (New York: Image Books, 1958), 58; George Hunter III, *The Celtic Way of Evangelism* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2000), 36–38, 47; (2) the Waldensians, whose strongest missionary accomplishments took place under the leadership of Pedro Waldo, AD 1140-1218. The Waldensians spread their message in France, Italy, Germany, and Bohemia, going as far as Spain and Poland. See James Aitken Wylie, *The History of Protestantism,* vol. 1, *Progress From the First to the Fourteenth Century* (London: Cassell Petter & Galpin, 1874), 23; Alex Muston, *The Israel of the Alps: a Complete History of the Waldenses of Piedmont and Their Colonies* (London: Blackie & Son, 1866), 3–7; Emilio Comba, *Waldo and the Waldensians Before the Reformation* (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1880), 16–17; and (3) the Moravians, who under the leadership of Nicolaus Von Zinzendorf sent missionaries to twenty-eight countries. One out of every thirteen or so persons in the community went elsewhere as missionaries. J. E. Hutton, *A History of Moravian Missions* (London: Moravian Publications Office, 1923), 166; A. J. Lewes, *Zinzendorf: The Ecumenical Pioneer* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1962), 78; John R. Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf: The Story of His Life and Leadership in the Renewed Moravian Church* (Bethlehem, PA: Pierce & Washabaugh, 1989), 100.

[12] A list of the sixteen most important mission societies in Europe and North America in the last years of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century is offered in Jacques A. Blocher and Jacques Blandenier, *The Evangelization of the World: A History of Christian Mission* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2013), 289, 290.

missionary movement.[13] In the following decades hundreds of similar organizations were established and thousands of missionaries were sent out to different parts of the world. The spread of Protestantism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is considered a direct result of the work of mission societies,[14] which became the primary model of mission during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[15]

The third required element for accomplishing mission work was sustained access to those areas where missionary activity was to be carried out. This logistical factor implied the capability of getting mission personnel into transoceanic bases, with the expectation of maintaining regular communication with them.[16]

Throughout its history, the missionary movement has depended on the combination of these three factors, which were observed within Catholicism, reform movements, and Protestantism. The absence of one or more of these elements resulted in times when Protestants did not establish missions, even when they were willing to do so.[17]

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[13] Carey was aware that missionary work had long been in progress. He saw himself as one who was entering a process in motion, not as initiating that process. In his book, so often seen as heralding a new era of missions, there is little sense of any new beginning. In fact, he sees the Moravians as an example to be followed. Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process,* 204.

[14] John Cadwell Thiessen, *A Survey of World Missions,* rev. ed. (Chicago: Moody Press, 1961), 22–138, 174–292, 407–432.

[15] Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants in Context,* 210.

[16] The execution of this task depended heavily on the Portuguese in the early years of the modern Missionary movement, and on the Dutch, posteriorly. Nevertheless, the ascension of the British to maritime leadership pushed the missionary movement to a whole new level, as the missionary societies in Britain provided logistical support and expanded outlets for a preexisting missionary movement from the Continent. Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process,* 200.

[17] The Church Missionary Society (CMS), for example, founded in 1799, was unable to send out missionaries before 1804 due to the lack of personnel. Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men, and Its Work* (London: Church Mission Society, 1899), 1:82. Currently,

The arrival of the twentieth century, however, brought another phenomenon in the history of the missionary movement—the rise of the Global South,[18] changing tides,[19] or the next Christendom.[20] The editors of the report produced for the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference in 1910 stated that, by 1882, the churches in Africa and Asia were growing at a rate faster than churches in the countries from which the missionaries were coming.[21] In the following decades this trend was confirmed and, currently, the center of gravity in the Christian World has shifted from the United States and Europe to Africa, Asia, and Latin America, where around 1.5 billion people profess to be Christians.[22]

This shift can also be observed within Adventism. Currently, ninety-two percent of the church's members live in the Global South[23] and the tithes generated in these areas

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despite of having availability of missionaries, CMS cannot operate in North Korea because of not having sustained access to this specific location.

[18] Elijah J. F. Kim, *The Rise of the Global South: The Decline of Western Christendom and the Rise of Majority World Christianity* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2012).

[19] Samuel Scobar, *Changing Tides: Latin America and World Mission Today* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002).

[20] Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[21] James S. Dennis, Harlan P. Breach, and Charles H. Fahs, eds., *World Atlas of Christian Missions: Containing a Directory of Missionary Societies, a Classified Summary of Statistics, an Index of Mission Stations, and Showing the Location of Mission Stations throughout the World* (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Mission, 1911), 81–102.

[22] Conrad Hackett and Brian J. Grim, *Global Christianity: A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World's Christian Population* (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life, 2011), 71–78.

[23] Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research, *Annual Statistical Report*, 2016, 9–27.

are projected to equal those of the West in the coming years.[24] In fact, the church has achieved financial and organizational maturity in many areas of the developing world.

Now, for the first time in its history, the South American Division has decided to actively engage in the worldwide mission endeavor of the Seventh-day Adventist Church by doing more than listening to mission stories, taking up mission offerings, or passively collaborating with the world church headquarters in the USA, whenever it requests missionaries from South America.[25] In October 2014, twenty-five missionary families were recruited within this division to serve in different countries in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, fully funded and logistically supported by the division.[26] In a joint effort among all the institutions of the church in South America, thirteen million dollars was set aside for supporting the first five years of this project.[27] In total, in 2017 the South American Division maintains twenty-seven frontline missionary families outside its territory.

Nevertheless, even though the South American Division can positively identify committed people and the specific international locations where the missionaries are being commissioned to serve, this division does not have a mission organization exclusively dedicated to foreign mission. The mission sending organization and

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[24] G. T. Ng, "Missão Adventista: Um cenário em mudança." [Adventist Mission: The Changing Landscape] *Foco na Pessoa* 2, no. 4 (December 2013): 6–15.

[25] Wagner Kuhn, "Você está preparado e pronto?" [Are You Prepared and Ready?] *Foco na Pessoa* 3, no. 4 (2014): 6.

[26] Herbert Boger, "Missionarios para o mundo." [Missionaries to the World] *Foco na Pessoa* 3, no. 3 (2014): 4.

[27] Ibid.

structures within the official organization of the Adventist Church have traditionally been administered by the church's headquarters organization, the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, currently located in Silver Spring, Maryland, USA.

Despite the fact that this initiative is being carried out as one among many evangelistic projects of the division, I would like to emphasize that it has been under the venue of mission organizations exclusively dedicated to foreign mission that the missionary movement has achieved its most effective results. Such organizations have provided the necessary structure so that missionary work is done not as an isolated event but as a continuous and growing activity.

The effectiveness of Adventist mission in the early years of the denomination was to a large degree because its missionary endeavor was based on this missionary model. In November 1889 the General Conference session created the Seventh-day Adventist Foreign Mission Board "for the management of the foreign mission work."[28] By the end of the 1890s, Adventism had been established on every inhabited continent and on many of the islands of the seas. In 1901 the church was restructured in order to better address its mission demands,[29] and the General Conference Committee became in effect, a mission agency.[30] Over the course of the twentieth century the missionary service was

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[28] General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, "General Conference Proceedings: Seventeenth Meeting," in *Daily Bulletin of the General Conference* (Battle Creek, MI: Review & Herald, 1889), 141–42.

[29] Barry David Oliver, "Principles for Reorganization of the Seventh-day Adventist Administrative Structure, 1888–1903: Implications for an International Church" (PhD diss., Andrews University, 1989), 40–65.

[30] Gordon Doss, "Structural Models for World Mission in the Twenty-First Century: An Adventist Perspective," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 43, no. 2 (2005): 303.

located within the Secretariat of the General Conference instead of in a specialized department.[31] However, the rapid growth in worldwide Adventist mission that begun in the 1890s continued unabated into the twentieth century.[32]

It has also been demonstrated that mission organizations perform a major role in connecting those who are willing to go with those areas that are willing to receive them. A few decades ago, Youth with a Mission (YWAM) did not exist.[33] Last year, more than 116,000 people served through YWAM in a short- or long-term capacity in eighty-four different countries. Although it began in the United States, now over half of its workers are from Asia, Africa, and Latin America.[34] The last twenty or thirty years have witnessed the emergence of more new mission organizations than at any time in history.[35]

On the other hand, many of the current models of mission organizations cannot be successfully applied to the Seventh-day Adventist Church due to its singular organizational structure and distinctive theological presuppositions. Considering this, it is necessary to develop an expanded mission-sending model that will fit the fundamental characteristics of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, taking into account the development

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[31] Bruce Bauer, "Congregational and Mission Structures and How the Seventh-day Adventist Church Has Related to Them" (DMiss diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983).

[32] George R. Knight, ed., *Historical Sketches of Foreign Missions* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2005), xix-xx.

[33] Youth with a Mission is an inter-denominational missionary organization, with over 18,000 full-time volunteers in more than 1,100 ministry locations in over 180 countries. They train upwards of 25,000 short-term missions volunteers annually.

[34] Pierson, *Dynamics of Christian Mission,* 30.

[35] Ibid.

and maturation of the Global South evidenced within the denomination. With this in mind, this research will undertake a biblical, historical, and contemporary analysis of mission-sending organizations in order to provide a theory base and a model for the South American Division.

Statement of the Problem

Effective missionary work depends on a combination of three factors: (1) a body of committed and adaptable personnel who are prepared to transmit to another cultural group the relevance of the Christian message; (2) an organization that is equipped to recruit, train, fund, send, and care for such a missionary force; and (3) sustained access to international unreached areas. Throughout its history, the missionary movement has been based on these three factors and the absence of one or more of them has resulted in less than optimum achievement and has sometimes led to failure. Even though the South American Division of the Seventh-day Adventist Church can positively identify the first and third requirements, it lacks the second. What model of a mission organization would enable the South American Division to actively and continually engage in the worldwide mission of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church?

Purpose

The purpose of this dissertation is to suggest a theory base and a mission-sending model to the South American Division.

Research Questions

1. What are the biblical, theological, historical, and contemporary foundations for the establishment of a mission organization?

2. What mission organization model would best fit the organizational structure of

    the South American Division of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in terms of:

    (a) the relationship of a division to the General Conference; (b) the relationship of

    a division to another division; and (c) the operation of this mission organization

    within a division?

Scope and Delimitations

This study analyzed mission structures from biblical, theological, historical, and contemporary perspectives. The biblical analysis was limited to selected texts in the book of Acts, where an early form of mission structure can be observed. The theological analysis approached specific themes related to the nature of (1) God as a missionary and sending God, and (2) the nature of the church as a missionary and sending church. The historical analysis focused on five representative movements: (1) the Celtic Church, (2) the Waldensians, (2) the Moravians, (4) selected mission societies, and (5) Adventism, [a] from 1889-1901, and, [b] from 1901-2010. The contemporary analysis observed the functioning of four selected mission-sending organizations in Europe, the United States, and Brazil: (1) Church Mission Society; (2) Mission 21; (3) Adventist Frontier Mission; and (4) Jovens Com Uma Missão [YWAM]. An organizational model for mission was offered based on the analysis described above. This model was designed to operate under the organizational structure of the Seventh-day Adventist Church and focused most specifically on the relationship between the South American Division, the General Conference of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and the missionary receiving division.

Conceptual Framework

This study was based on the fundamental assumption that missiological research tends to range across disciplinary lines and becomes interdisciplinary.[36] While the primary concern was to analyze different manifestations of mission structures in order to provide a model that fits the organizational structure of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, it is recognized that theology, history, social sciences, comparative religions, nonprofit management, geography, economics, political science, and leadership studies all contributed. For this reason, exegesis of selected texts of the Bible, systematic analysis of specific theological themes, examination of historical archives, participant observation of mission organizations in Europe, North America, and Brazil, and interviews with mission leaders in different lines of work, were used to develop the model.[37]

An epistemology of critical realism was also applied. In other words, while recognizing that different areas of study will have distinct approaches and contributions to the analysis of mission organizations depending on where they are situated and what people believe, I differentiate between the authority of human knowledge and biblical revelation as the foundation for mission. I ascribe final authority to the Bible as the inspired record of God in human history.[38] As a consequence, the proposed model was primarily based on Scripture, and secondarily it focused on meeting the goals of this

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[36] Edgar J. Elliston, *Introduction to Missiological Research Design* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2011), 124.

[37] Paul Hiebert, *The Gospel in Human Contexts: Anthropological Explorations for Contemporary Missions* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academics, 2009), 161.

[38] Paul Hiebert, *Anthropological Reflexions on Missiological Issues* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1994), 29.

research in providing a theory base that fits the theological presuppositions[39] of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church and its distinctive Adventist understanding of biblical metanarratives such as the Great Controversy between God and Satan, a remnant people, and the second coming of Jesus. Coherence and internal consistency between the Bible, Adventist theology and Adventist policy and mission structures played a major role in forming the guidelines undergirding this research,[40] and are of special importance for its justification.

Methodology

Considering that this was a multidisciplinary research project, a variety of research methods were applied.[41] Biblical, historical, and theological methods approach the reality and functioning of mission structures from different perspectives, however the various methods are essential in order to obtain complementary results. Therefore, four methods were applied:

First, a theological analysis of the *missio Dei* through a literature review was conducted, focusing on: (1) the universality of God's mission; (2) the missionary sending nature of God; and (3) the missionary sending nature of the church. This analysis was intended to provide a theological base for the establishment of a mission-sending organization for the South American Division.

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[39] Ministerial Association, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Seventh-day Adventists Believe: A Biblical Exposition of 27 Fundamental Doctrines* (Washington, DC: Ministerial Association, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 2005).

[40] Ellen Cameron and Catherine Duce, *Research Practice in Mission and Ministry: A Companion* (London: SCM Press, 2013), 32.

[41] Elliston, *Introduction to Missiological Research Design*, 62.

Second, an exegetical study of selected passages in the book of Acts provided biblical instruction for the work of mission structures as they partner with God in His sending activity.

Third, historical research of mission structure manifestations in different epochs, formats, and locations was conducted through an analysis of primary and secondary sources. Five movements were studied: (1) the Celtic Christian Communities—400s-600s— a monastic movement, in Ireland; (2) the Waldensians—1100s— a reform movement, in Italy; (3) the Moravians—1700s— a Protestant church, in Germany; (4) mission societies—1800s— foreign mission organizations, in Europe and in the United States; and (5) Adventism, [a]—1889-1901— a denominational foreign mission organization, in the United States, and, [b]—1901-2010— a worldwide denominational organization.

Fourth, ethnographic research was conducted through observation, questions based on participant observation, and interviews. Two kinds of organizations were researched: (1) mission-sending organizations in England, Switzerland, the United States, and Brazil; and (2) Seventh-day Adventist institutions that have received missionaries in India, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, the Middle East, and Brazil.

CHAPTER 2

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL BASIS

FOR MISSION ORGANIZATIONS

The Universality of God's Mission

The God of the Bible is a missionary God.[1] The whole Bible is a missionary

document, the revelation of God's purpose and action in mission.[2] The Old and New

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[1] Hastings suggests that mission is God's defining attribute, in that his missions elucidate the triune being of God as love. Ross Hastings, *Missional God, Missional Church* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2012), 251. Davidson points out that in creation we find God's original mission of love, the Father sending forth His Spirit (Gen 1:2; cf. Ps 104:30) and His Son, the Word (Gen 1:3; John 1:1), on a mission to create the universe ("the heavens and the earth," Gen 1:1), and in particular, this world. Richard Davidson, "Back to the Beginning: Genesis 1–3 and the Theological Center of Scripture," in *Christ, Salvation and the Eschaton*, ed. Daniel Heinz, Jiri Moskala, and Peter M. van Bemmelen (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University, 2009), 11–19. See also Richard Davidson, "God's Mission (*Missio Dei*)," unpublished paper, accessed April 10, 2016, https://www.dropbox.com/s/i2oywvb0lnpup8n/ God%27s%20Mission%20%28Missio%20Dei%29.doc?dl=0, 5. See a theological exploration of the possibilities of using missionary as an attribute of God in Stephen Holmes, "Trinitarian Missiology: Towards a Theology of God as Missionary," *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 8, no. 1 (2006): 72–90. Daugherty argues that God's Trinitarian nature and the *missio Dei* is a model for mission: see Kevin Daugherty, "*Missio Dei*: The Trinity and Christian Missions," *Evangelical Review of Theology* 31, no. 2 (2007): 151–68.

[2] For Glasser, God's mission—announcing His kingdom—is the theological center of Scripture. He sets the stage for understanding God's mission in the Bible by presenting seven major axioms in the Old Testament that will be fully developed in the New Testament. Arthur F. Glasser, with Charles E. Van Engen, Dean S. Gilliland, and Shawn B. Redford, *Announcing the Kingdom: The History of God's Mission in the Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003), 17; Walter Kaiser, *Mission in the Old Testament: Israel as a Light to the Nations*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academics, 2012), xi–xii; Johannes Blauw, *The Missionary Nature of the Church: A Survey of the Biblical Theology of Mission* (Cambridge, UK: Lutterworth Press, 2003), 16–17; J. Andrew Kirk, *What Is Mission? Theological Explorations* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2000), 7–22; David Hesselgrave, "A Missionary Hermeneutic: Understanding Scripture in the Light of World Mission," *International Journal of Frontier Missions* 10, no. 1 (1993): 17–20; David Filbeck, *Yes, God of the Gentiles Too: The Missionary Message of the Old Testament* (Wheaton, IL: Billy Graham Center, 1994), 3–10; William J. Larkin Jr. and Joel F. Williams, eds., *Mission in the New Testament: An Evangelical Approach* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1998), 1, 11–20; and Christopher J. H.

Testaments are interrelated and evidence the redemptive activity of God, seeking to reconcile the world unto Himself, first through Israel, then in Christ.[3] Consequently, the Bible in its entirety is a revelation of God's worldwide redemptive purpose and missionary activity.[4]

Davidson suggests that God placed a concise summary of His mission statement at the very beginning of Scripture, in Gen 1-3.[5] He argues that in these chapters is a portrayal of the divine mission that is fleshed out in the rest of Scripture.[6] At the core of this mission statement resides the truth that only came to be emphasized in missiological circles in the 1950s—the *missio Dei*—the mission of God.[7] Genesis 1-3 reveals that the

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Wright, *The Mission of God: Unlocking the Bible's Grand Narrative* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2006), 29–69.

[3] Knight suggests that the essence of the Old Testament is that God was reconciling the world to Himself. "'In Israel', God did not succeed in redeeming the world because of the failures of the people of Israel. It remained for him to act 'in Christ' in order to finally to draw all (people) unto himself." George A. F. Knight, *A Christian Theology of the Old Testament* (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1959), 8.

[4] Christopher J. H. Wright, *"Live Such Good Lives among the Nations…": The Missional Impact of Old Testament Ethics in the New Testament* (Princeton, IL: Institute for Biblical Research, 2015), 1.

[5] Davidson argues that over the past few decades Gen 1-3 has been increasingly recognized as set apart from the rest of the Bible, constituting a kind of prologue that provides the paradigm for the rest of the Bible. F. Sawyer, *God, Gender and the Bible* (London: Routledge, 2002), 24, 29; Phyllis A. Bird, "'Bone of My Bone and Flesh of My Flesh,'" *Theology Today* 50 (1994): 525, 527; John Rankin, "Power and Gender at the Divinity School," in *Finding God at Harvard: Spiritual Journeys of Thinking Christians*, ed. Kelly Monroe (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1996), 203; Davidson, "God's Mission (*Missio Dei*)," 2–4. Senior and Stuhlmueller suggest that salvation rather than creation is the starting point for missiological thinking. Donald Senior and Carroll Stuhlmueller, *The Biblical Foundations for Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1983), 37.

[6] Davidson interprets God's mission in broad terms, and compares it to a well-polished diamond, with seven different facets: (1) creation and the divine mission for Creation; (2) the character of the creator in His mission; (3) the cosmic conflict over the divine mission; (4) the Gospel promise of the Messiah; (5) the heart of the divine redemptive mission: substitutionary atonement; (6) the success of God's mission and the end of evil; (7) the sanctuary setting of the divine mission. Davidson, "Back to the Beginning," 11–16.

[7] Karl Barth became one of the first to articulate missions as God's own activity in a paper read at the Brandenburg Missionary Conference in 1932. Barth's thought became influential in the International Missionary Council and came to full development at the 1952 Willingen Conference. Although the term *missio Dei* was not used there, the conference connected the idea of mission with the Trinitarian nature of

mission of the triune God came before any of the Christian missions[8] during the last two

thousand years. There is only one mission, and that is God's mission! Humankind is

called to be a part of this one divine mission.

God's mission is "universal in scope and global in audience."[9] Several scholars

suggest that the basis for understanding the universality of God's mission is found in Gen

1-11.[10] From the creation of the universe until the judgment at Babel, the human race was

one in creation, fall, judgment, and dispersion. In like manner, God's offer of salvation is

addressed to all the people in all the families of the earth who would believe.[11] Thus,

from the very beginning, God's purpose of salvation has been linked to all creation.

God. For the development of the concept of *missio Dei* see Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 389–93; the term *missio Dei*, then, "indicates that mission is not primarily a human work but the work of the triune God." John Thompson, *Modern Trinitarian Perspectives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 69.

[8] Bosch points out that, beginning with Augustine and reaffirmed by Aquinas, the term *mission* was used until the sixteenth century exclusively with reference to the doctrine of the Trinity: that is, to refer to the sending of the Son by the Father, and of the Holy Spirit by the Father and the Son. In the 1500s AD, the Jesuits were the first to use the word *mission* to mean the spread of Christianity among people who were not members of the Catholic Church. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 1, 15–16, 372. Over the course of the following centuries until at least the 1950s, *mission* gradually came to be used to refer to the sending of people across frontiers to propagate the faith, convert the heathen, plant churches, and do social work. Karl Barth challenged this conception. For him, mission is the activity of God himself. When the church engages in mission, it is participating in the sending of the Son. Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, IV/3.2, 830.

[9] Walter Kaiser, "Israel's Missionary Call," in *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement,* ed. Ralph Winter and Steven Hawthorne (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2009), 10.

[10] Wenham suggests that Gen 1–11 gives the background to the call of Abraham and evidences that even though sin had apparently frustrated God's purpose for humankind, the promises made to the patriarchs fulfill God's purpose of blessing all the nations of the Earth. Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 1–15,* Word Biblical Commentary 1 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), l–liii. Kaiser believes this to be one of the most universalistic sections of the Bible. Kaiser, *Mission in the Old Testament,* 1–9. Blauw points out that an understanding of Gen 1-11 is of special significance for a theology of mission and are a key to the understanding of the rest of the whole Bible. Blauw, *Missionary Nature of the Church*, 17–18. Collins asserts that thematically, Gen 1–11 sets the stage for the mission of Israel as God's vehicle of blessing to the rest of the world. C. John Collins, *Genesis 1–4: A Linguistic, Literary, and Theological Commentary* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R, 2006), 35.

[11] Glasser et al., *Announcing the Kingdom,* 29.

The Universality of God's Mission in Genesis 1-11:
The Spread of Sin, Spread of Grace

Genesis 1-11 describes two opposite progressions: first, God's orderly creation,

and then the disintegrating work of sin.[12] After the fall of man, sin continued to escalate,

bringing humankind into total alienation from God. The first signs of the new condition

to which human beings would be forever subject were seen as the first couple lost the

light they were clothed with[13] and began to experience shame, guilt, and fear.[14] Before

long, the devastating consequences of sin became increasingly evident. Beginning with

Adam accusing his wife, human corruption continued to develop, finding expression

through acts including murder (Cain), careless killing (Lamech), and lust (the sons of

God with the daughters of men). It came to full maturity in the wicked civilization built

by their descendants, overflowing in unimaginable violence and total corruption before

the flood, and finally taking the entire race to the point of complete disruption at Babel.[15]

God's response to this declining situation was increasingly severe, but always

tempered with mercy. Prior to any presentation of judgment, the theme of deliverance is

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[12] Derek Kidner, *Genesis: An Introduction and Commentary* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1967), 13.

[13] This can be inferred by the fact that God clothes himself with light (Ps 104:2) and Jesus, in His transfiguration, was dressed similarly (Mark 9:2-3). The moment Adam and Eve sinned, they lost their light. They knew they were naked.

[14] Muller suggests that the immediate consequences of sin in the Garden of Eden involved guilt, shame, and fear. He believes that these three emotional reactions became the three basic building blocks of worldviews in different cultures around the world. Some cultures have more of one than another, but all three are present in all cultures. Roland Muller, *Honor and Shame: Unlocking the Door* (Philadelphia, PA: Xlibris, 2000), 11-18.

[15] Rita F. Cefalu, "Royal Priestly Heirs to the Restoration Promise of Genesis 3:15: A Biblical Theological Perspective on the Sons of God in Genesis 6," *Westminster Theological Journal* 76, no. 2 (2014): 351–70.

always introduced.[16] David Clines suggests that a major theme for Gen 1-11 is "the spread of sin, spread of grace."[17] As the earth was being overwhelmed by one catastrophe after another, God's grace continued to work. This fact is highlighted at three crucial moments: (1) the fall of Adam and Eve, (2) the universal flood, and (3) at the tower of Babel.

After the great tragedy of man's fall in the Garden of Eden, God's sentence was a curse that involved the animal kingdom, the serpent, the woman, Adam, and the very elements of the ground itself.[18] The reality of life would now involve an awful mixture of unceasing war between the seed of the serpent and the seed of the woman, sorrowful woe connected to the delivery of children, and unrewarding work on a cursed earth. But the same God who pronounced the sentence immediately stepped in to rescue the condemned fallen creatures. God Himself replaced the fig leaves Adam and Eve dressed themselves

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[16] Thomas A. Keiser, *Genesis 1-11: Its Literary Coherence and Theological Message* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2013), 127–35; Margaret Dee Bratcher, "The Pattern of Sin and Judgment in Genesis" (PhD diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1984), 72–74, 138–40, 166–68, 193–96.

[17] Clines also suggests that "creation-uncreation-recreation" is another appropriate theme for Gen 1-11, since both motifs embrace the following conclusions: (a) Humankind tends to destroy what God created good. Even when God forgives sin and mitigates the punishment, sin continues to spread to the point where the world suffers uncreation. (b) No matter how drastic human sin becomes, God's grace never fails to deliver humankind from the consequences of their sins. David Clines, *The Theme of the Pentateuch*, 2nd ed. (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 84; Gerhard Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, trans. D. M. G. Stalker (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 163. Atkinson suggests that Gen 1-11 evidences a pattern of sin and judgment, and then grace and hope. David Atkinson, *The Message of Genesis 1-11: The Dawn of Creation* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 185; Bill T. Arnold, *Genesis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 119; John J. Scullion, *Genesis: A Commentary for Students, Teachers and Preachers* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), 100-101.

[18] Henry M. Morris, *The Genesis Record: A Scientific and Devotional Commentary of the Book of the Beginnings* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1976), 118. Morris summarizes the point as he suggests that the three main aspects of the curse corresponded to the three basic created entities described in Gen 1: (1) the physical elements of the universe (Gen 3:18); (2) the entity of conscious life in animals (Gen 3:14); and (3) the spiritual nature of God in man (Gen 3:16, 19).

in with coats of skin—the first dramatic illustration of His permanent solution to the problem of sin.[19]

As the moral and spiritual character of the people had become so hopelessly corrupt (Gen 6:3, 5), wickedness assumed enormous proportions, resulting in a world defined by apostasy, godlessness, and anarchy.[20] God concluded that re-creation was the only viable solution.[21] But even under such terrible conditions, when all had rejected Him, God still granted humankind 120 years before the coming of the flood, expecting that some would come to repentance (1 Pet 3:20; 2 Pet 2:9). Additionally, the flood was not the end, for God provided a new beginning for the human race. [22]

The next great human failure after the flood was the Tower of Babel, [23] a project intended to promote the unity of the race, bringing all humankind under a single government. That government was not to be a theocracy, but rather a dictatorship under

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[19] Phillips observes that it was after the pronouncement of the curse that Adam named his wife Eve (Gen 3:20). That was a confession of his faith in God, who promised that the seed of the woman would bring salvation. Adam believed. He confessed his faith by calling his wife the mother of all living, not the mother of all dying. John Phillips, *Exploring Genesis* (Neptune, NJ: Loizeaux Brothers, 1980), 62–63; W. Robertson Nicoll, ed., *The Expositor's Bible* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1900), 25.

[20] Andreas J. Kostenberger and Peter T. O'Brien, *Salvation to the Ends of the Earth: A Biblical Theology of Mission* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 27–28. Morris sees in God's statement that man is "flesh" an implicit suggestion that man was dominated exclusively by the "flesh"—no longer concerned with God but only his bodily appetites, just like the animals. Morris, *Genesis Record,* 171.

[21] Wenham points out that the divine decree, "The end of all flesh has been determined by me (literally, "come before me"), suggests its irrevocability. Wenham, *Genesis 1–15,* 172.

[22] Matthews points out that God's response to the "corruption" and "violence" of the human family is judgment but also the provision of a safe haven. Although the announcement of God is impending doom (Gen 16:13, 17), the focus of the divine decree turns immediately to the detailed instructions for building and equipping the ark. Kenneth A. Mathews, *Genesis 1–11:26,* American Commentary 1A (Nashville, TN: Broadman and Holman, 1996), 362–63.

[23] Peake points out that the Babylonians called such a tower a *zikkurat*, an immense tower shaped like a pyramid, rising in terraces, and crowned with a temple, which was regarded as an "entrance to heaven." Arthur S. Peake, *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (London: T. C. and E. C Jack, 1924), 146.

Nimrod.[24] It was humanity's first attempt to build a society from which God was to be excluded.[25] The result of the moral and spiritual deterioration of Nimrod and his followers was the creation of a polytheist system of idolatry, which became the origin of all forms of paganism.[26]

The decision of the heavenly council was to confound their language, which caused them to be scattered over "all the face of the earth" and gave them a new opportunity to fulfill God's explicit purpose.[27] On each of these crucial occasions, the "spread of sin, spread of grace" pattern was in operation, and God's judgment was always tempered with mercy.

The Three Crises and Three Worldwide Promises

However, the manifestation of God's grace toward humankind involved a local and temporary provision as well as a permanent and universal solution. In each one of the three decisive failures mentioned above, God's interest for the entire human race is

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[24] Von Rad suggests that Nimrod's name, meaning "Let's rebel," implies that his father Cush trained him from childhood to be a leader in a planned rebellion against God's purpose for humankind. God had destined them to serve the descendants of Shem and Japheth? Oh, no! They would rule instead! Gerhard Von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, trans. John Marks (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961), 137–43; W. Sibley Towner, *Genesis* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 99, 103–4.

[25] John H. Walton, *The NIV Application Commentary: From Biblical Text… to Contemporary Life* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2001), 371–78.

[26] Alfred Edersheim, *The Bible History: Old Testament*, vol. 1, *The World Before the Flood, and the History of the Patriarchs* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1969), 62–65; Arnold, *Genesis,* 210–21. Morris suggests that the origin of various gods and goddesses of Rome, Greece, India, Egypt, and other nations can be traced to the ancient Babylon region. Henry Morris, *The Troubled Waters of Evolution* (San Diego, CA: Creation-Life, 1975), 25–76; Roseni Santos Roque, "Towards an Old Testament Theology of Mission" (ThM diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1989), 51.

[27] Mathews points out that the inversion of the Hebrew letters in the words "let us build" (Gen 11:3) and "let us confuse" (Gen 11:7) indicates the divine reversal of their intension. Mathews, *Genesis 1–11:26,* 384, 485.

evidenced as He presents His grand messages of salvation to all who would believe. With each crisis comes a promise from God that forms the worldwide blessing He offers to all mortals.[28]

In addition, these initial chapters of the Bible introduce the means by which God intends to reach out to all the families of the earth. The nations are to be blessed through the "seed" of the woman (Gen 3:15); the "seed" of Shem, in whose tents God comes to dwell (Gen 9:27); and the "seed" of Abraham (Gen 12:1-3), to whom is revealed God's purpose and plan to bring all the nations of the world to Himself.[29]

Kaiser emphasizes that the culminating point of the story of the fall of Adam and Eve was not their act of disobedience or the curse to which they became subjected, but God's promise in Gen 3:15 that He would personally put "enmity" between the devil (Rev 12:7-9) and the woman, between the serpent's "seed" and the woman's "seed."[30]

There has been a long debate among Jewish and Christian interpreters concerning the meaning of the word *seed* in Gen 3:15.[31] There is a wide range of opinions, but most

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[28] Kaiser, *Mission in the Old Testament*, 2–7.

[29] Kaiser, "Israel's Missionary Call," 12.

[30] Ojewole points out that the structure of the entire third chapter of Genesis is chiastic, and exactly in the center, at the apex of the chiasm, vv. 14-15, is found what theologians call the Protoevangelium—the First Gospel Promise. Afolarin O. Ojewole, "The Seed in Genesis 3:15: An Exegetical and Intertextual Study" (PhD diss., Andrews University, 2002), 97–98; Kaiser, *Mission in the Old Testament*, 2.

[31] For more on this historical debate see Jack P. Lewis, "The Woman's Seed (Gen 3:15)," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 34 (1991): 299–319; Ken Schurb, "Sixteenth-Century Lutheran-Calvinist Conflict on the Protoevangelium," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (1990): 25–47; and Dominic Unger, *The First-Gospel: Genesis 3:15* (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 1954).

of their conclusions vary between the literal[32] and the figurative[33] interpretations. Many

scholars, however, agree that God Himself promised to implant enmity between Eve and

the serpent and between the spiritual descendants (the collective "seed") of both.[34] The

collective woman's seed of Gen 3:15 comprises righteous human beings who have

declared enmity with Satan and all forms of unrighteousness. They take a stand on God's

side and support His divine purposes. Likewise, the serpent's seed are the followers of

Satan and the opposers of God, His people, and His purposes.[35]

The middle part of Gen 3:15 goes to the heart of this promise and shows that it is

centered in a person.[36] God predicted that the serpent would bruise the heel of one of the

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[32] Literal interpreters see in the text nothing but the prediction of an endless enmity between humankind and snakes. Examples of this line of interpretation are John Skinner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis,* 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, Scotland: T & T Clark, 1956), 79–81; Theodore Henry Robinson, "Genesis," *The Abingdon Bible Commentary,* ed. Frederick Carl Eiseten, Edwin Lewis, and David G. Downey (New York: Abingdon, 1929), 223; Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 1.1.4 (trans. Thackeray, Loeb Classical Library).

[33] Within the group of scholars who have interpreted Gen 3:15 figuratively, Philo is one early interpreter who allegorized the text profusely. He understood the serpent as a symbol of desire. Philo, *On the Creation. Allegorical Interpretation of Genesis 2 and 3,* ed. Jeffrey Henderson, trans. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929), 425–33. See also Philo *Questions on Genesis* 1:48; Augustine also made a collective allegorical interpretation of Gen 3:15, a path followed by many recent scholars. Augustine believed that the seed of the serpent is temptation and the seed of the woman is "good work to resist such perverse suggestion." Augustine, *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*, vol. 84, *Saint Augustine on Genesis, 2.18.28,* trans. Roland J. Teske (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America, 1991), 123; Edward Conklin, *Getting Back into the Garden of Eden* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998), 133; Alan Richardson, *Genesis I-l I: An Introduction and Commentary,* Torch Bible Commentaries (London: SCM, 1981), 71, cf. Ojewole, "The Seed in Genesis 3:15," 12–49.

[34] Exegetical support for this interpretation may be found in Ojewole, "The Seed in Genesis 3:15," 155–65, 183–90; Walter Kaiser, *The Messiah in the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1995), 37–41; O. Palmer Robertson, *The Christ of the Covenants* (Philipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1980), 93–107; Marten H. Woudstra, "Recent Translations of Genesis 3:15," *Calvin Theological Journal* 6, no. 1 (1971): 194–203.

[35] Ojewole, "The Seed in Genesis 3:15," 188.

[36] Davidson, "God's Mission (*Missio Dei*)," 13.

woman's "seed," a male descendant from among her offspring.[37] In his doctoral

dissertation, Afolarin Ojewole analyzes how, in this verse, the conflict narrows from

many descendants (a collective "seed") in the first part of the verse to a masculine

singular pronoun in the last part of the verse—"He"—fighting against the serpent. Thus

God promises victory centered in a Person. "He"—the ultimate representative Seed of the

woman, the Messiah—"shall bruise your head, Satan, and you shall bruise His heel."[38]

At the very moment sin entered this world, God's promise guaranteed that He

would provide a definitive solution to the issues that the transgression of Adam and Eve

had raised. Indeed, it was the first announcement of the everlasting covenant between the

Father and the Son, it indicated they had a solution to the problem of sin, and it was the

first proclamation of their plan for the whole world. [39]

God's second grand message of salvation having worldwide implications was

given after the crisis of the flood, which resulted in the destruction of the entire human

race, except for Noah, his wife, their sons (Shem, Ham, and Japheth), and their sons'

wives. Apparently, many years had elapsed since these eight people emerged from the

ark, for Canaan, and presumably others, had been born (Gen 9:18-19). In a moment when

humankind was returning from the brink of extinction, God promised that He would

"dwell in the tents of Shem" (Gen 9:27).

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[37] Kaiser points out that in the third-century Septuagint translation of this passage, the Greek grammatical rule of agreement between the pronoun and the neuter antecedent was deliberately broken in this single instance alone, out of some 150 instances in the book of Genesis, to show that the translators understood the text was speaking of a coming male. Kaiser, *Mission in the Old Testament*, 2-3.

[38] Ojewole, "The Seed in Genesis 3:15," 190–207, cf. Davidson, "God's Mission (*Missio Dei*)," 14.

[39] Robertson, *Christ of the Covenants*, 93–107; Kaiser, *Messiah in the Old Testament*, 37.

This promise had a special significance, since it was an assurance that God's commission for them to be fruitful, increase in number, and multiply on the earth would be fulfilled (Gen 9:7). Moreover, it informs in a particular sense, that God would be identified as "the God of Shem," a prophetic designation of Shem as the patriarch though whom the Messiah would come for human redemption.[40] Above all, however, it assured mortals that God would come to planet earth to live through the line of Shem.[41]

It should be noted that the text of many current Bible translations does not explicitly state that God would dwell in the tents of Shem. Nevertheless, that is indeed the understanding of a great number of interpreters.[42]

Kaiser explains that the structure of Noah's prophecy in Gen 9:25-27 is in the

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[40] James Burton Coffman, *Commentary on Genesis: The First Book of Moses* (Abilene, TX: ACU Press, 1985), 143; for a detailed genealogic analysis of the connection between Shem and Abraham, see Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Creation, Un-Creation, Re-Creation: A Discursive Commentary on Genesis 1-11* (New York: T & T Clark, 2011), 171–75. It should be noticed that the sons are listed contrary to the order of their birth (Gen 9:18), which sets the stage for Shem's theological priority. Only Shem is linked with the name Yahweh (9:26), and it is his descendant that occupies the climactic place at the end of the table of nations (10:21-31).

[41] Wenham, *Genesis 1–15,* 202–3.

[42] According to Lange, this interpretation is shared by some of the best Christian commentators, and held, with few exceptions, by Jewish authorities. John Peter Lange, *A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, With Special Reference to Students and Ministers*, trans. and ed. Phillip Shaff (New York: Charles Scribner, 1869), 1:340. Wenham argues that this is a very old Jewish interpretation attested in the book of Jubilees and the Targums. Wenham, *Genesis 1–15,* 202; Arthur W. Pink, *The Divine Covenants* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1973), 60; Coffman, *Commentary on Genesis,* 144. In his analysis of the concept of Shekinah, Bromiley suggests that the promise that God would dwell with humankind goes back to Noah's blessing in Gen 9:27. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, ed., *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1988), 4:466; David R. Dilling, *Hebrews: A Bible Study Resource* (Lafayette, IN: Lulu Press, 2008), 218.

form of a heptastich (a poem consisting of seven lines),[43] and it is divided into three parts by the repeated refrain about the servitude of Canaan, a son of Noah's son Ham.[44] The promise is announced in verse 27, which the King James' translation reads: "God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant."

The key question is, who is the subject of "*he* shall live in the tents of Shem" (וְיִשְׁכֹּן בְּאָהֳלֵי־שֵׁם)? Most translations paraphrase as "Japheth," but there is no Hebrew text for the reading "Japheth" (יֶפֶת). In fact, the Hebrew text says, "*he* shall live" (וְיִשְׁכֹּן). Kaiser concurs with the translation of the Targum of Onkelos,[45] the judgment of Philo,[46]

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[43] Kaiser, *Mission in the Old Testament*, 5.

[44] Kidd argues that interpretations of this prophecy and other Bible texts have played an influential role in shaping racial attitudes over the past four centuries. He goes on to present the history of the ways in which Scripture has been used to justify certain theories of race, ethnic identities, racial prejudices, and anti-racist sentiments. Collin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600-2000* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1–19. Haynes analyzes the history of the American interpretation of Noah's curse as a biblical justification for American slavery and segregation. Stephen R. Haynes, *Noah's Curse: The Biblical Justification of American Slavery* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 65–161.

[45] It is probably the oldest and certainly the most accurate Aramaic translation of the Hebrew Scriptures. It renders: "May the Lord enlarge Japheth, and may He cause His *Shekinah* [or: Divine presence] to rest in the tents of Shem; and let Canaan be a slave unto them." Moses Aberbach and Bernard Grossfield, *Targum Onkelos to Genesis: A Critical Analysis with an English Translation of the Text* (Denver, CO: Ktav, 1982), 9, 68.

[46] Philo, *On the Unchangeableness of God. On Husbandry. Concerning Noah's Work As a Planter. On Drunkenness. On Sobriety,* ed. Jeffrey Henderson, trans. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930), 479.

and others,[47] that the subject is "God" and not "Japheth."[48]

God's dwelling among the Semitic peoples primarily became a reality in the tabernacle (Exod 25:8), being especially related to the "Shekinah" glory of God, as the evidence of His presence was seen over the tabernacle in the pillar of cloud, the pillar of fire by night, and the glory that filled the tabernacle. God revealed His glorious presence again at the dedication of the Temple of Solomon (1 Kgs 8:12). Ultimately, however, this promise was fulfilled in Christ, when Emmanuel became flesh and "dwelt among us" (Matt 1:23; John 1:14).[49]

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[47] Lange points out that many historical interpreters such as Maimonides, Rashi, Aben Ezra, and the Targum of Jonathan have shared this understanding. Lange, *Commentary on the Holy Scriptures,* 1:340. For a complete reference list of interpreters, see Solomonis Glassi, *Philologia Sacra: Qua Totius SS. Veteris Et Novi Testamenti Scripturae Tum Stylus Et Literatura, Tum Sensus Et Genuinae Interpretationis Ratio Et Doctrina Libris Quinque Expenditur Ac Traditur; Qui Absolvunt A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, 340ur Philologia B. Auctori Fpeciatim Fic Dicta, Grammatica Et Rhetorica Sacra* (Lipsiae, Germany: Apud J. F. Gleditsch & Filium, 1713), 1998, cf. Lange, *Commentary on the Holy Scriptures,* 1:340.

[48] Kaiser presents his reasons for this conclusion: (1) in poetry, the subject of the preceding clause is presumed to be the subject of the next clause, when a second subject is not expressly given; (2) it is unnatural to use the indirect subject of the preceding line ("Japheth") as the subject of the next line; (3) the context of the following chapters designates Shem as being the first in the line of blessings; (4) it makes little or no sense to have Japheth living in the tents of Shem; and (5) the plan of the whole prophecy is to devote the first strophe to Canaan, the second to Shem, and the third one to all three brothers—Japheth, Shem, and Ham. Kaiser, *Mission in the Old Testament*, 5.

[49] The concept of *Shekinah* is used throughout the Old Testament to express the presence and proximity of God. Urbach points out that a survey of all the passages referring to the Shekinah leaves no doubt that the Shekinah is no "hypostasis" and has no separate existence alongside the Deity. Ephraim E. Urbach, *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs*, trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975), 1:63. The New Testament writers, however, attributed to the Son and the Spirit the glory associated with the Shekinah (Luke 2:9; 9:29; John 1:14, 32; cf. 2 Pet 1:16-18; John 1:33; 9:5; 17:22; Acts 2:3). In his epistles Paul used the concept of indwelling (Shekinah) to set forth the mystery of the incarnation (the dwelling of God in human flesh; cf. Col 1:19; 2:9; 1 Cor 2:8; Rom 6:4). In Heb 1:3 he speaks of God's supreme revelation in Jesus (cf. John 1:18), who "reflects the glory of God and bears the very stamp of his nature, upholding the universe by the word of His power." The presence of the Holy Spirit is also a representation of the Shekinah (John 1:33; Acts 2:3). Thus, the Shekinah motif helps to explain the oneness and separateness within the godhead. Dilling, *Hebrews*, 219–20.

When the third major crisis arrived, at Babel, once again God's answer was a promise. God chose a Hebrew Semite named Abraham to be His means of bringing the blessing of salvation to the entire world. The call of Abraham presents the most succinct statement of His promise-plan for all the ages to come.[50]

> The Lord had said to Abram, "Go from your country, your people and your father's household to the land I will show you. I will make you into a great nation, and I will bless you; I will make your name great, and you will be a blessing. I will bless those who bless you, and whoever curses you I will curse; and all peoples on earth will be blessed through you. (Gen 12:1-3)

According to John Stott, God's composite promise to Abraham consists of three parts. First, the promise of land. Abraham was to leave his own land believing God's promise that He would make him into a great nation and would give a land for him and his descendants (Gen 12:1; 13:14-15). Second, the promise of posterity. While the three major crises mentioned in Gen 1-11 were the direct result of humankind seeking to live independently from God in their quest for "a name," God promised Abraham that his name would be great. God would make him "the father of a multitude of nations" (Gen 17:5). Third, the promise of blessing.[51] God would personally bless him. In Gen 12:1-3, God repeats five times his determination to bless Abraham, his seed, and all the families of the earth.[52]

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[50] Victor P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1–17* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990), 370–76; Allen P. Ross, *Creation and Blessing: A Guide to the Study and Exposition of the Book of Genesis* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1988), 362–69.

[51] Baldwin contrasts the five primal curses (Gen 3:14-15; 3:17; 4:11-12; 9:25-27; 11:1-9) with the five times God promises to bless Abraham in Gen 12:1-3. Joyce Baldwin, *The Message of Genesis 12-50: From Abraham to Joseph* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1986), 28–29.

[52] Stott also suggests that an understanding of the composite promise God makes to Abraham in Gen 12:1-3 is indispensable to an understanding of the Bible and of the Christian mission. For him, these are perhaps the most unifying verses in the Bible, since the whole of God's purpose is encapsulated here.

However, Abraham's election was not a synonym for elitism or favoritism. As soon as one asks the question, "Why would God do all this for a single person?" the answer is provided: so that "all the peoples of the earth will be blessed through you."[53] The reason why Abraham was chosen was not because he was one of God's favorites. Everything he received was to be shared with "all the families of the earth."[54]

None of these blessings were given with the purpose of enhancing Abraham's status or ego. The God who chose Abraham is also the creator of the universe, the earth, and mankind. He chose Abraham and his descendants not because He had lost interest in other peoples. On the contrary, God chose one man and his family in order that, through them, he might bless all the families of the earth.[55] The salvation of the nations was God's ultimate motivation in making Abraham's name great. This universal purpose is the foundation for Abraham's calling and provides the motive for God's blessings.[56] Indeed, he and his nation were blessed so that they might be a blessing.

It should be noticed that God's promise that in Abraham's seed all the peoples of the earth would be blessed is repeated in Gen 18:18; 22:18; 26:4; and 28:14. Piper points out that in 12:3 and 28:14 the phrase "all the families" (*kol mishpahot*) is rendered in the

John Stott, "The Bible in World Evangelization," in *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement,* eds. Ralph Winter and Steven Hawthorne (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2009), 3-4.

[53] North explains, "Something like the note of universalism is already struck in these words." Christopher R. North, *The Old Testament Interpretation of History* (London: Epworth Press, 1953), 26.

[54] James McKeown, *Genesis* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 319.

[55] Richard Bauckham*, Bible and Mission: Christian Witness in a Postmodern World (*Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003), 28.

[56] H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of Genesis*, vol. 1, *Chapters 1–19* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1990), 411–15.

Greek Old Testament as *pasai hai phulai*. The word *phulai* means "tribes" in most

contexts, but *mishpaha* usually is smaller than a tribe, as is the case in the story of Achan

(Josh 7:14). Thus, God's blessing is intended to reach fairly small groups of people.[57]

In addition, the other three repetitions of this Abrahamic promise use the phrase

"all nations," which the Septuagint translates as *panta ta ethnē*, a term repeatedly used in

missionary contexts referring to groups of people.[58] Therefore, the text abundantly

suggests that God's blessing to Abraham and his seed was intended to be experienced by

all nations, clans, tribes, groups, and individuals.[59]

Stott points out that God's promises to Abraham received immediate historical

fulfillment in his physical descendants during Old Testament times. They also had an

intermediate fulfillment in Christ and His church. God raised up children of Abraham

from an unlikely source—the Gentiles (Gal 3:26-29). However, His promises will receive

ultimate fulfillment in the final destiny of the redeemed.[60] In the book of Revelation, John

sees a "great multitude that no man could number," composed of peoples from all tribes

and tongues, who have entered the final "promised land." This gathering was only made

possible "through" Abraham's seed.[61]

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[57] John Piper, *Let the Nations Be Glad! The Supremacy of God in Mission* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1993), 181–83; Karl Ludwig Schmidt, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, trans. Geoffrey Bromiley (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964), 2:365.

[58] Piper makes an extensive analysis of the term in the New Testament and suggests that the meaning of *panta ta ethnē* leans heavily in the direction of "all the nations" (groups, rather than only individuals). Piper, *Let the Nations Be Glad!*, 177–82.

[59] Kaiser, *Mission in the Old Testament*, 11.

[60] Stott, "The Bible in World Evangelization," 3-9.

[61] Ibid., 4-6.

The seed of the woman (Gen 3:15), the seed of Shem (Gen 9:27), and the seed of

Abraham (Gen 12:3) formed one collective whole of representatives of that ultimate

"Seed," Jesus Christ, who came from within this lineage of God's worshipers on earth to

be its final consummation. God's purpose was to bless one people so that they might be a

channel through which all the families of the earth might receive His blessing of

salvation.

Israel's Role in God's Universal Mission

In observing the universality of God's mission, it is important to point out that in

Gen 1-11, humankind is one and God deals with the world as a whole.[62] The calling of

Abraham, however, introduces a radical turn in God's missionary activity. In Gen 12

there is no mention of sin, suffering, and problems affecting the entire world. Quite

abruptly, one single man and his extended family are placed in the center of the picture,

and God uses them as His instruments on behalf of all the nations of the earth.[63]

The biblical narrative then moves from a single individual to a family, a tribe, and

then the nation of Israel. [64] The selection of this elect people,[65] who became the special

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[62] Roque, "Towards an Old Testament Theology," 48–49.

[63] Von Rad points out that the main question that the primeval history raises for the reader is that of the further relationship of God to the nations. After Babel it is completely broken. Is God's grace finally exhausted? The answer to this most universal of all theological questions is given with the beginning of the saving history, the call of Abraham and God's plan to bless "all the families of the earth through Abraham." Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 163–64.

[64] Glasser et al., *Announcing the Kingdom*, 55.

[65] Preuss observes that God's action of election and obligation concerning Israel has been proposed as the possible center and the most important fundamental structure of the Old Testament witness of faith. Horst Dietrich Preuss, *Old Testament Theology* (Edinburgh, Scotland: T & T Clark, 1991), 1:2. Rowley points out the universal meaning of Israel's election. He suggests that Israel was elected not because she was better than other nations. Rather, it was the miracle of divine grace that God chose her in her weakness and worthlessness (Amos 9:7), and lavished his love upon her. Nowhere is it taught in the

vessels and selected channels of God's blessings, was an act of God's love and grace (Deut 4:37; 7:6-8; 9:5; Ezra 16:3-8) for the purpose of bringing redemption to all the families of the earth. Thus, the calling of Abraham, and consequently that of Israel, must be seen in the light of God's purpose of salvation for the nations.

Blauw boldly suggests that the whole history of Israel, therefore, is just the continuation of God's dealing with the nations, and for this reason, the history of Israel is only to be understood through the unsolved problem of the relation of God to the nations.[66] He explains that the universal purpose of the election of Israel is that the nations of the whole world recognize God as the Lord over all the earth.

In addition, Vriezen points out that Israel was only elected in order to serve God in the task of leading those other nations to God. In Israel God sought the world. Israel was God's point of attack on the world.[67]

Old Testament that God chose Israel because of her inherent greatness; yet there are passages where it is held that Israel's greatness lies in the fact that that God chose her (Isa 60:11, cf. 61:5, 9). Nonetheless, Israel is not so much destined to receive honor from men as to fulfill the purpose of her election in the service of men. Rowley emphasizes that the purpose of election is service, and when the service is withheld, the election loses its meaning and even becomes the motive for divine punishment (Amos 3:2). H. H. Rowley, *The Biblical Doctrine of Election* (London: Lutterworth, 1950), 18–19, 52. As a matter of fact, the idea that God's election is to be explained as favoritism is associated with the great sin of the apostasy of Israel. Blauw, *Missionary Nature of the Church*, 23. Kohler adds that election is not something indestructible. Election stands side by side with rejection (Isa 41:9). Ludwig Kohler, *Old Testament Theology*, trans. A. S. Todd (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1957), 82.

[66] Blauw, *Missionary Nature of the Church*, 22. For Glasser, the history of Israel is the elaboration of what has been related in Gen 1-11. Glasser et al., *Announcing the Kingdom*, 19. For Wright, "God's business with Israel is really his unfinished business with the rest of the world." Christopher J. H. Wright, *The Mission of God's People: A Biblical Theology of the Church's Mission* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2010), 219. Von Rad has convincingly established the connection between the primeval history (Gen 1-11) and the history of the origin of Israel (Gen 12). Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 161–65. Using a literary metaphor, Atkinson suggests that Gen 1-11 is a prologue and an explanation, while Gen 12 onward is the answer to the questions posed by the prologue. Atkinson, *Message of Genesis 1-11,* 188.

[67] Th. C. Vriezen*, An Outline of the Old Testament Theology,* 2nd ed. (Oxford, UK: H. Veenman and Zonen, 1970), 88. Moskala points out that there were no Old Testament people of God without a mission, and that there is no election without a commission. God's call presupposes a call for action. Biblical theology is a mission-oriented theology. The Hebrew Scripture knows nothing about an election

The inevitable question that follow this suggestion is: How would this purpose be accomplished? The history of Israel seems to evidence that (1) the sovereignty of God was the overriding principle, the underling factor, assuring that God's purpose would be accomplished; (2) separation was the condition to be observed; and (3) an active presence among the nations was the methodology to be applied.

The Sovereignty of God

God's sovereignty demands a realm over which He has dominion and a narrative explaining his interaction with it.[68] Scripture evidences that His realm is all that is, and salvation history[69] is the account of God's activities fulfilling in history His eternal and inevitable purposes.

Even though God reigns over all the nations and is king over all the earth (Ps 47:2, 7), when He chose Israel to be His vehicle of redemptive grace, the Lord's kingship

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for salvation, but knows an election for mission (Exod 3:7–10; 7:1–2; 19:5–6; Jer 1:5)! Jiří Moskala, "The Mission of God's People in the Old Testament," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 19, nos. 1-2 (2008): 40–60.

[68] Merrill points out that creation alone is sufficient to show that the sovereignty of God is a major theme in the Old Testament. For him, it is not inaccurate to consider it the major theme, the overriding principle of biblical thought around which everything else revolves. He goes on to suggest that this concept encapsulates the essence of the biblical message and, indeed, is the theological center of Scripture. H. Merrill, *Everlasting Dominion: A Theology of the Old Testament* (Nashville, TN: Broadman and Holman, 2006), 138, 147, 155.

[69] Cullman succinctly defines the salvation history as the divine sequence of events. In his well known work *Salvation in History*, he proposes to discuss every aspect of the content of this history—its origin, its total importance, its relation to eschatology. Oscar Cullman, *Salvation in History* (London: SCM Press, 1967), 14, 21. For an Old Testament interpretation of the salvation history see Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 121–28.

became increasingly focused on that nation.[70] His strategy was to make Israel an expression of the kingdom of God on earth and use them as an agent to mediate His revealed will and implement His sovereign purposes.[71]

The divine strategy required that God entered into a special relationship with His chosen people in order to enable them to fulfill the purpose of their call. Vriezen points out that because Israel came to know Yahweh through His liberating action in history, she knew that her continued existence derived from and depended on God's acts in history.[72] The Israelites saw their national history as an arena for divine interventions. They came to know God better by studying His acts in history. Events such as the plagues of Egypt and the giving of the Sinai covenant were interpreted not as a national heritage but as divine revelation.[73] God is at work within the narrative of the history of

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[70] Merrill analyzes God's rule over Israel and the following human challenges to divine kingship, until the moment when a human monarchy would be conceived to coexist with the rule of the Lord, or perhaps even supplant it. Ironically, it was after the legitimate human kingship of David and his royal house was brought to pass that the theologians of Israel returned to the notion of God's overarching sovereignty, of which David's rule was merely a physical and political expression. Merrill, *Everlasting Dominion*, 138.

[71] Andrew E. Steinmann and Michael Schelbach, eds., *Called to be God's People: An Introduction to the Old Testament* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2015), 50, 52; Merrill, *Everlasting Dominion*, 138, 155.

[72] Th. C. Vriezen, *The Religion of Ancient Israel* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1967), 74. Preuss points out that the event of the exodus was grounded in Israel's relationship with God and in its knowledge of God. Preuss, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:47.

[73] Bill T. Arnold and Bryan E. Beyer, *Encountering the Old Testament: A Christian Survey* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2015), 42.

His people—explicitly or behind the scenes—initiating, reacting, controlling.[74] Their

religious ideas, therefore, were oriented to be theological and grounded in history.[75]

Moreover, while Israel's surrounding nations had a polytheistic worldview and

linked their gods to their homelands, Israel had enough evidence to understand their God

not as a national God but as the only true God, the Lord of all the nations, who ruled over

all peoples.[76] The whole earth belongs to Him and His sovereignty knows no boundaries

(Exod 9:14, 16, 29).[77] The Israelites learned this lesson in a very practical way as God

manifested His kingship by bringing the nations under Israel's ultimate control.[78]

Thus, God's sovereignty, exercised in the history of His chosen people in the

form of miraculous acts of deliverance, continuous guidance, and special revelations, was

the determining factor that enabled Israel to know their God, and consequently, fulfill

their commission to transmit this knowledge to all the nations of the earth. Additionally,

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[74] Christopher J. H. Wright, *Living as the People of God: The Relevance of the Old Testament Ethics* (Leicester, UK: InterVarsity Press, 1983), 24.

[75] Vriezen, *Religion of Ancient Israel*, 74. Wright explains that the Israelites' faith was historically generated, grounded, and sustained. Wright, *Living as the People*, 24.

[76] Daniel Isaac Block, *The Gods of the Nations: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern National Theology* (Jackson, MS: Evangelical Theological Society, 1988), 74–96. Arnold and Beyer suggest that God's supreme dominion is further demonstrated by the fact that wherever Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, and the nation of Israel traveled across the ancient Near East, God assured them of His presence, protection, and guidance. The universal scope of His dominion stands in contrast to that of other deities, whose jurisdiction had definite geographical limits. Arnold and Beyer, *Encountering the Old Testament,* 41; Kaiser, *Mission in the Old Testament,* 51–53; Glasser et al., *Announcing the Kingdom,* 20–21.

[77] Wright, *Mission of God,* 75–83.

[78] Merrill uses Israel's deliverance from slavery in Egypt as an example. He suggests that Pharaoh's decision "I will not let Israel go" (Exod 5:2) is a blatant denial of the Lord's right to rule. Venerated as a quasi-divine being, Pharaoh correctly understood the transcendent nature of the contest in which he was engaged. It was not just a struggle between God and men, but between God and the gods. Merrill, *Everlasting Dominion*, 140, 157. Furthermore, whenever Israel failed in fulfilling its commission, God's sovereignty was once again displayed as God used the nations to punish His people.

whenever Israel failed in fulfilling the purpose of its call, God's sovereignty was once again the determining factor assuring that His salvific purpose would still be accomplished.[79]

Israel's Separation

The sovereign God is supreme in His moral character. When He draws people to Himself, He invites them to imitate His character (Lev 11:44; 19:2).[80] He delivered the Israelites from their captivity in Egypt and invited them to be His own people. He revealed Himself to them in unmistakable ways through unique interventions in their history. But He expected this singular relationship to produce a peculiar people.[81] This singularity should be evidenced in their way of life, religious system, and social principles.[82] Their society as a whole should be forever transformed into a model to be

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[79] Kaiser points out that God bound Himself by an unilateral oath to the promise that every ethnic group of the earth would receive the blessing of God's grace and the invitation to joyfully participate in worshiping and serving Him. Kaiser, *Mission in the Old Testament*, xiii.

[80] Arnold and Beyer, *Encountering the Old Testament,* 42.

[81] Wright points out that Israel's distinctiveness had a historical, a religious, and an ethical dimension. Wright, *Living as the People*, 35–40.

[82] Dever points out that God's people should be distinguished from the nations by the way they live. They must not worship idols. They must treat their servants with care. They must ensure that justice is done; that responsibility is taken; that property is respected; that compassion is shown. There must be no child sacrifice or sorcery. They must be transparent and show concern for honest weights. They should care for the poor, the blind and the deaf, the elderly and the foreigner. This is the compassionate God (Gen 22:27) who wants His people to be like Him (Lev 17:7; 18:21; 19:35-36; 5:7, 11; 19:14; 19:32; 19:15). Additionally, among God's people no one should curse their parents, commit adultery, engage in homosexuality or bestiality, participate in the worship of mediums or cult prostitution, blaspheme the Lord, or commit murder. God's people should be marked by the exclusive worship of Him, by respect for others, and by faithfulness and purity in their relationships. Mark Dever, *The Message of the Old Testament: Promises Made* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 2006), 95, 117, 119.

admired and imitated by all the nations of the world.[83] Thus, God's intention was to reveal to the world His character through the special people He called out from the world.[84]

More importantly, Israel was aware of the character of the God they served. They knew they were expected to live in a way that would honor Him. Their relationship with God implied obedience, and obedience demanded separation from the practices of the surrounding nations in order to appropriately represent their God.[85] Wright points out that they were to live as a society that was clearly distinct from the surrounding cultures.

> You must not do as they do in Egypt, where you used to live, and you must not do as they do in the land of Canaan, where I am bringing you. Do not follow their practices. You must obey my laws and be careful to follow my decrees. I am the Lord your God. (Lev 18:1-5)

God's requirement that Israel stay separate especially concerned intermarriage and the worship of idols (Gen 24:3; 26:34-35; 35:2-5). One logical reason why God established these conditions was that worshiping other gods would disqualify them from serving as representatives of the true God. Moreover, God knew that intermarriage would be a powerful trap to lead them into idolatry, as clearly exemplified whenever they refused to follow this instruction (Josh 25:1-3; 1 Kgs 11:1-6). So He vigorously forbade those practices.

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[83] In regards to the social, economic, and political characteristics of the Israelite society see Christopher J. H. Wright, *Walking the Ways of the Lord: The Ethical Authority of the Old Testament* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1995), 149–62.

[84] Dever suggests that two special ways God uses to reveal his character in the book of Genesis are Creation and the people of Israel. Dever, *Message of the Old Testament,* 75.

[85] Baldwin, *Message of Genesis 12-50,* 224.

Additionally, God wanted to restore His character within His own people. That was the only way they would be able to represent Him to the nations of the world.[86] So, when God set into motion his plan of restoration, He underscored these principles in order to help them recover those creation truths.[87]

Furthermore, it is important to point out that the designation "nations" does not have a political or national meaning, but a religious meaning.[88] The nations were a threat to Israel's safety, but mainly a temptation in respect to religion. Blauw explains that whenever Israel could not withstand the temptation to flirt with the gods of the surrounding nations and let themselves be yoked with them, they forgot the purpose of their existence and were conquered by the other nations.[89]

Finally, the necessity of Israel's separation should not be mistaken for "particularism." It is true that some form of particularism is taking place, since God made a specific choice for a particular people. However, God had a worldwide goal in mind.

This intention is specially reaffirmed in Exod 19:5-6, in the context of the Sinaitic Covenant. The very same words that are employed to point out the importance of Israel's separation reveal God's universal agenda. Wright explains that the references to "all

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[86] Wright points out that Israel's response to God's palpable actions in their history should be nothing less than the reproduction of the character of God Himself. What God as the Lord had done was revelatory of His identity and character. Israel, in turn, was expected to live in the light of such knowledge. Christopher J. H. Wright, *Old Testament Ethics for the People of God* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 35.

[87] Dever, *Message of the Old Testament*, 75.

[88] In the context of the Bible, this is a religious term that expresses a theological concept. Roger E. Hedlund, *The Mission of the Church in the World: A Biblical Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books House, 1985), 67.

[89] Blauw, *Missionary Nature of the Church*, 26.

nations" and "the whole earth" in these verses serve primarily to emphasize the special

status, identity, and role of Israel in that wider context. He goes on to remark that in such

an important context, at such a crucial juncture in Israel's pilgrimage, at such a pivotal

point in God's historical address to them, the double reference to this universal dimension

("all nations," "the whole earth") is very telling.[90]

God's vision and intention reaches the whole earth and all nations. Israel is

singular, but the God who addresses them has a universal agenda. Therefore, the

particularity of the means should not obliterate the universality of the purpose God

wanted to accomplish through Israel.[91]

Active Presence among the Nations

There has been a long debate among scholars concerning how exactly God

expected Israel to share His message of salvation with all the families of the earth. A

number of authors claim that there is no direct mandate, no specific call to evangelize the

world in the Old Testament.[92]

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[90] Wright, *Mission of God's People,* 218–19.

[91] We agree with Blauw on the understanding that the word particularism is unsuited to define the task and place of Israel, for it arouses misunderstandings and associations with isolationism, separatism, and individualism. Blauw suggests that the scheme particularisms and universalism should be discarded. Blauw, *Missionary Nature of the Church*, 24.

[92] The literature includes Blauw, who differentiates between the "universal" and the "missionary" message of the Old Testament. He states that we must be much more reserved in speaking of the missionary message of the Old Testament than its universal message. Ibid., 17. Kidner points out that the extension of Israel's witness was limited to a priestly role. Kidner, *Genesis,* 13. Hahn points out, "There is an absence of a divine commission for the purpose and of any conscious outgoing to the Gentiles to win them for belief in Yahweh." Ferdinand Hahn, *Mission in the New Testament* (Naperville, IL: A. R. Allenson, 1965), 20. Preuss suggests that Gen 12:1-3 speaks of an existence or being that blesses, rather than an active mediation of blessing. The nations would be blessed by participating in Israel's blessing. Preuss, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:182. Schnabel asserts that the blessing for the nations is a promise, not a command. Rather, the nations are promised divine blessing if and when they see Abraham's faith in YHWH and if and when they establish contact with his descendants (cf. Gen 22:61-18). Eckhard J.

According to this line of interpretation, Israel was commissioned not to deliberately proclaim God's message of salvation, but to perform a passive role, witnessing by being a community that adequately represented God's character to the world.[93] Blauw suggests that God's intention was that Israel would draw the attention of the nations and make them eager to share in their blessings.[94] Furthermore, Israel should perform a priestly role in the world as God's mediator.[95] Just as Israel's priests were chosen to be the servants of God and His people, Israel as a whole was chosen to be the servant of God and all peoples. Their role as priests would have a missional function and purpose. Thus, Exod 19:4–6 carries forward the intention of Gen 12:1–3 in the saving purposes of God for the world.[96]

Wright explains the extension of Israel's priesthood by pointing out that priests stood between God and the people in an intermediate position, teaching God's law to the

Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 1:20, 1:63. Martin-Achard observes that although the welfare of the families of the earth is linked with that of Abraham and his descendants, no missionary task is imposed upon them—that is, they are not required to participate in human effort for the conversion of the families of the earth. Robert Martin-Achard, *A Light to the Nations: A Study of the Old Testament Conception of Israel's Mission to the World*, trans. John Penney Smith (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1962), 34. For Goheen, mission in the Old Testament means "something different from intentional activities to incorporate outsiders into the believing community." Michael W. Goheen, *A Light to the Nations: The Missional Church and the Biblical Story* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2011), 24. Hans LaRondelle emphasizes that Israel was elected to be a blessing to all as a "kingdom of priests" and a "holy nation." This bestowed on Israel the mission to be priestly mediators to all Gentile nations, in continuity with the Abrahamic covenant. Thus Israel was to play a role in the missionary purpose of God. Hans K. LaRondelle, *Our Creator Redeemer: An Introduction to Biblical Covenant Theology* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2005), 31–34.

[93] Dean Flemming, *Recovering the Full Mission of God: A Biblical Perspective on Being, Doing, and Telling* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2013), 22.

[94] Blauw, *Missionary Nature of the Church*, 22.

[95] George Peters, *A Biblical Theology of Missions* (Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1972), 114–15.

[96] Wright, *Mission of God's People*, 121.

people (Lev 10:11, Deut 33:10) and bringing the people's sacrifices to God (Lev 1-7).

Likewise, as the people of YHWH, Israel was to exist among the nations, living in

obedience to the law, in order to attract the nations to the living God. In this way, they

would transmit the knowledge of God to the nations, and bring the nations to the means

of atonement with God.[97] In short, if Israel lived as God intended, then the nations would

notice their presence.

On the other hand, many scholars believe that Israel did receive a missionary

mandate and the Old Testament is, in fact, a missionary message to the Gentiles and the

nations of the world.[98]

In recent years, Kaiser has been one of the strongest defenders of this position. He

summarizes his view by suggesting that God's purpose of using Israel as a missionary

force originates first in the universal scope of Gen 1-11 and then more definitely in Gen

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[97] Ibid.

[98] Prominent among them is Kaiser, who suggests, "Centrifugal witnessing (outward-moving) is the role assigned to Israel as it was to share actively with others the Man of Promise who was to come." He says that God intended Israel to be a "witnessing, proclaiming, and an evangelizing nation." Kaiser, *Mission in the Old Testament,* xiii, xiv, 31; Kaiser, "Israel's Missionary Call," 11, 16. Peters affirms, "Israel exists for the nations and finds true meaning only in world missions." Peters, *Biblical Theology of Missions*, 127. Rowley emphatically suggests that despite the fact that Judaism is not a missionary religion, the Old Testament is a missionary book and Israel was called to be a missionary people. H. H. Rowley, *The Missionary Message of the Old Testament* (London: Carey Kingsgate Press, 1955), 76. According to Verkuyl, Israel's election was a call to service and involved a duty to witness among the nations. J. Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology: An Introduction,* trans. and ed. Dale Cooper (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1978), 94–95. Filbeck quotes Isa 42:6–67, Zech 8:22-23, and Ezra 39:7, among other texts, to points out that Israel was not commissioned to be a "silent witness," as a light passively shines in the darkness. They were actively "to make known among the nations what God has done, and proclaim that his name is exalted." Filbeck, *God of the Gentiles*, 113–14. For Moskala, the mission and the message of the Old Testament people belong firmly together. The mission includes the proclamation of the message. Moskala, "Mission of God's People," 40–41. Skip MacCarty suggests that the non-missionary involvement of Israel is not a God-given mandate, but evidence of Israel's failure in fulfilling God's commission to evangelize the nations. That is the reason why Isaiah confessed on Israel's behalf: "We have not brought salvation to the earth; we have not given birth to the people of the world" (Isa 26:18). Skip MacCarty, *In Granite or Ingrained?* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2007), 17.

12:3, but it achieves its clearest definition in the "Servant of the Lord" passages in Isaiah 42 and 49, where Israel, that servant, was appointed to be a "light to the nations."[99] For him, being a light in this context does not have a passive connotation. On the contrary, as Israel actively fulfilled their commission as a witnessing, proclaiming, and evangelizing nation, the Gentiles would be brought to the light.[100]

Blauw admits that in Isa 42:1-7 and 49:1-7, the Servant directly calls the nations themselves to salvation. He also points out that the Servant is best conceived as a "corporate personality," who can be understood as both individual and collective, and concludes that there is a real justification for speaking of a missionary calling of Israel.[101]

God's compassion and intention of salvation embraces all nations, and for this reason, the message of the Old Testament transcended Israel's borders. Prophets of God were not only speaking to their own people, but prophesying about many nations as well. God will judge all (Isa 2:4; 13–23; Jer 46–51; Ezek 25–32; Amos 1–2; Joel 3:12; Jonah; Obad; Mic 4:3), and His warnings to people were not without a purpose. He always wanted to lead them to repentance (Gen 6:3; Jonah 3).[102]

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[99] Kaiser, *Mission in the Old Testament*, 31.

[100] Kaiser also analyses Psalms 67, 96, and 100 to conclude that the Jewish audience is being ordered to "sing to the Lord," as well as to "proclaim his salvation day after day," and "declare His glory among the nations." He makes a special mention of the Hebrew word for "proclaim" (Hebrew root *bāśar*), which is the Old Testament equivalent of the New Testament word *euangelizomai*, "to bring good news." Ibid., 33. For Peters, "The Psalter is one of the greatest missionary books in the world." He lists Psalms 2, 33, 66, 72, 98, 117, and 145 to suggest, "Not only the Psalms are permeated with references of universal connotations, but whole Psalms are missionary messages and challenges." Peters, *Biblical Theology of Missions,* 117.

[101] Blauw, *Missionary Nature of the Church*, 31–32. Blauw, however, suggests that understanding the Servant of the Lord as an eschatological figure would be more appropriate.

[102] Moskala, "Mission of God's People," 43–44.

Additionally, it is recognized that stories of pagans like Ruth and Naaman who accepted the faith of Israel indicate the missionary nature of the Old Testament.[103] Moreover, it cannot be denied that individuals from inside and outside the community of God's people, such as Abraham and Melchizedek, Moses and Jethro, and Jonah and Balaam, were agents of God's mission.[104]

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[103] David J. Bosch, "Reflection on Biblical Models of Mission," in *Towards the 21st Century in Christian Mission*, ed. James M. Phillips and Robert T. Coote (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993), 175–76.

[104] Bryant Hicks, "Old Testament Foundations for Mission," in *Missiology: An Introduction to the Foundations, History, and Strategies of the World Mission*, ed. John Mark Terry, Ebbie Smith, and Justice Anderson (Nashville, TN: Broadman and Holman, 1998), 53–62. Moskala offers specific examples of active witnessing in the Old Testament. Moskala, "Mission of God's People," 48–50.

I agree with Bosch,[105] Wright,[106] Verkuyl,[107] Moskala,[108] and others[109] in their broader view of the subject. My understanding is that the missionary God of the Bible had a missionary purpose for His chosen people that was not confined exclusively to being a *passive presence* among the nations or an *active evangelistic agent*, but was a mandatory combination of both elements. These two dimensions of their call are not mutually exclusive and were indeed designed to be indispensable complementary

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[105] According to Bosch, it is true that the Old Testament views mission predominantly in centripetal categories, but not exclusively so. The metaphor of light in Isa 42:6, 49:6 is particularly appropriate to give expression to both centripetal and centrifugal movements. David Bosch, "Witness to the World," in *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement,* eds. Ralph Winter and Steven Hawthorne (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2009)*,* 78–79; see also David Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 1, 15-16, 19, 372.

[106] Wright points out that the dual movement in the priestly role of Israel (from God to people, and from people to God) is reflected in prophetic visions concerning the nations, which included both centrifugal and centripetal dynamics. There would be a going out from God and a coming in to God. On the one hand, the law, or the justice, or the light of YHWH would go out to the nations from Israel or from Zion (e.g., Isa 42:1–4). On the other hand, the nations could be pictured as coming to YHWH, or to Israel, or to Jerusalem/Zion (e.g., Isa 2:2–5, 60:1–3; Zech 2:11). Wright, *Mission of God's People*, 123.

[107] While admitting the validity and significance of the concept of presence in relation to the mission of Israel, Verkuyl emphatically argues, "I simply do not understand why various writers make such a point as avowing that the Old Testament makes absolutely no mention of a missionary mandate. In my opinion, this is an exaggeration." After presenting examples of individuals who joined the community of God's people in the desert, heathens who left their origins by a word-and-deed witness and were won over to trust and serve the living God, the wisdom literature, the impact of Judaism during the diaspora, and other evidence, he concludes that God's people "heard and understood their call to witness directly as well as by their presence." Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology*, 94–95.

[108] Moskala explains that the mission of God's people is twofold: (1) Centripetal. For Israel's children, it had an inward focus, since they were required to pass the account of God's goodness from each generation to the next (Exod 12:24–27; Deut 6:4–9; Isa 38:19). Additionally, Israel would witness by being a living example of God's intervening grace. When nations saw what God had done for them, they would recognize the God of Israel as a living God and would follow Him because He was the true King (Josh 2:9–14; Isa 61:9–11; Ezra 20:12; 36:23; 38:23; 39:7, 27–29). (2) Centrifugal. Their efforts should be directed toward others who did not belong to the community of faith. Moskala, "Mission of God's People," 43–55.

[109] Flemming warns that the fact that the nations will come to Israel does not mean that Israel's witness is merely passive or that there is no place for telling God's story. Flemming, *Recovering the Full Mission*, 46. Legrand affirms, "The mission of Israel in the Old Testament is a response to the double summons, 'come!' and, 'go!'" Lucien Legrand, *Unity and Plurality: Mission in the Bible,* trans. Robert R. Barr (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1990), 30.

elements in their experience as God's people. Thus, Israel was called to be what could be defined as an *active presence* in the world. They were chosen to exemplify in their lives the special message of salvation that they were commissioned to share with all the families of the earth.

God's call is always a call for action: action in following His instructions in order to be a living representation of His character as a nation of priests (passive witness), and action in intentionally proclaiming His unique message of salvation (active witness). Consequently, both living God's will and proclaiming His message have a missional function and are only different components of the same commission: to be a blessing to all the families of the earth. Additional reasons for this conclusion are presented below.

First, it is important to recognize that one should not interpret the Old Testament missionary call of Israel based on a New Testament or, even more, a modern definition of mission: the sending out of missionary teams across geographic, cultural, and political boundaries in order to proclaim God's message.[110] Moskala explains that the basic nature of the Old Testament is that of a storybook with a metanarrative on salvation and not a handbook on mission.[111] The concern of the Old Testament writers is not to present direct commands to do mission as people understand it today, but instead to narrate stories that express hints and observations, as well as some explicit statements, revealing the mission of God's people in the specific circumstance of their own history.

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[110] Legrand suggests that this is a reductionist view that "assigns priority to certain rare Old Testament texts that might be understood in this fashion, and all the rest—the entire history of the people of God—becomes groping in the dark, a preliminary stage, the manifestation of an imperfect sense of mission." Legrand, *Unity and Plurality*, 28–30; see also Flemming, *Recovering the Full Mission*, 46.

[111] Moskala, "Mission of God's People," 41–42.

Preuss remarks that the narrative of the ancestors focuses on telling the story of divine guidance and community with God. This means that whereas we tend to look for definitions, these narratives tell stories of how God has established a personal relationship with a particular people. The conceptualization of what is narrated occurs later, as the following texts indicate (Ps 105:6; Exod 3:7, 10; 5:3, 8).[112] In like manner, the stories of Melchizedek, Ruth, Job, the people of Nineveh described in the book of Jonah, and many others in the Old Testament are "windows through which we may look out on the vast expanse of people outside the nation of Israel and hear the faint strains of the missionary call to all people already sounding forth."[113]

Second, it has been recognized that in the Old Testament, God is the originator and perfecter of mission, the missionary par excellence.[114] Moskala rightly observes that, if this is so, one can deduce that God will not do it Himself, but His working method will utilize humans to accomplish His objective (Gen 12:1–3; Exod 19:4–6).[115] Cooperation between the "human" and the "divine" in order to accomplish God's purpose is evident throughout the Bible (Exod 3-14; 1 Kgs 18; Acts 10, 12, 16). Thus, the Old Testament involves both individuals and the community of God's people, actively and passively cooperating with God in His work of reversing what took place as a result of the Fall.[116]

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[112] Preuss, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:31.

[113] Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology*, 95.

[114] Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 19; see also Bosch, "Witness to the World," 78–79.

[115] Moskala, "Mission of God's People," 42.

[116] A. Scott Moreau, Gary R. Corwin, and Gary B. McGee, *Introducing World Missions: A Biblical, Historical and Practical Survey* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2004), 37.

Third, the universality of God's mission in the Old Testament is portrayed with such vivid colors that even the superficial reader will likely notice it. It is not peripheral, but rather is "the intent of the Old Testament revelation because it constitutes the dominant purpose of the call, life, and ministry of Israel."[117] This universal mission is gradually unfolded in the primeval,[118] patriarchal,[119] Mosaic,[120] and prophetic ages.[121] Admirably, throughout those epochs, both dimensions of God's missionary call can be observed. Whether proclaiming the name of the Lord like Seth (Gen 4:26) or walking with God like Enoch (Gen 5:24); running away from Potiphar's wife like Joseph (Gen 39:9) or proclaiming the might of the true God to Pharaoh like Moses (Exod 5:1); keeping the Sabbath in the wilderness (Exod 20:8-11) or absorbing Rahab into the community of Israel (Jas 6:23); privately praying in a room (Dan 6) or publicly interpreting a God-given dream (Dan 2); they are all God's people participating in God's universal mission.

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[117] Peters, *Biblical Theology of Missions*, 129.

[118] See our previous section on "The Universality of God's Mission in Genesis 1-11: The Spread of Sin, Spread of Grace." Additionally, it should be noticed that the first intentional mission activities in the Bible can be detected in Gen 4:26b when Seth "began to proclaim/preach the name of the Lord."

[119] Abraham's universal mission was repeated to Isaac ("And through your offspring all nations on earth will be blessed," Gen 26:4) and reaffirmed to Jacob (Gen 28:13–15; 35:11–12; 46:3) and Moses (Exod 3:6–8; 6:2–8). Moskala, "Mission of God's People," 47.

[120] God called Moses and sent him to be His representative in Egypt in order to explicitly introduce the Living God to Pharaoh. At the same time, Moses together with Israel needed to continue this universal mission to the whole world, starting by being a light to the Egyptians.

[121] Isaiah 40-55 offers one of the most mission-centered messages of the prophetic age. Antony Billington, Tony Lane, and Max Turner, eds. *Mission and Meaning: Essays Presented to Peter Cotterell* (Carlisle, PA: Paternoster Press, 1995), 3-10; Rudi Maier, ed., *Encountering God in Life and Mission: A Festschrift Honoring Jon L. Dybdahl* (Berrien Springs, MI: Department of World Mission, Andrews University, 2010), 51–59.

Like a lonely witness in the desert, in Canaan, or in foreign lands, the Old

Testament people of God boldly proclaimed revelational ethical monotheism against the

degraded surrounding polytheism.[122] When they faced internal corruption or external

threat, God's sovereignty assured their protection and preservation, in order that His

universal purpose of salvation would be fulfilled. Consequently, it could be said that the

Old Testament does not contain mission, it is itself mission in the world.

The Missionary Sending Nature of God

The missionary God of the Bible is a sending God.[123] Starting in the opening

chapters of the book of Genesis, we are confronted with a personal God who is not silent,

a God who acts,[124] a God who sends.[125] God's sending activity is rooted in His

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[122] Peters, *Biblical Theology of Missions*, 129.

[123] John Stott, *Christian Mission in the Modern World* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1975), 20. Hastings remarks that Kahler's bold epistemological statement, "Mission is the mother of theology," is a recognition that the core of theology is that God is the sending God, and that we can only know this because of God's two missions: the sending of the Son and the sending of the Holy Spirit. The personal missions of God have revealed the essence of His being as Father, Son, and Spirit, leading us to understand God as trinity. Hastings, *Missional God, Missional Church,* 248–49. Dubose presents a comprehensive survey and examination of all the sending passages in the Bible for their likely theological content. Francis M. Dubose, *God Who Sends* (Nashville, TN: Broadman Press, 1983), 41–52, 60–67; Stevens portrays God as the Sender, Sent, and Sending God (John 17:18; cf. 16:5-16; 20:21-22). Stevens, *The Other Six Days*, 194, quoting C. Guton, *The Promise of Trinitarian Theology* (Edinburgh, Scotland: T & T Clark, 1991).

[124] For an overview of different aspects of God's actions in Scripture, see David J. Downs and Matthew L. Skinner, eds., *The Unrelenting God: God's Action in Scripture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2013); for a theological exploration on divine action, see Andreas Loos, "Divine Action and the Trinity: A Brief Exploration of the Grounds of Trinitarian Speech About God in the Theology of Adolf Schlatter," *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 4, no. 3 (2002): 255–77.

[125] Timothy C. Tennent, *Invitation to World Missions: A Trinitarian Missiology for the Twenty-First Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 2010), 105. Davidson goes on to affirm that in creation we find God's original mission of love, the Father sending forth His Spirit (Gen 1:2; cf. Ps 104:30), and His Son, the Word (Gen 1:3; John 1:1), on a mission to create the universe ("the heavens and the earth," Gen 1:1), and in particular, this world. Davidson, "God's Mission (*Missio Dei*)," 5.

character.[126] Since the creator God sent Adam and Eve away from the Garden of Eden, He has continued to involve Himself with creation, sending various messengers in order to bridge the gap caused by sin, to reveal Himself and His will, and to accomplish His purpose of restoring this planet to its original state.

The Hebrew verb *salah*, meaning "to send," occurs over two hundred times in the Old Testament with God as the subject of the sending.[127] McDaniel analyzes the usage of the word *salah* in the Old Testament and provides four basic aspects that could help to better understand God's sending activity. First, sending is associated with purpose. It is an extension of the will of the sender. For instance, God sends Abraham because there is a divine purpose that is going to be accomplished through this act of sending. Second, sending is frequently linked to authority. It displays the authority of God, exercising His will over the affairs of the earth.[128] Third, those being sent are expected to obey, since God's sending is a commission that requires obedience. Fourth, sending often involves the use of messengers, such as people, angels (Gen 19:3), plagues (Exod 9:14), wild beasts (Ezra 14:21), abundant harvests (Joel 2:19), and Gentile rulers (2 Kgs 15:37).[129]

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[126] Craig Ott, Stephen J. Strauss, and Timothy C. Tennent, *Encountering Theology of Mission: Biblical Foundations, Historical Developments, and Contemporary Issues* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2010), 66.

[127] Ferris L. McDaniel, "Mission in the Old Testament," in *Mission in the New Testament: An Evangelical Approach*, ed. William J. Larkin Jr. and Joel F. Williams (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1998), 11. God's sending activity in the Old Testament is especially associated with the sending of prophets. A few examples are: Jer 7:25–26; 25:4; 29:19; 2 Chr 36:15; Judg 6:8; 1 Sam 15:1; 2 Sam 12:1; 2 Kgs 2:2–6; 17:13; 2 Chr 25:15; Isa 48:16; Hag 1:12; Zech 6:15; Mal 4:5. Ott, Strauss, and Tennent, *Encountering Theology of Mission*, 65–67.

[128] The New Testament centurion recognizes that summoning and sending imply authority. Likewise, Jesus introduces His commission with a declaration of universal authority.

[129] McDaniel, "Mission in the Old Testament," 12–15.

Wright points out that when God sends people, it is most often either to act as agents of His deliverance and salvation, or to declare a message that somebody needs to hear (whether they want to or not).[130] In other words, God's sending is closely connected to two of the great actions of God in and for Old Testament Israel—salvation and revelation.[131] Thus, throughout the Old Testament, God is sending that which will be in the best interest of His people and will accomplish His sovereign purposes on earth.

Sending has been defined as the divine *modus operandi*.[132] Whenever God is about to move forward to advance His mission, He reveals to His servants what He is about to do, inviting them to join Him so that every aspect of His mission will be accomplished through them.[133] A few examples are presented below.

God sent forth Abraham[134] from his homeland in Haran to an unknown destination (Gen 12:1), because He wanted to bless the peoples of all nations through Abraham and his descendants (Gen 12:1-3, cf. 18:18; Ps 72:17).[135] However, years after

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[130] Wright, *Mission of God's People*, 203.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Dubose, *God Who Sends,* 41–52.

[133] Henry T. Blackaby and Avery T. Willis, Jr., "On Mission with God," in *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement,* eds. Ralph Winter and Steven Hawthorne (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2009), 75. In like manner, the notion of mission in cooperation with God is central in the New Testament. Mark Dever, *The Message of the New Testament: Promises Kept* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 2005), 136–38; Hastings, *Missional God, Missional Church,* 246.

[134] Old Testament scholar Christopher Wright translates the opening phrase of the covenant as "Get yourself up and go!" Wright, *Mission of God*, 200.

[135] LaRondelle, *Our Creator Redeemer*, 22. For Gulley, even though the covenant made with Noah and his sons was everlasting and assured the maintenance of life on planet earth, the covenant-God is the redeemer-God and His greater mission was, and is, to let people know about eternal life, something far more than the rainbow promised. That is the reason why he calls and sends Abraham. Norman R. Gulley, *Systematic Theology: God as Trinity* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2011), 316. Pierson clarifies that the word *bless* in Hebrew is something that unites men and women with God and each other and brings them into a permanent fellowship. That was God's ultimate intention by sending Abraham. Paul

this promise was given, the chosen people remained a relatively small clan. Therefore,

God sent Joseph as the embryo of His chosen nation to Egypt (Gen 45:8), a land that

offered the necessary conditions for the fulfillment of the divine purpose.[136]

Four hundred years later, when the Israelites became an enslaved people, the God

of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob continued the progressive unfolding of His divine plan of

salvation by reaffirming to Moses the promises made to his ancestors.[137] God then sent

Moses to announce the good news of deliverance from captivity (Exod 3:6–8, 6:2–8), and

to present to Egypt the true God (Exod 3:10–15; Deut 34:11; 1 Sam 12:8; Ps 105:26). In

the following years, Moses and the Israelites were commissioned to continue God's

universal mission during their pilgrimage in the desert, and for many centuries at their

final destination (Jas 2:8–12; Isa 42:6–7).[138]

Next, when they were settled in the Promised Land and the Exodus had become

history, God successively sent His prophets to deliver messages of warning and hope,

reminding His people of His promises. Jeremiah summarizes God's sending activity

during this period: "From the day that your fathers came out of the land of Egypt to this

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Pierson, *Dynamics of Christian Mission,* 20. Moskala summarizes: "Abraham thus became the special messenger, missionary, to the entire world, with a mission which would only later be carried by Israel and fully fulfilled by *Ebed Yahweh* (Isa 42:1–9; 49:1–7; 50:4–9; 52:13–53:12; 61:1–3) on an even larger scale because He would be the Salvation (not only that he would declare, bring, or proclaim it) for the whole world (Isa 49:6)!" Moskala, "Mission of God's People," 46.

[136] Ellen White, *Patriarchs and Prophets* (Silver Spring, MD: Better Living Publications, 2005), 238.

[137] Kaiser affirms that Israel's deliverance and leading to the Promised Land were historically and theologically a continuation of the Abrahamic promise. All this divine activity was a "remembering" of his covenant (Exod 6:5), a manifestation of God's divine loyalty to His purpose of blessing all the families of the earth. Walter Kaiser, *Toward an Old Testament Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1978), 101.

[138] Hedlund points out that the deliverance of Israel from Egypt is the central redemptive act in the Old Testament and the heart of the Old Testament Kerygma. Hedlund, *Mission of the Church*, 43.

day, I have persistently sent all my servants the prophets to them, day after day, yet they did not listen to me" (Jer 7:25, 26). Even during the captivity, He sent His prophets and leaders—Daniel in Babylon, Jeremiah in Egypt, Nehemiah in Persia—to exhort the captives to accept their God-ordained fate and to pray for the peace and prosperity of their captors.[139] After the exile, God kept sending messengers to help the Israelites throughout the rebuilding process, and also to continue His mission to the nations of the world.[140] Thus, the history of salvation as described in the Old Testament could be simply defined as the stage where God's sending work is displayed.[141] Consequently, it provides the basis for understanding God's unfolding missionary activities in the New Testament.[142]

"As the Father Has Sent Me, I Now Send You"

If "sending" was an important element in the Old Testament picture of God's nature, it is even more important in the New Testament. "When the fullness of the time

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[139] J. Herbert Kane, *The Christian World Mission Today and Tomorrow* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1981), 20.

[140] Moskala points out that the prophet Isaiah, at the conclusion of his book, declares that God will send missionaries to the whole world. The Lord "will send survivors [of the people of Israel] to the nations: Tarshish, Put, Lud, Meshech, Rosh, Tubal and Javan, to the distant coastlands that have neither heard My fame nor seen My glory. And they will declare My glory among the nations" (Isa 66:19). The result will be that "'from one Sabbath to another, shall all flesh [all nations] come to worship before me,' saith the LORD" (Isa 66:23). Moskala, "Mission of God's People," 49.

[141] Sunquist remarks that from beginning to end the Bible is a story of God's activity: God's sending of His will, His Word, His prophets, His own Son, and His apostles for the sake of redeeming His creation. Fundamentally, it is the story of God sending out from His own self to create, redeem, and glorify. Scott W. Sunquist, *Understanding Christian Mission: Participating in Suffering and Glory* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2013), 178. See a comprehensive analysis of the Old Testament sendings in Wright, *Mission of God's People*, 201–210.

[142] Blauw, *Missionary Nature of the Church*, 17–18.

had come, God sent forth His Son, born of a woman, born under the law, to redeem those who were under the law, that we might receive the adoption as sons" (Gal 4:4). Jesus did not just appear on earth: He was sent. The fact that Jesus was sent is the greatest evidence that God is a sending God,[143] providing the greatest theme of the *missio Dei*. In Jesus, God is the sender (John 17:18) and the sent (Acts 3:13; Heb 3:1; John 17:23), the revealer (John 1:18) and the revealed (John 14:6).[144] Of all the sending activities of God, the sending of the Son[145] is central, for it was the culmination of the ministry of the prophets,[146] it embraces within itself as its climax the sending of the Holy Spirit,[147] and it provides an understanding of the nature of the church's mission.[148]

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[143] Augustine reasons that the sending of the Son does not change the Son's eternal being, and so the Son is not reduced to being merely the one who is sent by the Father, but is also the God who sends. Since all divine works are the undifferentiated work of the Trinity, Father, Son and Spirit must together be the sending agent of any divine mission, and so the Son must be involved in His own sending. See Holmes, "Trinitarian Missiology," 77, quoting from Augustine's monumental treatise, *De Trinitate* II, 8-10.

[144] Stevens, *The Other Six Days*, 194–95.

[145] In the gospel of John, the title "the sent one" is applied to Jesus forty times. The occurrences are: John 3:34; 4:34; 5:23-24, 30, 36-38; 6:29, 38, 44, 57; 7:16, 18, 28, 29, 33; 8:16, 26, 29, 42; 9:4; 10:36; 11:42; 12:44, 45, 49; 13:16, 20; 14:24; 15:21; 16:5; 17:3, 8, 18, 21, 23, 25; and 20:21. In fact, this gospel is entirely structured around the Father sending John the Baptist, sending Jesus, sending the Holy Spirit, and sending the church. Tennent, *Invitation to World Missions*, 154.

[146] Michael W. Goheen, "'As The Father Has Sent Me, I Am Sending You': Lesslie Newbigin's Missionary Ecclesiology," *International Review of Mission* 91, no. 362 (2002): 359.

[147] Ott, Strauss, and Tennent, *Encountering Theology of Mission,* 71–72. It should be noticed, however, that sending is an activity of all the three Persons of the Trinity. Wright points out that there is a missional dynamic within God Himself in relation to the world. The Father sent the Son and the Holy Spirit. Jesus sends the Spirit (John 15:26, 16:7–15, 20:22–23), but the Holy Spirit is involved in the sending of Jesus (Luke 4:18-19). He concludes, "There is, therefore, a marvelous interlocking network of sending in the New Testament presentation of God's involvement in the mission of Jesus and the church." Wright, *Mission of God's People*, 210–11.

[148] Stott, *Christian Mission*, 21; John Stott, *Let the Earth Hear His Voice,* ed. J. D. Douglas (Minneapolis, MN: World Wide Publications, 1975), 66.

What was Jesus then sent to do? Jesus Himself revealed that the Son of Man was sent "to proclaim freedom, to give sight for the blind, and to set the oppressed free" (Luke 4:16–19; cf. Isa 61:1), to "seek and save the lost" (Luke 19:10).[149] At first glance it might appear that His message was intended only for the Jews (Matt 10:5-6; Mark 7:27).[150] The unfolding of His ministry, however, makes clear that there was no discontinuity between the mission of the Father and the mission of the Son. Jesus is the one sent by the Father to carry out the Father's mission (John 3:16).[151] Further, the sending Father is "in Christ, reconciling the world into himself" (2 Cor 5:18-20), and His mission has never been different from saving "all the families of the earth."[152]

Jesus thought of His mission in worldwide terms.[153] He himself declared in the parable of the wheat and the tares that "the field is the world" (Matt 13:38). In the book of

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[149] In a broader sense, without going into a detailed analysis of the plan of salvation, it can be deduced from Scripture that the triune God intended to accomplish four major objectives by sending the Son: (1) to vindicate the character, law, and government of God; (2) to reaffirm and secure the loyalty of the *unfallen,* intelligent creation; (3) to effect the salvation of all sinners who will respond to the divine invitation; and (4) to destroy Satan and the rebel angels, impenitent sinners, and all the effects of sin. See Frank Holbrook, *The Atoning Priesthood of Jesus Christ* (Berrien Springs, MI: Adventist Theological Society Publications, 1996), 67. Teaching, preaching, and healing under the anointment of the Holy Spirit was the methodology Jesus employed to accomplish this purpose (Luke 4:18-19; Matt 9:35); and (1) doing God's will (John 3:17), (2) finishing God's work (John 5:36; 9:4), (3) telling what He heard from God (John 17:25), (4) working for the honor of the One who sent Him (John 17:8), and (5) giving His life as a ransom for many people (Mark 10:45) were the means by which He accomplished the objectives of His mission. Moreau, Corwin, and McGee, *Introducing World Missions,* 49.

[150] Kane points out that we should keep in mind that Jesus had to begin somewhere, and the most natural place to begin was with His own people. Kane, *Christian World Mission,* 36–37.

[151] R. Geoffrey Harris, *Mission in the Gospels* (London: Epworth Press, 2004), 153.

[152] Seeing this topic from a historical viewpoint, Edmund Soper elaborates on historical reasons why Jesus understood His mission as universal. Edmund Davison Soper, *The Philosophy of the Christian World Mission* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1943), 38–43.

[153] In fact, Jesus also claimed to be the "light of the world" (8:12) and promised to "draw all men" unto him (John 12:32). Ibid., 38. Nevertheless, most of His ministry was performed within the territory of Israel. The Gentile mission was launched after His death and resurrection and the sending of the Spirit. Ott, Strauss, and Tennent, *Encountering Theology of Mission*, 68.

John, the word *kosmos* (world) is used seventy-seven times[154] and Jesus is introduced not

as the Messiah of Israel but as the Savior of the world (John 4:42). Luke also proclaims,

"All flesh shall see the salvation of God" (Luke 3:6),[155] "And repentance and forgiveness

of sins will be preached in His name to all nations, beginning in Jerusalem" (Luke 24:45-

47).[156]

With Jesus' death and resurrection, a new age began.[157] The process of re-creation

of this planet in order to completely reverse the consequences of the Fall began.[158] Now,

the message of forgiveness and reconciliation was to be preached to every racial,

linguistic, and cultural group on earth (2 Cor 5:18-20).[159]

Before Jesus ascended to heaven, He commanded His disciples to continue this

process of re-creation by proclaiming the gospel to the world.[160] This fact leads us to

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[154] Moreau, Corwin, and McGee, *Introducing World Missions,* 49.

[155] For an analysis of universalism in Luke, see Harold Ellis Dollar, "A Biblical-Missiological Exploration of the Cross-Cultural Dimensions in Luke-Acts" (PhD diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1990), 28–34.

[156] According to Marshall, Luke views God the Father as the ultimate source of salvation and stresses God's supremacy over the world, especially in bringing salvation to humankind. Jesus' life and ministry, as well as death and glorification, are seen as being a fulfillment of the will of God. I. Howard Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1970), 103–6.

[157] Kane, *Christian World Mission*, 38.

[158] Ladd points out that obviously, it does not refer to the physical renovation of this world, which will be accomplished at the scatological consummation (Rom 8:21). This process takes place in the heart of those who accepts the good news of repentance and reconciliation that are to be preached to all nations (2 Cor 5:17; Luke 24:45-47). God has made a new creation in Christ (Eph 2:10), "one new man" that is constituted of all who are in Christ, whether Jews or Gentiles (Eph 2:15). George Eldon Ladd, *A Theology of The New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993), 522.

[159] See how this argument is beautifully built in Pierson, *Dynamics of Christian Mission,* 21. Piper provides an extensive analysis of the term *panta ta ethnē* (all the nations) in the New Testament in Piper, *Let the Nations Be Glad!,* 177–82; Kaiser, *Mission in the Old Testament*, 11.

[160] It should be noticed that, in the gospels, there is no explicit reference to a call to mission until after the resurrection of Christ. Both the synoptic gospels and the book of John culminate in the pronouncement of the resurrection and the call to mission emerging from it. The clearest text is Mathew

another crucial sending moment in God's mission: the sending of the church. "As the Father has sent Me, I now send you" (John 20:21).

When Jesus sent the disciples, He was simply announcing a continuation of the mission to which the Father had sent Him. It is probably wrong to think of the disciples as simply replacing Jesus. Westcott's exegeses of the passage reveal that the perfect tense in "as the Father has sent (*apestalken*) me" suggests a mission that continues in its present effects.[161] In other words, just because He ascended to His Father does not mean that He is no longer the "sent one" *par excellence* (John 9:7). Christ's disciples do not take over Jesus' mission; His mission continues and is effective in the ministry of the disciples (John 14:12-14). [162] The mission of Jesus still continues, and is not merely in mortal hands.[163]

Additionally, the verbs used in the two clauses are not the same: "as the Father has sent (*apestalken*) me, I am sending (*pempō)* you." Even though both words are applied in the New Testament with little difference, Westcott explains that *apestalken* carries the idea of an envoy who was specially commissioned, having received a

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28:18-20. The proclamation of the Gospel therefore must include the announcement of the enthronement of Christ, his ministry in the heavenly sanctuary, and His Lordship among the nations. Blauw, *Missionary Nature of the Church*, 83–84; I. Howard Marshall, *New Testament Theology: Many Witnesses, One Gospel* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 180–81; J. Herbert Kane, *Christian Missions in Biblical Perspective* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1976), 45–49; Holbrook, *Atoning Priesthood*, 1–7; Harris, *Mission in the Gospels*, 37–223; Shawn Redford, ed., *The Jesus Documents: Missiology of Allan R. Tippett Series* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2012), 35–36, 55–65; Hahn, *Mission in the New Testament*, 111–36.

[161] B. F. Westcott, *The Gospel According to St. John: The Authorized Version with Introduction and Notes* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1954), 298.

[162] D. A. Carson, *The Gospel According to John* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1991), 649.

[163] Gerald L. Borchert, *John 12-21,* The New American Commentary (Nashville, TN: Broadman and Holman, 2002), 307.

delegated authority. The verb *pempō* marks nothing more than the special relation of the

sender to the sent. These facts seem to reveal that in this commission Jesus presents His

own mission as the one abiding mission of the Father; this He fulfills through His church.

The disciples receive no new commission, but carry out His. They are not His envoys, but

in a secondary degree, the envoys of the Father.[164]

Brown points out that the Father's sending of the Son, consequently, serves as

both the model and the ground for the Son's sending of the disciples.[165] He sent His

church to continue His mission in the power of the Spirit (John 20:22; Acts 1:8).[166] This

sending defines not one task of the church, but its very nature and being, from its

origin.[167] Thus, Jesus deliberately makes His mission the model of ours, [168] and

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[164] Westcott, *Gospel According to St. John*, 298. This position is challenged by Barrett, who understands that the two verbs seem to be used synonymously in the gospel. For him, parallelism, not contrast between the two missions, is emphasized here. C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John: An Introduction with Commentaries and Notes*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1955), 569. Westcott explains that both words are used to describe the mission of the Son, and the mission of the believers, but with distinct meanings; see also William Hendrickson, *Exposition of the Gospel According to John,* New Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1953), 460.

[165] Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970), 2:1036.

[166] Gary M. Burge, *The Anointed Community: The Holy Spirit in the Johannine Tradition* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987), 116–31.

[167] Dodd points out that when we contemplate the church preaching the gospel, we are considering that which has been central in its life from the beginning, and consequently, that which characterizes the church in its actual historical origins. C. H. Dodd, *History and the Gospel* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938), 161.

[168] John Stott suggests that the mission of Jesus should model our mission in at least two aspects: He was sent into the World and He came to serve. See Stott, *Let the Earth Hear,* 66. Boice adds two more areas in which our mission should be patterned on that of Christ: to save sinners and to glorify the Father. James Montgomery Boice, *The Gospel of John: An Expositional Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1985), 1422–25.

consequently, the church should define its task in terms of its understanding of Jesus' task.[169]

The Missionary Sending Nature of the Church

The mission of God created the church and absorbed it into His work as an instrument. Karl Barth suggests that, "as the community of Jesus Christ," the church "has to exist actively in the world. It is to this that it is sent by God to men."[170]

Sending and being sent are fundamental parts of the mission of God's people.[171] Since God's redemptive work is directed toward the world, and the mission of the church flows from the divine sending as an extension of and participation in it,[172] sending defines not just one task of the church but its very nature and being.[173] Thus, sending and being sent are central to what the church is and does in order to perform its role as an instrument of God's mission.[174]

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[169] Carson, *Gospel According to John*, 648. Carson also remarks on the importance of preaching the gospel by applying an integral approach. He says: "The church's mission must not be restricted to evangelism and church planting; it embraces everything that we rightly do in imitation of Christ."

[170] This conception is particularly clear in his treatise on "The Holy Spirit and the Sending of the Christian Community." Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, IV/3.2, 830.

[171] Wright, *Mission of God's People*, 202.

[172] Wright, *Mission of God*, 63.

[173] Goheen, "Lesslie Newbigin's Missionary Ecclesiology," 354–69.

[174] There is a broad range of biblically sanctioned activities that people may be sent by God to do, including famine relief, action for justice, preaching, evangelism, teaching, healing, and administration. Consequently, mission includes all that God is doing in His great purpose for the whole of creation and all that He calls us to do in cooperation with that purpose. Wright, *Mission of God's People*, 24. On the other hand, Newbigin points out that the church is commissioned to participate in God's mission taking into account the world in which it exists. He suggests that "it is of the very essence of the church that it is *for* that place, for that section of the world for which it has been made responsible. And the 'for' has to be defined Christologically. In other words, the Church is *for* that place in a sense that is determined by the sense in which Christ *is for* the world." Lesslie Newbigin, *A Word in Season* (Edinburgh, Scotland: Eerdmans, 1994), 53–54.

Evidence of this suggestion is found in the fact that the very word "apostles" means "sent ones." Being sent was central to the apostleship. The twelve were sent out and given authority to continue the work of Jesus Himself (Matt 10:1-5).[175] Paul was granted a special encounter with the risen Christ and was sent as a witness of His resurrection on a mission that would take the rest of his life (Acts 9:15; 20:25). Even of greater interest is the fact that the New Testament writers also use the term "apostles" to refer to a variety of people who were sent to do different tasks. Among them are Barnabas (Acts 14:14), Titus, and others who accompanied him in his ministry (2 Cor 8:16-24), Epaphroditus (Phil 2:25), and Andronicus and Junia (Rom 16:7).[176]

Additionally, churches such as the ones in Antioch (Acts 11:19-26; 13:1-3), Philippi (Phil 4:14-20), Thessalonica (1 Thess 1:7-8), and the community to whom the third letter of John was written were actively engaged in sending and supporting itinerant missionaries. This sending process became a natural activity as they continued to work on the advancement of God's kingdom.

Wright points out that these missionaries performed tasks varying from traveling ministries of evangelism to church planting, and all that followed: liaising between the local churches, teaching, building structures of local leadership, networking, carrying

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[175] Wright points out that Matthew prefaces his account of the sending out of the twelve with a summary account of all that *Jesus* was doing (Matt 9:35–36), before telling the disciples to pray that God would send out workers, and then commissioning them to be the answer to their own prayer by doing exactly the same things as Jesus did. Wright, *Mission of God's People*, 212.

[176] Marshall and Peterson provide an analysis of the usage of the designation "apostles" in reference to people other than the twelve disciples. I. Howard Marshall and David Peterson, eds., *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 182–85.

letters and news, sharing resources, bringing questions and taking back answers,

correcting false teaching, and encouraging perseverance.[177]

Thus, in the mission of the church, the dynamic of sending and being sent should

be a natural characteristic of the process of participating in what God has been doing

from the beginning for the salvation of the world. When this sending activity is not taking

place and the church is only concerned with its well-being or maintenance of its

existence, it is not being true to its fundamental nature.

The Establishment of the Church in Antioch

After Pentecost, the Hellenist Jewish Christians were the first people to spread

because they were the first to be persecuted (Acts 11:19).[178] They were the first to

evidence an understanding of the missionary nature of the church, as they accepted the

missionary task as a body. They also were the first to preach beyond Jerusalem to people

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[177] Wright, *Mission of God's People*, 218.

[178] I. Howard Marshall, *Acts* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980), 198–200. Schnabel points out that it is probably not right to assume on the basis of Acts 8:1 that the persecution affected only the more radical Hellenistic Jewish Christians, while the apostles and perhaps all other Christians were spared. Such an interpretation is improbable in light of the larger context of Luke's account, which repeatedly reports attacks by the Jewish authorities on the apostles (Acts 4:1-3, 5:17-18, 21:1-9). Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 1:671. Dollar observes that Luke's narrative of the establishment of the church in Antioch is not connected to the previous episode of the conversion of Cornelius, but, rather, to the scattering of the Hellenistic believers from Jerusalem following the death of Stephen. Dollar, "A Biblical-Missiological Exploration," 149.

who had no connection to the synagogue, and became the first to be called Christians.[179]

Their center came to be Antioch,[180] where the first Gentile church was established.[181]

Luke is careful to show the continuity of this movement with the original and central community in Jerusalem, and so, he presents them as a valid expression, result, and continuation of the work of Jesus (Acts 11:22-28).[182] There is an interaction and movement of Christians between Jerusalem and Antioch—Agabus is sent from Jerusalem to minister in Antioch and Paul is sent from Antioch on a relief mission to take financial assistance to Jerusalem. Luke also emphasizes the central role of Jerusalem by pointing out that the apostles constantly refer back to the authority of the Jerusalem church leaders

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[179] John Howard Yoder, *Theology of Mission: A Believers Church Perspective* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2014), 83–85. In this context, to be called Christians has a sociological and theological significance, since it evidences that non-Christians had an awareness of the distinction between Judaism and the messianic movement. Dollar, "A Biblical-Missiological Exploration," 152.

[180] Antioch, the capital of the Roman province of Syria, was the third largest city in the Roman Empire (after Rome and Alexandria) with a population estimated at around 500,000. It was founded around 300 BC by Seleucus I and named in honor of his father Antiochus. Marshall, *Acts*, 200–201.

[181] This community was a very diverse group of Jews and Gentiles, led by Jewish-Christian leaders. Simeon, Lucius, and Manaen, who are listed between Barnabas and Saul/Paul, may have belonged to the group connected with Stephen as well who came to Syria as a consequence of the persecution after Stephen's death. It is not impossible, however, that they were among the first converts in Antioch. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 1:655–59. Their background evidences the diversity of the church: Barnabas was from Cyprus, and Simeon was probably a North African, as was Lucius from Cyrene; Saul was from Tarsus, and Manaen was a Palestinian Jew. David G. Peterson, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 374–75; Alexander McLaren, *The Acts: Chap. XIII to End* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1977), 2. For Goldsmith, the black-skinned Simeon and the North African Lucius were assigned leadership roles in spite of not being Palestinian Jews. Similarly surprising is the mention of "Manaen" as a leader in the church, since he is identified as a "close friend" of "Herod the Tetrarch." Martin Goldsmith, *Good News for All Nations: Mission at the Heart of the New Testament* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2002), 71. Barrett quotes Josephus to affirm that the nickname "Niger" given to Symeon tells us nothing about his race. C. K. Barrett, *Acts: A Shorter Commentary* (Edinburgh, Scotland: T&T, 2002), 172; Howard Clark Kee, *To Every Nation Under Heaven: The Acts of the Apostles* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1997), 158–59. For more on the social, political, and religious circumstances surrounding the first Gentile church, see Michael Green, *Evangelism in the Early Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1970), 112–15.

[182] Barrett, *Acts,* 172. The church in Jerusalem was in a position to set the standards and to make decisions, because of its direct connection with the Savior, and its incomparably greater knowledge of the Scriptures. Walls, *Missionary Movement,* 8; Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants in Context,* 27–28.

(4:36-37), as well as by remarking that the outreach of the gospel started there.[183] Additionally, the church in Jerusalem felt responsible for supervising the expansion of the Christian movement, as evidenced by the sending of Barnabas to Antioch (Acts 11:22).

However, Luke also makes clear that the church in Antioch had a high degree of autonomy and the ability to respond to the leading of the Spirit.[184] They understood their missionary call in both local and worldwide terms. Spence points out that the church in Antioch was remarkable for at least four reasons. First, its human composition. Very few churches, if any, could count on its membership list names such as those of Paul, Barnabas, and Manaen. Second, its divine indwelling. There were prophets and teachers who spoke under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Third, its religious activities. The work of evangelization went on actively in Antioch (Acts 11:26), being constantly watered by fasting and prayer. Fourth, its partnership with God in His mission. They obediently entered into an apparently hopeless enterprise.[185] Thus, Jerusalem and Antioch were the two centers around which the Christian movement revolved in the early years of the Christian church. Antioch became fundamental to the spreading of the gospel message in both theological and geographical terms.[186]

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[183] Goldsmith, *Good News for All,* 67. Barrett points out that the church in Antioch proved both its independence and a continuing relationship by sending aid to the church in Jerusalem, to which it owed its origin, in its founders (those who had been scattered—Acts 8:1, 3) and in Barnabas (11:22). Barrett, *Acts*, 176.

[184] Pierson, *Dynamics of Christian Mission*, 31.

[185] H. D. M. Spence, ed., *The Pulpit Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1950), 401.

[186] Dollar, "A Biblical-Missiological Exploration," 148; Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 1:672.

In Antioch, the divine principle of cooperation by which the human and the divine worked together to accomplish God's purpose of salvation was clearly displayed.[187] The Holy Spirit led them beyond the borders of their own community and performed through them and in them that which was beyond their human resources. The church in Antioch, in turn, organized itself—sending, ordaining, sharing, and giving—for the purpose of participating in God's mission (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25-13:3).[188] It was here where Christianity had its greatest early growth.[189]

The church had rapidly grown in size, and for this reason Barnabas was sent from Jerusalem to "consolidate and lead the work" in Antioch (Acts 11:21-24). The mass conversions that continued to take place in the church of Antioch seem to have been the reason why Barnabas went to Tarsus to bring Paul to work with him in the city.[190] The expansion of the church in Antioch continued as Barnabas, Paul, and other missionaries became active in the city, teaching "a great many people" (Acts 11:26).

As time went by, it became increasingly clear to those attending this church, the community of believers was the new locus of God's presence, the Holy Spirit was the standard of God's holiness, and the traditional ties to the Torah were submitted to the

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[187] Ellen White, *Prophets and Kings* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2010), 486–87.

[188] Perhaps these characteristics made them ideally suited to receive the Spirit's commission to separate Paul and Barnabas for wider mission. Goldsmith, *Good News for All*, 71; Edward L. Smither, *Mission in the Early Church: Themes and Reflexions* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2014), 8–9.

[189] Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christianity,* vol. 1, *Beginnings to 1500* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), 68.

[190] Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 2:1069.

revelation of God's will in Jesus' life, death, resurrection, and exaltation.[191] Perhaps those were the convictions that made this community ideally suited to receive the Holy Spirit's commission to separate Barnabas and Paul for universal mission.

The Formation of Missionary Bands

Until this point, missionary work, especially in relation to the Gentiles, had not happened as the result of planned actions.[192] Now, the Holy Spirit added intentionality to the process by explicitly commissioning the leaders of the church in Antioch to send Barnabas and Paul on what would later be called Paul's first missionary journey: "Set apart for me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them. So after they had fasted and prayed, they placed their hands on them and sent them off" (Acts 13: 2-3).[193]

Although the entire church of Antioch was called to be involved in mission, not everyone in that church had the gift or the calling to carry the gospel across geographic, cultural, linguistic, and religious boundaries. Not everyone was called to travel with Paul

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[191] Ibid., 1:668.

[192] For Barrett, it had previously been done in an almost fortuitous way, but now an extensive journey into a territory that was in a sense properly Jewish was deliberately planned, and two associates of the local church were commissioned to execute it. Barrett, *Acts*, 189. Bock sees here the beginning of the church's engagement in organized mission. Darrell L. Bock, *Acts* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academics, 2007), 436. Mellis speaks of the beginning of structured work. Charles J. Mellis, *Committed Communities: Fresh Streams for World Missions* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1976), 13.

[193] Paul Barnett, *The Birth of Christianity: The First Twenty Years* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), 83; Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants in Context*, 27–28. Even though only Barnabas and Paul are mentioned here in verses 2 and 4, Mark is mentioned in verse 5 and there is a reference to "friends" in verse 13.

and Barnabas across Asia Minor.[194] Thus, the Holy Spirit[195] led the Christian community

to understand that one of the ways they would be enabled to effectively engage in this

dimension of their missionary call was by creating missionary teams, which can be

identified as one of the two structures of the early Christian church.[196]

In fact, one of the most important methods of expansion of the early Christian

church was the formation of missionary bands. At first it was Paul following Barnabas,

but later Paul became the leader.[197] When they later disagreed concerning whether or not

Mark should accompany them, two teams emerged with Paul and Barnabas as their

respective leaders.[198]

In the following years, working in teams became a consistent pattern of Paul's

work. In order to fulfill his commission, he gathered around him helpers or assistants, co-

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[194] Pierson, *Dynamics of Christian Mission,* 31.

[195] Newbigin quotes Mark 13:11; John 15:26-27, 20:21-22; and Acts 1:8 to suggest, "We should not neglect the very central teaching of the New Testament that, properly speaking the mission is the mission of the Holy Spirit." Newbigin, *A Word in Season*, 21.

[196] Ralph Winter approaches this subject using the concept of "the two structures." He identifies the first structure as what is often called the New Testament church, which was built along Jewish synagogue lines, embracing the community of the faithful in any given place. The second structure is the missionary bands composed of committed, experienced workers who affiliated themselves in task-oriented communities in order to spread the gospel. On the one hand, the *New Testament church* is a prototype of all subsequent Christian fellowships where old and young, male and female are gathered together as normal biological families in aggregate. On the other hand, Paul's *missionary band* can be considered a prototype of all subsequent missionary endeavors. Ralph Winter, *The Two Structures of God's Redemptive Mission* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1995), 1–3. Latourette's research on the history of Christianity suggests that healthy movements were constantly creating mission structures for specific tasks. Latourette, *History of Christianity,* 233, 385–407, 416–47. Pierson points out that the two structures are simply different manifestations of the church. However, mission structures have been used to take the gospel to new cultures and places. Pierson, *Dynamics of Christian Mission,* 29–40; Mellis, *Committed Communities,* 6–7.

[197] Barnabas was an experienced leader who had served the church in both Jerusalem and Antioch (Acts 4:37, 13:1). The fact that his name is mentioned first suggests that at that moment he was the most active in the team; Goldsmith, *Good News for All*, 80.

[198] Ibid.

workers, and fellow-laborers.[199] The New Testament records some thirty-five people who worked together with Paul on at least thirteen different teams,[200] including Paul and Barnabas; Barnabas and Mark; Peter and Mark; Paul, Silas, Timothy, and Luke; Paul and Titus; and Paul, Luke Sopater, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius, Timotheus, Tychicus, and Trophimus. These were just probably a few of the missionary bands sent out (Phil 2:25; 2 Cor 1:19; Phil 24; Col 4:14; Rom 16:21; 1 Thess 1:1; 2 Thess 2:1; Acts 20:4).[201]

Winter argues that this missionary structure was something definitely more than the extended outreach of the Antioch church: "No matter what we think the structure was, we know that it was not simply the Antioch church operating at a distance from its home base. It was something else, something different."[202] Ties that went beyond church membership bound the highly committed members of this community.[203] They operated

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[199] In his chapter on Paul as a team worker, Grassi offers a detailed analysis of the purposes and compositions of Paul's missionary teams. Joseph A. Grassi, *A World to Win: The Missionary Methods of Paul the Apostle* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1965), 75–81.

[200] Mark Vanderwerf, "The 'Two Structures' of God's Mission," *Global Missiology* 3, no. 8 (2011): 8–9.

[201] According to Latourette, missionary bands are believed to have spread the faith among Syriac-speaking people in Syria and Mesopotamia in the early years of the Christian church. Latourette also acknowledges the possibility that one of the original twelve planted the Christian faith in India in view of the fact that trade flourished between India and the Mediterranean world. Kenneth Scott Latourette, *Christianity Through the Ages* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 33; Latourette, *History of Christianity,* 74–75. Detailed information about the background, composition, and work of these missionary teams is offered in Bruce, *Spreading Flame*, 91–96; Pierson, *Dynamics of Christian Mission*, 46.

[202] Winter, *Two Structures*, 2.

[203] Mellis suggests that Biblical antecedents for this structure are the prophetic brotherhoods (1 Sam 10:10; 19:20), the remnant (Amos 3:12, 4:11; Isa 1:9), and the Jewish proselytizers, people whom Jesus himself described as traveling land and sea to make a single convert (Matt 23:15). Mellis, *Committed Communities*, 10–11. Blauw points out that the missionary attitude and activity of the Christian church in the first centuries of its existence was highly influenced by the work of the proselytizers. He goes on to project that the number of Jews in the Roman Mediterranean area alone by the time of the birthday of Christ was around 4.5 million, about 7 percent of the total population of that area, suggesting that this can only be satisfactorily explained by accepting the possibility of a propaganda action. Blauw, *Missionary Nature of the Church*, 55–57. Bamberger points out that the official leaders of Judaism were eager to make converts and highly successful in achieving their aim. Bernard J. Bamberger, *Proselytism in the Talmudic*

in a self-sufficient manner when that was a possibility, but also were dependent upon the Antioch church and other churches that arose as the result of their labors. Even though they reported back to the church in Antioch or to the community of the apostles in Jerusalem, they seemed very comfortable making their own decisions under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

Additionally, these teams were not static. They went from place to place, under the lead of the Spirit, wherever a door to the preaching of the gospel was open (Acts 16:8, 18:10). Flexibility was also one of their characteristics. Team composition was in flux: Luke was in and out of Paul's team. So apparently were Timothy, Titus, and Mark.[204]

The form and design of these missionary bands is not well documented, but the same is true of the structure of the New Testament church, which is not defined concretely for us in the pages of the New Testament. Winter points out that in both cases, the absence of any such definition implies the pre-existence of a commonly understood pattern of relationship, whether in the case of the congregational structure or the missionary band structure.[205]

Period (New York: Ktav, 1939), 272. De Ridder argues that the Roman laws against proselytizing would not have been necessary if there were no propaganda or conversions. The expulsion of Jews from Rome was a number of times due to proselytizing efforts of the Jewish community there. Richard De Ridder, *Discipling the Nations* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1971), 120. Winter suggests that Paul's missionary bands just followed the path of the Jewish evangelists who went before them; Winter, *Two Structures,* 1.

[204] Mellis, *Committed Communities*, 15.

[205] Winter, *Two Structures*, 2.

Thus, these two different manifestations of the church were coexisting under an interdependent model of operation,[206] both recognizing the leading of the Holy Spirit and, for many years, the central position of the community of the apostles in Jerusalem.[207] As time went by and the church spread across the Roman Empire, it became clear that "there was no one center, no single strategy, but there was a united understanding that the message was about the meaning of Jesus for all people and the life of Jesus within his followers."[208]

History reveals that there has ever been a place for these twofold manifestations of God's mission instruments in different times, forms, and locations. [209] Normally, however, mission structures have been used to take the gospel to new cultures and places. They have been called "committed communities" who know that God has called them to a specific task, culture group, or ministry.[210]

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[206] Marshall affirms that church-based missions and local evangelism are clearly envisaged in Acts. He concludes that the two existed side by side. I. Howard Marshall, *The Mission of the Early Church to Jews and Gentiles,* ed. Jostein Adna and Hans Kvalbein (Tubingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 258.

[207] Acts 21:20 evidences that while he was glad for the conversions in the "mission field," Paul still continued to think of Jerusalem as the regulatory center of God's work. Mission historian Andrew Walls suggests that the church in Jerusalem kept this position until the destruction of the temple in 70 A.D. Walls, *Missionary Movement*, 8.

[208] Sunquist, *Understanding Christian Mission*, 28.

[209] For a comprehensive analysis of the work of missionary bands throughout history, including the activity of monastic movements, reform movements, and voluntary societies, see Mellis, *Committed Communities*, 8–122; Dawson, *Rise of Western Culture*, 58; Latourette, *History of Christianity,* 221–23; Hunter, *Celtic Way of Evangelism*, 36–38, 47; Wylie, *History of Protestantism,* 1:23; Muston, *Israel of the Alps,* 1:3–7; Comba, *Waldo and the Waldensians*, 16–17; Hutton, *History of Moravian Missions,* 166; Lewes, *Zinzendorf,* 78.

[210] Mellis, *Committed Communities,* 105–122.

Instruction in Mission: Exegesis of Acts 13:1–3

(1) Now in the church at Antioch there were prophets and teachers: Barnabas, Simeon called Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, Manaen (who had been brought up with Herod the tetrarch) and Saul. (2) While they were worshiping the Lord and fasting, the Holy Spirit said, "Set apart for me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them." (3) So after they had fasted and prayed, they placed their hands on them and sent them off. (Acts 13:1-3)

Acts 13:1-3 starts a section that goes until Acts 15:33[211] and has as its key elements Paul's first missionary journey (13:1–14:28)[212] and the Jerusalem Council (15:1–33). The preceding section (9:32–12:25) shows how the gospel moved out into the Gentile world.[213] Now, the church is moving toward the ends of the earth. It is within this context that Saul becomes Paul (13:9)[214] and starts to occupy a central role in the Lucan narrative, which presents him as the main character of the early Christian expansion.[215]

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[211] The immediate literary context of the passage (13:1-3) is the mission on Cyprus (13:1-12), which Schnabel outlines as follows: (1) the new missionary initiative of Barnabas and Paul (13:1-3); (2) missionary work on the Southern cost of Cyprus (13:4–6c); (3) the confrontation with the magician Bar-Jesus in Paphos (13:6d–11); and (4) the conversion of the proconsul Sergius Paulus in Paphos (13:12). Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Acts*, Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2012), 547; Bock, *Acts,* 436.

[212] This section is composed of seven episodes of Paul's missionary work: Paul and Barnabas proclaim the gospel in Salamis and Paphos (13:1-12), Psidian Antioch (3:13-52), Iconium (14:1-7), Lystra (14:8–20), and Derbe and Perge (14:21-28). Schnabel, *Acts,* 547.

[213] Peterson, *Acts of the Apostles*, 372.

[214] The change in his name points to the transition from missionary outreach to the Jewish people to missionary work among both Jews and Gentiles in areas outside of Palestine. James Hastings, ed., *The Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1971), 1:199; Schnabel, *Acts*, 548.

[215] Peterson, *Acts of the Apostles*, 372–73; Christopher R. Little, *Mission in the Way of Paul: Biblical Mission for the Church in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Peter Lang, 2005), 47–130; Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 2:923–1476; Richard P. Thompson, *Acts: A Commentary in the Wesleyan Tradition* (Kansas City, KS: Beacon Hill Press, 2015), 233; Grassi, *A World to Win*, 3–157.

On the other hand, for the first time a church other than the one in Jerusalem is presented as the center of a major divine initiative.[216] Luke introduces the church in Antioch as a community in tune with the Holy Spirit and ready to partner with Him in God's mission. Now "missions" is described as "the called-out and divinely directed activity of a group organized for this specific goal. This contrasts with the less-systematic work of individuals . . . . The church is becoming more intentional about outreach."[217]

The paragraph contains descriptions of (1) the leadership of the church in Antioch,[218] (2) a church gathering, (3) the commissioning of Barnabas and Paul, and (4) the sending off of Barnabas and Paul by the Holy Spirit. A short analysis of the key elements of each section of the passage is provided below.

1. Luke observes the presence of prophets (προφῆται) and teachers (διδάσκαλοι) among those leaders. In Acts 2:17 Peter refers to the words of Joel to explain the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and the rise of Christian prophetic activity. Barrett suggests that it is quite possible that the prophets mentioned here were not the ones who came from Jerusalem (11:27), instead, they were traveling prophets who seemed to have settled

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[216] Barrett points out that Acts 13:1 marks a major departure in Luke's story. The scene has changed from Jerusalem to Antioch, where wider organized mission will be initiated. He also observes that the new paragraph begins in connection with rather than disjunction from the preceding one (12:25). The absence of the μεν ουν with which Luke often turns to a new subject suggests this conclusion. C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (Edinburgh, Scotland: T & T Clark, 1994), 1:598–601; Bock, *Acts,* 436; George Arthur Buttrick, ed., *The Interpreter's Bible*, 12 vols. (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1980), 9:164.

[217] Bock, *Acts*, 437.

[218] Peterson points out that Luke uses a participial construction to describe the church (*tēn ousan ekklēsian*), which suggests the meaning "the church in that place" or "the local church." Peterson, *Acts of the Apostles*, 375. Johnson remarks that, considering the use of *kata* (κατα) plus the accusative in the distributive sense that it has, for example, in 2:46 ("in houses"), or in 2:47 ("day by day"), a better translation would be "in the local churches at Antioch." Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles,* ed. Daniel J. Harrington (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), 221.

in Antioch (15:30-34; 19:6; 21:9,10).[219] Teachers are mentioned in Acts only here. The

verb *teach*, however, is recurrent (1:1; 4:2, 18; 5:21, 25, 28, 42; 11:26; 15:1, 35; 18:11,

25; 20:20; 21:21, 28; 28:3), and references to teaching occur four times (2:42; 5:28;

13:12; 17:19), but only using διδαχή, not διδασκαλία, which Luke never uses.[220]

     Prophets and teachers should be understood as local ministers, and Luke's

preferred word for ministers is πρεσβυτεροι (11:30; 14:23; 15:2, 4, 6, 22, 23; 16:4;

20:17, 18).[221] The main responsibility of a Christian prophet was to present God's

revelation in the form of exhortation, instruction, encouragement, and sometimes

foretelling future events, as did the prophets of Israel.[222] When *prophets* is combined here

with *teachers*, the prophetic role appears to be that of helping the larger community to

discern the will of God.[223] Teachers also performed a central role in transmitting God's

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[219] Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1:602.

[220] Ibid.; F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary* (Chicago, IL: InterVarsity Christian Fellowship, 1952), 252.

[221] Haenchen remarks that in the Pauline churches the "offices" of prophet and teacher were of charismatic order (1 Cor 12:28; 14:26, 29; Rom 12:6). The course of time, however, shows the gradual disappearance of these charismatics and the rise of the episcopate and diaconate in their place. Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1971), 395. For Spence, the teachers differ from the prophets in that they were not under the ecstatic influence of the Holy Spirit, and did not utter prophecies in the traditional sense of the word, but were expositors of Christian truth, under the teaching of the Spirit. Spence, *The Pulpit Commentary,* 401; Simon J. Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Acts of the Apostles,* New Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker House, 1990), 454.

[222] Pelikan suggests that the title *prophet* here refers to a continuing office in the Christian church (Acts 2:16, 30), in this aspect differing from a prophet of ancient Israel (Acts 21:9–10). Jaroslav Pelikan, *Acts* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Press, 2005), 153.

[223] J. Bradley Chance, *Acts* (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2007), 208.

word as revealed in Israel's Scriptures, in Jesus' ministry, and in the apostles'

preaching.[224]

Five names[225] are presented following the two general terms, *prophets* and

teachers, and they should probably be understood as belonging to one or both

categories.[226] There appears to be an overlap between the roles of prophet and teacher for

these five. It is not clear if there is any distinction made as to who did what.[227] The

sequence of the narrative seems to indicate that the prophets and teachers, in addition to

providing inspired guidance, were also engaged in planning and administering the

church's work.

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[224] Schnabel, *Acts,* 553.

[225] Keener points out that their geographically diverse background emphasizes the cosmopolitan character of the church God used at the foundation of the Gentile mission. Craig S. Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2013), 2:1982–90. For a detailed analysis of each name, including their cultural and religious background, see Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 1:658–59; Thomas Whitelaw, *A Homiletic Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1943), 279–80; Kistemaker, *Acts of the Apostles,* 454–55.

[226] There is no reason to believe that the same person could not have both gifts. Peter, Paul, and Barnabas seem to have been apostles, prophets, and teachers at the same time. Haenchen points out that the way the names are listed does not indicate that they are divided into pairs or groups, such as three prophets and two teachers. "It does not emerge from the text that some of the five were prophets and the rest teachers. Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 395. Lechler points out that the correlative particles τε—και—και—τε—και here offer no aid in identifying who belonged to the former and to the latter class. Gottahard Victor Lechler, *Acts of the Apostles: An Exegetical and Doctrinal Commentary* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), 239. Gaebelein defends the idea that the Greek particle *te* (untranslatable) was used in antiquity to connect word pairs, coordinate clauses, and similar sentences. Therefore, we should understand Barnabas, Simeon, and Lucius, who are introduced by the first *te*, as the prophets, and Manaen and Saul, who are grouped by the second *te*, as the teachers. Frank E. Gaebelein, *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, 12 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1981), 9:416. For Barrett, Luke is probably importing variety into his list, not setting up pairs or groups. If any pair had been singled out, it would have been Barnabas and Saul, and we would have had ʻ΄ ο τε β. καιΣ., κτλ. Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1:603.

[227] Bock, *Acts*, 439.

2. The commissioning of Barnabas and Paul takes place within the context of worship.[228] Johnson remarks that the word λειτουργέω, here rendered as "they ministered" (from which the word *liturgy* is derived), had its original setting in the public activities of the Greek city-state, which would include support of and participation in its religious rituals. It implies any solemn ministration or holy service, and was classically used to designate "any office performed by an individual for the public good."[229] In the LXX the verb is used primarily for the "service" of the Lord in worship (Exod 28:31, 39; Num 1:50; 4:33; 18:6; Deut 17:12; 18:7; 1 Sam 2:11; Ezra 40:46). This is its sense also in Luke 1:23; Heb 1:7; 8:2, 6; 9:21.[230]

The scenario could be thought of as a communal gathering where the Spirit moved the prophets and teachers to a new course of action. The worship service included prayers (v. 3) and fasting (νηστευόντων, present participle), which suggests that these practices were a regular part of the life of the congregation.[231] Peterson points out that

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[228] About the character and function of the early Christian gatherings, see I. Howard Marshall and David Peterson, eds., *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 389–95.

[229] Keener, *Acts,* 2:1991.

[230] Johnson, *Acts of the Apostles*, 221.

[231] Schnabel, *Acts,* 555. Barrett points out that Mark 2:18-20 suggests that Jesus and His disciples did not fast, but after the resurrection and ascension, fasting became a Christian practice. In Acts, apart from the reference in 27:9, in relation to the Day of Atonement, fasting is mentioned again only at v. 3 and 14:23, perhaps in connection with the appointment of presbyters. It may be significant that the three references to fasting in Acts (13:2, 3; 14:23) all stand in connection with Antioch. Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1:605; For Peterson, the context here is probably a meeting of the leaders mentioned in the previous verse (*autōn* most naturally refers back to the list of names in v. 1), though it seems that the whole congregation was involved in the commissioning of the missionaries (cf. 14:24-27). Peterson, *Acts of the Apostles*, 375. For Haenchen, the presence of the congregation is not mentioned but probably presupposed. Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 395; Gaebelein suggests that it is possible to infer from the parallel usage of "they" in 15:2 (αυτων, "they appointed," where the antecedent is relatively clear from the context) that the whole congregation was involved in attesting the validity of the revelation received. Gaebelein, *Expositor's Bible Commentary*, 9:417; Kistemaker, *Acts of the Apostles*, 455.

since the Lord is the object of worship here, Luke may be suggesting that corporate prayer is the "cultic" activity that replaces the sacrificial approach to God at the heart of Judaism.[232]

By fasting and praying, they were removing themselves from the influence of the world and making themselves receptive to the commands of heaven.[233] This corporate reflection on God or on serving God (2:42-47) provides the context for receiving instructions from the Holy Spirit.[234] It can be inferred from the context that it was one of the prophets who voiced the Spirit's order, even though sometimes the Spirit speaks directly (Acts 8:29; 10:19; 11:2; 19:1). [235]

The event suggests that the mission journey of Barnabas and Paul, like the mission of Jesus and the apostles, emerges in the context of prayer and is empowered by the Holy Spirit. In like manner, effective church leaders will engage in earnest prayer in order to recognize God's gifting for ministry in others, and in so doing, provide the necessary support for those God is leading to ministry or mission elsewhere. The acts of laying on of hands and commissioning play an important role in offering affirmation and recognition to those called to serve (Acts 14:23; 1 Tim 4:14; 5:22; 2 Tim 2:2; Titus 1:5-9).

3. The Spirit calls Barnabas and Paul to be set aside (Αφορίσατε δή μοι) for a special work. The basic meaning of the verb ἀφορίζω is to separate someone or

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[232] Kistemaker, *Acts of the Apostles,* 455; Peterson, *Acts of the Apostles*, 375.

[233] Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 396.

[234] Thompson, *Acts*, 233.

[235] Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1:605; Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 396.

something, as well as to appoint someone to something (Gal 1:15; Rom 1:1).[236] It also

designates the discharge of civil offices and duties, and involves the idea of sanctifying,

consecrating, setting apart from common use for a holy purpose.[237] The work (ἔργον) to

which Paul and Barnabas are called will become clear in the following chapters.[238] The

particle δη is emphatic here and gives the command a sense of urgency.[239] Its usage

occurs only five times in the New Testament.

It should be noticed at this point that the resurrected Jesus had already given Paul

his missionary commission twelve years earlier, a call that he observed immediately after

his conversion,[240] but it was revealed by the Holy Spirit to the prophets and teachers of

Antioch in order for the church to release the missionary from his leadership role and

give him their support.[241] Barnabas, in turn, had also already been commissioned to assist

the missionary work and pastoral ministry in Antioch (11:22). Now, the Holy Spirit

commissioned them to leave Antioch and proclaim the gospel in new regions.[242]

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[236] Bock, *Acts*, 439.

[237] Lechler, *Acts of the Apostles*, 239; see examples of this usage of the verb in Exod 19:23; Lev 27:21; Num 8:11; Isa 52:11. Thompson, *Acts*, 233.

[238] Peterson, *Acts of the Apostles*, 373.

[239] Compare LXX (Gen 15:5, 18:4). Johnson, *Acts of the Apostles*, 221; Peterson, *Acts of the Apostles*, 376. The immediate response of the church (13:3) evidences their understanding of the urgency of the call. Thompson, *Acts*, 234.

[240] The text contradicts Catholic ideas of church orders and ordination or apostolic succession. None of the twelve were present, and the affirmation that there was an "ordination to the apostolate" is in direct opposition to Paul's persistent claim that he was "an apostle, not from men nor though man, but through Jesus Christ" (Gal 1:1). Buttrick, *The Interpreter's Bible*, 9:165. For an exhaustive analysis of Paul's self-understanding as a missionary see Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 2:931–80.

[241] Peterson, *Acts of the Apostles*, 373.

[242] On the setting aside of individuals by prophets through the Spirit, see Hans Conzelmann, *Acts to the Apostles: A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1987), 99.

Thus, the separation was only the recognition by the church of the divine appointment. McLaren points out that this recognition provided support and a sense of companionship to the missionaries. For him, "to go forth on Christian service, unrecognized by the brethren, is not good for even a Paul."[243] Consequently, representatives of a particular church, rather than solitary individuals, were carrying out the mission.

This episode also highlights the divine principle of operation in which God partners with His servants in order to accomplish His missionary purposes. Both the Holy Spirit and the Antioch church were involved in the process of sending off of the apostles, but each part performed a particular role.

Bauer suggests that an analysis of the meaning of the Greek verbs ἀπολυω and πέμπω in Acts 13:3, 4 helps to clarify what those roles were. He points out that the verb ἀπολύω in verse three does not mean to send or to send forth but rather means to release or "loose of or away." For him, "this verb is used primarily to refer to the dispersing of a crowd—letting them go—and is never used in the sense of commissioning or sending individuals on a mission or to perform a task."[244] On the other hand, the verb πέμπω, which means to send, is applied in verse four to refer to the action performed by the Holy Spirit. Thus, while the Holy Spirit was the initiator of the process and commanded Paul and Barnabas to go on a mission, the Antioch church gave heed to the Spirit's instruction and released the apostles from their local responsibilities.

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[243] McLaren, *Acts*, 8.

[244] Bauer, "Congregational and Mission Structures," 61–62.

Schnabel observes that Luke relates the words of the Holy Spirit in direct speech, placed between his comment on the worship of the church (v. 2a-b) and the sending off of Barnabas and Saul by the church (v. 3), emphasizing that the initiative for the missionary work comes from God's Spirit. In Acts, this is the only direct imperative that the Spirit gives to a church. [245]

4. Three steps were taken before the sending (ἀπέλυσαν) of the missionaries: the church called for another period of fasting (νηστεύσαντες),[246] they prayed (προσευξάμενοι), and they laid their hands on them (ἐπιθέντες τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς).[247] The reiteration that they fasted and prayed suggests how significant those practices were in the life of the congregation.[248] They received and fulfilled their commission in the context of fasting and prayer. Worship and mission go hand in hand as key tasks of the church. This event suggests that mission work is based on God's command to a committed and obedient church that is focused on God.

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[245] Schnabel, *Acts,* 555.

[246] It seems that the laying on of hands did not take place on the same day. In fact, by mentioning that they fasted again, Luke makes it impossible to understand that way. Probably, they received the commission and prepared to fulfill it by calling for another period of fasting and prayer. Spence, *The Pulpit Commentary,* 401.

[247] The context calls for a more general use of the term, recalling the widespread use of hands in blessing. It is therefore an "installation," a placing in a particular sphere of service, which differs in some respects from that previously occupied. Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1:606. For Bock, this is not a call into a new office, as their role was already defined before the call. Rather, it is identification with this specific "work" to which God has called them. Bock, *Acts*, 440. Chance points out that the laying on of hands may represent transmitting power and authority. However, the key issue is not so much what the text may or may not say about ecclesiastical authority, but the response of the church to the lead of the Holy Spirit. J. Chance, *Acts* (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2007), 208.

[248] Thompson, *Acts*, 234.

The passage emphasizes the divine character of the apostles' commission. Even though the Holy Spirit had been working in partnership with the church, Luke points out that it was the Holy Spirit who led both the initiative for the separation of the apostles and their sending off. The church functions as an instrument of God's Spirit.[249]

Luke does not provide any further information explaining why Barnabas and Saul went to Cyprus (v. 4). However, the facts that Barnabas was a native of Cyprus (4:36) and that some mission work was done in the area by Greek-speaking Jewish believers (11:19) could have played a role in their decision. Those factors could be taken as an indication that they should start the mission endeavor in a familiar place where some work was already in progress.

Missiological Implications

The Universality of the Mission of God's People

From the beginning (Gen 1-11), God's mission has been universal in scope and global in audience.[250] God's offer of salvation is addressed to all people. However, God's universal purpose of salvation should not be confused with what has been described as

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[249] Chance, *Acts*, 209.

[250] Kaiser, "Israel's Missionary Call," 10.

universalism.[251] Neither should extreme conceptions such as exclusivism[252] or

pluralism[253] prevent the church from pursuing its permanent goal of proclaiming God's

message of hope to all the people of the earth.[254] The universality of God's mission does

imply that factors such as the challenge remaining,[255] the size of the church organization

in comparison to the task at hand,[256] the lack of financial resources, or any other reason,

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[251] Universalists argue that since it is God's will that all should be saved, it is not possible to resist that will for all eternity. Therefore, in the end it is God's will that will be done and all will be saved, independently of their own will. God's love will triumph over God's wrath. Jean Wyatt, *The Judge is the Savior: Towards a Universalist Understanding of Salvation* (Eugene, OR: Resource Publications, 2015), xvii, 17–67; Thomas Allin, *Christ Triumphant: Universalism Asserted as the Hope of the Gospel on the Authority of Reason, the Fathers, and Holy Scriptures* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2015), 305–37. For attempts at reconciling universalism with the evangelical view of eternal punishment see Gregory MacDonald, *The Evangelical Universalist*, 2nd ed. (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2012), 9–53. For a critique on the concept, see Robin A. Parry and Christopher H. Partridge, eds., *Universal Salvation? The Current Debate* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 55–246.

[252] Exclusivists affirm that no one can be saved without an explicit act of repentance and faith based on a personal knowledge of Christ. Those who never heard the gospel are eternally lost. Although this conception seems to be a motivating factor for world mission, it may also lead to a focus on doing mission work only in areas where results are most likely to be achieved, considering that many will be lost anyway. See Timothy C. Tennent, *Christianity at the Religious Roundtable: Evangelicalism in Conversation with Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2002), 17; Veli-Matti Karkkainen, *An Introduction to the Theology of Religions: Biblical, Historical & Contemporary Perspectives* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2003), 24. For a classical defense of the exclusivist position see H. Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938), 61–104.

[253] For pluralists, only one religion is the true one in whose truth all religions participate. Hans Kung, "What Is the True Religion? Towards an Ecumenical Criteriology," *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 56, no. 1 (1986): 6-23. Pluralists believe all religions are legitimate means of salvation. Karkkainen, *Theology of Religions*, 24. Different religions are only a part of the big-picture sacred reality we call God. Heath Bradley, *Flames of Love: Hell and Universal Salvation* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2012), 108.

[254] For an analysis of the expression *panta ta ethnē* in the Bible see Piper, *Let the Nations Be Glad!*, 177–82.

[255] Bruce Bauer, "O Desafio Restante," *Foco na Pessoa* 2, no. 4 (2013): 40–49.

[256] Gordon R. Doss, "The Challenges of Adventist Discipleship" (paper presented at the IFAMS/Swallen Mission Conference Discipleship in Context: Being All In for Christ in the Era of Social Media, Berrien Springs, MI, September 15-17, 2016), 1, accessed October 20, 2016, https://www.dropbox.com/s/t2r30069a8pkj1o/Gorden_Doss.pdf?dl=0

should not keep the church from understanding and undertaking their participation in the divine mission in similar broad terms.

The Remnant Seed

God's universal purpose of salvation is to be accomplished through the seed: the "seed" of the woman (Gen 3:15), the "seed" of Shem (Gen 9:27), and the "seed" of Abraham (Gen 12:1-3), which form one collective whole representing that ultimate "Seed," Jesus Christ, who is its final consummation. This concept is at the very core of the Seventh-day Adventist understanding of the remnant.[257] At all times, God has always had a faithful group of worshipers who realized there was a divine message to be lived at their specific time in history and accepted as God's commission to proclaim this message of hope and restoration to the world. From their origin, Seventh-day Adventists have seen themselves as the remnant of the end time.[258] However, being the remnant does not imply privilege, preference, or higher status in God's sight. On the contrary, it implies the responsibility of proclaiming God's last message of warning, hope, and restoration presented in Rev 14:6-12, to prepare the world for Christ's soon return. Thus, pastors and church leaders should constantly reinforce the conception that being the remnant should not be understood as a title to be advertised, but as a command to be obeyed: to be a

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[257] Ministerial Association General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Seventh-day Adventists Believe,* 152–70; P. Gerard Damsteegt, *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1977), 243–44; Angel Manuel Rodriguez, ed., *Toward a Theology of the Remnant* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2009), 17–226.

[258] As early as 1846, James White addressed the Adventist community as the Remnant in the pamphlet "A Word to the Little Flock." James White, Joseph Bates, and Ellen White, *A Word to the Little Flock* (New York: Teach Services, 2005), 32–48.

blessing to all peoples of the earth by living and proclaiming God's special message for the end time.

A Missionary Sending Church

Sending could be defined as the divine *modus operandi* for fulfilling God's mission. Simply described, the history of salvation is the stage where God's sending activity is displayed. Thus, participating in God's mission demands sending. and when the church sends, it is only performing a natural action in the process of engaging in what God has been doing.

Sending and Contextualizing

Closely associated with the missionary sending nature of the church is the fact that cross-cultural diffusion has always been necessary for the transmission of the Christian faith. Andrew Walls observes that it has been its life's blood, and without it the faith could not have survived. Since the first century, the church has been not only multiracial, but also multicultural. Besides, no single place, race, or culture has ever owned Christianity.[259] In addition, over the past two centuries the world has experienced unprecedented technological development in areas such as communication, transportation, and financial exchange, which have contributed to the advancement of missionary work. Missionaries are now coming and going from everywhere to everywhere. Considering this reality, contextualization[260] of the biblical message is

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[259] Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process,* 67.

[260] Contextualization has been defined as the work of transmitting the "never-changing Word of God in an ever-changing world," by Christians from strongly diverse cultural and theological backgrounds. As a result, the message is defined by Scripture but shaped by culture. Considering that all translation is

imperative. As a result, sending and contextualizing should go hand in hand. The church should see both dynamics as default prerequisites for effectively participating in God's mission.

<p style="text-align:center">Missionary Teams</p>

Missionary activity is better developed when missionaries work in teams. The New Testament records some thirty-five people who worked together with Paul on at least thirteen different teams. Indeed, one of the most important methods of expansion by the early Christian church was the formation of missionary bands.[261] Later generations of Christians built upon this principle, and in the following centuries, missionary teams continued to be one of the main tools for spreading the Christian faith. Examples of this can be found in the missionary work of (1) the Celtic Christian Communities—400s-600s—a monastic movement in Ireland; (2) the Waldensians—1100s—a reform movement in Italy; and (3) the Moravians—1700s—a Protestant church in Germany.[262] Currently, one way missionary teams can be composed is through the association of religious personnel, professionals in different areas, educators, and musicians. The committed people who form these teams could be recruited from among volunteer

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essentially imperfect, the goal is to convey the biblical message with minimal possible distortion. May Stan, "Ugly Americans or Ambassadors of Christ?" *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (2005): 346–52; A. Scott Moreau, *Contextualization in World Mission* (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 2012), 34; David Hesselgrave, "Great Commission Contextualization," *International Journal of Frontier Mission* 12, no. 3 (1995): 115–19; Stephen B. Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology* (New York: Orbis, 2002), 29.

[261] Winter, *Two Structures*, 2; Mellis, *Committed Communities,* 6–7; Grassi, *A World to Win*, 75–81; Pierson, *Dynamics of Christian Mission,* 29–40; Vanderwerf, "'Two Structures' of God's Mission," 8–9.

[262] Hunter, *Celtic Way of Evangelism*, 36–38, 47; Wylie, *History of Protestantism,* 1:23; Dawson, *Rise of Western Culture*, 58; Hutton, *History of Moravian Missions,* 166.

students, tentmakers,[263] and church workers. This principle should be particularly

appealing to the Seventh-day Adventist Church, considering that diversifying for the sake

of applying an integral approach has been a fundamental characteristic of Adventism.[264]

Organized Mission

When the Holy Spirit took the initiative of setting aside Barnabas and Paul for the

mission to the Gentiles, He taught the church about the crucial importance of organized

mission work. In this context, the church evidenced organization in at least three different

ways. First, by officially commissioning the missionaries. Paul not only had his

experience and strength to count on, he also had the fellowship of the faithful behind him

(Acts 13:3). Second, by sending them in teams. Even Paul, being the chosen vessel that

he was, had Barnabas beside him. Teams accomplish more than one individual can, and

do it better than each member of the team would separately. No single person has all the

talents (Acts 13:2). Third, by practicing accountability (Acts 14:27). This early

missionary practice seems to evidence that no one should go unrecognized, no one should

go alone, and no one should have their conscience as their only judge and ignore the

community of believers. Workers who chose to work independently instead of through an

interdependent model of operation have caused many failures in the mission field.

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[263] *Tentmakers* is the current most applied terminology to refer to the work of self-supported missionaries.

[264] Greenleaf, *Land of Hope,* 51-69; George R. Knight, *Em Busca de Identidade: O Desenvolvimento das Doutrinas Adventistas do Sétimo Dia* (Tatuí, SP: Casa Publicadora Brasileira, 2005).

The Fullness of Time

God has the control of His mission in His hands. Jesus was sent to the world in the "fullness of time" (Gal 4:16). In like manner, the mission to the Gentiles was launched in what could be described as the "fullness of time." Hastings points out that the Roman government had unified the world around the Mediterranean Sea, Greek was the universal common language that provided a common means of communication, Jewish synagogues all along the lines of trade had prepared the way for belief in the one true God, the roads were good, and the hunger and thirst for righteousness were great. Those contributing factors played an important role as necessary enabling vehicles for spreading the gospel message.[265] In like manner, around the year 2000 the convergence of various factors contributed to the creation of a global platform that allowed for the sharing of knowledge and work, in real time, independently of geography and distance, through the Internet. Since then, professionals from different areas and with different qualifications have developed a set of abilities and practices that allow us to explore more and more of the possibilities of the interconnected world. Over the past few years, over 3 billion people were suddenly inserted within this context. This phenomenon, defined by Friedman as the triple convergence,[266] has transformed the world forever, and now allows us to do mission in a more personal and broad way than ever before. A new fullness of time is at hand, and we need to adapt in order to effectively participate in God's mission.

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[265] Buttrick, *The Interpreter's Bible*, 9:167; Hastings, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1:197.

[266] Thomas Friedman, *The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005), 173–200.

The Role of the Holy Spirit

The only way one can effectively participate in God's mission is to submit to the leadership and guidance of the Holy Spirit. Before His crucifixion, Jesus told the disciples that it would be necessary for them to partner with the Holy Spirit in the work of witnessing about Him (John 15:26). After the resurrection and at the very moment that He commissioned them to continue His work of restoring this planet, He once again sent them, but not alone. His words were "receive the Holy Spirit" (John 20:21). At his ascension, Jesus ordered the disciples to wait for the fullness of the Holy Spirit before going out to reach the ends of the earth (Acts 1:8). When organized mission to the Gentile world was launched, it was the Holy Spirit who initiated and led the process (Acts 13:1-3). Thus, having the fullness of the Holy Spirit and being sensitive to His lead is not optional for missionaries who desire to be relevant in partnering with God in His mission.

This chapter sought to provide biblical and theological basis for mission organizations by suggesting that the missionary God of the Bible is a sending God, and the Bible is the revelation of God's purpose and action in mission. God has the control of His mission in His hands. His everlasting sovereignty is the guarantee that His mission will be fulfilled. Nevertheless, God invites His servants to cooperate with Him in the process of restoring this planet to its original state. When Jesus sent the disciples, He was simply announcing a continuation of the mission to which the Father had sent Him. In this context, sending becomes the modus operandi of the divine-human partnership in mission. Thus, a mission-sending God and a mission-sending church have been working together to restore everything that was lost as a result of the fall. The next chapter will

present historical lessons from five representative mission-sending movements of the

Christian faith.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL LESSONS FROM MISSION-

SENDING STRUCTURES

The establishment of mission-sending organizations became popular in the nineteenth century with the rise of the modern missionary movement and the creation of mission societies. Long before that time, however, missionary structures were already functioning and in great measure were responsible for the transmission and spread of the Christian faith.

Five movements will be briefly studied in this chapter: (1) the Celtic Christian Communities—400s-600s—a monastic movement in Ireland; (2) the Waldensians—1100s—a reform movement in Italy and France; (3) the Moravians—1700s—a Protestant church in Germany; (4) mission societies—1800s—foreign mission organizations in Europe and in the United States; and (5) Adventism—1889-1901 as a denominational foreign mission organization in the United States, and 1901-2010 as a worldwide denominational organization.

The Celtic Christian Communities

Celtic people inhabited Ireland in the fifth century.[1] This great island, a region of

peace where the German tribes had not brought the sword,[2] lay outside the confines of the

Roman Empire and was different from Greco-Latin culture.[3] Druids, members of the

learned class who acted as religious leaders, philosophers, teachers, magicians, and

soothsayers,[4] controlled the "Emerald" island.

Within this context, the gospel message was brought to the Celtic people.[5] Even

though Palladius had been named the first bishop of Ireland in 431,[6] Patrick (ca. 385–ca.

460) is considered the great missionary from Britain to this land, where a distinct,

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[1] About the social, economic, and religious contexts of Ireland in the fifth century, see Liam de Paor, *Saint Patrick's World: The Christian Culture of Ireland's Apostolic Age* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1993), 23–37; John MacNeill, *St Patrick: Apostle of Ireland* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1934), 53–68.

[2] Peter Berresford Ellis, *The Druids* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974), 32.

[3] Blocher and Blandenier, *Evangelization of the World,* 57.

[4] About the Druids and their role in Celtic society, see Ellis, *The Druids*, 157–250; A. L. Owen, *The Famous Druids: A Survey of Three Centuries of English Literature on the Druids* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1962), 27–58; Ward Rutherford, *The Druids and their Heritage* (London: Gordon and Cremonesi, 1978), 54-90; Glyn Daniel, *The Druids* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968), 91-130; Godfrey Higgins, *The Celtic Druids; Or, an Attempt to Shew, that the Druids Were the Priests of Oriental Colonies who Emigrated from India and were the Introducers of the First or Cadmean System of Letters, and the Builders of Stonehenge, of Carnac, and of other Cyclopean Works, in Asia and Europe* (London: Rowland Hunter, 1829), 271–301.

[5] About early Christianity in Ireland, see Thomas O'Loughlin, *Discovering Saint Patrick* (New York: Paulist Press, 2005), 28–42.

[6] Palladius was consecrated as a bishop and sent as a missionary to Ireland by Pope Celestinus (pope from 422-432), but died three years later in 432, the year of Patrick's arrival. Blocher and Blandenier, *Evangelization of the World,* 59. Cróinín challenges the common perception that no documents survived from the Palladian mission by suggesting that at least one of the texts associated with the official mission did: Palladius' Easter table. Dáihhí Ó Cróinín, *Early Irish History and Chronology* (Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts Press, 2003), 28–34.

influential, and intensely mission-minded type of monasticism[7] was developed.[8]

Patrick and the Origin of the Movement

Patrick was born in a British Christian family on the west coast of what today is Great Britain.[9] His grandfather, Potitus, was a priest, and his father, Calpornius, a deacon of a small church. His father was also a Roman Decurion and enjoyed the title of *Patricius,* which Patrick inherited.[10]

According to his *Confession*,[11] when Patrick was sixteen, a time in his life when he showed little interest in spiritual matters, Scottish pirates captured him along with

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[7] Bosch points out that monasticism had its origins in the Eastern church, particularly in Egypt. When it flourished in the West, it differed from Eastern monasticism in in that Eastern monasticism was, on the whole, an individual affair. The solitary ascetics of the desert often shunned community life, and perhaps, for this reason, so many of them were in the course of time were lost to orthodoxy. Western monasticism, on the contrary, was essentially communal and carefully structured. More importantly, whereas Eastern monasticism was very dependent on the state, due to the monastic legislation of Justinian, Western monasticism was far more independent of government interference. The great legislators were not, as in the East, the emperors, but monks. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 231.

[8] About the development of monasticism see Latourette, *History of Christianity*, 1:224–34; Bruce, *Spreading Flame,* 371–96; Harry R. Boer, *A Short History of the Early Church* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1976), 132.

[9] For a biographical account of his life and work, see R. P. C. Hanson, *Saint Patrick: His Origins and Career* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 106–212; Ruth A. Tucker, *Missões Até os Confins da Terra* (São Paulo, SP: Shedd Publicações, 2010), 41–45.

[10] *Decurion* was an official title in ancient Rome given to those in certain military or administrative positions. A decurion could be: (1) a member of the senatorial order in towns under the administration of Rome; (2) a leader of a decuria, a group of ten people under his command; and (3) an officer in the Roman cavalry commanding a group of thirty-two men. Hanson points out that there are very few examples in the late Roman Empire of soldiers being ordained as clergy. If Calpornius had been a soldier, he would be exceptional not only as a landowner but also as a deacon. Hanson, *Saint Patrick,* 115–16; de Paor, *Saint Patrick's World,* 43.

[11] The earliest manuscript of the *Confession* was copied by the scribe Feardomhnach into the Book of Armagh early in the ninth century. Armagh was the name of the primatial church in Ireland, which claimed Patrick as their founder. See a recent translation of Patrick's *Confession* in Philip Freeman, *The World of Saint Patrick* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 17–36. About the foundation and development of Armagh, see A. B. E. Hood, ed. and trans., *St. Patrick: His Writings and Muirchu's Life* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978), 9–11; E. J. Newell, *St. Patrick: His Life and Teaching* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1907), 140–51.

other people. He was taken as a slave to Ireland and put to hard work. Under these

unfortunate conditions, Patrick remembered the faith of his parents, who were devout

Christians. About the influence of those years of captivity on his spiritual development,

he wrote:

> The Lord opened the understanding of my unbelieving heart, so I remembered, late, as it was, my sins. I converted with all my heart to the Lord God, who considered my baseness, took pity on my youth and ignorance, watched over me before I knew him and before I was sensible and able to distinguish between good and evil, strengthened me and consoled me as a father consoles his son.[12]

> His faith was deepened and affirmed by suffering:

> I took the livestock to graze each day, and I prayed often in the day. The love of God and his fear invaded me more and more, my faith grew, my spirit followed its own desire, so that I was saying about one hundred prayers in a single day and about as many in a single night, so that I was living in the forest and on the mountain, so that I rose before the day to pray in the snow, frost, and rain, so that I was feeling no evil, and so that there was no idleness in me—as I see it now—for then a spirit full of ardor was in me.[13]

> After six years in captivity, Patrick was taken by the conviction that God would

help him to escape. On a certain night, he heard in a dream[14] a voice saying, "Look, your

ship is ready."[15] He managed to get permission to board a ship that was leaving Ireland

for Gaul. After some time of freedom, he was captured again, this time on the continent

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[12] Saint Patrick, *The Confession of Saint Patrick,* ed. and trans. D. R. Howlett (Liguori, MO: Triumph Books, 1996), 46–47.

[13] Ibid., 60–61.

[14] For a contemporary analysis of Patrick's dreams, see Noel Dermot O'Donoghue, *Aristocracy of the Soul: Patrick of Ireland* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1987), 7–25.

[15] Patrick, *Confession of Saint Patrick*, 61.

for a period of two months. On the sixtieth night of his second captivity he escaped again, and about the year 407 he was able to finally return to his family.[16]

In the following years, Patrick went to Gaul, where he became a priest and perhaps a monk.[17] If he himself did not become a monk, he was under strong monastic influence and had direct contact with the great center of Gallic monasticism at Lerins.[18] It was during this new phase of his life that he understood God was calling him to be a missionary. The narrative below is an excerpt from his *Confession*:

> I was again in Britain in the house of my parents, who welcomed me as a son and beseeched me not to leave to go elsewhere, henceforth all the more so after all the difficulties that I had endured. It was then that I saw in a nocturnal vision a man by the name of Victoricus, who appeared to come from Ireland with innumerable letters. He gave me one of them and I read the beginning where it was written: "Call of the Irish"; and while I was reading, I believed that I heard in the same instant the call of those who lived beside the forest of Voclute, which is close to the Western sea, and

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[16] For a detailed analysis of Patrick's narrative of this phase of life in his *Confession,* see E. A. Thompson, *Who Was Saint Patrick?* (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1986), 16–36.

[17] Mohrmann questions if Patrick himself was a monk. She maintains that "there is not a single indication or clue in [Patrick's] language that he personally had anything to do with monasticism." She also notes that Patrick's vocabulary is fairly uninfluenced by monasticism. Christine Mohrmann*, The Latin of Saint Patrick: Four Lectures* (Dublin, Ireland: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1961), 27. Grosjean, on the other hand, affirms that Patrick was a monk, even though he recognizes that Patrick could not have become a monk in Britain, since monasticism was not present in that region before 430. Paul Grosjean, "Notes d'hagiographie celtique" [Celtic hagiography notes], *Analecta Bollandiana: Revue critique d'hagiographie* [Analecta Bollandiana: A journal of critical hagiography] 75, no. 1 (1957): 158–226, 373–420, cf. Hanson, *Saint Patrick*, 142. Hanson points out that the first half of the fifth century was a still a period of only incipient monasticism in the West and the absence of a fully formed monastic technical language should not be a surprise. Hanson, *Saint Patrick*, 154.

[18] Much of what is known about the sequence of events in Patrick's life from this moment on is dependent on the account of the monk Muirchu, who was born sometime in the seventh century and wrote a history of St. Patrick not long before the year 700. About this phase of Patrick's life, he says: "Having navigated the sea south of Britain, he began to journey through Gaul, intending to fulfill the wish of his heart and ultimately to cross the alps. He had the supreme good fortune to come upon the lord Germanus, the most bishop of the city of Auxerre. He delayed with him for a long time. A virgin in body and spirit, and in full subjection, patience and obedience, he learned, cherished and practiced knowledge, wisdom, chastity and every good of spirit and soul, in great fear and love of God and with goodness and simplicity of heart." Muirchu moccu Machtheni,*"Vita sancti Patricii"* [The life of Saint Patrick], in de Paor, *Saint Patrick's World,* 178; see an alternative translation of the document in Freeman, *World of Saint Patrick*, 55–94. About the influence of Gaulish monasticism on Patrick's life, see Dawson, *Rise of Western Culture*, 49–50.

here is what they were crying as a single voice: "Holy boy, we pray to you to come again to walk among us." My heart was profoundly moved, and I could not continue my reading. At that point I arose.[19]

However, it would take many years before Patrick was prepared and ready to fulfill that call. His training as a clergyman ran from 415 to 432, when he studied philosophy and theology. Even though he was aware of not having acquired a higher education, [20] he developed a profound knowledge of the Latin Bible.[21] His great desire was to be consecrated a bishop so he would be permitted to found churches and ordain priests.[22] In 432, after a long wait, when Patrick was forty-seven years old, Bishop Amatorex ordained him as a bishop in Gaul[23] and he was finally able to return to Ireland with a missionary team of Gaulish monks.[24]

From the beginning, his missionary efforts suffered incessant opposition from the Druid priests. Power encounters were not uncommon, but apparently, God performed many miracles through Patrick in order to confront the pagan religion long established on

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[19] Patrick, *Confession of Saint Patrick*, 69–70.

[20] Hanson notes that Patrick is embarrassingly conscious of his lack of education. It was already something of a convention for a writer to protest at the beginning of his work that he was insufficiently educated, but Patrick's self-deprecation in his *Confession* goes well beyond convention. In spite of this, he credits to God the fact that he was able to succeed in the conversion of well-educated people. He says: "I cannot discourse to well-educated people with conciseness of speech, as my spirit and soul desire and my sentiments point the way." However, he comforts himself that "rustic ways have been provided by the most high." Hanson, *Saint Patrick*, 125.

[21] Evidence of this suggestion is observed throughout his writings. See a translation of Patrick's most important writings in Freeman, *World of Saint Patrick*, 3–42. Mohrmann suggests that there is a lack of culture and school education in Patrick's Latin and he recurrently quotes the Bible because the words of the Bible come more readily to him than the words of ordinary speech. Mohrmann, *The Latin of Saint Patrick,* 9–12.

[22] Thompson, *Who Was Saint Patrick?,* 76–78.

[23] Muirchu,*"Vita sancti Patricii," in de Paor, *Saint Patrick's World,* 179.

[24] De Paor, *Saint Patrick's World,* 43.

the island. One of the most remarkable examples of God's intervention was seen in the

early conversion of Loiguire, King of Tara, who became an important supporter.[25] Patrick

stayed in Ireland until his death and was the first Christian to make a substantial number

of converts, leaving behind a lasting and organized church.[26]

Missionary Strategy

For thirty years Patrick traveled with a group of monks throughout Ireland,

building a church that would spread throughout the entire country.[27] Among those who

maintained the ancient Celtic culture, many poets, genealogists, jurists, and philosophers

converted to the faith.[28] Many men and women of royal blood accepted his message and

took a leading part in the conversion of their countrymen. [29]

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[25] Muirchu,*"Vita sancti Patricii,"* in de Paor, *Saint Patrick's World,* 179–80. In the same way Bultmann interpreted the gospels, Hanson tries to demythologize Patrick's life. For him, this particular event, along with others in Patrick's life such as the vision in which the angel Victoricus speaks to him, his education in Gaul, and his commissioning by the bishop of Rome are only glamorous features that tradition attached to his history. R. P. C. Hanson, *The Life and Writings of the Historical Saint Patrick* (New York: Seabury Press, 1983), 1. Hood challenges this view. He argues that, even though a flood of fiction was added to his memory, Patrick's life is exceptionally well recorded and reliable sources are preserved. Two of his own writings are available and Muirchu's biography of his life, written about two hundred years later, draws upon lost contemporary texts. Hood analyzes and reproduces these documents, in the original Latin with an English translation, along with external records that explain the circumstances of his appointment. Hood, *St. Patrick*, 1–98.

[26] Hood, *St. Patrick*, 1.

[27] See a detailed account of the progress of the missionary work of Patrick and his associates in MacNeill, *St Patrick,* 69–79. Thompson points out that Patrick is certainly not exaggerating when he says several times that he preached in a region beyond which no man lives, that is, a region bordering on the West sea, and that he ordained clergy in those wild and distant places. Thompson, *Who Was Saint Patrick?,* 85.

[28] Cróinín states that three main methods of conversion in late antiquity have been proposed: miracles, money, and coercion. Evidence of the usage of these methods is found in the records of the Irish saints' lives. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland, 400—1200* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 29.

[29] Dawson points out, "There is no doubt that early Irish monasticism was a great mass movement led by the sons and daughters of the ruling families who founded the monasteries and were followed by their fellow tribesmen." Dawson also notes that points of correspondence between the patterns of pagan and monastic culture (the chieftain with his company of warriors and the abbot with his community; the

Patrick, in turn, brought his most zealous converts into monastic communities where they were disciplined and trained to go back out as evangelists.[30] The monasteries became essentially "schools of the service of the Lord." The system multiplied itself[31] as Patrick's disciples established other monasteries that became new centers of mission.[32] Their monastic communities were characterized by high spirituality, austerity of discipline, and remarkable intellectual knowledge. Their ascetic practices were very demanding.[33] Even so, it has been reported that in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries there were thousands of monks in Ireland.[34] While cultural decline was taking place in the Roman Empire, Ireland became a distinguished civilization.

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cult to hero and the cult to the saints and martyrs; the oral tradition of heroic poetry and the literary tradition of the sacred Scriptures) made it possible for the people to pass from the one to the other by a profound change in their beliefs and their system of moral values without losing vital contact with their old social tradition. Dawson, *Rise of Western Culture,* 50. Hood notes that Patrick's numerous converts included the sons and daughters of local kings, slaves, and persons of varying statuses in between. Hood, *St. Patrick*, 7. Patrick, however, did not find a smooth path as he carried on his work. He met persistent opposition from regional rulers and was imprisoned at least twice for short periods, but suffered no greater violence. Even by the end of his ministry martyrdom was still a real possibility for him. Many times he found it necessary to purchase protection or immunity from violence by giving gifts to the Irish kings. He says, "I used to give presents to the kings, besides the rewards that I gave to their sons who travel with me, and nevertheless, they seized me along with my companions, and on that day they eagerly wanted to kill me, but my time had not yet come." Patrick, *Confession of Saint Patrick*, 101–2.

[30] Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants in Context,* 171. About Patrick's work as a trainer see Newell, *St. Patrick*, 140–51. About the physical structure and organization of the Celtic monastic communities, see Máire and Liam de Paor, *Early Christian Ireland* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1960), 52–64.

[31] Hood points out that both the Irish and British traditions emphasize that in southern and central Ireland the Christian church was founded independently of Patrick a generation after his time. The mass of the Irish population was not converted until the expansion of the monastic reform, in the middle decades of the sixth century. Hood, *St. Patrick*, 1.

[32] Pierson, *Dynamics of Christian Mission*, 72.

[33] Monks had their hands extended for many hours of daily prayer, as well as prolonged immersion in cold water, even during the winter, to master the temptations of the flesh. Blocher and Blandenier, *Evangelization of the World,* 59.

[34] Dawson, *Rise of Western Culture,* 56.

Moreover, the Celtic Christian communities applied a variety of resources in order to communicate the gospel. They engaged the imagination of the people through storytelling and poetry. Music also was an important tool, since the Celtic people were as music oriented as any people in history, and sang as they played, worked, and prayed. They also illustrated their message through the visual arts.[35]

It should be noticed that the church in Ireland developed its own organizational structure following the monastic format rather than the diocesan model that was practiced in the Roman Church. Indeed, with the passing of time it seems that the parish clergy and the diocesan structures disappeared, since communities of monks led parishes and the authority of the local community soon supplanted that of the bishop.[36] Dawson points out that the bishop often was a subordinate member of the monastic community who possessed the power of ordination, but no territorial jurisdiction or hierarchical authority.[37]

Additionally, one of the peculiarities of the movement was the place that women had in it. In Irish society, women had a privileged position,[38] and the same was true in the

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[35] Hunter, *Celtic Way of Evangelism*, 56–75.

[36] Latourette points out, " In contrast with Gaul, where the bishop controlled the monastery, in Ireland the monastery controlled the bishop." Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity,* vol. 2, *The Thousand Years of Uncertainty: A.D. 500–A.D. 1500* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938), 36–37.

[37] Hood points out that bishops and priests were reduced to the status of ecclesiastical officials, necessary for the performance of certain specified ritual functions such as baptism, confirmation, marriage, burial, and other sacraments. From the sixth century onwards, most of the recorded bishops were monks, detached from their abbeys to serve the needs of the laity. Hood, *St. Patrick*, 11; Dawson, *Rise of Western Culture,* 56.

[38] Cróinín emphasizes that early Irish society was patriarchal and every aspect of social, legal, political, and cultural life was dominated by men, as was the case in every medieval European society.

Irish church. Brigid (450–520) assembled the first women's community and then founded

a monastery at Kildare around the year 500.[39] Darerca is another plausible example of a

monastic foundress at the beginning of the sixth century.[40] Later, several mixed abbeys

were founded where women could assist priests in their ceremonial activities and even

distribute communion—inconceivable in the Roman Church.

Missionary Expansion

By the time of Patrick's death in 460 AD, Ireland had become a center of cultural

and spiritual influence. In the following century, the Irish monks expanded the movement

far beyond the confines of the "isle of the saints."[41] They reached the European continent,

and in the seventh century, Irish monasteries could be found from the west coast of

Ireland to Kiev in Russia. [42]

However, women in Ireland appear to have enjoyed a greater degree of independence than in contemporary Germanic kingdoms on the continent. Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland,* 128.

[39] De Paor points out, "The nature and importance of Kildare for many centuries are indisputable testimony to the foundation of a major episcopal church under female governance." De Paor, *Saint Patrick's World,* 43. For a translated extract of the document Irish monk Cogitosus wrote about the year ca. 650 on Brigid's life, see "Cogitosus's Life of St Brigid the Virgin," in De Paor, *Saint Patrick's World,* 43, 207–224; Freeman, *World of Saint Patrick*, 95–128; John O'Hanlon, *Life of St. Brigid, Virgin: First Abbess of Kildare, Special Patroness of Kildare Diocese, and General Patroness of Ireland* (Dublin, Ireland: Joseph Dollard, 1877), 1–224.

[40] Darerca, sister of Patrick, was abbess of Kilsleve or Belsleibhe. She died in ca. 517 or 518. See a translated excerpt of an ancient document on her life in "The Life of St Darerca, or Moninna, the Abbess," in De Paor, *Saint Patrick's World,* 281–94.

[41] The monk Brendan (d. 577), for example, went as far as Greenland and perhaps even America, even though there is no evidence that he evangelized to locals or founded monasteries. Liam de Paor, *Ireland and Early Europe: Essays and Occasional Writings on Art and Culture* (Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts Press, 1994), 105–112.

[42] Blocher and Blandenier, *Evangelization of the World*, 63.

One of the most remarkable traits of this missionary movement was the autonomous self-propagating fashion in which it was developed. There was no central command to coordinate the sending of missionaries. Instead, the strength of the movement lay in the fact that each monastery became a center where missionaries were trained and sent out, and to which they returned to share their missionary experiences. Thus, the missionary fervor and enthusiasm were being transmitted to a growing number of aspirant missionary monks.

The monks went out in missionary teams and devoted themselves to specific communities where they preached the gospel and served society, thus applying direct and indirect approaches for the purpose of evangelizing and civilizing. Hard work was a fundamental principle of their missions. They constructed roads and bridges, built fences, served as carpenters, cleared the forest, drained the marshes, and built safer houses. Cultivating the soil was the economic basis of the monastic life. Hard agricultural work provided food, drink, and clothing, as well as stability in service—two essential elements for the development of religious life.[43] Bosch points out that "Each monastery was a vast complex of buildings, churches, workshops, stores, and almshouses—a hive of activities for the benefit of the entire surrounding community."[44]

Celtic monasteries also became important centers of culture and education. The old tradition of learning found a safe haven in the monastery. Cróinín points out that the

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[43] Dawson remarks, "It was the disciplined and tireless labor of the monks that turned the tide of barbarism in Western Europe and brought back into cultivation the lands which had been deserted and depopulated in the age of the invasions." Dawson, *Rise of Western Culture,* 53.

[44] Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 232.

flowering of literature and learning in early Ireland is indelibly linked with the rise of

Christian monastic schools, which came to prominence in the second half of the sixth

century.[45] Even before the close of the sixth century, the Irish schools had already

established a firm pattern of study: Latin grammar, biblical exegesis, and the

ecclesiastical calendar were the three pillars of the curriculum.[46]

Monks taught the people how to write and read as well as teaching arts and

sciences such as Latin, calligraphy, painting, and music, which were necessary for the

maintenance of the church and liturgy. Thus, in an age of insecurity and disorder, the

monks embodied and transmitted the ideals of "spiritual order and disciplined moral

activity," which in time "permeated the entire church, indeed, the entire society."[47]

The Irish monks developed a culture of total abandonment for the sake of the

gospel. They believed themselves to have achieved the highest level of perfection when,

after having left their families to live in a monastery, they left the monastery to found

another in a foreign land. As a result, new monasteries were constantly and

simultaneously being formed at different locations to become new centers of spirituality,

education, and culture.

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[45] Cróinín notes that within that period Irish scribes developed a peculiar variety of script, and employed it in two distinct registers—the majuscule for important Biblical and liturgical manuscripts, and the minuscule, which they used for everything else. They also introduced for the first time word-separation, capitalization of initial letters, and punctuation, together with a system of signs, which they used to indicate the grammatical relationship of the word in Latin. Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland,* 169–72.

[46] Evidence of this suggestion is found in the six genuine letters of Columban. Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland*, 177.

[47] Dawson, *Rise of Western Culture*, 48, 51.

All these activities composed the Celtic paradigm of *missionary work*.[48] The driving force constantly pushing the movement beyond its own borders was the ascetic ideal of pilgrimage—*peregrinandi pro Christo*—combined with a spirit of active missionary enterprise.[49] However, considering their contribution to the spread of Christianity, it seems evident that the missionary motive was prominent rather than incidental. Probably it was dominant.

Columba, Columban, and the Evangelization of Europe

Columba[50] (ca. 520–597), "the apostle of Scotland," was born in northern Ireland. He belonged to one of the royal families and was heir to the important kingdom of Tara. He became a monk and was instructed under Finnian (d. 549), one of the principal successors of Patrick.[51]

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[48] I disagree with Bosch's understanding that some monastic communities, including the Celtic ones, were not intentionally missionary, in spite of their missionary conduct. Patrick's *Confession*, for example, reveals a deep understanding of his missionary call and evidences the intentionality of his missionary efforts. Patrick, *Confession of Saint Patrick*, 87–89; Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 233. It could be said, however, that Anglo-Saxon monks had a higher degree of intentionality. The Venerable Bede, *Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of The English People,* ed. and trans. Thomas Miller, 4 vols. (London: Early English Text Society, 1890), 2:247. Blocher and Blandenier's research provides abundant evidence that the evangelization of the world did not happen by chance, accidentally, or unintentionally. On the contrary, it took place whenever God moved people to consciously and intentionally partner with Him in His mission. Blocher and Blandenier, *Evangelization of the World,* 8–672.

[49] Latourette, *History of the Expansion of Christianity,* 2:39*;* Dawson, *Rise of Western Culture*, 57.

[50] Adamnan (AD 625?–704) was an abbot of Iona who authored the most important book on the life of his cousin Columba. The manuscript, probably written between 697 and 700, is a historical document of life and culture among the Scots of Britain and Ireland in Adamnan's own time, and of the beliefs and practices of the Celtic Christian communities. See a literatim copy of the Schaffhausen manuscript (written early in the eighth century and one of only four preserved today) in Saint Adamnan, *Adomnan's Life of Columba*, ed. and trans. Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1961), 179–545.

[51] Tucker*, Missões Até os Confins da Terra,* 45–47.

In 563 he left Ireland with eleven companions for Iona, a small island close to the

Scottish coast.[52] His monastery at Iona became one of the chief centers of Christianity in

the far west of Europe[53] from which the evangelization of Scotland and northern Britain

proceeded.[54]

Columban (ca. 543-615), in turn, is considered one of the most dynamic

personalities produced by the Celtic church. Born in Ireland of a noble family, at a young

age he was a lord and poet. He joined the monastic community of Bangor in Ulster,

where he mastered Latin and Greek and became a profound student of the Scriptures.[55]

He wrote a commentary on the book of Psalms and composed poems.[56]

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[52] The island of Iona became one of the principal sites associated with early Irish Christianity, important not only ecclesiastically, but also culturally and artistically. The community came to an end by the end of the eighth century, after many Viking raids, when the main body of monks moved to central Ireland. De Paor, *Ireland and Early Europe,* 116–17.

[53] Around 731, Roman Catholic monk Bede wrote *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (Ecclesiastical History of the English People), in which he states that, as soon as King Oswald succeeded to the throne, it was his desire that all the people he ruled over should be instructed in the Christian faith. He sent envoys to the chief men of Scotland, among whom he had been an exile, and by whom he had been baptized, begging them to send a bishop to preach to his people. They gladly sent him a bishop named Aidan, "from the island and monastery which is called Iona." Bede notes, "For a long time this monastery was the chief seat and ruling authority among all the North Scots and monasteries of the Picts, and was their superior in ruling their communities." Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 1:161.

[54] Bede points out: "At that time many came daily from the land of the Scots into Britain; and with great fervor preached and Christ's faith in the tribes of English under Oswald's rule. And those who belonged to the priesthood, administered baptism to them. And churches were also build in many places, and the people of English race flocked there eagerly to hear the word of God, which they preached and taught. And the king gave and bestowed on them possessions and land for the erection of a monastery; and Scots instructed young and old with monastic discipline." Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 1:159; Neill, *History of Christian Missions*, 60; Latourette, *History of the Expansion of Christianity,* 2:46–60; Earle E. Cairns, *Christianity Through the Centuries: A History of the Christian Church* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1981), 124–29; Justo L. González and Carlos Cardoza Orlandi, *História do movimento missionário* [History of the missionary movement] (São Paulo, Brazil: Imprensa da Fé, 2008), 102–4.

[55] Latourette, *History of the Expansion of Christianity,* 2:41.

[56] Cróinín notes that Columban's writings show us the finished product of the Irish schools, the trained scholar. Even in translation, there is a nobility of language, particularly in his letters, in which he applied different styles to suit the occasion and the audience he was addressing. These texts are numbered

Columban was almost fifty years old when he left with eleven companions for Gaul, where he founded a monastery in Luxeuil, which for a time became the center of their labors.[57] In continental Europe they faced the challenges of converting barbarian peoples, converting Arian barbarians to orthodox Christianity, and promoting new spiritual life among the lax Christian population.[58] It was through him and his disciples that the Celtic Christian communities first became a force in continental European culture. He brought new life to monasticism, and most of the great monastic founders of the seventh century were his disciples or influenced by him. His journey to the continent became the starting point of a movement of monastic reform, which extended to regions currently in western France, Italy, southern Germany, Switzerland, and Austria.[59]

Broadbent provides a detailed description of the Celtic monks' missionary approach on the European continent:

> Their method was to visit a country and, where it seemed suitable, found a missionary village. In the centre they built a simple wooden church, around which were clustered school-rooms and huts for the monks, who were the builders, preachers, and teachers. Outside this circle, as required, dwellings were built for the students and their families, who gradually gathered around them. The whole was enclosed by a wall, but the colony often spread beyond the original enclosure. Groups of twelve monks would go out, each under the leadership of an abbot, to open up fresh fields for the gospel. Those who remained taught in the school, and, as soon as they had

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among the genuinely original Irish contributions to medieval civilization. Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland,* 197–200.

[57] Columban left this region after strong controversies with the bishops of Gaul and the royal family of Burgundy, in whose territories Columban's monasteries lay. He was ordered to leave the country, and he went to Italy, where he was received with honor by the Lombards and, with faithful followers, established a monastic community in Bobbio, in the mountains between Milan and Genoa. He died a few years later. Latourette, *History of the Expansion of Christianity,* 2:42–43.

[58] Phillip Sheldrake, *Living Between Worlds: Place and Journey in Celtic Spirituality* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1995), 44.

[59] Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 233; Latourette, *History of the Expansion of Christianity,* 2:39, 44.

sufficiently learned the language of the people among whom they were, translated and wrote portions of Scripture, and also hymns, which they taught in their schools. They were free to marry or to remain single; many remained single so that they might have greater liberty for the work. When some converts were made, the missionaries chose form among them small groups of young men who had the ability, trained them specially in some handcraft and languages, and taught them the Bible and how to explain it to others, so that they might be able to work among their own people. They delayed baptism until those professing faith had received a certain amount of instruction and had given some proof of steadfastness. They avoided attacking the religions of the people, counting it more profitable to preach the truth than to expose their errors.[60]

For at least two centuries, Iro-Scot missionaries evangelized Europe. However, the eruption of the Irish church into Europe brought its differences with Rome into sharp and controversial focus.[61] Dawson points out that the rule of Columban was too severe to become the normal standard of religious life in continental Europe. It was gradually tempered by the influence of the rule of Benedict, but the two traditions clashed as well as influenced and stimulated one another. This process reached its climax in the beginning of the eighth century and shaped the whole culture of Western monasticism in the Dark Ages. It came to an end in the beginning of the ninth century due to the Viking invasions.[62]

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[60] E. H. Broadbent, *The Pilgrim Church: Being Some Account of The Continuance Through Succeeding Centuries of Churches Practising the Principles Taught and Exemplified in the New Testament* (London: Fleming H. Revell, 1955), 34–35; about the general setup of the Celtic monastic communities see Sheldrake, *Living Between Worlds*, 38–44.

[61] Hood points out that Rome demanded conformity. The Irish episcopate was out of step with Europe because their many sees were unfixed, and their bishops owed no allegiance to a metropolitan archbishop, but were each subject to their own abbot. An effective agreement was reached at a synod conveyed at Birr in central Ireland in 697, under the presidency of Adomnan, abbot of Iona and biographer of Columba, at which Muirchu and many other ecclesiastics were present. Hood, *St. Patrick*, 12–13.

[62] Dawson, *Rise of Western Culture*, 58–60.

In fact, even secular historians recognize that "the greatest service of the Irish monks was the new movement of missionary expansion which did so much to spread Christianity throughout Western Europe in the seventh and eighth centuries."[63] Moreover, Niebuhr points out that "monasticism became the builder of the church and the most effective agency in the fashioning of medieval culture," and "only monasticism saved it [the church] from acquiescence, petrification and complete loss of its revolutionary character."[64]

Celtic Christian Community Beliefs

The most authentic documents of the Celtic Christian communities, especially Patrick's *Confession*, seem to show that the movement had a more evangelical appeal. Their theology was based on the person and work of Jesus Christ and appears to minimize the traditions that the Roman Church had introduced with no scriptural foundation. Moreover, it is remarkable that Patrick's theology does not seem to have

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[63] Ibid., 57.

[64] H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Kingdom of God in America* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1979), 74.

been influenced by the Pelagian[65] tendencies then current among British theologians.[66] The testimony of Patrick's *Confession* is one of awareness, recognition, and gratitude for the work of the sovereign grace of God in his life.[67]

Additionally, Patrick seems to indicate his belief in an imminent second coming of Jesus.[68] He sees his missionary works as a response of gratitude for what God has done for him and in cooperation with the fulfillment of Mat 24:14 in his time. He says:

> Whence therefore I give unwearied thanks to my God, who has kept me faithful on the day of my trial, so that I today may confidently offer sacrifice to Him, my soul as a living host to Christ my Lord, so that I unknowing and in the final days may dare to approach this work so pious and so wondrous, so that I to some degree may imitate those whom the Lord long before now had said beforehand as going to herald His own Gospel, as a testimonial to all the gentiles before the end of the world, which we

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[65] Unlike Augustine, the English monk Pelagius affirmed the human capacity to seek and practice Good, minimizing the role of divine grace. Writing against Pelagianism Pope Celestine says: "Indeed there are teachers of this doctrine who contaminated the purity of Catholic minds by slandering the defenders of Grace. And they believe that, if they have broken down this mighty watchtower of the shepherd with repeated blows of the Pelagian battering-ram, they can overthrow all the defenses of authority…. At that time their artifices were shattered. When the a synod of Palestinian Bishops constrained Pelagius to condemn himself and his people by revealing his ideas; ...when the blessed bishop Augustine, who was the most learned of all, produced his answers to the books of the Pelagians." Prosper of Aquitaine, "Liber Contra Collatorem" [Against the collator], in *Patrilogia Latina,* edited by J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Parisiis, Franca: Migne, 1881), 51:269–70, cf. De Paor, *Saint Patrick's World,* 70–72. A probable explanation for Patrick's rejection of Pelagianism is the fact that Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, under whom Patrick was instructed for many years until his commissioning to Ireland in 432, opposed Pelagianism and was chosen along with Lupus, bishop of Troyers, to travel to Britain in 429 to combat the doctrine, after a deputation from Britain had appealed to the bishops of Gaul, who held a synod on the matter. Hanson, *Saint Patrick*, 48–49.

[66] About the origin and development of his doctrine in Great Britain, see MacNeill, *St Patrick*, 38–40; Hanson, *Saint Patrick*, 35–70.

[67] Patrick, *Confession of Saint Patrick*, 34–112.

[68] De Paor points out, "He believed that he represented the fulfillment of prophecy. He had brought the Christian faith to the remotest edge of the ocean. The Gospel had now being preached throughout the inhabited earth, and the end of the world accordingly was near." De Paor, *Saint Patrick's World,* 95. O'Loughlin notes, "If Patrick imagines his location as being the last place of the lands, he has a similar view of his place in History: he belongs to the last times, and the end is imminent. The end will not be delayed very long after the completion of his own work in Ireland. He develops this theme by seeing a direct relationship between the preaching of the gospel and the close of human history. Thomas O'Loughlin, *St Patrick: The Man and His Works* (London: Triangle, 1999), 44.

therefore have seen so, and so it has been fulfilled. Look, we are testifiers that the Gospel has been proclaimed as far as where there is no man beyond.[69]

In like manner, Columban (ca. 543–615), who was one of the most remarkable missionaries produced by the Celtic Christian communities, wrote in 565 the poem *Altus Prosator*, in which he states,

> The day of the Lord, the all just king of Kings is at hand, a day of wrath and vengeance and the cloud of darkness, of marvelous strong thunder, of bitter grief and woe, on which love and the desire of women shall cease, and the strife of men and the lust of this world.[70]

More importantly, the Celtic Christian communities' theology of mission and missionary fervor were profoundly rooted in the Bible.[71] Patrick believed salvation was to be brought to all gentiles living throughout the earth. He refers to the many conversions in Ireland as a fulfillment of Jer 16:19, which foretold a moment in time when the gentiles would come from the most remote parts of the world and would turn from their idols to the true God.

Patrick longed for the salvation of the Irish people and based his missionary efforts on the promise, "I have placed you as a light among the gentiles, so that you may be for salvation as far as the most remote part of land" (Acts 13:47). Again, hoping in Him "who indeed never deceives," Patrick affirms his belief that "just as He guaranteed in the Gospel, they will come from the rising and the setting, and they will lie back with

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[69] Patrick, *Confession of Saint Patrick*, 80–81.

[70] Saint Columban, "Altus Prosator" (565), in J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson, ed. and trans. *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, 2 vols. (London: Harrison and Sons, 1898), 2:153.

[71] Patrick, *Confession of Saint Patrick*, 85–92.

Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, just as we believe that those believing are bound to come from all the world."[72]

Taking these Bible promises as the foundation for his missionary work, Patrick sought to transmit this vision to his followers by referencing Jesus's invitation to His disciples: "Come after me and I will make you fishers of men" (Matt 4:19). He quotes the Great Commission as registered in Matt 28:18-20 and Mark 16:16 to support his belief that "everywhere there should be clerics who would baptize, and exhort a needing and desiring people."[73]

Furthermore, in connection with his belief in the second coming of Jesus and his understanding that they were living in the final days, Patrick fully quotes Matt 24:14 and Joel 2:28-30 to stir missionary zeal in his disciples.[74] There is no doubt his followers grasped his vision.

Finally, in various places Patrick declares his belief in the resurrection of the dead, the Day of Judgment, and everlasting life in the world to come. He declares: "Without any doubt we shall rise again in that day, in the brightness of the sun." Again, he says, "We all together shall render account, even of the least sins, before the judgment

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[72] Patrick, *Confession of Saint Patrick*, 87.

[73] Ibid., 88.

[74] Ibid., 89. O'Loughlin points out that Patrick strings together Matt 28:10-19, Mark 16:15-16, and Matt 24:14 to convey a single structure: preaching followed by completion, preaching followed by judgment, preaching followed by the end. Put simply, once everyone has heard the gospel, then there will be no further reason to delay the end. O'Loughlin, *St Patrick,* 45.

seat of Christ the Lord. He who shall have done his will shall not perish, but eternally, as Christ eternally abideth."[75]

Missionary Lessons

One could question if the church, inserted as it is in an ever-changing society, facing the challenges and distractions of the third millennium, could possibly extract any relevant missionary lessons from a movement that took place over 1,500 years ago. However, the history of the ancient Celtic Christian communities, while strange to the modern world, is a valuable source of inspiration and information for missionaries. Their missionary efficacy seems to be based on several factors:

1. *Frequent prayer.* Patrick faced some of the most decisive moments of his life with prayer.[76] It deepened his personal walk with God, drove him to seek purity of life, enabled him to discern God's purpose for his life, and became a source of spiritual power to confront the pagan religion. Prayer also played a central role in the monastic communities, which became the base of the movement. Moreover, the principle was passed on to the people. They practiced contemplative prayer—an ongoing connection with God while engaging in their daily routine. According to the *Carmina Gadelica* tradition, the Celtic Christians were taught to use prayer in varied moments of their lives.[77]

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[75] Newell, *St. Patrick*, 196.

[76] Patrick, *Confession of Saint Patrick*, 60–61, 101–2.

[77] The Celtic Christians learned prayers to be said accompanying getting up in the morning, for dressing, for starting the morning fire, for bathing or washing clothes or dishes, for "smooring" the fire at day's end, and for going to bed at night. They were also taught to pray for sowing seed and for harvesting crops; for heeding cows or milking cows or churning butter; for before a meal and after; for a sprain or a toothache; for a new baby or a new baby chick. Celtic Christians prayed while weaving, hunting, fishing,

2. *The centrality of the Bible.* The communities were profoundly based on the Bible. They learned the Scriptures by heart, especially the Psalms, in their worship meetings that happened probably twice a day. The chief subject in the curriculum of the monastic schools was the Bible. Exegesis was not a task assigned only to scholars. Much attention was given to copying, translating, and illustrating the Bible.[78]

3. *Mission-minded communities*. The communities had a monastic but also a missionary character. The best of the monastic ideal was focused on missionary work.[79] Hunter notes that unlike the Eastern monasteries, the Celtic monastic communities were organized not to protest and escape from the materialism of the Roman world but to penetrate the pagan world, evangelizing and civilizing, as a means of spreading the gospel. Instead of withdrawing from the world to save their own souls, they were driven by the ascetic ideal as well as the purpose of saving other people's souls; instead of building their monasteries in isolated locations, they looked for locations accessible to the traffic of the time and built communities around their monasteries.[80]

4. *Self-propagating communities*. Monasteries such as the ones in Armagh, Iona, and Luxeuil served as reference centers for Patrick, Columba, and Columban,

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cooking, or traveling. They knew prayer for the healing of many conditions, including blindness, warts, bruises, swollen breasts, and chest seizure. James Carmichael Watson, ed. and trans., *Carmina Gadelica: Hymns and Incantations with Illustrative Notes on Words, Rites, and Customs, Dying and Obsolete: Orally Collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (Edinburgh, Scotland: T. and A. Constable, 1900), 2–100, cf. Hunter, *Celtic Way of Evangelism*, 33.

[78] Latourette, *History of the Expansion of Christianity*, 2:38; Hunter, *Celtic Way of Evangelism*, 29.

[79] González and Orlandi, *Historia do movimento missionario,* 102–4.

[80] Hunter, *Celtic Way of Evangelism*, 28.

respectively. However, their monastic communities had a self-propagating ethos. They multiplied mission-sending communities by the hundreds, which in turn became new missionary centers.

5. *Missionary teams.* Instead of working as "lone rangers," the Celtics sent out teams of twelve from the monastic communities, spreading their monasteries progressively.[81] This practice was used by Patrick, Columba, and Columban, and was reproduced by the following generations.

6. *Cross-cultural sensibility.* Whenever Celtic Christians moved, they showed the ability to communicate the gospel in the indigenous language. Romanized Patrick moved to pagan Ireland and built a church that created an operational structure of its own. When Columba moved to Iona, he also had to adapt and learn the language of the Celtic Picts of Scotland. The same happened when Bishop Aidan left Iona to evangelize England. Perhaps the best example of this characteristic of Celtic Christians is Columban. He left Ireland for continental Europe and in the next fifteen years learned twelve or more languages and built over sixty monasteries in what today are France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, and Germany. It is true that many times they introduced new elements, such as the Latin language, to the local culture. Even so, they found ways to develop local peculiarities, such as what became known as the Hiberno-Latin literary style, or the Irish styles of Latin.

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[81] Ibid., 36–38, 47.

The Waldenses

The Waldenses became known for their firm commitment to the Word of God and

their strong emphasis on purity.[82] Many scholars trace their origin back to the apostolic

times,[83] and that also seems to be the position held by Seventh-day Adventist Church co-

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[82] Wylie, *History of Protestantism*, 1:25; Allix quotes Inquisitor Seisselius's statement that the Waldensians sought to live the "most pure life." Peter Allix, *Some Remarks Upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1821), 318.

[83] Waldensian leader Jean Leger argues, "The fact that, when corruptions first appeared in the church, they protested against them, and when engrafted on her, they came out of her and separate," is enough evidence that "their claim to an apostolical succession cannot be disputed." Jean Leger, *Histoire generale des eglises evangeliques des vallees de Piemont; ou Vaudoises* [History of the evangelical churches of the valley of Piedmont; or Waldensians] (Jean le Carpentier, 1669), 131. Arnaud points out that, "neither the Vaudois nor their advocates felt it necessary to trace their origin farther than to the time when they constituted part of the primitive flock so vigilantly watched and boldly guarded by the Apostolic Claude, Bishop of Turin, in the commencement of the ninth century." Henri Arnaud, *The Glorious Recovery by the Vaudois of Their Valleys* (London: John Murray, 1827), xxii, xxiv–xxvi, xxxvi–xxxvii. Wylie remarks that after the death of Claude "attempts were made to induce the Bishop of Milan to accept the episcopal pall, the badge of spiritual vassalage from the Pope, but it was not until the eleventh century (1059), under Nicholas II, that these attempts were successful." Even so, a considerable body of protestors stood against this submission. The Waldensians retired into the valleys of Piedmont and there maintained their ancient independence. Wylie continues, "What we have just related respecting the dioceses of Milan and Turin settles the question, in my opinion, of the apostolicity of the churches of the Waldensian valleys." Wylie, *History of Protestantism*, 24, 25; for an extensive description of the life and labor of Claude, Bishop of Turin, see William Jones, *The History of the Christian Church: From the Birth of Christ to the XVIII Century* (Philadelphia, PA: R. W. Pomeroy, 1832), 251–57. Allix argues that as early as 1254, Italian Dominican inquisitor General Reynerius Saccho records that the Waldenses maintained that they were apostolical churches, meaning that they received the doctrine of the apostles from the hands of their first disciples, which they preserved throughout the following ages. Allix goes on to present Reynerius's Inquisitional Document, which asserts, "they are the most dangerous of all heretics, because it is more ancient than any other, and because those who profess it are both moral and pious." General Reynerius Saccho, *Scriptum Inquisitoris cujusiam anonymi de Valdensibus*, in Allix, *Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, 4, 324–35; see a translation of the Latin document quoted above in Samuel Roffey Maitland, *Facts and Documents Illustrative of the History, Doctrine and Rites, of the Ancient Albigenses & Waldenses* (London: C. J. G. and F. Rivington, 1832), 4–13, 401–6. Baptist historian G. H. Orchard quotes Catholic Archbishop Claudius Seyseel, who was a ferocious Waldensian opponent, to suggest that the Waldensians sprang from the Novatians, who were persecuted under Constantine and fled from Italy to the valleys of Piedmont in the fourth century. G. H. Orchard, *A Concise History of the Baptists from the Time of Christ Their Founder to the 18th Century* (Paris, AK: Baptist Standard Bearer, 2005), 57–58. Ray traces the Waldenses back through the Novatians to the apostolic age. For him, "The Waldensians were in existence under various names up to the times of the apostles." D. B. Ray, *The Baptist Succession: A Handbook of Baptist History* (Oklahoma City, OK: Foley Railway Printing, 1912), 180. Mede saw the Waldenses as "the remnant of the seed" of the woman, who in the fifth century fled into the wilderness, "which keeps the commandments of God," with whom "the dragon was wroth." Joseph Mede and John Worthington, *The Works of the Pious and Profoundly Learned Joseph Mede* (London: Roger Norton for Richard Royston, 1677), 503–4. According to Faber, the origin of the Waldensians can be traced back to the beginning of the seventh century, when the Waldenses and Albigenses began serving as "God's remnant throughout the 1260

founder Ellen G. White. White states, "Behind the lofty bulwarks of the mountains the

Waldenses found a hiding place. Here the light of truth was kept burning amid the

darkness of the middle Ages. Here, for a thousand years, witnesses for the truth

maintained the ancient faith."[84]

Peter Waldo and the Spread of the Movement

The best known Waldensian manifestation took place under the leadership of

Pedro Waldo[85] (1140–1218 AD), a wealthy merchant from the city of Lyons, who

became a believer about 1160 AD. Two major events had a great impact on him and led

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prophetic days." George Stanley Faber, *The Sacred Calender of Prophecy: Or a Dissertation on the Prophecies with Treat of the Grand Period of Seven Times and Specially of Its Second Moiety or the Latter Three Times and a Half*, 3 vols. (London: C & J. Rivington, 1828), 1:318–19, 3:22–30. For Roman Catholic scholars, however, the Waldensians were no more than the heretic followers of Peter Waldo, who developed an older version of their own history in order to give themselves a longer and more distinguished pedigree. Maitland, *Ancient Albigenses & Waldenses,* 116–34.

[84] Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy between Christ and Satan: The Conflict of the Ages in the Christian Dispensation* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2005), 65–66. White seems to agree with Arnaud and Wylie that the Waldensians were able to preserve the ancient faith because they were in a territory where Rome had no jurisdiction. She asserts, "In lands beyond the jurisdiction of Rome there existed for many centuries bodies of Christians who remained almost wholly free from papal corruption. . . . But of those who resisted the encroachments of the papal power, the Waldenses stood foremost. The faith which for centuries was held and taught by the Waldensian Christians was in marked contrast to the false doctrines put forth from Rome." Ibid., 63–64.

[85] Leger suggests that instead of communicating his name to the Waldensians, Peter Waldo borrowed it from them, while the Waldensians received their name from the fact of having inhabited the valleys of Piedmont. Leger, *Histoire generale des eglises,* 12–16, 41, 171. Morland adds that the Waldenses had "had not their original from the said Waldo, but this was a mere nick-name or reproachful term put upon them by their adversaries, to make the world believe that religion was but a novelty, or a thing of yesterday." Samuel Morland, *The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont* (London: Henry Hills for Adoniram Byfield, 1658), 12. Faber points out that "the constant opposition of the Vallenses (Waldenses or Vaudois) to the Church of Rome had made them notorious, under this precise appellation, even in the earliest part of the twelfth century. Hence, it is quite clear that the name could not have been borrowed from Valdo." Faber, *Sacred Calender of Prophecy,* 27. For Allix, "The believers of the valley could not be so called from Waldo of Lyons, because he did not flourish at the soonest till the year 1160, according to Roger Hoveden, whereas the people of the Valleys of Lucerne and Angrogne had the names of Wallenses from the beginning of the twelfth century." Allix, *Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, 195–96. Maitland challenges this view by remarking that this conception was formulated more than three hundred years after the death of Waldo, thus having no great weight. Maitland, *Ancient Albigenses & Waldenses,* 7.

to his conversion: the sudden death of a close friend,[86] and reading the story of Saint

Alexius, an early Christian father who gave up everything to serve the poor.[87]

Waldo decided to follow Alexius' example, and around 1177, gave away his

wealth, devoting himself to the service of the poor.[88] Saxby reports that Waldo came to

the point of throwing handfuls of coins into the streets. As he did so, he declared: "I am

avenging myself upon these enemies of my life who have enslaved me, so that I cared

more for gold pieces than for God and served the creature more than the Creator."[89]

Waldo's ideal was to restore the simplicity of life that characterized the early

Christians.[90] He became an itinerant preacher and many, especially the poor, joined him.

They formed a separate and yet open society with the goal of living a life of full

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[86] Jones informs, "One evening after supper, as he sat conversing with a party of his friends, one of the company fell down dead on the floor, to the consternation of all that were present. Such a lesson on the uncertainty of human life, and the very precarious tenure on which mortals hold it, most forcibly arrested his attention." Jones, *History of the Christian Church,* 15–16.

[87] St. Alexius was the penitent son of a rich man who rejected a bride and went away to serve the poor and live in poverty, returning after many years to die unrecognized, destitute in his father's house. For a full account on the origin of the Waldensians based on the testimony of Roman Catholic sources of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Henry C. Vedder, "Origin and Early Teachings of the Waldenses, according to Roman Catholic Writers of the Thirteenth Century," *American Journal of Theology* 4, no. 3 (1900): 467.

[88] About the conversion of Peter Waldo, see the account of the *Anonymous of Laon*, "The conversion of Valdes and its consequences" (1173), in R. I. Moore, ed., *The Birth of Popular Heresy* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975), 111–12; Etienne de Bourbon, "Stephani de Borbone tractatus de diversis materiis preaedicabilis" (1249), in Albert Lecoy de la Marche, *Anecdotes historiques, legendes et apologues tirées du recueil inedit d'Etienne de Bourbon, Dominican du XIII siècle* (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France Publications, 1887), 290–92, cf. Walter L. Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 208–10.

[89] Trevor J. Saxby, *Pilgrims of a Common Life: Christian Community of Goods through the Centuries* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1987), 92.

[90] Bernard J. Otten, *A Manual of The History of Dogmas*, vol. 2, *The Development of Dogmas During the Middle Ages and After, 869–1907* (St. Louis, MO: B. Helder Book, 1918), 443–44.

surrender. They called themselves brothers, and many times were ridiculed as "poor boys" or "sandal-wearers."

The community was divided into two main categories based on their approach to possessions: the perfects and the friends. The perfects went through a period of probation, after which they gave up all their property in order to live on what was shared among the group. All preachers, teachers, and ministers were to abide by this rule.[91] The friends were allowed to retain their property, but were expected to be liberal.[92] What was common to both categories, however, was their outstanding knowledge of the Scriptures.[93]

In the years following his conversion, Waldo's great ambition was to secure a translation of the Bible in his own language. Thus, he hired a poor scholar to translate some of the books of Scripture into French and, as a result, hundreds of years before the reformers, the Waldenses were among the first of the peoples of Europe to obtain a translation of the Holy Scriptures.[94] The translation of the New Testament into Romane,

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[91] Saxby, *Pilgrims of a Common Life,* 93.

[92] See a description of the Waldenses written by Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay in 1213 in Pascal Guébin and Ernest Lyon, eds., *Petri Valleum Sarnaii monachi Hystoria albigensis,* 3 vols. (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1926-1939), 1:5–19, cf. Walter L. Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages: Selected Sources Translated and Annotated* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 236–41.

[93] Reading or learning Scripture was a resource open to all members of the community—intelligent, partly educated, or totally ignorant. This practice kept the knowledge of the Biblical text alive, even when manuscripts were scarce during times of persecution or had to be hidden.

[94] It is significant that this was before any complete version of the New Testament appeared in Germany, France, Italy, Spain, or England. Wylie points out that there were numerous earlier translations, but only of parts of the Bible, and many of these were paraphrases or digests of the Scriptures rather than translations. Moreover, they were so costly that they were beyond the reach of the common people. Wylie, *History of Protestantism*, 1:29.

the common language in the south of Europe from the eighth to fourteenth centuries, was obtained by the Waldensians no later than 1180.[95]

Waldensian pastors were called Barbas, a title of respect that in the Vaudois idiom literally means "uncle." They were sent to their own college, located in Pra-del-tor, a quiet, isolated, and almost inaccessible gorge in Piedmont, where they submitted to intense religious training that included memorizing the gospels of Matthew and John, the Catholic epistles, and some of the books of Paul. Part of their time was also applied to transcribing the Scriptures, which they were to distribute when they were sent forth as missionaries.[96]

Moreover, they spent two or three years learning Latin, Romane, and Italian. Additionally, the Barbas were each instructed in some profession, and were recognized as skillful professionals. In the final part of their training, they spent a few years in seclusion, after which they were set aside for ministry in a ceremony that included the Lord's Supper and the laying on of hands.[97]

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[95] Le Long presents a letter written by Pope Innocent III about the year 1200, in which he affirms that the Waldensians were the first to translate the Bible into French, "after the year 1170, or 1180." Under the orders of Peter Waldo, Stephanus de Ansa, a grammarian priest of Lyons, translated "the gospels, Epistles of Paul, Psalms, the book of Job, and other books." Ansa, in turn, hired on behalf of the Waldensians the priest Bernardus Ydrus, also from Lyons, to translate these books into the provincial language, Romane. Jacques Le Long, *Bibliotheca sacra, seu Syllabus omnium ferme Sacrae Scripturae editionum ac versionum secundum seriem linguarum quibus vulgatæ sunt notis historicis et criticis illustratus adiunctis praestantissimis codd. msc. Labore & industria* (Sumptibus Joh. Ludov. Gleditshii et Maur. Georg. Weidmanni, 1709), Cap. V, § 1, cf. Maitland, *Ancient Albigenses & Waldenses,* 127–29.

[96] For an extensive analysis on the Barbas, see Gabriel Audisio, *Preachers by Night: The Waldensian Barbes, 15th–16th Centuries,* trans. Claire Davison (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2007), 75–199.

[97] Muston remarks that throughout this period of training, they were supported by the volunteer contribution of the members of the community, who also financed their missionary work and provided for the poor. Muston, *Israel of the Alps*, 1:18-20.

All this extensive training, which could take up to six years, had a missionary purpose. The Waldensian territories were divided into parishes. In each parish was placed a pastor who preached, conducted the ordinances, visited the sick, and instructed the young. Moreover, the Waldensians were extremely focused on outreach and wanted their message to be known far beyond their mountains. Each pastor was required to be a missionary in his turn. The Barbas were commissioned to visit all the homes in their respective districts every year and were transferred to a new location every three years.[98]

The Waldensian missionaries went out two by two—one older and one young—with the younger one expected to consider his experienced partner a superior and obey every instruction. Secrecy was an important principle of operation.[99] They traveled from place to place under the guise of a secular profession, offering their products or services, being welcomed as merchants where they would have been expelled or killed as missionaries. Some of them sold silk, items of jewelry, and articles not easily available. Others were artisans, but the majority of them were surgeons and physicians.[100] In

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[98] Ibid., 20. Wylie points out that the designation of their missionary posts as well as the nomination of a general director for the church took place in a synod that was held annually in their college. Wylie, *History of Protestantism*, 1:27.

[99] Inquisitor Étienne de Bourbon described the shifts in disguise to which Waldensian preachers resorted in order to remain undetected, notably in the case of one leader who carried with him the clothing of a set of trades, into which he might change as necessary, becoming at one moment a pilgrim, at another a penitent, or a jobbing bootmaker, or a barber, or a reaper. Étienne de Bourbon, "Tractatus de septem donis," in *Anecdotes Historiques: Legendes et Apologues Tirés du Recueil Inédit d'Etienne de Bourbon*, ed. Lecoy de la March (Paris: H. Loones, 1877), 342, cf. M. D. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from Bogomil to Huss* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), 155.

[100] Edward Peters, *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe: Documents in Translation* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, 1980), 153; Giorgio Tourn, *You Are My Witnesses: The Waldensians across 800 Years* (Turin, Italy: Claudiana Editrice, 1989), 39–40.

addition, they all knew how to cultivate the soil and keep flocks. This strategy granted them an open door wherever they went.

Scotland points out that, like the Lollards in England, the Waldensians engaged in bookselling, attentively looking for opportunities to recite or read the Scriptures to those who evidenced some interest. They also held highly private meetings where they distributed tracts or portions of the Scriptures, which they carried hidden among their merchandise or in their clothes.[101]

It should be noted that the Waldensians also formed female missionary bands. These women evidenced great zeal in sharing their faith and performed an active role in the missionary strategy as preachers and as supporters, personally and financially. Waldensian women established celibate communities in Montcuq and Beaucare, and evidence of their work is found in several other locations.[102]

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[101] Nigel Scotland, *Christianity Outside the Box: Learning From Those Who Rocked the Boat* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2012), 60.

[102] Duvernoy presents extracts from the records made in 1241–1242 by inquisitor Petter Cellan, providing evidence of the life and work of Waldensian women in different locations: (1) In Monticuq. Arnold Bernardi de Roset said that a Waldensian woman washed his head, and he twice sent the Waldensians some of his bread and cooked meats. Raymond de Bernah often received her Waldensian Mother, and she gave her an ell of cloth. (2) In Beaucaire. Bernarda Fabrisa rented a house to two Waldensian women, and they were there for a year. These two Waldensian women used to the house where she lived, and vice versa, and they taught her not to swear or lie. (3) In Gourdon. Geralda de Mailhoz had a Waldensian in her house for three days, for her husband's illness. She heard him preaching there and elsewhere. She gave him bread, wine, and leeks, and a Waldensian woman four loaves. (4) In Montauban. Lady Sedeira received two Waldensian women in her house, and heard their admonitions. Lady Fauressa received the kiss of peace from Waldensian women, and often gave the Waldensians bread and wine. J. Duvernoy, *L'inquisition en Quercy: Le registre des pénitences de Pierre Cellan, 1241–1242* (Castelnaud-la-Chapelle, 2001), 46–65, cf. Peter Biller, "Interrogation of the Waldensians," in *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, ed. Miri Rubin (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 231–32. Records of inquisitors Bernard of Caux and John of St. Pierre in Toulouse in March 1245 provide further evidence of the missionary work of Waldensian women in Viviers-les-magnes: "Raymond Martini said that … he and his brother, Peter Martini, went to Castres, and Galharda Martina then handed over to him and his brother the Waldensians Arnalda and Good Lady. While he and his brother were fetching these Waldensian women from Castres the women were captured. One was converted, the other burned—six years ago." Bernard of Caux (Toulouse, France: Bibliothèque municipal, MS 609, 1260), cf. Biller, "Interrogation of the Waldensians," 233. While it was considered a stumbling block by the Roman Church, women preaching

The Waldensian missionaries crossed Italy, where they had stations organized in

many places, and their scattered secret followers[103] eagerly waited for their annual visit.

According to their opponents, in forty years they extended their teaching into France,

Spain, Britain, Germany, Bulgaria, Bohemia, Poland, and in fact, throughout Europe.[104]

Wylie points out, "There was no kingdom in Southern and Central Europe that the

Waldensian missionaries did not find their way, and where they did not leave traces of

their visit in the disciples whom they made."[105]

A Reform Movement

Meanwhile, the Roman Church had gradually adopted the pomp, the pride, and

the spirit of dominion that usually accompany the exercise of power.[106] The sharp

contrast between the pomp of the Roman Church and the simplicity of the Waldenses

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continued to play an important role among the Waldensians until the late fourteenth century, when it became more difficult for them to enter the perfect class.

[103] They lived quiet lives, attending the mass and hearing their parish clergy, only seeking to avoid the actual reception of communion, which led the inquisitional tradition to define them as insidious. The Passau Anonymous, "On the Origins of Heresy and the Sect of the Waldensians," in Peters, *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe*, 150–63; Allix, *Ancient Churches of Piedmont,* 258.

[104] Antipapal propaganda gave a platform to Waldensian preachers, and they profited by the lack of intensity in persecution, since in most countries Catharism was the heresy par excellence. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 152.

[105] Wylie, *History of Protestantism*, 1:32.

[106] Euan Cameron, *Waldenses: Rejections of the Holy Church in Medieval Europe* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000), 146.

became more and more evident,[107] arousing fear and jealousy among the local clergy, and

contempt and scorn among those who were not willing to follow their distinctive faith.[108]

Moreover, lay preaching was not a characteristic of the Roman Church.[109] On the

contrary, preaching was considered a distinguishing attribute of the clergy.[110] In order to

legitimate their cause,[111] the Waldensians sent representatives to the third Lateran

Council in 1179 at Rome and requested permission to preach from Pope Alexander III.[112]

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[107] On the one hand, the mundane clergy, not too well instructed, and with a tendency toward superstition; on the other, the Waldensian movement, leading a highly ethical life, studying Scripture, and visiting the people, with ministers who, for the sake of the gospel, were explicitly poor. It was a devoted underground elite confronting the mass of clergy and people. Muston, *Israel of the Alps*, 154.

[108] Allix points out that in the twelfth century the word *Vaudes* was used a term of reproach to describe anyone who was willing to live a godly life. Quoting from "The Noble Lesson," he says: "If a man who loves those that desire to love God and Jesus Christ; if he will neither curse, nor swear, nor lie, nor whore, nor kill, nor deceive his neighbor, nor avenge himself of his enemies, they presently say, He is a Vaudes, and exclaim 'death to him.'" "The Noble Lesson," in Allix, *Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, 178.

[109] The Roman tradition gave the right to preach to the pope and the bishops, as successors of Peter and the Twelve, and to the priests, as successors of the Seventy. Canon law restricted preaching to the clergy, and there were few exceptions. Brian Tierney, *The Idea of Natural Right: Studies in Natural Right, Natural Law, and Church Law, 1150-1625* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), 218, 222, 224.

[110] Evans notes that well before the end of the Roman Empire, bishops saw it as one of the defining duties of their office to expound Scripture for the people. Augustine of Hippo and Gregory the Great are among the early prominent preachers of the Roman Church. A lengthy pause followed the collapse of the Roman Empire before the urge to preach emerged strongly again in the twelfth century, when the Roman Catholic Church began to apply strict rules to the licensing of preachers. It became an important consideration that "amateurs" should not pretend to teach doctrine, and that the development of the sophisticated new art of preaching was above the heads of the laity. When the Waldensians appeared on the scene in the later twelfth century, a case was made that teaching the basics of good Christian living was, arguably, another matter, and there was for a time a certain amount of permissiveness. However, the unlicensed Waldensian preachers became a problem when they began to show their indignation against the immoral, sordid, and corrupt behavior of the clergy. G. R. Evans, *The Roots of the Reformation: Tradition, Emergence and Rupture*, 2nd ed. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2012), 167–74.

[111] Under the leadership of Waldo, the Waldensians movement had initially no intention of separating from the Roman Church, but sought the right to preach and exhort their fellow Christians.

[112] Walter Map (born about 1140 and died between 1208 and 1210), a clerk who served as an itinerant justice for King Henry II after 1162, and before 1186 began to serve Gilbert Foliot, bishop of Hereford and London, rising to become archdeacon of Oxford, describes his participation in the council as a theological examiner designed to verify the Waldensian aptitude to preach. In his book *De Nugis Curialium*, written in the early 1180s, he states, "At the Roman Council under Pope Alexander III, I saw some Waldensians, simple, illiterate man, called after their leader Waldo, who was a citizen of Lyons on the Rhône. They offered the pope a book written in the tongue, in which was contained the text, with a

The anonymous writer of the Chronicles of Laon says that Pope Alexander III "embraced

Waldes, approving his vow of voluntary poverty but forbidding preaching by either

himself or his followers unless welcomed by the local priests.[113] The Archbishop of

Lyons, in turn, issued a formal injunction against Waldensian preaching.[114] Waldo, on the

other hand, continued to reason that the Savior had ordered His disciples to preach in the

same passage in which they were told to take neither gold nor silver, to carry neither scrip

nor staff (Matt 10:9). For them, fidelity to Scripture seemed to require preaching. Thus,

the Waldensians continued to train their own preachers and to create their own

parishes.[115]

However, as time went by, the content of their preaching became one of the

strongest sources of concern to the Roman Church. Not only did it openly contradict

some important pillars of Roman Catholic belief and practice, but it also proved to be

efficient in the process of making a growing number of converts.[116]

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gloss, of the Psalter and many of the books of the two testaments. They pressed very earnestly that the right of preaching should be confirmed to them; for in their own eyes they were learned, though in reality hardly beginners. . . . In a gathering of many lawyers and skilled man there were brought before me two Waldensians who figured as leaders in their sect, to dispute with me about their faith . . . I asked them, 'Do you believe in God the Father?' They answered: 'We do.' 'And in the Son?' They answered: 'We do.' And in the Holy Ghost?' They answered, 'We do.' I said again: 'And in the mother of Christ?' And they once more: 'We do.' And by everyone present they were hooted down with universal clamour, and went away ashamed." Walter Map, *De nugis curialium* [Courtiers' trifles], ed. and trans. M. R. James (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1983), 125–29.

[113] Georg Waitz, ed. *Chronicon universale anonymi Laudunensis*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores 26 (Stuttgart, Germany: Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 1881), 449, cf. Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, 202.

[114] Scotland, *Christianity Outside the Box*, 59.

[115] Waldensians used Luke 2:36–38 and Titus 2:3 to assert the right of the laity, including women, to preach. In this context, parishes should be understood as territories where their missionaries were sent to visit all the houses within the district.

[116] Inquisitor Reynerius Saccho states, "*That sect is universal, for there is scarcely any country where it hath not taken footing.*" John Waller, "Were the Waldenses Baptists or Pedo-Baptists?" *The*

The Waldensians denounced the supremacy of the pope declaring that Christ was

the only head of the church. From the days of Claude, Bishop of Turin, in the ninth

century (817–827),[117] they opposed the worshiping of images and condemned taking

oaths. They also spoke against the latent corruption of the priesthood,[118] rejected the

mass, and the doctrine of transubstantiation.[119] For them, the belief in purgatory and

practices such as pilgrimages were considered useless superstitions.[120] Waldensians

Western Baptist Review 4, no. 5 (1849): 5. The same inquisitor names sixteen Waldensian churches with about four thousand members. Moore, *Birth of Popular Heresy,* 138, 152. About Reynerius see Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1904), 2:191–231; Moore, *Birth of Popular Heresy,* 132–233.

[117] In connection to the history of the Waldenses, Claude is known for his efforts speaking against the worshiping of images during the Council of Frankfurt, in 794. The Roman Church had officially readopted the practice in 787, in the Second Council of Nicaea. Installed as the Archbishop of Turin (consequently of the valleys in Piedmont) in 817, he did all in his power to keep his diocese from being infected by what he considered superstition and idolatrous principles. He continuously instructed the people under his care that "they ought not to run to Rome for pardon of their sins, nor have recourse to the Saints or their Reliques; that the church is not founded upon St. Peter, much less upon the pope, but upon the doctrine of the apostles; that they ought not to worship images, nor so much as have them in their churches." Morland, *Churches of the Valleys*, 11. About the independence of the diocese of Turin, see Allix, *Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, 119–29; Jones, *History of the Christian Church*, 251–57; Arnaud, *Glorious Recovery,* xxiv–xxxii; Thomas F. X. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 297–365.

[118] They spoke especially against the sleaze, laziness, and lack of commitment of the clergy, maintaining that the unworthiness of the minister rendered the sacraments useless. In fact, they held that absolution by a good layman was effective and that confession could be made to any godly person. Scotland, *Christianity Outside the Box*, 62.

[119] Some early Waldensians believed that transubstantiation occurred, not in the hand of the priest, but in the mouth of the believer. However, with the passing of time they came to reject the mass and the sacraments altogether. Lambert points out that Waldensian groups "rejected wholesale the sacraments and apparatus of the church, vestments, chants, bells, organs, hierarchy, and relics." Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 159. A record by Inquisitors Bernard Guido and Geoffry de Ablusiis of the sentence on Peter Auterius states: "Moreover, with your wicked mouth, you particularly and in detail, assert horribly and impiously, that all the Sacraments of the Romish Church of Jesus Christ our Lord—namely, the Eucharist, in which is the true and life giving blood of Christ; baptism, which takes place in material water; confirmation, orders, and extreme unction; are null and void." Bernard Guido and Geoffry de Ablusiis, "Sentence on Peter Auterius," in *The Book of Sentence*, 92, cf. Maitland, *Ancient Albigenses & Waldenses,* 271–72.

[120] See a list of thirty-three Waldensian beliefs that in 1250 Inquisitor Reynerius Sacco considered heresies and blasphemies in Allix, *Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, 205–213, 231–41. See also a treatise of 1190 against the Waldenses, in which their points of opposition to the Roman Church are listed, in Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, 211–13.

maintained that the Bible should be considered the rule of faith and practice.

Consequently, they removed and spoke against any belief or ritual practice that did not

have a scriptural base.

Waldensian Beliefs

The Waldensians saw themselves as a reform movement seeking to restore the

Roman Church to its pre-Constantinian purity.[121] Consequently, they accepted the creeds

formulated during the first four general councils of the church and also the creed of

Athanasius.[122]

"The Noble Lesson,"[123] a poem written around 1100, provides one of the earliest

and most complete Waldensian statements of faith. This manuscript, along with other

ancient manuscripts and extracts from the records of their inquisitors provides enough

information to assert that the Waldensians maintained some distinctive beliefs, along with

other beliefs shared by the larger Christian community:

1. God—The Waldensians openly confessed their belief in the Trinity. Waldo's

confession of faith written in 1180 or 1181 states: "I, Waldes, and all my brethren, with

the holy gospels before, believe in heart, perceive through faith, confess in speech, and in

unequivocal words affirm that the father, the son, and the Holy Spirit are three persons,

one God, the whole Trinity of Godhead coessential, consubstantial, coeternal, and co-

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[121] See an excerpt of the Passau Anonymous on Waldensians' beliefs in Peters, *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe,* 155–63.

[122] Ibid.*,* 147; Morland, *Churches of the Valleys*, 8–10, 30, 37; Scotland, *Christianity Outside the Box*, 60.

[123] See a copy of the original text and translation of "The Noble Lesson" in Morland, *Churches of the Valleys*, 99–120.

omnipotent; and that each Person of the Trinity is fully God."[124] Further evidence is found in "The Noble Lesson," which states: "The Honor of God the Father ought to be his first moving principle. He ought likewise to implore the aid of his glorious Son, the dear Son of the Virgin Mary, and the Holy Ghost, which lightens the true way. These three as being but one God are to be called upon."[125]

2. The Bible—Morland presents a Waldensian confession of faith registered in a manuscript believed to have been written about the year 1120. The third article states: "We acknowledge for the holy canonical Scripture, the books of the Holy Bible." The following text presents a list of the books of the Old and New Testaments, along with an observation that the Apocryphal books were read for the instruction of the people, not to confirm the authority of the doctrine of the church.[126] Indeed, the Waldensians considered the Scriptures their rule of faith and practice. As they continued to study the Bible, they recognized that the Roman Church had moved a long way from the days of the apostles, and so, they rooted out practices for which there was no scriptural precedent.[127]

3. Salvation in Jesus Christ—This truth is made especially clear in the fourth article of a confession of faith that can be found in Dublin Ms. No. 22 and in Geneva Ms. No. 208, which states: "Our salvation is primarily in the election and free gift of his

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[124] Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, 206. See another Waldensian confession of faith dated 1120, which affirms Waldensian belief in the Trinity, in Morland, *Churches of the Valleys*, 30.

[125] Morland, *Churches of the Valleys*, 100; Allix, *Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, 176.

[126] Morland, *Churches of the Valleys*, 30–32. Todd questions the antiquity of this document. James Henthorn Todd, *The Waldensian Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin, Ireland: Hodges, Smith, 1865), 93–115.

[127] Scotland, *Christianity Outside the Box*, 60.

grace, making us agreeable to him. Secondly, in the participation of the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."[128]

4.   The second coming of Jesus—The very first words of "The Noble Lesson" evidence their belief in an imminent second coming of Jesus. It admonishes: "O brethren, give ear to a noble lesson. We ought always to pray, for we see the world nigh to a conclusion. We ought to strive to do good works, seeing the end of the world approacheth. There are already a thousand and a hundred years fully accomplished, since it was written thus, for we are in the last time. We ought to covet little, for we are at what remains, viz. at the later end."[129]

5.   The Ten Commandments—The Waldensians accepted the Ten Commandments as their rule of life. "The Noble Lesson" presents a clear picture of their faith in the perpetual authority of the Decalogue as given by God.[130] In like manner, their catechism states: "Q. By what means canst thou know that thou believest in God?" "A. By this: because I know that I have given myself to the observation of the Commandments of God." "Q. How many commandments of God are there?" "A. Ten, as it appeareth in Exodus & Deuteronomy."[131]

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[128] Muston, *Israel of the Alps*, 21.

[129] Morland, *Churches of the Valleys*, 99. See also Allix, *Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, 175.

[130] J. A. Wylie, *History of the Waldenses* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1905), 57.

[131] *The Catechism of the Waldenses & Albigenses: The First Reformers from Popery, About the Year 1150, Above Three Hundred Years Before Luther* (Manchester, UK: G. Nicholson, 1795), 4. Muston offers a more recent confession of faith which states: "It is impossible for any in this life to fulfill the commandments of God if they have not faith; and they cannot love him perfectly, nor with a proper love, if they keep not his commandments." Muston, *Israel of the Alps*, 21.

6. The Sabbath—In keeping with their submission to the Ten Commandments and their ideal of restoring the church to its pre-Constantinian days, there were Waldensians who kept the Sabbath on the seventh day of the week.[132]

7. The state of the dead—Waldensians vehemently rejected purgatory and indulgences, and they were also against all alms, masses, fasts, and prayers for the dead. They said it was "as senseless to pray for the dead as to give fodder to a dead horse."[133] Instead, they believed in "the resurrection of those who were admitted in the kingdom of Jesus Christ upon this earth," and prayed "for the coming of the kingdom of God, which will destroy death, the last enemy of believers."[134]

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[132] There is historical evidence of observance of the seventh-day Sabbath among the Waldenses. A report of an inquisition before whom were brought some Waldenses of Moravia in the middle of the fifteenth century declares that among the Waldenses "not a few indeed celebrate the Sabbath with the Jews." Johann Joseph Ignaz von Doellinger, *Beitrage zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters* [Reports on the history of the sects of the Middle Ages], 2nd ed. (Munchen, Germany: Beck, 1890), 661, cf. Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 1999), 684–85. Seventh-day Adventist co-founder Ellen White states, "Through ages of darkness and apostasy, there were Waldenses who denied the supremacy of Rome, who rejected image worship as idolatry, and who kept the true Sabbath." White, *Great Controversy*, 65.

[133] Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 156; Scotland, *Christianity Outside the Box*, 63, 64.

[134] Peters presents the Valdès's Profession of Faith, which states, "We believe in our heart and confess by our mouth the resurrection of this body, and not any other. We firmly believe and affirm that at the Last judgment individuals will receive either rewards or punishments for what they have done while in the flesh. Ancient Waldenses also believed that a last judgment would take place at the resurrection. Peters, *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe,* 148; about Waldensian belief that the last judgment would take place at the resurrection see Allix, *Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, 110–13.

8. Baptism—There is abundant evidence that the Waldensians believed and practiced baptism by immersion.[135] On the other hand, they openly rejected infant baptism,[136] and re-baptized those who entered their community.[137]

9. Communion—Waldensians considered the Lord's Supper a memorial, not a sacrifice.[138] Giraldus Cambrensis (1146–1223), archdeacon of Brecknock (1175–1204)

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[135] Speaking of the work of the apostles, "The Noble Lesson" states, "They spoke without fear of the Doctrine of Christ. They preached to Jews and to Greeks, working many miracles; and baptized those who believed in the name of Jesus Christ." Morland, *Churches of the Valleys*, 112. In 1544 the Waldensians offered to the king of France a confession of faith which read: "We believe that in the ordinance of baptism the water is the visible and external sign, which represents to us that which, by the virtue of Go's invisible operation, is within us, the renovation of our minds, and the mortification of our members through the faith in Jesus Christ. And by this ordinance we are received in to the holy congregation of God's people, previously professing our faith and the change of life." Johannes Sleidanus, *The general history of the Reformation of the Church from the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome, begun in Germany by Martin Luther with the progress thereof in all parts of Christendom from the year 1517 to the year 1556* (London: Edw. Jones for Abel Swall and Henry Bonwicke, 1689), 347. Christian quotes many of their opponents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, confirming the Waldensian practice of baptism as well as their disbelief in infant baptism. John T. Christian, *A History of the Baptists: Together with Some Account of Their Principles and Practices* (Nashville, TN: Broadman Press, 1922), 77–82.

[136] Perrin presents two ancient Waldensian confessions of faith, indicating that they accepted in-water baptism, as practiced by the Roman Church at their time, but did not practice infant baptism. Jean Paul Perrin, *History of the Waldenses, Commonly Called in England Lollards* (London: Nathanael Newbery, 1624), 60, 62. Ermengardus, who around 1200 wrote the tract "Ermengardus contra Waldensium Sectam," states, "The heretics also say that it [water-baptism] cannot profit any one, unless with his own mouth and his own heart, he desires that Sacrament; thereby bringing in this error—that the baptism of infants is unprofitable." Maitland, *Ancient Albigenses & Waldenses*, 381. Maitland also provides the testimony of Hugo Pictavinus, notary of William Abbot of the monastery of Vezelai, written in 1167. It says against the Waldensians, "They entirely make void the Sacraments of the Church—namely, the baptism of children, the Eucharist, the sign of the living cross." Ibid., 364. See several other documents evidencing the Waldensian rejection of infant baptism in Thieleman Janszoon Braght, *The Bloody Theater: Or, Martyrs Mirror of the Defenseless Christians, Who Suffered and Were Put to Death for the Testimony of Jesus, Their Saviour, from the Time of Christ, Until the Year A.D. 1660* (Lancaster, PA: David Miller, 1837), 224–26.

[137] Orchard states, "*Cardinal Hossius*, who presided at the council of Trent, and wrote a history of the heresy of his own times, says, the Waldenses rejected infant baptism, and re-baptized all who embraced their sentiments." Orchard, *Concise History of the Baptists,* 192.

[138] Leger offers a confession of faith the Waldensians gave to the king of Bohemia in 1535, where this principle is clearly stated. Leger, *Histoire generale des eglises*, 102. According to David of Augsburg, the Waldensians treated the Eucharist as "simply bread and wine, not Christ's body and blood." W. Preger, "Der Traktat des Davids von Augsburg," *ABAW* 14 (1878): 181–235, cf. Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent, 1250–1450,* 2 vols. (New York: Manchester

and historian, states that the Waldensians were known for their "chief err" in regards to "this article of the body of Christ."[139] Inquisitor Reynerius Saccho affirms, "They do not believe the body and blood of Christ to be the true sacrament, but only the blessed bread, which by a figure only is called the body of Christ."[140] For them, communion was a special occasion to be celebrated with simplicity rather than solemnity. Waldensians shared communion in their homes without any Barbas present. They held that any godly and respected person was qualified to lead on such occasions.[141]

10. The priesthood of all believers—There was no clergy/laity separation or hierarchy in the Waldensian communities. The titles of bishops, ministers, and deacons were used for sacramental purposes only, and they did not exercise authority.[142] Moreover, men and women shared the responsibilities of preaching, teaching, and serving the community at home or while engaged in their missionary efforts. Indeed, their ability to transform regular believers into well-trained preachers, thus forming a large army of missionaries, was one of the major success factors of the movement.

University Press, 1967), 2:458. Inquisitor Reynerius Sacco states, "None of them believe that the bread becomes the body of Christ." Moore, *Birth of Medieval Heresy*, 134.

[139] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, trans. John J. Hagen (Lugduni Batavorum, Netherlands: Brill, 1979), 33.

[140] Morland, *Churches of the Valleys*, 22–23.

[141] Scotland, *Christianity Outside the Box*, 62.

[142] Wylie points out, "Their synod, which was held once a year, was composed of all the pastors with an equal number of laymen. They were presided over by a simple moderator, for higher office or authority was unknown among them." Wylie, *History of the Waldenses*, 19; Muston, *Israel of the Alps*, 20.

Persecution and Survival

A movement that spread so fast and so openly challenged the dominant power

would inevitably suffer persecution.[143] As early as 1167, Pope Alexander III, presiding

over the Synod at Tours, pronounced the doctrine of the Vaudois to be a damnable heresy

of long continuance—*quae jamdudum emersit*.[144] About 1182, Archbishop John a

Bellismanibus forbade the Waldensians both to preach and to expound the Scriptures,

and, due to their refusal to obey, expelled them from the diocese of Lyons.[145] The

growing concern of the Roman Church with the movement was addressed at the Synod of

Verona in 1184, when Pope Lucius III excommunicated them.[146] Nevertheless, their

expulsion only contributed to spreading their influence more widely.

In Languedoc, the Archbishop of Narbonne, Bernard-Gaucelin, issued a

condemnation, probably between 1185 and 1187, but like the previous ones, it lacked

efficacy. The populace approved of the Waldensians' moral life and some lower clergy

regarded them as auxiliaries, to the point of inviting them to participate in debates. In

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[143] Lambert points out that in most countries, Catharism was the primary source of concern to the Roman Church. Waldensianism presented itself as a secondary threat in the minds of the persecutors. Only in Germany could it be said that during much of the thirteenth century the Waldensian rather than the Cathar appeared as the principal target. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 152–53.

[144] Arnaud, *Glorious Recovery*, xxxvi; Lambert, *Medieval Heresy,* 95.

[145] Pius Melia, *The Origin, Persecutions and Doctrines of the Waldenses: From Documents, Many Now the First Time Collected and Edited* (London: James Toovey, 1870), 89.

[146] Pope Lucius III issued in 1181 a decree in which he wrote, "We decree to put under a perpetual anathema the Cathari and those who falsely call themselves Humiliati or Poor of Lyons, the Pasagini, Josephini, Arnaldistae." The council of Verona confirmed this decree. Vedder, "Early Teachings of the Waldenses," 467.

Aragon, Alfonso II in 1194 and Pedro II in 1198 issued edicts against the Waldensians, the latter imposing the death penalty for obstinacy.[147]

However, the advent of Innocent III marked the beginning of a new phase in the Roman Church's dealing with the so-called heretics. For the first time the papacy was held by someone who made the extinction of what was considered heresy his main purpose.[148] His first approach to the situation was to make efforts to bring those whom the heretics had led astray back into the fold of the church.[149] In 1209, however, Innocent III became convinced that enough attempts at reconciliation had been made and the time had come to root them out completely. He called a crusade and summoned a French army, which late in June that year began to march southward.[150] As a result, a period of strong persecution began.

Lambert notes that Innocent gave full justification for the crusade based especially on his own decretal of 1190, *Vergentis in Senium*. However, in the fourth Lateran Council, canons summed up existing legislation and produced a dogmatic constitution based closely on the profession of faith presented by Henry de Marcy to Peter Waldo, giving a precise picture of the beliefs the Roman Church was fighting

[147] Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 73.

[148] A. C. Shannon, *The Popes and Heresy in the Thirteenth Century* (Villanova, PA: Augustinian Press, 1949), 27-47. Powell points out that he was also strongly committed to uniting the church, including those of the East, under papal authority. James M. Powell, ed. and trans., *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), xxx.

[149] He used the parable of the wheat and the tares to exemplify and validate his course of action. Powell, *Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, 80, 88.

[150] Lea, *History of the Inquisition,* 1:150–61; Walter L. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France 1100–1250* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1974), 96–98.

against.[151] In November 11, 1215, at the Fourth Lateran Council, Pope Innocent III condemned the Waldensians as heretics.[152]

Wakefield points out that it had become increasingly accepted that the "proper punishment" for a heretic, proposed in the Synod of Verona in 1184 by Lucius III, was death by fire. Additionally, the person who died in heresy was denied burial. If their guilt was proved after death, the bones must be disinterred and cast out of the cemetery or burned. The property of anyone convicted of heresy or protecting heretics was confiscated. Any house that heretics had frequented should be destroyed and the site made into a refuse pit. Children of heretics could not inherit, nor could they, to the second generation, have any ecclesiastical benefice or church office.[153]

The three popes after Innocent III—Honorius III, Gregory IX, and Innocent IV—all gave special attention to persecuting dissident groups. However, a major innovation took place under Gregory IX, pope from March 19, 1227, to his death in 1241. He came to the conclusion that the episcopal inquisitors[154] dealt with heresy as a secondary business and, in turn, established special agents equipped with full powers from the papacy to hunt heretics. Their inquisition proved successful and became the norm for fighting the Waldensians and other groups considered heretics. Moreover, the council of Toulouse in 1229 determined life imprisonment for anyone who was converted in fear of

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[151] Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 100.

[152] Otten, *Manual of the History of Dogmas*, 2:448–49.

[153] Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition*, 135–36.

[154] In the Middle Ages, inquisition was a method of inquiry designed for detecting and punishing violations. In an inquisition, one who was suspected could be interrogated under oath, his answers making him, in effect, his own accuser, while other testimony could also be taken against him. Ibid., 133.

death. The same council also required from every person in Languedoc an oath,

renewable every two years, to remain a Catholic in good standing.[155]

Thus, the Roman Church developed the means for efficient persecution: the

organization of a body of laws clearly defining what was considered heresy, the support

of secular legislation against heresy, and the formation of a dedicated and skilled group

of persecutors,[156] thus papal inquisition of the Middle Ages began.[157]

Inquisitional laws asserted that anyone suspected of heresy could be summoned

and required to take an oath before declaring their beliefs, their participation in secret

meetings, or their contacts with heretics. In 1252, Innocent IV decided that torture might

be used as an instrument to extract the desired answers, compelling the suspects to

incriminate themselves. Rights to the property of those being accused helped to motivate

testimonies against them. In practical terms, the inquisitor had almost unlimited power

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[155] Ibid., 136.

[156] The recently established mendicant orders were particularly fit for the work for a few reasons: (1) they were free from local partialities; (2) they were specially trained in the detection of heresy; (3) they had taken irrevocable vows to forsake the world and were not interested in wealth or the enticements of pleasure, and were therefore shielded against bribery; (4) their great popularity gave them far more efficient assistance than could be expected by the bishop, whose position was generally antagonistic to the common people; and (5) they were peculiarly devoted to the papacy. Dominicans were most commonly appointed to the office, although Franciscans were also commissioned. Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, 1:318–19. About the political and religious environment in the thirteenth century see Heinrich Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars in the High Middle Ages: 1000–1200* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 127–52.

[157] Lea provides a full account of the origin, organization, and development of the Inquisition. Ibid., 305–364. See also Shannon, *Popes and Heresy*, 48–66. It should be noted that inquisitors kept records of their activities, which included detailed information about suspects and their relatives. This information was passed on to the next inquisitor. As the customs and procedures of the inquisitors developed, a class of writing often known as "inquisitors' handbooks" came into existence, assembling past experience on heretics and their beliefs, and giving information on inquisitorial practices. See Nicolau Eymerich Francisco Peña, *Le manuel des inquisiteurs* [The inquisitors' handbook], trans. Louis Sala-Molins (Paris: Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes and Mount, 1973), 26–240; E. Van Der Vekené, ed. *Bibliographie der Inquisition* [Bibliography of the Inquisition] (Hildesheim, Germany: Georg Olms, 1963), 284; Count Joseph de Maitre, *Letters of the Spanish Inquisition* (London: W. Hughes, 1838), iii–vii.

over those brought before him. He could apply, as he pleased, a variety of penalties that ranged from fines and pilgrimages to life in prison and the death penalty.[158]

The fierce persecution that followed led to extermination and imprisonment for the Waldensians living in different parts of the Alps.[159] Over the years, those who were not exterminated or imprisoned were compelled to flee deeper into the mountains, living for a long time in want of food and shelter. Muston notes that the Waldensians suffered almost continuous persecution from the beginning of the thirteenth century to the end of the eighteenth, and between 1056 and 1290, five bulls of different popes demanded their extermination.[160] It has been reported that over one million Waldenses perished in France.[161]

Waldensian pastors Jean Leger and Pierre Gilles provide an account of the horrible abuses the Waldensians suffered at the hands of their persecutors: Jordan Tertian was burned alive at Suza; Villermin Ambrouse was hanged on the Col de Méane; Ugon Chiamps, of Fenestrelle, was taken at Suza, and conducted to Turin, where his entrails were torn out and flung into a basin, while he was still alive. Peter Geymonat, of Bobi, suffered the same torture in Lucerna, and a cat was thrust into his living body to increase his agony; Mary Romaine was buried alive at Roche-Plate and Madeleine Fontane

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[158] For a full description of inquisitional procedures see Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition*, 135, 173–194; Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, 1:429–533; Shannon, *Popes and Heresy*, 67–89.

[159] Muston points out that, over time, the Vaudois were rooted out, not only of the Val Louise, but also of Barcelonnette, Saluces, Procence, and Calabria, where they were anciently established, being also exterminated in the valley of Pragela. Muston, *Israel of the Alps*, 1:45.

[160] Ibid., 1:47.

[161] Edward Bickersteth, "On the Progress of Popery and the Duties of the Church at the Present Day," *Protestant Quarterly Review* 1-2 (1844): 51.

suffered the same death at St. John; Michel Gonet, a man almost a hundred years old, was burned alive at Sarcena. Bartholomew Frache, having been hacked with swords, had his wounds filled with quicklime, and died in this way in Fenil; Daniel Michelin had his tongue torn out at Bobi, for having praised God. James Baridom died, covered with sulfurous catches that had been forced into his flesh between his fingers, and about his lips, his nostrils, and all parts of his body, and then set alight. Daniel Rével had his mouth filled with gunpowder, which, when lit, blew his head into pieces. Mary Mounin was taken in the Combe of Liousa. The flesh of her cheeks and her chin was removed, so that the jaws were exposed, and in this way she was left to die. Paul Garnier was mutilated at Rora; Thomas Marguet was mutilated in an indescribable manner at the fort of Miraboue, and Susanna Jaquin was cut in pieces at la Tour. Sara Rostagnol was slit open from her legs to her breast and left to perish on the road between Eyral and Luzerna; Anne was impaled alive and carried on a pike, as a standard, from San Giovanni to La Torre; at Paesane, Daniel Rambaud had his nails torn out, then his fingers cut off, then his feet and hands severed by blows of hatchets, and then his arms and legs separated from his body, with each refusal to deny his biblical faith.[162]

Lambert notes that in spite of all this persecution, the Waldensians managed to survive by adapting themselves to an underground existence. While Catharism disappeared, Waldensianism outlasted all the persecutions, although in remote places and in the lower ranks of society. Highly inaccessible mountainous regions on the French and

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[162] Pierre Gilles, *Histoire ecclésiastique des eglises reformees autrefois appelées Vaudoises* [Ecclesiastical history of the reformed churches formerly called Waldensian] (Geneva, Switzerland: pour Iean de Tournes, imprimeur ordinaire de la Republique & Academie, 1644), 53, 67, 74, 134, 180, 208, 290, 318, 426, 553; Leger, *Histoire generale des eglises,* 115–138, cf. Muston, *Israel of the Alps*, 105–27.

Italian sides of the Alps became their strongholds. Although it meant adapting to the reality of mountain conditions, with all that this implies in straitened circumstances and intellectual isolation, the tenacity and mobility of their pastors visiting their flocks kept the movement alive.[163]

Thus, the Waldensians became precursors of the Reformation.[164] It is significant that Waldensianism was the only one of the so-called heresies of the twelfth century that survived in unbroken continuity into the sixteenth to emerge from its hiding place and join hands with the Protestant Reformation.[165]

The Waldensians Join the Protestant Reform

In 1530, the Waldensian churches of Provence and Dauphiné commissioned George Morel of Merindol and Pierre Masson of Burgundy to visit the Reformers of Switzerland and Germany in order to inquire about their beliefs and practices. Among those they met were Berthold Haller (1492–1536) and William Farel (1489–1565).[166]

Wylie points out that they went on to Basel and presented Reformation leader Johannes Oecolampadius (1482–1531) with a complete statement of their doctrine. They asked in return if he would say whether he approved of their beliefs and, if not, to specify the points on which he considered they were wrong. Oecolampadius replied in a letter addressed to the churches of Provence dated October 13, 1530: "We render thanks to our

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[163] Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 151–53.

[164] Evans, *Roots of the Reformation*, 167–74.

[165] Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 153.

[166] Scotland, *Christianity Outside the Box*, 69.

most gracious Father that he called you into such marvelous light, during ages in which such thick darkness has covered almost the whole world under the empire of the Antichrist. We love you as brethren."[167]

In October 12, 1932, the Waldensians held a synod at Chamforans, in the Angrogna Valley, to consider whether or not to join the Reformers. Among the Protestant leaders who were present was William Farel. Farel, who knew the Waldenses and spoke their languages, urged them to join the Reformation and to leave secrecy. After they discussed the topic for six days, a confession of faith with Reformed doctrines was formulated with seventeen articles. Following exhortations to courage, they decided to worship openly, which resulted in persecution by King Francis I, with hundreds dying in the massacre of Merindol (1545). The treaty of June 5, 1561, finally allowed the Protestants of the valleys to worship freely.[168] Thus, the Waldensians became more aligned with Protestantism and in 1655 accepted the Confession of Augsburg.

During the years following the Protestant Reformation until the French Revolution, the Waldensians continued to experience severe persecution softened by periods of tolerance. After 1789 the Waldensians of Piedmont-Sardinia were granted the right to worship in accordance with their conscience. In 1848 their situation further

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[167] Oeclampadius, however, also gave them a sharp rebuke: "We are informed that the fear of persecution has caused you to dissemble and to conceal your faith. . . . There is concord between Christ and Belial. You commune with unbelievers; you take park in the abominable masses, in which the death and passion of Christ are blasphemed . . . I know your weakness, but it becomes those who have been redeemed by the blood of Christ to be more courageous. It is better for is to die than to be overcome by temptation." Wylie, *History of the Waldenses*, 57.

[168] Eyre Evans Crowe, *The History of France,* vol. 1 (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1830), 256–57; Scotland, *Christianity Outside the Box*, 69; Joseph Visconti, *The Waldensian Way to God* (Maitland, FL: Xulon Press, 2003), 249–61.

improved when the ruler of Savoy, King Charles Albert of Sardinia, restored their civil rights. What became known as the Waldensian Evangelical Church spread across Italy.

In 1975, the Waldensian Church joined the Italian Methodist Church to form the Union of the Waldensian and Methodist Churches, which is a member of the World Council of Churches.[169] Many scholars defend the conception that the Waldensian movement came to an end at the time of the Reformation, when it merged with Protestantism.[170]

<div align="center">Missionary Lessons</div>

The history of the Waldenses is a source of inspiration to any movement facing the challenge of striving at the margins of society under unusual circumstances. Through centuries of fierce persecution and the constant loss of everything that was most dear to them and against all odds they managed to survive and write their names in the history of Christianity as forerunners of the Protestant Reformation. Their tenderness mixed with firmness, submission mixed with resilience, and meekness mixed with courage contributed to their longevity and missionary presence. These are some of the principles behind their missionary efficacy:

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[169] Scotland, *Christianity Outside the Box*, 72.

[170] Gabriel Audisio, *The Waldensian Dissent: Persecution and Survival, c.1170-c.1570* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 187; Scotland, *Christianity Outside the Box*, 70; Visconti, *Waldensian Way to God*, 148; Max Beer, *Social Struggles in the Middle Ages*, trans. H. J. Stenning (London: Routledge, 2010), 54; Audisio, *Preachers by Night,* 43, 248.

1. *The centrality of the Bible.* Waldensian persecutors were among the first to recognize their firm attachment to the Word of God.[171] Inquisitor David of Augsburg stated in 1270 about the Waldensians, "They said that the gospel ought to be observed altogether according to the letter: and they boasted that they wished to do this."[172] Moreover, the Waldensians were willing to base their beliefs and practices on the Bible, knowing that the price for keeping their biblical faith would be disruption, imprisonment, torture, and death. Additionally, the main purpose of their extensive training and demanding missionary efforts was to share the Word of God. The entire movement was all about keeping and spreading the Word. From the earliest times, they were known as the people of the Book.[173] Furthermore, the immutable character of the Word of God provided a permanent external reference point to orient the movement. It is important to note that the Waldenses kept their strength and vitality for as long as they maintained their distinctive biblical faith.

2. *An exemplary life.* One of the defining traits of the Waldensians was their strong emphasis on purity of life. Inquisitor Reynerius Sacco noted that one of the most efficient ways to identify them was to observe their simple and exemplary life:

> "They are recognisable by their customs and speech, for they are modest and disciplined. They take no pride in their garments, which are neither costly nor vile. They live by their labor as artisans. They are chaste, temperate, and restrain

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[171] See an excerpt from the account of Inquisitor Reynerius Sacco and others in Moore, *Birth of Popular Heresy*, 132–38.

[172] Peters, *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe,* 149.

[173] The author of the Passau Anonymous*,* which was composed between 1256 and 1272 and deals with the situation of the Waldensians in the Bavarian part of the diocese of Passau, states on a section about the causes of heresy: "I have seen and heard a certain unlearned, illiterate rustic who could recite the Book of Job word for word, and many others, who knew the entire New Testament perfectly." Peters, *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe*, 151.

themselves from anger, avoiding baseness and light speech, lies and oats. They do not increase their riches but are satisfied with necessities. They do not frequent taverns or alehouses, neither do they go to balls or other vanities."[174]

As the Waldensians pursued a life above reproach, they won the sympathy and respect of many.[175] Thus, they frequently found an open door for sharing their biblical message as well as a hiding place in times of persecution.

3. *Training.* The Waldensian missionaries were ready and prepared to make an impact in the world. Their training time ranged from one to six years in some cases, and involved a variety of topics, including theology, professions, and languages.[176] Most importantly, they were thoroughly equipped to transmit their biblical message in a hostile environment. Indeed, it has been recognized that their missionary pastors were vitally important for the spread and survival of the movement.

4. *Radical commitment to Christ.* The Waldensians were determined to uplift the Word of God or die trying. Having forsaken all earthly pleasures, vain entertainments, and rewards, the "poor men of Lyon" had no interests other than embracing the cause of Christ, no matter the cost. Indeed, their profound commitment to Christ seems to have been the determining factor enabling them to move forward in the face of fierce persecution and horrendous deaths. As Tertullian observed, the blood of those Waldensians who perished for the sake of their biblical faith was indeed "the seed" of a

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[174] Allix, *Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, 258; Saxby, *Pilgrims of a Common Life,* 94.

[175] Cameron offers a detailed description of different aspect of the Waldensian morality. Euan Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics: The Waldenses of the Alps, 1480–1580* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1984), 103–20.

[176] Again, the author of the Passau Anonymous declares, "In the parish of Kemenaten alone there are ten schools of heretics." Peters, *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe,* 152.

resilient church that years in the future would emerge from its hiding place to join hands with the Protestant Reformation.[177]

5. *The leadership of Peter Waldo.* Scotland points out that Peter Waldo was a visionary with a clear vision from God, but his unique contribution lay in the fact that he made his vision clear enough for the most humble and illiterate rural mountain folk to understand, embrace, and share.[178] In addition, he set up an organizational model that would function and continued to expand after his death.

The Moravians

The Moravian church has been described as possibly the most missionary-minded church in history.[179] William Wilberforce wrote concerning the Moravians:

> A body of Christians who have perhaps, excelled all mankind in solid and unequivocal proofs of the love of Christ, and of the most ardent, active, and patient zeal in his service. It is zeal tempered with prudence, softened with meekness, soberly

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[177] See an analysis of the Waldensian influence on Hussitism in Thomas Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1998), 37–41. Cameron points out that it is in the highest degree improbable that the Waldensians inspired the reform preaching of the Prague clergy or inspired the nationalistic Czech realism of the university masters, since they were anxious to establish their distinctness from the Germans. However, they may have played a role in the gathering of supporters for the communities of Tábor, among others. Moreover, Waldensian missionary methods and theological arguments against the Roman Church fueled the Hussite movement, especially in the years following the death of John Huss. Additionally, Waldensian bishops ordained one of the first pastors of the Unity of the Brethren in 1467. Cameron, *Waldenses*, 144–50.

[178] Scotland, *Christianity Outside the Box*, 74.

[179] Williston Walker, Richard A. Norris, David W. Lotz, and Robert T. Handy, *A History of the Christian Church*, 4th ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), 594; James De Jong, "Expansion Worldwide," in *Eerdmans' Handbook to the History of Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977), 476; Ruth A. Tucker, *From Jerusalem to Jaya: A Biographical History of Christian Missions* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2004), 99; Robert Wahl*, Foundations of the Faith: A Journey through the Basics of the Christian Faith* (Colorado Springs, CO: Nexgen, 2006), 149.

supported by courage which no danger can intimidated, and a quiet constancy which no hardship can exhaust.[180]

They do not run megachurches nowadays, but their influence is being felt in the whole Christian community. Their confessions express the beliefs of Lutherans, Methodists, Episcopalians, and many other Christians.[181] Their practices laid the foundation for the concept of small groups, which inspired and was used by John Wesley.[182]

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[180] William Wilberforce, *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes Contrasted with Real Christianity* (Boston, MA: Nathaniel Willie, 1815), 63.

[181] The ancient Bohemian and Moravian Brethren were precursors and promoters of the Protestant Reform. Wylie, *History of Protestantism,* 1:213. Moreover, the first settlers in Herrnhut were soon joined by a number of pious persons from various religious denominations, especially Lutheran and reformed churches. Consequently, they have always been aligned with mainline Protestant churches. In a document dated August 12, 1729, they decided "not to constitute a sect distinct from the other Protestant churches." August Gottlieb Spangenberg, *A Concise Historical Account of the Present Constitution of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren Adhering to the Confession of Augsburg* (Philadelphia, PA: M'Carty & Davis, 1833), 32.

[182] Anglican Rev. Thomas Church accuses John Wesley of having greatly contributed to the spread of Moravian "tenants and principles" in England by having "countenanced and commended" them. In 1745, he quotes Wesley's words in his last journal to validate his accusations. Thomas Church, *Remarks on the Reverend Mr. John Wesley's Last Journal, Wherein He Gives an Account of the Tenets and Proceedings of the Moravians, Specially Those in England, and of the Divisions and Perplexities of the Methodists. Shewing, By the Confessions of Mr. Wesley Himself, the Many Errors Relating Both to Faith and Practice, Which Have Already Arisen Among These Deluded People. And in a Particular Manner Explaining the Very Fatal Tendency of Denying Good Works to be Conditions of Our Justification. In a Letter to That Gentleman. By Thomas Church, A. M Vicar of Battersea, and Prebendary of St. Paul's* (London: M. Cooper at the Globe in Paternoster-Row, MDCCXLV [1745]), 17, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Andrews University James White Library, accessed November 1, 2016, http://find.galegroup.com. Speaking of the Moravians in his journal, Wesley declares that he met with some of them in his voyage to Georgia and observed their behavior, greatly approving of all he saw. It was the day after he arrived in Georgia that he met the Moravian Bishop Spangenberg, whose questions about his personal assurance of salvation made him question the sincerity of his own religious conviction. Wesley's entries in his journal evidence that he stayed with the Moravians from October 14, 1735, to December 2, 1737, and the more time they spent together, the more he esteemed the entire Moravian community. After leaving Georgia, Wesley traveled to Germany and spent three months visiting the Moravians in Herrnhut. He confesses to have fallen in love with their methods. Upon his return to England, he set up the Moravian "bands" among his principles. John Wesley, *The Journal of John Wesley,* 8 vols. (Chicago: Moody Press, 1951), 1:142–44, 150–56, 166–72, 180, 400–426. On the other hand, Wesley was careful to point out the main differences between the two movements. John Wesley, *A short view of the difference between the Moravian Brethren, lately in England; and the Reverend Mr. John and Charles Wesley. Extracted chiefly*

They were also the pioneers in modern Protestant missions.[183] The beginnings of the Moravian missionary outreach occurred in 1732, sixty years before William Carey founded the Baptist Missionary Society and became the most known representative of the modern missionary movement.[184] They were the first Protestants to accept the missionary task as a church body.[185] They never numbered more than a few hundred in Herrnhut, and yet they became one of the most creative and zealous Christian movements in history.[186]

The extraordinary missionary outcome achieved by the renewed Moravian Church was the result of at least four main factors: (1) the innovative and visionary leadership of Count Zinzendorf; (2) the gathering of a committed group of believers firmly established in the Word of God; (3) the organization of a mission-minded movement; and (4) the application of effective missionary principles.

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from a late journal, 2nd ed. (London: printed by W. Strahan; and sold by T. Trye; Henry Butler; and at the Foundary, 1745), 1–16.

[183] In 1840, eight years after the Moravian missionary endeavor began, in a time when they had finally found rest from persecution and their number scarcely amounted to six hundred people, they had already sent missionaries to Greenland, to the Indians in North and South America, to many of the West Indies, to Lapland, to Algiers, to Guinea, to the Cape of Good Hope, and to Ceylon. Mendon Association, *The Christian Magazine* (Providence, RI: Barnum Field, 1824), 1:249–52.

[184] Carey spoke of the Moravians as an example to be followed: "None of the moderns have equaled the Moravian Brethren in this good work; They have sent missions to Greenland, Labrador, and several of the West-Indian Islands." William Carey, *An Enquiry Into the Obligation of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathen* (London: Ann Ireland, 1792), 36–37. Stanley suggests the Moravians had a powerful influence on Carey. Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792–1992* (Edinburgh, Scotland: T. & T. Clark, 1992), 39–40.

[185] J. E. Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church* (London: Moravian Publication Office, 1909), 246–47.

[186] Pierson, *Dynamics of Christian Mission*, 190.

The Forging of a Leader

In his own time, Nicolaus von Zinzendorf was recognized as "certainly the greatest evangelical German since Luther."[187] Currently, he is seen as a man whose ideas were at least two hundred years ahead of his time, since "what he says is often as modern as if he stood among us and spoke to us as his contemporaries."[188]

Zinzendorf was born on May 26, 1700,[189] and became an orphan only six weeks later. His father succumbed to tuberculosis, but this did not change the fact of his distinguished ancestry. The house of Zinzendorf was an ancient noble family in Austria upon which the rank of imperial count was conferred in 1662.[190] They were numbered among the twelve noble houses supporting the Austrian dynasty.[191]

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[187] Nicholaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, *Nine Public Lectures on Important Subjects in Religions,* ed. and trans. George W. Forell (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1973), v; Lewes, *Zinzendorf*, 12.

[188] Lewes, *Zinzendorf,* 12.

[189] Shortly after his birth, his mother wrote in the family Bible: "On May 26, in the year 1700, on Wednesday evening about six o'clock, Almighty God blessed me in Dresden with the gift of my first-born son, Nicolaus Ludwig. The father of mercy govern the heart of this child that he may walk blamelessly in the path of virtue. May he allow no evil to have control over him, and may his path be fortified in his word. Thus that which is good will not fail toward him, neither in this temporal world nor beyond in eternity." John Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), 13. Freeman divides Zinzendorf's life into five periods: (1) 1700–1721—childhood and education; (2) 1721–1727—service in the Dresden court and the beginning of Herrnhut; (3) 1727–1736—the building up of Herrnhut; (4) 1736–1755—the pilgrim count; and (5) 1755–1760—final residence in Herrnhut. Arthur J. Freeman, *An Ecumenical Theology of the Heart: The Theology of Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf* (Bethlehem, PA: Board of Communications Moravian Church in America, 1998), 31.

[190] Ferdinand Piper, ed., *Lives of the Leaders of Our Universal Church: From the Days of the Successors of the Apostles to the Present Time*, trans. Henry Mitchell McCracken (Boston, MA: Congregational Publishing Society, 1879), 2:473.

[191] August Gottlieb Spangenberg, *The Life of Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf: Bishop and Ordinary of the Church of the United (or Moravian) Brethren*, trans. Samuel Jackson (London: S. Holdsworth, 1838), v.

From his mother's side, he inherited talent and piety. She was raised under

Spener's Pietism,[192] and Philip Jacob Spener himself was one of the godparents at the

baptism of Zinzendorf.[193] In 1704, she remarried and moved away, leaving Zinzendorf to

be raised by his grandmother, but she continued to involve herself in his life through

correspondence and occasional visits.

Zinzendorf's grandmother was a gifted and accomplished woman. She was

comfortable with Latin dogmatic theology and read the Scriptures in the original Hebrew

and Greek.[194] Her influence was so important in his formative years that he later said of

her: "I received my principles from her. If she would not have been, so would all in

which we were involved not have come about. She was a person who applied herself to

everything in the world which interested the Savior."[195]

One of the most important aspects of Zinzendorf's childhood was the intense

religious training to which he was exposed.[196] He quickly responded to its influence and

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[192] The essence of Spener's teaching is presented in his *Pia Desideria*, which is the catalytic writing of the Pietist movement and would so profoundly captivate the heart of Zinzendorf. Philip Jacob Spener, *Pia Desideria*, ed. and trans. Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1964); for an analysis of the *Pia Desideria*, see Allen C. Deeter, "An Historical and Theological Introduction to Philipp Jakob Spener's *Pia Desideria*: A Study in Early German Pietism" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1963), 142–78.

[193] Piper, *Lives of the Leaders*, 473.

[194] Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, *Christian Life and Witness: Count Zinzendorf's 1738 Berlin Speeches*, ed. and trans. Gary S. Kinkel (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2010), xiii.

[195] Freeman, *Theology of the Heart,* 31.

[196] Under his grandmother Henritta von Gerstorff's regime, the castle of Grosshennersdorf became a center of the Spener-Halle type of Pietism. August G. Spangenberg, *Leben des Herrn Nicolaus Ludwig Grafen und Herrn von Zinzendorfund Pottendorf*, 8 vols. (Herrnhut, Germany: Brueder-Gemeine, 1773), 1:18, cf. Mary B. Havens, "Zinzendorf and the Augsburg Confession: An Ecumenical Vision?" (PhD diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1989), 41; F. Ernest Stoeffler, *German Pietism during the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1973), 132.

developed a deep devotional experience. At only four or five years of age, he would

throw letters to Jesus out of the castle's upper window.[197] At six he held prayer

meetings.[198]

At ten he was sent off to Halle, since the children of the upper ranks of society

were educated in colleges. At fifteen he was able to give public orations composed by

himself in Greek, Latin, French, and German.[199] In the beginning of his third school year,

however, authorities seriously considered expelling him under accusations of

disobedience, lying, hypocrisy, vanity, and troublemaking.[200] In spite of this, it was also

during this time that he founded the famous "Order of the Mustard Seed." The boys who

belonged to it took three pledges: (1) to be kind to all men; (2) to be true to Christ; (3) to

send the gospel to the heathen.[201]

In September 1716, Zinzendorf went to the University of Wittenberg, where he

remained until 1719.[202] Being part of the nobility, he was expected to be ready to occupy

some important state office. Therefore, he was urged to pay special attention to law.

However, his delight was in theology. According to his own testimony, "My mind

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[197] Spangenberg, *Leben,* 30, cf. Havens, "Zinzendorf and the Augsburg Confession," 47.

[198] Havens, "Zinzendorf and the Augsburg Confession," 71.

[198] Edward Langton, *History of the Moravian Church* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1956), 63.

[199] He did not succeed in learning Hebrew, although he was instructed in it for three years. Spangenberg, *Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf*, 6.

[200] Weinlick, *Zinzendorf: The Story,* 25.

[201] Langton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 65; Lewes, *Zinzendorf*, 26.

[202] The transition from Halle to Wittenberg was traumatic, since Wittenberg, the cradle of the Reformation, claimed to be the sentinel of pure doctrine and the fortress against error, especially of the Pietist brand. Spangenberg, *Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf*, 12–14. About the controversies within the Lutheran community occasioned by the raise of Pietism, see Stoeffler, *German Pietism*, 57–71.

inclined continually toward the cross of Christ. My conversation always turned to that subject; and since the theology of the cross was my favorite theme, subjects not related to that I treated superficially."[203] He managed to do well in both areas, and the knowledge he acquired proved to be of great value years later in the administration of the affairs of the church, as well as in his duties as a priest and a bishop.

In the spring of 1719, it was decided that Zinzendorf should follow the custom of noble young men and finish his education with an extensive foreign tour. It was during this tour that the sight of a picture in the art gallery of Dusseldorf deepened and developed the determination he had formed in childhood—to devote his life to the service of Christ.[204] The painting, by Domenico Feti, entitled *Ecce Homo (Behold the Man)*, showed Jesus with a crown of thorns on His head. At the bottom of the picture, the artist had painted the words: "This I have done for you. What have you done for me?"

During this time, he visited many cosmopolitan cities and made contact with people from different religious denominations, worshiping with his own Lutheran coreligionists, and with Reformed, Mennonites, Armenians, and Anglicans.[205] This fact would influence him throughout his life. Another important aspect for the future was the

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[203] Elisabeth W. Sommer, *Serving Two Masters: Moravian Brethren in Germany and North Carolina, 1727-1801* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 5.

[204] J. Taylor Hamilton, *A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church* (Bethlehem, PA: Times, 1900), 21.

[205] Spangenberg provides a detailed account of his tour and interactions. Spangenberg, *Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf*, 15–29.

free exchange of opinion with prominent people to whom his rank gave him free access.[206] He was now ready to begin his public career.

On his return to Hennersdorf, in obedience to his grandmother, Zinzendorf became a counselor and worked in the service of the electoral government. But his real ambition was to secure a center of influence.[207] Thus, in April 1722 he purchased from his grandmother Berthelsdorf, an old village that had existed as a church parish since 1346,[208] and installed his friend John Andrew Rothe as the village pastor.

Zinzendorf had for several years filled the pulpit of the Trinity Church in Gorlitz with great acceptance, and held religious services in his apartments in Dresden on weekends from three in the afternoon until seven in the morning.[209] Now he decided to work closely with the local pastor, determined to make Berthelsdorf a model village.

In September of the same year, he took another important step in connection to his plans. He married Countess Erdmuth Dorothy Reuss, who shared his Pietistic devotion and was in full accordance with his religious inclinations. The main life events that forged the leader of the movement that would come to be known as the Renewed Moravian Church had all taken place.

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[206] Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf,* 42.

[207] Hamilton, *Moravian Church*, 23.

[208] Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf,* 55.

[209] Hamilton, *Moravian Church*, 23.

The Rebirth of a Church

The origins of the Moravian Church date back to the later part of the fourteenth century and in particular to the followers of John Huss, who died as a martyr in 1415.[210] In spite of the theological differences among the Bohemians and the fact that no group accepted the teachings of Huss in its totality,[211] as soon as the news of Huss's martyrdom came to Bohemia, he became a symbol of nationalism and they fought together for independence.[212] A peace agreement took place in 1434, and about 1455, a tailor called Gregory established an independent brotherhood named *"Unitas Fratrum,"* the Unity of the Brethren.[213] With the passing of time they started calling themselves Moravians.[214]

The accession of the Polish prince Vladislav in 1471 delivered them from persecution and resulted in a period of relative peace. During this time they continued to

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[210] The ancestors of the Moravian Brethren, however, had been a church of martyrs many ages before the Reformation. John Huss was one among them. Originally descended from the Sclavonian branch of the Greek Church, they never implicitly submitted to the authority of the pope, they pledged allegiance to the Bible, and they performed their services according to the rituals of their fathers. For these "heresies" they were persecuted and punished with the spoiling of their goods, imprisonment, exile, and death. John Holmes, *History of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren*, 2 vols. (London: John Back Holmes, 1825), 1:1–35; Members of the Established Church, *The Christian Observer* (New York: Clayton and Kingsland, 1820), 18:61; "The Martyrdom of John Huss," *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* 3, no. 1 (1859): 235; Hastings Rashdall, *John Huss* (London: Thos. Shrimpton, 1879), 1-32; Edmund de Schweinitz, *The History of the Church Known as the Unitas Fratrum or the Unity of the Brethren*, 2nd ed. (Bethlehem, PA: Moravians Publication Concern, 1901), 3–26; Scotland, *Christianity Outside the Box*, 116; Moravian Archives, "Arvid Gradins' Visit to Constantinople, 1740," *This Month in Moravian History* 90, no. 3 (2015): 1.

[211] E. H. Gillett, *The Life and Times of John Huss; or the Bohemian Reformation of the Fifteenth Century* (Boston, MA: Gold and Lincoln, 1863), 242–80.

[212] Oscar Kuhns, *John Huss: The Witness* (Cincinnati, OH: Jennings and Graham, 1907), 137–64.

[213] E. R. Hassé, *The Moravians*, 2nd ed. (London: National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, 1913), 10-16; Wylie, *History of Protestantism,* 1:212–13. About the link between Waldensian beliefs and practices and the United Brethren, see Cameron, *Waldenses*, 149.

[214] Pitts Evans, "The Footsteps of the Moravians," *Morning Star Journal* 14, no. 4 (2004): 1-3.

be firmly established in the Bible, and by the beginning of the sixteenth century, more than two hundred churches in Moravia were strongly promoting the Protestant Reform.[215] However, in 1566 the Jesuits arrived in the country and built a Catholic academy. Ferdinand II was installed on the throne of Bohemia, and these events marked the beginning of a new phase of conflicts and suffering.[216]

At the beginning of the seventeenth century more than half of the Protestants in Bohemia belonged to the church of the Brethren.[217] However, with the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, many of them were executed or required to take an oath to remain in the country, to renounce their faith, and to unite with the Roman Church.[218] Others did all they could to escape.

From 1621 to 1722, those who did not renounce their faith and remained in Moravia existed as a "hidden seed," holding their meetings in secret and passing on their traditions from father to son.[219] In this period, the church was maintained largely through the effort of Bishop Comenius (1592–1672), who provided strong spiritual support.[220] At

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[215] Spangenberg described the Moravians as "even the most ancient of the Protestant Religions." Spangenberg, *Concise Historical Account,* 27. For Kalfus, the Moravian Church was the first Protestant church born anew out of the Reformation. Radim Kalfus, *Unitas Fratrum: Moravian Church in Pictures* (Prague: Unitas Fratrum in Czechoslovakia, 1957), 7; Wylie, *History of Protestantism,* 1:213.

[216] Protestant services were forbidden, Evangelicals were expelled from offices, and children were taken away from Protestant parents to be educated in monasteries. Matthew Spinka, *John Amos Comenius: That Incomparable Moravian* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1943), 12.

[217] Gillian Lindt Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds* (London: Columbia University Press, 1967), 4.

[218] The Thirty Years' War brought an abrupt end to Protestantism as an institutionalized movement in Bohemia and Moravia. Kenneth Gardiner Hamilton, *John Ettwein and the Moravian Church during the Revolutionary Period* (Bethlehem, PA: Times, 1940), 3.

[219] Scotland, *Christianity Outside the Box*, 119; de Schweinitz, *Unity of the Brethren*, 503–635.

[220] For a full account of Comenius's life, work, and teachings, see the first English version of John Amos Comenius, *The Great Didactic of John Amos Comenius* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1896), 1-455. For an analysis of his legacy see Will S. Monroe, *Comenius and the Beginnings of Educational*

the same time, the Jesuits did all they could to uproot the hidden seed; one of the means that they used was to bring about marriages between Catholics and the young people of the villages where the Brethren lived.[221]

Beginning in 1722, the powerful preaching of Pastor Rothe was making a great impression upon the district around Berthelsdorf, Germany. The worship style was very attractive, and there was lots of singing followed by the organist, Tobias Friedrich. A printing press was established for the purpose of producing and circulating all sorts of religious publications, especially the Bible. Additionally, educational institutions based in Christian principles were formed for the instruction of children.[222] In a few months, the community had already grown to three hundred people.

Knowing of Zinzendorf's inclinations to Pietism, many of the Moravian refugees asked permission to build their home in Hutberg, the very place were Zinzendorf and his close friends from the "Covenant of the Four Brethren" were making plans to build a large building with room enough to accommodate several enterprises.[223] He agreed, and they called their community Herrnhut, the Lord's Watch.

Reform (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 83–108; Spinka, *John Amos Comenius*, 72-89; John Amos Comenius, *John Amos Comenius on Education: With an Introduction by Jean Piaget* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967), 1–32.

[221] De Schweinitz, *Unity of the Brethren*, 644.

[222] McCorkle offers a brief and insightful account of the Moravian musical influence in America. Donald M. McCorkle, *The Moravian Contribution to American Music* (Winston-Salem, NC: Moravian Music Foundation, 1956), 1–10.

[223] Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf,* 66.

As time went by, people from different religious backgrounds joined them, and it became more and more difficult to create unity in the community.[224] Additionally, Zinzendorf realized that he would have to allow the refugees to keep their identity as a continuation of the Unitas Fratrum. To do this without violating the church law of Saxony was a delicate matter. It would have to be done within the framework of the state church.[225]

On February 2, 1725, Zinzendorf began to work on all these situations. A four-hour meeting was held in order to assign ministries to seven men and seven women representing both Berthelsdorf (the parish) and Herrnhut (the settlers).[226]

The next stage of development happened on May 12, 1727, when Zinzendorf prepared a legal document entitled "The Manorial Injunctions and Prohibitions," to be signed by all residents of his estate. It was intended to serve as the settlement constitution, and presented a set of rules addressing Herrnhut both as a civic community and as a sub-organization within an established parish.[227] The second part of this

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[224] The Bohemians and Moravians, after leaving their own country for the sake of religious freedom, were not happy being forced to worship as Lutherans. John Weinlick, *The Moravian Church Through the Ages* (Bethlehem, PA: Moravian Church in America, 1966), 57.

[225] For a view of the legal documents, letters, and public acts that allowed for the establishment of the settlement and the free exercise of their faith, see Henry Rimius, *The History of the Moravians: From Their First Settlement at Herrnhaag in the County of Budingen, Down to The Present Time; With a View Chiefly to Their Political Intrigues. Collected from The Public Acts of Budingen, and from Other Authentic Vouchers, All Along Accompanied with the Necessary Illustrations and Remarks. The Whole Intended to Give the World Some Knowledge of the Extraordinary System of the Moravians, and to Shew How It May Affect Both the Religious and Civil Interests of the State* (London: J. Robinson in Ludgate-Street; M. Cook at the Royal-Exchange; M. Keith in Grace-Church Street, and J. Jolliff in St. James's-Street, 1754), 3–218.

[226] Freeman, *Theology of the Heart*, 258.

[227] Hutton, *History of Moravian Missions*, 161; Sommer, *Serving Two Masters,* 8.

document was defined as "The Brotherly Agreement," to be signed only by those who were willing to be part of the religious community.[228]

The establishment in 1727 of what could be identified as small groups for pastoral care is considered a third step in the development of the ministries during the formative years of the Renewed Moravian Church. Zinzendorf's goal was to deal with the spiritual and interpersonal life of the community.[229] Each group was led by a director who was in charge of the pastoral care of the people in it.

In 1727, Zinzendorf gave up his post in Dresden in order to devote himself more fully to his community, efforts that bore fruit. There was a growing sense of revival and unity. Christian David, who was one of the twelve elders appointed for the community, led the community in a Bible conference instead of the usual song and prayer service, and the book of John, which spoke so strongly on love and unity, was chosen.

On August 5, Zinzendorf and twelve brethren spent the whole night visiting Hennersdorf and Berthelsdorf, and at midnight they held a prayer meeting in Hutberg, which was attended by a large number of people.[230] In the following days, the power of God was wonderfully manifested in their singing meetings. There was no noisy demonstration, but a quiet spirit of joy filled the whole community.

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[228] Congregation of United Brethren, *The Brotherly Agreement and Declaration, Concerning The Rules and Orders of the Brethren's Congregations, At Okbrook. Consisting of Such Who Are Inhabitants of the Brethren's Settlement There, and of Those Who Live in the Country Round About* (London: Congregation of United Brethren, 1777), 1–41. The revelation that the rules of conduct to which the settlers had so recently agreed were very similar to those of the ancient Bohemian-Moravian Church was a vital element of the evangelical awakening that followed. *The Memorial-Days of the Renewed Church of the Brethren* (Ashton-Under-Lyne, England: Cunningham, 1822), 99–100.

[229] Freeman, *Theology of the Heart*, 258.

[230] Langton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 75.

On August 13, a memorable communion service took place in the Berthelsdorf church. Apparently there was no special manifestation of the Holy Spirit, but there was a profound sense of His presence. They knew something unique had happened. The "Moravian Pentecost occurred."[231] It is considered the beginning of the Renewed *Unitas Fratrum*. After this experience, they instituted a twenty-four-hour prayer watch that lasted one hundred years.[232]

Beliefs

The Moravian people who settled in Herrnhut were led to adopt what has been controversially described as the best and purest form of Lutheranism, known as Pietism.[233] Zinzendorf was and always remained a strict Lutheran.[234] The essential points of the Moravian doctrine are contained in the second and third articles of Luther's Small

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[231] Hassé, *The Moravians,* 116–17.

[232] Pierson*, Dynamics of Christian Mission*, 190.

[233] The prominent doctrine of Pietism was that a deep and pungent agony, caused by an overwhelming conviction of sin, must precede and accompany the process of being set free from darkness in order that the sinner might experience the marvelous light and liberty of God's children. Spener, *Pia Desideria*, 17–91; F. F. Hagen, *Old Landmarkers: or Faith and Practice of the Moravian Church at the Time of Its Revival and Restoration in 1727* (Bethlehem, PA: F. F. Hagen, 1886), 9; Howard Albert Snyder, "Pietism, Moravianism, and Methodism as Renewal Movements: A Comparative and Thematic Study" (PhD diss., Notre Dame University, 1983), 82–110, 294–97. About the controversies within the Lutheran community occasioned by the rise of Pietism, see Stoeffler, *German Pietism*, 57–71; Dale Weaver Brown, "The Problem of Subjectivism in Pietism: A Redefinition with Special Reference to the Theology of Philipp Jakob Spener and August Hermann Francke" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1962), 139–46.

[234] Spangenberg, *Concise Historical Account,* 30–36; Zinzendorf, *Nine Public Lectures,* 1–103. It should be noted, however, that Zinzendorf's claim of being an orthodox Lutheran was not only contested by his contemporaries in the eighteenth century, but is still debated by interpreters today. Henry Rimius, *A Solemn Call on Count Zinzendorf, the Author, and Advocate of the Sect of Herrnhuters, Commonly Call'd Moravians, to Answer All and Every Charge Brought against Them in the Candid Narrative &c: With Some Further Observations on the Spirit of That Sect* (London: A. Linde, 1754), 2–26; Spangenberg, *Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf*, xv–xx; Havens, "Zinzendorf and the Augsburg Confession," 499–535.

Catechism.[235] These confessions express the beliefs not only of Lutherans and

Moravians, but also of all Christians.[236]

Practices

Besides the supervision of the twelve elders and the pastoral care offered by the

directors of what could be called cells or small groups, another practice that was very

important during those formative years of the Renewed Moravian Church was the

division of the Brethren into ten regiments, called "choirs."[237]

Communion services were held every three months at first, but later on it became

a monthly practice. Sick-visitors visited the sick every day and also provided the

necessary medicines. The poor were helped to find work and, when necessary, they

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[235] Martin Luther, *Luther's Small Catechism: With Prooftexts, Additions and Appendices* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Bookstore, 1882), 14–15.

[236] Spinka points out that as early as 1522, Bishop Lucas, from the Unity of the Brethren, sent a delegation to Luther submitting to the German reformer the catechism and some of his writings. Although Luther on the whole approved the doctrine of the Brethren, he made some objections to the Sacramentarian customs of the Unity, particularly their view of the Lord's Supper, the prohibition of clerical marriage, and the comparatively low level of clergy education. Spinka, *John Amos Comenius*, 12. The following words are Luther's own testimony about the Unity of the Brethren: "Since the days of the Apostle there has existed no church which in her doctrines and rites has more clearly approximated to the spirit of that age than the Bohemian Brethren." Holmes, *United Brethren*, 1:98.

[237] They were organized into: (1) the married choir; (2) the widowers; (3) the widows; (4) the single brethren; (5) the single sisters; (6) the youths; (7) the big girls; (8) the little boys; (9) the little girls; and (10) the infants in arms. Langton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 77. In addition to providing an environment suitable for growth in piety and spiritual knowledge, the choirs were also intended to provide employment and housing for the community. There were workshops where the men, who were mostly mechanics, carried on their trades, and the women their weaving and needlework. Jacob John Sessler, *Communal Pietism among Early American Moravians* (New York: Henry Holt, 1933), 93.

received assistance from the poor-fund. The separation of the genders was a fundamental principle, and woman performed these activities among their own gender.[238]

The "hourly intercession" was established as a response to the dangers that threatened the settlement. Their distinctive practices aroused suspicion among the Lutheran establishment, and the threat of banishment was never far from the congregation.[239] They held daily meetings, in which some of the brethren were allowed to preach when it was seen that they had enough knowledge of the Scriptures.

The affairs of the church were conducted through a conference of elders and a group of principal members of the community dealt with more general subjects. A communal court of justice had general oversight of business and trade and arbitrated when disagreements arose. Zinzendorf remained the head of the community in both civil and ecclesiastical affairs, being assisted by De Waterville in business matters.[240] He was an ordained minister and in 1737 became bishop of the Church of the Brethren.[241]

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[238] For insights on the innovative role of women in the Moravian movement, see Katherine M. Faull, trans., *Moravian Women's Memoirs: Their Related Lives, 1750–1820* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 5–131; Elizabeth Lehman Myers, *A Century of Moravian Sisters: A Record of Christian Community Life* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1918), 35–74.

[239] Zinzendorf's unorthodoxy stirred up a host of enemies: the Saxon court, influential Lutherans, even Pietist leaders in Halle united to condemn him and his Moravians associates. Hamilton, *John Ettwein*, 4. In fact, in 1732 and again in 1737 Herrnhut was visited by a theological commission that investigated whether the inhabitants were living in accord with the teaching of the Augsburg Confession. Although the report of these commissions was positive on both occasions, in 1737 the enemies of Zinzendorf succeeded in having him banished from his estate, a sentence that was reversed in 1747. Stephen Oliver Nicholas, *Rediscovering the Moravian Way of Evangelism* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1990), 14; see also John Roche, *Moravian Heresy: Wherein The Principal Errors of That Doctrine, as Taught Throughout Several Parts of Europe and America, by Count Zinzendorf, Mr. Cennick, and Other Moravian Teachers, are Fully Set Forth, Proved, and Refuted: Also a Short Account of the Rise and Progress of That Sect* (Dublin, Ireland: Printed for the Author, 1741), 1–242.

[240] Langton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 77.

[241] Kalfus, *Unitas Fratrum*, 180.

Herrnhut for some years remained part of the parish of Berthelsdorf, but at the same time developed communal, liturgical, and doctrinal features of its own. These practices were well established by 1732. Finally, in 1756 an absolute separation took place, and it was legally recognized in 1758, through an agreement between the patron of Herrnhut and the ecclesiastical authorities of the older community.[242]

The Pioneer Missionary Movement

The pentecostal experience of August 13, 1727, renewed Zinzendorf's missionary ardor, and he became as passionate about mission as he had been in his youth. Now, he and his Moravians prepared to act upon the concept that to be a Christian was to be involved in mission to the whole world.[243]

Their first overseas endeavor was inspired in April 1731 when Zinzendorf was in Copenhagen attending the coronation of Christian VI. He talked with Anthony Ulrich, a Negro slave from the island of St. Thomas in the West Indies. Anthony told Zinzendorf how often he, his brother Abraham, and his sister Anna, along with many other slaves in the West Indies, longed to hear the gospel. Zinzendorf saw this as a clear message from God. On July 23, he told Anthony's story in Herrnhut. That same night, Leonard Dober and Tobias Leupold heard in their dreams a stern voice bidding them to rise and preach

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[242] Hamilton, *Moravian Church*, 40.

[243] Hassé points out that throughout the churches of Europe, the prevailing idea was that work among the heathen was neither necessary nor proper. Hassé, *The Moravians*, 118.

deliverance to the captives. The next day they wrote the first letter of offer for service in the Moravian missions.[244]

A meeting was held on July 16, 1732, and by lot it was decided that Dober should go, but Tobias would have to stay home. David Nitschmann was chosen as his companion and on Thursday, August 21, at three o'clock in the morning, they stood waiting in front of Zinzendorf's house. Not a brother or sister was up to see them set off. The count drove them as far as Bautzen, from where they walked to Copenhagen. This was the beginning of Moravian mission work.[245]

Preaching to the slaves required patience and perseverance.[246] No public meetings were allowed, and Dober and Nitschmann visited the Negroes one by one after sunset. On September 30, 1736, three converts were baptized—Peter, Andrew, and Nathaniel—and the first mission congregation on the island of St. Thomas was formed.[247]

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[244] Spangenberg, *Leben*, 703, cf. J. Taylor Hamilton and Kenneth G. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church: The Renewed Unitas Fratrum, 1722–1957* (Bethlehem, PA: Interprovincial Board of Christian Education, 1967), 44.

[245] Kalfus, *Unitas Fratrum*, 115. Mason points out that the Moravian missions began in colonies belonging to the Danish crown, followed by the mission in Greenland. These missions were not only the most significant, but also a model for extension into the British world, from Greenland to Labrador, and from the Danish West Indies to the slaves in the British islands. J. C. S. Mason, *The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England, 1760–1800* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2001), 18.

[246] They worked for several years without any apparent result, but the fruits of their perseverance and zeal appeared in due time. By 1832 there were over 20,000 members in their congregations in the West Indies, and a great number of others had already rested in the faith. Mendon Association, *The Christian Magazine*, 250–51; for a full account of the progress of their mission, see Hamilton and Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church,* 43–51.

[247] August Gottlieb Spangenberg, *An Account of the Manner in Which the Protestant Church of the Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, Preach the Gospel, and Carry on Their Missions among the Heathen* (London: Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, 1788), 33–38; accusations that the Moravian missionaries had estates cultivated by slaves and were slave-holders in the Danish West Indies are thoroughly refuted through the statements and documents offered in S. Laing, *Slave-Holding Missionaries: Correspondence of Mr. S. Laing, With the Secretary of the Edinburgh Association in Aid of*

In 1733, three young Moravian men went to Greenland's artic coast and began to work among the Eskimos.[248] Their leader was Christian David. They proved to be faithful missionaries, and six years later, on Easter Sunday 1739, Kayarnak, the first Eskimo Christian, was baptized with his wife Anna, his son Matthew, and his daughter Aima. They also established an enduring Christian church.

On December 17, 1734, August Spangenberg[249] came to the colony's trustees office in London, wishing to make arrangements for a Moravian settlement in the new American colony of Georgia.[250] After a long and thorough process, they received the necessary support to proceed to Georgia and Pennsylvania.[251] The Moravians established a presence in the state of Georgia from 1735 to 1740.

In eastern New York and Connecticut, the work began in 1740. Bethlehem was organized in 1742, and an extensive evangelization of the Indians continued in the

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the United Brethren's (Moravian) Missions, on their Holding Slaves at Their Missionary Stations in the Danish West India Islands (Edinburgh, Scotland: W. Forrester, 1844), 3–9.

[248] Scotland, *Christianity Outside the Box,* 122; for an account of their work among the Eskimos in Alaska beginning in 1884, see Wendell H. Oswalt, *Mission of Change in Alaska: Eskimos and Moravians on the Kuskokwim* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1963), 1–153.

[249] A. G. Spangenberg (1704–1792) was, after Zinzendorf, the church's most prominent thinker and leader. He was respected in Europe and in the United States, and succeeded Zinzendorf as the exponent of the church's doctrine and practice of mission.

[250] Colin Podmore, *The Moravian Church in England, 1728-1760* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1998), 11. Zinzendorf planned to establish Moravian settlements in the New World where the brethren would be free to put their ideas into practice while they labored for the evangelization of the Indians. Hamilton, *John Ettwein,* 4.

[251] Mason remarks that the British act of parliament of 1749 to encourage Moravians to settle in the American colonies was a defining moment in their history. The Moravian church was now acknowledged to be an ancient Protestant episcopal church, and its members had legal standing throughout the empire. Mason, *Missionary Awakening in England*, 8.

following years.[252] Thousands of Native Americans were converted. The Moravians were not the first missionaries to minister to them, but their approach and results were clearly different.[253]

On July 9, 1737, Jorge Schmidt arrived in Cape Town, and in a quiet valley one hundred miles east of the city, he established the first mission station in South Africa. On March 31, 1742, the first five converts of an African mission were baptized.[254]

In 1738, George Dahne went to Surinam. He lived for two years alone in the forest, surrounded by beasts and wild men. His first convert was baptized only six years after his arrival. However, from that time on, the work spread and grew, and it continues in the present day.[255]

An accurate account of the progress of the Moravian missionary movement can be extracted from the textbook that Zinzendorf compiled yearly for his Moravians:

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[252] For an account of the daily life of the first Moravian missionary to the Indians in Ohio, see Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, *Journal and Letters of Col. John May, of Boston, Related to Two Journeys to the Ohio Country in 1788 and '89* (Cincinnati, OH: Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, 1873), 7–152.

[253] For an account of their first activities in America, methodologies, attitudes toward Indian traditions, and special problems such as impermanence of stations, see Hamilton, *John Ettwein,* 88-130. Fries provides a comprehensive view of the Moravian settlements in Pennsylvania and North Carolina through the story of Anna Catharina. Adelaide L. Fries, *The Road to Salem* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 3–314; see also Lawrence Henry Gipson, ed., *The Moravian Indian Mission on White River: Diaries and Letters, May 7, 1799, to November 12, 1806* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1938), 466–580; Hunter James, *The Quiet People of the Land: A Story of the North Carolina Moravians in Revolutionary Times* (Winston-Salem, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1976), 3–122.

[254] Bernhard Kruger, "The Pear Tree Blossoms: A History of the Moravian Mission Stations in South Africa, 1737–1869" (PhD diss., Rhodes University, 1966), 18–31; Kalfus, *Unitas Fratrum*, 186.

[255] Especially well known is the name of the missionary Rudolph Stoll, whom the natives called Saint Rudolph. Kalfus, *Unitas Fratrum*, 115; Neill, *History of Christian Missions*, 203; Armando Lampe, *Mission or Submission? Moravian and Catholic Missionaries in the Dutch Caribbean During the 19th Century* (Gottingen, Netherlands: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 31–36.

The good word of the Lord 1739 from all prophets for His congregations and servants at Herrnhut, Herrnhaag, Herrendyk, Pilgerruh, Ebersdorf, Jena, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, London, Oxford, Berlin, Greenland, St. Coix, St. Thomas, St. Jan, Berbice, Palestine, Surinam, Savannah in Georgia, among the negroes in Carolina, among the savages in Irene, in Pennsylvania, among the Hottentos, in Guinea, in Litvonia, and Esthoni, Lithuania, Russia, along the White Sea, Lampard, in Norway, in Switzerland, Isle of Man, Shetland, in Prision, on the journey to Ceylon, Ethiopia, Persia, on Visitation to the messengers among the heathen, and otherwise on land or sea.[256]

The Moravian missionaries suffered all kinds of hardships, but nothing stopped them. They were self-supporting communities that faced imprisonment, persecution, shipwreck, plague, privation, and death, but all these things only increased their fervor and zeal. They would rather die than live without fruit. In fact, death walked with these missionaries almost every step of the way. In the eighteenth century, the death rate among them was very high, but there was always someone to fill the gaps. In St. Thomas, 160 missionaries died in fifty years (1732–1782). In St. Croix, from 1733 to 1735, they had twenty-two deaths. In Surinam, fifty missionaries died within a year after their arrival.[257] In Labrador, the entire group perished.[258]

During a period of twenty-eight years, the Moravians sent missionaries to twenty-eight countries, and one out of every thirteen or so persons in the community went abroad

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[256] W. N. Schwarze, "History of the Textbook of the Moravian Church," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 13, no. 3 (1944): 145. By the time of Zinzendorf's death in 1760, there were forty-nine men and seventeen women serving in thirteen stations around the world ministering to over six thousand people. Further missions would still be established in northern India (1764); Barbados (1765); Labrador (1771); Nicaragua (1849); Palestine (1867); Alaska (1885); and Tanzania (1891). Hutton, *History of Moravian Missions,* 55, 58; Latourette, *History of Christianity,* 2:893, 897, 951, 956; Neill, *History of Christian Missions*, 201–2; Tucker, *From Jerusalem to Jaya*, 99–105.

[257] Hutton, *History of Moravian Missions,* 166.

[258] Samuel King Hutton, *By Patience and the Word: The Story of the Moravian Missions* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1935), 107.

as a missionary.[259] By the time of Zinzendorf's death in 1760, no less fewer than 226

missionaries had been sent off, and a few years later they would reach all the continents.

His vision had been fully grasped by the Brethren and was so indelibly stamped upon

them that his passing made little difference to the mission program. The commitment to

go continued in full vigor.[260]

Missionary Lessons

Many of the Moravian missionary practices have been used as a handbook for

successful mission work.[261] In analyzing their history,[262] it can be suggested that the

following were some of reasons for their success:

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[259] Pierson, *Dynamics of Christian Mission*, 191.

[260] Weinlick, *Moravian Church Through the Ages*, 68.

[261] Other Protestant groups, especially the Methodists, Baptists, and Anglicans, copied the missionary organization and discipline that the Moravian Brethren used in the evangelization of the Caribbean islands. R. L. Gallagher, "Zinzendorf and the Early Moravian Mission Movement" (paper presented to the director of the Faith and Learning Program and the provost, Wheaton College, September 21, 2005), accessed November 11, 2016, http://www.wheaton.edu/~/media/Files/Graduate-School/Degrees/Intercultural-Studies/Gallagher-homepage/Articles/Zinzendorf-and-the-Early-Moravian-Mission-Movement.pdf.

[262] Even though Zinzendorf did not use a systematic approach to transmit his theory of mission, his many writings, letters, and sermons provide a clear vision of how he believed mission work should be done. According to Schattschneider, the most significant of these writings are: (1) Letter to a missionary of the English Society (1732), written to an anonymous member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; (2) Instruction for the Georgia Colony (1734); (3) Instruction to all missionaries to the heathen (1738); (4) Plan for a catechism for the conversion of the heathen (1744); and (5) a sermon preached before a synod of the Moravian Church in Zeist, Holland, on "The Foundation of Our Mission to the Heathen" (1746). David Allen Schattschneider, "Souls for the Lamb: A Theology for the Christian Mission According to Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf and Bishop Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1975), 63. The five sources mentioned above are presented in Erich Beyreuther and Gerhard Meyer, eds., *Erganzungabande Zu Den Hanptschriften,* Vols. I, VII, VIII, IX (Hildesheim, Germany: George Olms Verlags-buchhandlung, 1964–1966); Erich Beyreuther and Gerhard Meyer, eds., *Hauptschriften* (Hildesheim, Germany: George Olms Verlags-buchhandlung, 1962–1963), and are found in (1) Vol. IX (1966), 810; (2) Vol. VII (1965), 352; (3) Vol. VII (1965), 19-27; (4) Vol. IX (1966), 402; and (5) Vol. Ill (1962), 190, cf. Larry A. Roth, "Count Nicolaus Ludwig Von Zinzendorf's Theory for Missions Portrayed at Herrnhut and by Selected 18th-20th Century Moravian Missions" (master's thesis, Yale Divinity School, 1986), 58.

1. *Spirituality.* Their serious commitment to God was expressed in several ways. At Herrnhut they held at least three meetings for the whole congregation each weekday. On Sundays, there was praise and worship from five in the morning until nine in the evening.[263] However, these public meetings were not a substitute for personal devotion, consisting of prayer, Scripture reading, and meditation. They also had a profound assurance of their conversion and forgiveness.[264] When they began their missionary movement, they brought all these traits with them to the mission field. Their close relationship and deep commitment to God was the bases of everything they did as missionaries.

2. *Living the faith before preaching it.* Moravian missionaries always aimed to live the faith before preaching it.[265] Zinzendorf said: "Let the people see what sort of men you are and then they will be forced to ask, 'Who makes such men as these?'"[266] As a Pietist, Zinzendorf was more concerned that people experienced their faith.

3. *A humble life.* In a letter of April 12, 1732, Zinzendorf expressed his theory of missions; the first point is that the missionary is never to rule over the heathen, but to live humbly among them and earn their esteem through the power of the Spirit.[267] Their lives

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[263] Church of the United Brethren, *The Moravian Magazine* (London: Binns and Goodwin, 1854), 1:337.

[264] Wesley reports that the day after arriving in Georgia in 1835, he talked with Spangenberg and sought counsel from him. He continues: "He told me he could say nothing till he had asked me two or three questions. 'Do you know Jesus Christ?' I paused, and said, 'I know He has saved the world.' 'True,' replied he; 'but do you know He has saved you?' I answered, 'I hope He has died to save me.' He only added, 'Do you know yourself?' I said, 'I do.' But I fear they were vain words." Wesley, *Journal of John Wesley*, 151.

[265] Schattschneider, "Souls for the Lamb," 85.

[266] Lewes, *Zinzendorf,* 91.

[267] Zinzendorf, *Nine Public Lectures,* 28.

were characterized by simplicity. Zinzendorf believed the missionary must seek nothing for himself: no seat of honor, no report of fame. He must be blind to every snare and conceit. He must be content to suffer, to die, and to be forgotten.[268] During Zinzendorf's time, no biographies of missionaries were allowed, but there was no shortage of volunteers.

4. *Christ first and foremost.* Zinzendorf observed that the heathen did not need to be convinced of the existence of God, something they already believed. What they did not know was that the Savior had died for them.[269] Therefore, he instructed his missionaries to begin with a Christocentric approach, going directly to the point and preaching the crucified Christ. "Tell them about the Lamb of God until you can tell no more."[270] For him, only the "Blood and Wounds" theology could bring a heathen soul to Christ.[271]

5. *Self-supporting missionary communities*. Zinzendorf believed it was highly important that the missionary earned his own living in order to teach the natives the dignity of labor. This would be simply an extension of their domestic practice.[272] Moravian missionaries understood that diligence, thrift, punctuality, and conscientious

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[268] Lewes, *Zinzendorf*, 92.

[269] A strong example of this understanding is provided in the second of his Nine Public Lectures. Zinzendorf, *Nine Public Lectures,* 7, 12–14.

[270] Lewes, *Zinzendorf*, 91.

[271] Schattschneider, "Souls for the Lamb," 82–89.

[272] Zinzendorf, *Zuruckgelassenes Eventual-Testament an die Gemeine, bey des Herrn Gr. V.Z. erst Reise nach America* (Budingsche Sammlung, 1738), 266, in William D. Danker, *Profit for the Lord* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1971), 32.

attention to detail were useful qualities for economic success. The Brethren were expected to seek profit not for themselves but for the Lord, remembering that everything saved was to be sent to the general mission fund.[273] Missionaries were also advised to strictly obey both the civil and the ecclesiastical laws of the country in which they were working.[274]

6. *Contextualization.* In doing mission, the Moravians always attempted to adapt their message to the culture of those they were trying to reach.[275] They recognized that people were different and needed to be approached in different ways. The process of coming to faith is unique for each person. As Zinzendorf observed, "God has his way with each soul."[276] He also advised his missionaries to avoid the "Herrnhut yardstick." By that he meant that they should not force customs and traditions into native culture that were alien to that culture.[277]

7. *Social concern.* Zinzendorf always encouraged the moral growth and civil improvement of the converts. That is why the governments of the lands where Moravians were serving had a high regard for their presence and many times urged them to settle in their territories. The Moravians also healed the sick and taught their converts to care for the aged, widows, and orphans.

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[273] Zinzendorf, *Zuruckgelassenes Eventual-Testament*, 34.

[274] *Moravian Schools and Customs* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1889), 49, 50; Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf,* 100; Sessler, *Communal Pietism*, 72– 93.

[275] Schattschneider, "Souls for the Lamb," 98.

[276] Nicholas, *Rediscovering the Moravian Way*, 11.

[277] Ibid.

8. *Education.* The Moravians had a long history of concern and interest in all aspects of education, dating back to the time of Bishop Comenius, who has been recorded as the father of the elementary school. In the mission field, schools were a prominent feature of the Moravian settlements, seen as a key means to win the young for Christ and train them in His ways.[278] In Germany and England, the Moravians built schools for girls as well as for boys. Zinzendorf's daughter, Benigna, directed the very first school in Pennsylvania. It was a girls-only school and gained such a high reputation that President George Washington personally contacted the headmaster in an effort to get places for two of his great-nieces.[279]

9. *The choice of the missionaries.* Even though Zinzendorf was a man of rank, most of his missionaries were drawn from the artisan and laboring classes. While scholarly men were not excluded, he believed that these men were best able to endure a rough life. For him, a good missionary only needed four great qualities: (1) a good knowledge of the Scriptures; (2) a good understanding; (3) a friendly disposition; and (4) a heart filled with love for God.[280]

10. *The role of the leader.* Behind the vast extension of the Moravian missionary work was the driving and organizing hand of Zinzendorf. His vision, his strategies, his songs, and his great heart kept the pulse of missions beating.[281] Like a great general, he knew the reality of the battle in theory and practice. He supervised the instruction of the

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[278] *Moravian Schools and Customs,* 81–90.

[279] Scotland, *Christianity Outside the Box*, 130.

[280] Hutton, *History of Moravian Missions,* 191.

[281] Lewes, *Zinzendorf,* 89.

missionary candidates in medicine, geography, and languages. He made clear to the missionaries the message they were to preach, the policy they were to adopt, and the whole purpose they were to pursue.

Mission Societies

By the end of the eighteenth century, a new form of mission structure was being developed: organizations called mission societies, which were explicitly devoted to foreign missions. They became the propelling engine of the Protestant missionary awakening and radically changed the "demographic balance and cultural milieu of Christianity."[282] Moreover, they became the primary model for mission during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The Modern Missionary Movement

The origin of the modern missionary movement has been frequently linked to the rise of mission societies. However, as important as these new mission structures were for the spread of Protestantism in the non-Western world, those who established these organizations were not the initiators of the movement. The modern missionary movement had long been in progress, and the mission societies could perhaps be described as vehicles for the expression of an increasingly stronger new missionary paradigm within Protestantism.

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[282] Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process*, 194. Walls also points out that when the Protestant missionary movement began, more than nine out of ten among those who called themselves Christians lived in Europe or North America. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, around six out of ten professing Christians live in Africa, Asia, Latin America, or the Pacific. Ibid.

William Carey is the best known representative of this phase in the history of missions, and thus is called the father of the modern missionary movement.[283] It should be noted, however, that Carey saw himself as one who was entering a process in motion.

In fact, in his book,[284] many times used as a reference point for the beginning of the modern missionary movement,[285] he mentions the missionary achievements of the Moravians sixty years before as a standard not yet reached in his time: "None of the moderns have equaled the Moravian Brethren in this good work; they have sent missions to Greenland, Labrador, and several of the West-Indian Islands. They have also sent to Abyssinia, in Africa."[286]

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[283] George Smith, *The Life of William Carey* (London: John Murray, 1887), 25–48; Gustav Warneck, *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions: From the Reformation to the Present Time with an Appendix Concerning Roman Catholic Missions* (Edinburgh, Scotland: Oliphant Anderson and Ferrier, 1906), 75; S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1924), 88; Basil Miller, *William Carey: The Father of Modern Missions* (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany House, 1985), 39–56. About his legacy see Vishal Mangalwadi and Ruth Mangalwadi, *The Legacy of William Carey: A Model for the Transformation of Culture* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1993), 17–27.

[284] Desiring to arouse the interest of other Christians in missionary work and to refute arguments against the impossibility of sending missionaries to distant lands, Carey published in 1792 an eighty-seven-page booklet. Carey, *An Enquiry,* 36–37.

[285] It should be noticed that by the time Carey published his *Enquiry*, other books providing extensive descriptions of missionary work had already been circulating. An example of this is the work of Robert Millar, *The History of the Propagation of Christianity and the Overthrow of Paganism* (London: A. Millar, 1731), 1:1–478. Another example is the publication of Jonathan Edwards, which would become a valuable resource for promoting missionary work in several denominations in Europe and in the United States of America. See Jonathan Edwards, *An Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer for The Revival of Religion and the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth, Pursuant to Scripture-Promises and Prophecies Concerning the Last Time* (Boston, New England: D. Henchman in Cornhil, 1747), 26–188. In 1816, the Church Mission Society published a very accurate and reliable account of the progress of missionary work throughout the eighteenth century. Much of the information provided is drawn from Millar's work. See Hugh Pearson, "A Brief Historic View of the Progress of the Gospel in Different Nations Since Its First Promulgation," in Church Mission Society, *The Missionary Register for the Year of 1813: Containing an Abstract of the Procedures of the Principal Missionary and Bible Societies Throughout the World*, 3rd ed. (London: Ellerton and Henderson, 1816), 1:33–96.

[286] Carey, *An Enquiry*, 36–37.

I agree with Neill, Walls, and Bosch in their understanding that the modern

missionary movement began long before the last years of the eighteenth century.[287] Walls

suggests that the Portuguese began the modern missionary movement as a result of a

mandatory paradigm shift. He explains that ca. 1500, in the period when European

maritime expansion began, the only model of Christianity that Western Europe knew was

the Christendom model—the model of Christian territories, frequently acquired by the

sword. Conquest and conversion belonged naturally together.

The Portuguese, however, with the same theology and experience as the Spanish,

but with a small army, had to accommodate the Christendom idea to their military reality.

The crusade model was not only inappropriate but also impossible. As a result, they

developed a new category of Christian personnel whose function was to persuade without

the instruments to coerce and to live according to cultural terms set by other people.[288]

This model of missionary activity was far from being new in Christian history, was

[287] For Neill, to consider William Carey the father of modern missions is a misunderstanding. Neill, *History of Christian Missions,* 222. Walls suggests that the modern missionary movement began with the Portuguese, as they departed from the Christendom model of evangelization in order to adopt a new paradigm in which missionaries would adapt to the conditions of life and ways of thinking of other groups, living in their cultural terms. Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process*, 220. Bosch recognizes, "For Spain and Portugal, the first European colonizing powers, colonization and Christianization not only went hand in hand but were two sides if the same coin." He suggests, however, "the entire modern missionary enterprise is, to a very real extent, a child of the Enlightenment." Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 274.

[288] Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process,* 198, 199, 220. The Portuguese first applied this strategy in Asia, as they established a trading relationship with the great Moghul and Chinese empires. Sir Andrew Ljungstedt, *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China: and of the Roman Catholic Church and Mission in China* (Boston, MA: James Munroe, 1836), 163–96. Perera points out that neither in the chroniclers such as Barros, Couto, and Castanheda, nor in later writers such as Menezes, Ribeiro, and Queiroz, nor in contemporary published documents had he found any evidence of any single person being forcibly converted, nor any suggestion that any ever were. S. G. Perera, "Portuguese Missionary Methods," *Historical Sketches* (1962): 168–200, cf. C. R. Boxer, "A Note on Portuguese Missionary Methods in the East: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," in *Christianity and Missions, 1450–1800,* ed. J. S. Cummins (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1997), 160.

completely unlike the practice of mainstream Christianity, and helped the Roman Catholic Church to establish a strong presence in many parts of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Meanwhile, during the three hundred years that followed the Reformation, Protestants accomplished very little in regard to world mission.[289] Bosch explains that there were some serious practical obstacles. First, Protestants saw their principal task as that of reforming the church of their time; this consumed all their energy. Second, Protestants had no immediate contact with non-Christian peoples, whereas Spain and Portugal, both Catholic nations, ruled the seas, led in exploration, and already had extensive colonial empires at the time. The only remaining pagan people in Europe were the Lapps, and they were indeed evangelized by Swedish Lutherans in the sixteenth century. Third, the churches of the Reformation were struggling for sheer survival; only after the peace of Westphalia (1648) were they able to organize themselves properly. Fourth, Protestants were themselves torn apart by internal strife and dissipated their strength in endless dissensions and disputes.[290]

Winter suggests that the greatest error of the Reformation and the greatest weakness of the resulting Protestant tradition was the rejection of the monastic structure, which left Protestants almost totally devoid of any organized renewing structures within

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[289] For an analysis of the Reformers' understanding of and attitudes toward missionary work, see Thorsten Prill, *Luther, Calvin and the Missions of the Church: The Mission Theology and Practice of the Protestant Reformers* (Munich, Germany: Grin, 2017), 45–79; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), 427–41; Warneck, *History of Protestant Missions,* 8–24.

[290] Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 243–55. Bosch remarks, however, that to affirm that the reformers were indifferent or even hostile to mission means to judge the reformers based on the paradigm of the modern missionary movement, finding them guilt for not having subscribed to a definition of mission that did not even exist in their own time. Ibid., 244.

their tradition.[291] Bosch explains: "in abandoning monasticism, the reformers had denied themselves a very important missionary agency. It would take centuries before anything remotely as competent and effective as the monastic missionary movement would develop in Protestantism."[292] Consequently, in failing to exploit the power of the monastic pattern, Protestants had no well-accepted mechanism for missions for almost three hundred years.[293]

Nevertheless, several forces were at work during the Enlightenment era and converged by the end of that age, producing results that have profoundly influenced missionary work up to the present. A combination of religious revival in Europe and the United States and events that drew attention to the non-Christian world created the circumstances for the missionary awakening at the end of the eighteenth century in which mission societies played a key role.

The Protestant Missionary Awakening

Many scholars argue that the influence of the Enlightenment radically changed the face of Christianity, which became fundamentally different from what it had previously been.[294] It was inevitable that the Enlightenment would also profoundly

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[291] Winter, *Two Structures*, 7, 11.

[292] Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 250.

[293] Winter, *Two Structures*, 11.

[294] Bosch lists seven ways in which the Enlightenment influenced Christianity: (1) reason became supremely important in Christian theology; (2) the strict separation between subject and object in natural sciences was also applied to theology; (3) the elimination of purpose from science and the replacement of purpose by direct causality as the clue to understanding reality made deep inroads into theological thinking; (4) the philosophy of progress is perhaps one of the most clearly recognizable in modern theology and the contemporary church; (5) the distinction between fact and value; (6) the conception that all problems were in principle solvable had a far-reaching effect on theology; and (7) the conception that everyone was an emancipated, autonomous individual. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 267–73; see also Niebuhr, *Kingdom of*

influence missionary ideas and practices since the Protestant missionary awakening was in great measure a result of the cultural milieu of that time.[295]

One of the first signs of the interaction between the Enlightenment and the Protestant missionary awakening is seen in the rise of Germanic and central European Pietism.[296] In fact, Pietism was to some extent a reaction to Enlightenment philosophy, although it was influenced by some of the Enlightenment tenets.[297] It can be argued that Pietism marked the beginning of the Protestant missionary awakening,[298] for the following reasons.

First, Pietism provided Protestantism with people who had the degree of

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God in America, 99–126; Paul Hiebert, *Transforming Worldviews: An Anthropological Understanding of How People Change* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academics, 2008), 173–210; Alan G. Padgett and Steve Wilkens, *Christianity and Western Thought: A History of Philosophers, Ideas and Movements*, vol. 3, *Journey to Postmodernity in the 20th Century* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2009), 21.

[295] Bebbington asserts that evangelicalism, with which the eighteenth-century Protestant missionary awakening was intimately associated, "was created by the Enlightenment." David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 74. Stanley points out, "The modern Protestant missionary movement cannot be understood unless full attention is paid to the intellectual milieu within which evangelicalism was shaped. Moreover, this milieu was essentially formed by the intellectual contours of the Enlightenment." Brian Stanley, "Christian Mission and the Enlightenment: A Reevaluation," in Brian Stanley, ed., *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 4. For Bosch, "the entire Western missionary movement of the past three centuries emerged from the matrix of the Enlightenment." Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 344. Walls suggests that "nineteenth-century missions [were] part of an Enlightenment project, stamped by Enlightenment ideals." Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process,* 244.

[296] See F. Ernest Stoeffler, ed., *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2007), 13–265.

[297] For Walls, Pietism combined a renewal of Christian faith and zeal with the Enlightenment values of the individual. It also reconciled ecclesial commitment with the recognition of Christendom and its territorial expressions. Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process*, 201–2. Warneck offers detailed evidence that it was in the age of Pietism that Protestants took their first consistent steps toward worldwide mission as well as mission for the healing of religious, moral, and social evils within Christendom. Warneck, *History of Protestant Missions*, 53–73. See also Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 252–55.

[298] See a detailed description of the rise of Pietism and its role in the beginnings of the evangelical awakening in W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 54–92.

commitment required to suffer martyrdom,[299] and it developed a strong tradition of

learning and social service.[300] These principles developed the kind of spirituality and

missionary consciousness that made missionaries willing to become slaves in order to

preach to slaves.[301] Zinzendorf, who became responsible for much of the early

eighteenth-century religious and missionary awakening,[302] led the Moravians into a

"heart religion" that in many aspects was contrary to Enlightenment thought.[303]

Second, Pietism placed a personal relationship and radical commitment to Christ

at the center of religious life. The movement combined "the joy of a personal experience

of salvation with an eagerness to proclaim the gospel of redemption to all."[304] These

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[299] Stoeffler suggests, "It would probably be legitimate to conclude that the spirit of Pietistic Puritanism arose in suffering and martyrdom. Pietism at its best represents a truly existential approach to the Christian faith, an approach which makes sense in the midst of social upheavals and the shattering of cherished systems of value." Fred Ernest Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1965), 48.

[300] Bosch points out that Pietism had a comprehensive understanding of the reign of God—in which salvation and well-being, soul and body, conversion and development were not to be divorced from one another. In India, for example, schools were a prerogative only of Brahmins. Pietist missionaries founded schools for members of the other castes and for girls as well. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 254.

[301] In 1732, Leonard Dober and Tobias Leupold felt called by God to serve as missionaries in the West Indies and were the first Moravians to volunteer for the service. In order to make them aware of the seriousness of their decision, Anthony Ulrich preached a sermon in which he argued that no one could be a missionary in St. Thomas without first becoming a slave. The young men decided that if they had to become slaves to preach the gospel, then slaves they would be. Hutton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 182.

[302] Zinzendorf was nurtured under the influence of Spener and Francke, two key Pietist figures. Under his leadership, the Moravians became the first Protestant church to accept the missionary task as a body. They started a chain of prayer that lasted a hundred years, and one in thirteen members of their community went out as missionaries. Hutton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 246–47; Pierson, *Dynamics of Christian Mission*, 190; Patrick Johnstone, *The Future of the Global Church: History, Trends and Possibilities* (Colorado Springs, CO: Authentic Media, 2011), 133–34.

[303] See W. R. Ward, "Enlightenment in Early Moravianism," in *Faith and Faction* (London: Epworth Press, 1993), 95–111, cf. Stanley, *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment,* 4; Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 116–59.

[304] Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 252.

expressions of faith, which in many ways were contrary to orthodoxy[305] and which had previously been seen only in monasticism, found support among the common people as well as among some church leaders, transforming obscure ideas into a movement of revival.

Third, Pietism asserted that missionary service was the work of Christ Himself, through individuals, not merely the task of governments. This was an important paradigm change, and in this way, the principle of voluntarism in mission was introduced to Protestantism.[306]

In addition to Pietism, the evangelical revival in Britain and North America provided a "highly successful form of Christian adaptation to European Enlightenment,"[307] and greatly contributed to bringing the Protestant missionary awakening to a new level, never reached before that would build momentum during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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[305] Mainstream Christianity was characterized by formal membership and the superficiality of mass conversions, commonly practiced in Roman Catholic mission work. Moreover, orthodoxy maintained the paradigm of Christian territories, in which everyone would be regarded as Christians. Pietism emphasized personal decisions. See several ways in which orthodoxy opposed the missionary enterprise in Warneck, *History of Protestant Missions,* 53–59.

[306] Warneck points out, "from Francke's time onwards missions were no longer regarded merely as a duty of colonial governments, but as a concern of believing Christendom, that individual voluntarism was involved in them, and that this voluntarism was made active in furnishing means for their support." Ibid.*,* 56.

[307] Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process*, 201. Walls explains that evangelicalism reconciled the consciousness of individual responsibility, so characteristic of the Enlightenment thought, with Christian faith. On the other hand, evangelical religious fellowship provided an antidote against individualism. Ibid.

The evangelical revival[308] in England, which in the United States of America became known as the Second Great Awakening, took place from about 1787 to 1825. Methodist John Wesley and Presbyterian Jonathan Edwards became key leaders of the movement.

Niebuhr notes that while Pietism emphasized a subjective experience with God and orthodoxy emphasized the objective criteria of the Word of God, "in the awakening the two principles were combined and stimulated great interest in reading the Scriptures while insisting on the necessity of personal experience of the truth taught in Scriptures."[309] The truth of the Bible became personal saving truth.[310] Consequently, people believed they had the responsibility of teaching this truth to the multitude of "enlightened," emancipated individuals, everywhere.

Bosch, in turn, points out that Methodism revealed the influence of the Enlightenment in a clearer way.[311] Methodists could not see any real difference between nominal Christians and pagans, as Wesley clearly expressed in his hymn number ninety-four: "The men who slight thy faithful word, in their own lies confide, these are the temple of the Lord, and heathens all beside!"[312] This rationale had important missionary

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[308] For a comprehensive exposition of the theme see Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening,* 1–348.

[309] Niebuhr, *Kingdom of God in America*, 109.

[310] Kenneth Collins, *The Scripture Way of Salvation: The Heart of John Wesley's Theology* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1997), 47–129, 153–90; Kenneth Collins, *Wesley on Salvation: A Study in the Standards Sermons* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1989), 27–100.

[311] Bosch, *Transforming Mission,* 278.

[312] This hymn is located in a section entitled "Describing formal religion." John Wesley, *A Collection of Hymns for the People Called Methodists* (London: John Mason, 1780), 94. Walls points out, "Historic evangelism is a religion of protest against a Christian society that is not Christian enough." Walls, *Missionary Movement*, 81. See also J. Fred Sanders, *Wesley on the Christian Life: The Heart Renewed in*

consequences. Considering the need for regeneration everywhere, now, by implication, they could not distinguish between "home" and "foreign" missions. Consequently, the whole world became a mission field.

It was also due to the evangelical revival that the principle of partnership in mission was introduced in Protestantism and became an important success factor of the missionary awakening. The revival supplied logistic networks—interregional, international, and interdenominational—that undergirded the movement.[313]

On the other hand, events not directly related to the religious realm led Protestant Christians in Europe to look beyond their own borders. One of the most significant factors drawing European attention to the outside world during this time was the exploring trips of British navigator Captain Cook.[314] Many Christians saw the new discoveries as a sign of "Providence" and an opportunity to take the gospel to the "poor

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Love (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2013), 71; Kenneth J. Collins, *A Real Christian: The Life of John Wesley* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1999), 24; Randy L. Maddox, *Responsible Grace: John Wesley's Practical Theology* (Nashville, TN: Kingswood Books, 1994), 157–90; Richard P. Heitzenrater, *Wesley and the People Called Methodists* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1995), 223–70; Don Thorsen, *Calvin vs Wesley*: *Bringing Belief in Line with Practice* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2013), 117–27.

[313] Fawcett states that the chain that led to William Carey's pioneering missionary initiative of 1792 was forged by the gift of a book from a Scottish Presbyterian to an English Baptist by a New England Congregationalist. A. Fawcett, *The Cambuslang Revival: The Scottish Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Banner of Truth, 1971), 223–36, cf. Walls, *Missionary Movement*, 79. The *Missionary Register*, an interdenominational document published by the Church Mission Society in 1816, offers an account of the progress of the principal missionary and Bible societies in the world. Church Mission Society, *Missionary Register,* 168–92.

[314] Captain James Cook (1728–1779) was a British explorer, navigator, cartographer, and captain in the Royal Navy. Cook sailed thousands of miles across largely uncharted areas of the globe. He mapped lands from New Zealand to Hawaii in the Pacific Ocean in greater detail and on a scale not previously achieved. J. C. Beaglehole, *The Life of Captain James Cook* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974), 1–689; Dan O'Sullivan, *In Search of Captain Cook: Exploring the Man Through His Own Words* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), 71–230; John Gascoigne, *Captain Cook: Voyager Between Worlds* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), 1–220.

heathen."[315]

Moreover, the age of discovery was followed by an age of inventions in areas such as communications, transportation, industry, and commerce. This fact had a direct impact on missions. Not only did travel became faster and more accessible, but commercial treaties opened a way and built relational bridges between strange nations once separated by overwhelming distances.[316] Ideas about political freedom and the common rights of people also contributed to awakening and broadening the understanding of missions, especially after the Revolutionary War and the French Revolution.[317]

A third development that would have direct repercussions for the Protestant missionary awakening was the popularization of voluntary societies. The eighteenth century was the first great age of voluntary societies of various sorts.[318] Borsay states

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[315] Warneck notes that in an appeal to spread the gospel among the heathen, made in connection to the founding of the London Missionary Society, it is said: "The New discoveries in the knowledge of distant lands have contributed to broaden the desires of Christians as to this matter. Captain Cook and others have explored the glove well-nigh from pole to pole, and have shown us, as it were, a new world…. Can we not help that a well designed and well conducted mission, if sustained by the earnest prayers of thousands amongst us, shall be accompanied by the blessings of God, and turn to the conversion of many souls?" Warneck also suggests that Carey was incited to thoughts of missions by the news about the savages on the islands discovered by Cook. Warneck, *History of Protestant Missions,* 75.

[316] Erwin Fahlbusch and Geoffrey William Bromiley, *The Encyclopedia of Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 2:355–56; Warneck, *History of Protestant Missions,* 77; Tanya Storch, ed., *Religions and Missionaries around the Pacific, 1500–1900* (Hampshire, UK: Ashgate, 2006), 41–74.

[317] Warneck, *History of Protestant Missions*, 77; see also Owen White and J. P. Daughton, eds., *In God's Empire: French Missionaries and the Modern World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3–28.

[318] One of the first societies to be the organized was the Society for a Reformation of Manners (1690-1738), which led to the formation, over the course of the century, of successive societies that aimed to suppress immorality. Faramerz Dabhoiwala, "Sex and Societies for Moral Reform, 1688-1800," *Journal of British Studies* 46, no. 2 (2007): 290–319. Examples of other societies are the Proclamation Society, Natural History Society, and Philosophical Society. Of the many groups and interests with a cause to promote in the early nineteenth century, none organized themselves so systematically or on such a large scale as the evangelicals. They acted on a variety of religious and social concerns, such as abolitionism,

that, formally or informally organized, voluntary societies were networks of people in similar situations addressing like concerns and fulfilling like needs in an independent manner. Each society identified its goals and then acted in terms of available resources, knowledge, and values. What determined whether these societies would expand, adapt, or fail was their success in attracting financial support.[319]

Walls observes that the voluntary societies provided the model of a focused and flexible form of organization for missions.[320] Within Catholicism, the monastic orders had been working for centuries as extremely efficient mission agencies.[321] Protestants, however, had no equivalent to the orders to sustain the missionary awakening. Consequently, it became necessary to develop a new structure within Protestantism to express the new paradigm. It was within this context that the mission societies were organized.

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prison reform, temperance, Sabbath observance, and the "reform of manners," among other causes. Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact of the Victorians* (New York: Macmillan, 1976), 135–44.

[319] Peter Borsay, ed., *The Eighteenth-Century Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1688-1820* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 349–66.

[320] Joseph A. Griffin, "The Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide: Its Foundation and Historical Antecedents," in *Christianity and Missions, 1450–1800*, ed. J. S. Cummins (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1997), 58–96*;* Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process*, 201.

[321] An important factor in the expansion of the Catholic faith during this period was the leadership of Ignatius Loyola, founder of an organization with the strongest spiritual discipline of any Catholic order: the Jesuits, completely loyal to the pope. They vowed to obey the pope for the good of souls and the propagation of the faith, in any country where he might wish to send them. The renewed Dominican and Franciscan orders were also of fundamental importance to Roman Catholic missions. Moreover, when the missions grew, Rome took control and all missions came under the guidance and direction of the central authority. In 1622, Pope Gregory XV created the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. Francisco Ingoli, the first secretary of propaganda, implemented several administrative measures that resulted in the progress of Roman Catholic missions in various parts of the world. Pierson, *Dynamics of Christian Mission*, 167; Neill, *History of Christian Missions*, 152.

Therefore, the religious awakening of the eighteenth century, mainly promoted by

Pietism and the evangelical revival in England and in the United States of America,

greatly contributed to the concomitant Protestant missionary awakening. Among other

influential factors, the revival movements raised missionary awareness and provided an

impetus among Protestants, but above all they provided the necessary corps of committed

people who would serve in the mission field.[322] In addition, the spirit of the epoch was

constantly drawing European attention to possibilities outside the Western world. Finally,

voluntary societies provided the organizational model for mission societies, which served

as the instrumental backbone of the Protestant missionary movement.

The Establishment of Mission Societies

One of the most significant developments related to the founding of mission

societies was that for the first time, Protestants were equipped with focused, flexible, and

accessible organizations that were completely devoted to foreign missions. World

missions was no longer the responsibility of governments, nor even the task of official

churches, but the burden of individual Christians, coming from different regions,

countries, and denominations, who committed themselves to take the gospel to the

furthest corners of the world.

Anderson describes the characteristics of the Protestant missionary societies:

> What we see in Missionary, Bible, Tract, and other kindred societies, [is that they are] not restricted to ecclesiastics, nor to any one profession, but [they are] combining all classes, embracing the masses of the people; and [are] all free, open, and responsible. . . . It is the contributors of the funds, who are the real association…. the individuals, churches, congregations, who freely act together, through such agencies for an object

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[322] Snyder, "Pietism, Moravianism, and Methodism," 54–158.

of common interest . . . This Protestant form of association—free, open, responsible, embracing all classes, both sexes, all ages, the masses of the people—is peculiar to modern times, and almost to our age.[323]

William Carey was one of the first to conceptualize this new, open, all-embracing structure as an efficient instrument for evangelization.[324] In 1792 Carey wrote a booklet entitled *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens, in Which the Religious State of the Different Nations of the World, the Success of Former Undertakings and the Practicability of Further Undertakings, Are Considered.* The title of the booklet indicates Carey's upfront intention to question the widespread conception of his days that the conversion of the heathen would be God's work, in His own time.[325]

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[323] R. Pierce Beaver, ed., *To Advance the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Rufus Anderson* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1967), 59–76, cf. Andrew Walls, "Missionary Societies and the Fortunate Subversion of the Church," in *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement,* ed. Ralph D. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorne (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2009), 254.

[324] Born in Northamptonshire, England, Carey became Baptist at the age of eighteen. An extraordinary autodidact, he worked as a shoemaker, a schoolteacher, and a pastor of two small churches. Cary began to be influenced toward world missions by reading about the American Revolution and the discovery voyages of Captain Cook. He pasted several sheets of paper together and made a large map, which was suspended from the wall of his workshop. On this map, he marked what he had read about the populations, the social characteristics, and the various religions of different countries. While at work, he reflected on the condition of the various heathen tribes, devising the means to evangelize them. It was during those years that his philosophy of missions began to be shaped. He developed a Biblical perspective on the theme and became convinced that foreign missions were the main responsibility of the church. The idea of establishing a mission to the heathen had taken such possession of his mind that he barely could think or talk of anything else. About his life and work, see Smith, *Life of William Carey*, 1–48; W. S. McKenzie, "Feeble Beginnings of Mighty Results," *The Baptist Missionary Magazine* 56, no. 1 (1876): 2–7; Warneck, *History of Protestant Missions,* 75; Carey, *William Carey*, 3–66; Neill, *History of Christian Missions*, 222–33; Tucker, *Missões Até os Confins da Terra,* 138–48; Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants in Context*, 210–13; Percy H. Jones, *William Carey: The Pioneer of Missions, India* (New York: Loizeaux Brothers, 1930), 45–72.

[325] Marshman describes how, at a ministerial meeting in Northampton, Carey proposed the topic "the duty of Christians to attempt the spread of the Gospel among heathen nations." Senior pastor Ryland received the proposal with astonishment, and thundered out, "Young man, sit down. When God pleases to convert the heathen, He himself will do it without your aid or mine." John Clark Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward: Embracing the History of the Serampore Mission*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859), 1:10. Neill points out that Carey challenges this widespread conception in his book by making a patient, methodological survey of Christian efforts to bring

Walls suggests that the most significant words of the title of the booklet are "the obligation to use means," which indicates the responsibility of Christians to seek the appropriate instrument to accomplish God's given task.[326] In fact, as one reads Carey's work, it becomes clear that his intention is to identify the appropriate means.

For Carey, the first means is united prayer. He quotes Zechariah 12:10–13:6 to conclude, "When shall be an universal conjunction in fervent prayer, then copious influences of the Spirit shall be shed upon the churches, which like a purifying fountain shall cleanse the servants of the Lord."[327] Then, in his search for means to efficiently accomplish the missionary work, Carey builds his proposal upon a model from outside the ecclesiastical structures of his time:

> Suppose a company of serious Christians, ministers, and private persons, were to form themselves into a society, and make a number of rules respecting the regulation of the plan, and the persons who are to be employed as missionaries, the means of defraying the expense, etc., etc., This society must consist of persons whose hearts are in the work, men of serious religion, and possessing spirit of perseverance; there must be a determination not to admit any person who is not of this description, or to retain him longer than he answers to it. From such a society a committee might be appointed, whose business it should be to procure all the information they could upon the subject, to receive contributions, to inquire into the characters, tempers, abilities and religious views of the missionaries, and also to provide them with necessaries for their undertakings.[328]

Carey envisions his proposed society as one of the voluntary societies of his time, functioning just like a trading company. He was convinced that the church, as it operated

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the gospel to the world, concluding that it is the duty of all Christians to engage in the proclamation of God's kingdom, whether the time allotted by God for the fulfillment of this purpose be long or short. Neill, *History of Christian Missions*, 223.

[326] Walls, "Missionary Societies," 255.

[327] Carey, *An Enquiry*, 78.

[328] Ibid., 82–83.

in his time, was not the most efficient means for international missions. This fact says volumes about Carey's visionary nature, considering that the average Christian of his time thought in terms of a parish church with its appointed minister. Moreover, it was not common for a man coming from the low ranks of society to propose the organization of an institution that would function as a company.[329]

Carey further promoted his idea in a sermon preached to a group of Baptist ministers at Nottingham on May 31, 1792. Four months later, the Baptist Mission Society was formed with a membership of fourteen people.[330] In the following decades, hundreds of similar organizations were established in Europe and the United States, and thousands of missionaries were sent out to different parts of the world.[331] The spread of Protestantism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is considered a direct result of the work

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[329] Walls, "Missionary Societies," 257.

[330] Tucker, *Missões Até os Confins da Terra,* 140.

[331] The founding of the Baptist Mission Society was quickly followed by the creation of the London Mission Society in 1795, the Scottish Missionary Society in 1796, the Church Missionary Society in 1799, the British and Foreign Mission Society in 1804, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810, the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society in 1814, the Basel Mission Society in 1816, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in 1817, the Danish Missionary Society in 1821, the Berlin Missionary Society in 1824, the Rhenish Missionary Society in 1828, the Swedish Missionary Society in 1835, and the North German Missionary Society in 1836, among others. Thomas Smith, *The History and Origin of the Missionary Societies: Containing Faithfull Account of the Voyages, Travels, Labors, and Successes of the Various Missionaries,* 2 vols. (London: Thomas Kelly and Richard Evans, 1825), 1:1–849; George Smith, *Short History of Christian Missions: From Abraham and Paul to Carey, Livingstone, and Duff* (Edinburgh, Scotland: T. and T. Clark, 1897), 169–94; Henry Otis Dwight, Allen Tupper, and Edwin Munsell Bliss, *The Encyclopedia of Missions: Descriptive, Historical, Biographical, Statistical*, 2nd ed. (London: Funk and Wagnalls, 1910), 817–26; Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants in Context,* 212. See a list of the most important mission societies in Europe and North America in the last years of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century in Blocher and Blandenier, *Evangelization of the World*, 289–90.

of mission societies,[332] which became the primary model of mission during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[333]

It should be observed that the significance of the institution of missionary societies in Britain lies not in initiating the Protestant missionary movement, but in the organizational and logistical support they provided for a preexisting missionary movement in continental Europe. These factors caused a major extension of the geographical scope of the missionary movement.[334]

Another important factor is the crucial role lay members performed in mission societies. During the first years of the movement, the societies were mainly composed of clergymen.[335] The office of missionary was understood to be a clerical one, not to be filled by a layperson. However, for a long time, ordained clergy were simply not available for missionary service. The Church Mission Society, for example, was unable to send missionaries for five years after being founded, due to the lack of personnel.[336]

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[332] Thiessen, *Survey of World Missions*, 22–138, 174–292, 407–32.

[333] Bevans and Schroeder, *Constants in Context,* 210.

[334] Walls emphasizes the importance of the logistical factor for the missionary movement. He notes that the Jesuit missions in India, China, and Japan depended on the Portuguese enclaves in Asia for their communications and supplies. When control of maritime access passed to the Dutch, the Netherlands assumed, though without great enthusiasm, the role of extender of Christendom. It was the only Protestant power to make the attempt. With the ascension of the British to maritime leadership, the idea of extending Christendom came to an end, but the logistics of the missionary movement, the business of getting its personnel to viable overseas locations, still depended very much on the use of British facilities. Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process*, 200; Walls, *Missionary Movement,* 79–85.

[335] Walls observes that Western Christianity, being essentially territorial in conception, had always operated on a territorial understanding of Christian ministry. That understanding was also monarchial: the ordained pastor in his parish. Inheriting this understanding, the Protestant missionary movement assumed that the missionary, as a preacher of the gospel, would be an ordained minister. Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process*, 222.

[336] Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society,* 1:82–83.

Even if there were clergy willing to go, there were not enough of them to supply the

growing needs in the mission field.[337]

With the passing of time, it became more and more evident that there was a

missionary force available among the laity. Even so, ministerial status remained the

missionary norm.[338] There was a place for lay members in the mission field, but they

were essentially seen as auxiliaries under the leadership of clerical missionaries. Little by

little, however, educational, medical, and other services were being introduced in the

mission field, and thus lay members began to constitute the major work force for the

mission societies.[339]

Moreover, women were important in the work of the missionary societies, as both

wives and actual missionaries. By the end of the nineteenth century, women had given a

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[337] In contrast, the London Mission Society asserted in the inaugural sermon delivered by Thomas Haweis in 1795 that their missionaries would come from the common people rather than the normal sources of ministry: "Whom shall we send, and who will go for us? Men, whose lives are not dear unto themselves, but ready to spend and be spent in the honorable service. Men really moved by the Holy Ghost to devote themselves to the work . . . Men who have an internal evidence of the Spirit . . . Nor need we despair of finding them, if not in the schools of learning, or the seminaries of theology, yet among the faithful, in our several congregations." Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Mission Society, 1795–1895* (London: Oxford University Press, 1799), 27, cf. Walls, *Missionary Movement,* 163. As a result, by 1804, when the Church Mission Society sent out their first two missionaries, the London Mission Society had already sent out ninety-two missionaries. London Missionary Society, *Register of Missionary Deputations, etc., from 1796 to 1896* (London: London Mission Society, 1896), 1–16; Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society,* 87.

[338] Early London Mission Society lay missionaries were pious artisans. While some of them had great success, they experienced a disproportionate number of physical, mental, moral, and spiritual casualties. Disappointments led the societies to attempt to bring the average missionary candidate closer to the standard expected of the ministry. Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process*, 227.

[339] Church Missionary Society, *Register of Missionaries (Clerical, Lay, Female) and Native Clergy from 1804 to 1904* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1905), 1–513; Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, *Christian Education in China: A Study Made an Educational Commission Representing the Mission Boards and Societies Conducting Work in China* (New York: Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, 1922), 64–580; Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society, 1895–1945* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 95–101.

new face to the Protestant missionary movement. Anderson points out that around 1900 there were forty-one American women's agencies supporting twelve hundred single women missionaries.[340] Those who went to the universities to recruit missionaries become used to the answer "Lord, here I am; send my sister."[341] The missionary force had become mostly lay and mainly female.[342]

The Protestant missionary movement of the last years of the eighteenth century, fueled by revived Christians and carried on through the agency of mission societies remains a remarkable chapter in the history of missions. Perhaps the key contribution of the movement to the following generations was the appropriation and application of the understanding that individual Christians could work together to spread the gospel, rather than passively wait for the action of the institutional church. The repercussions of this thinking were evident in the second and third waves of mission societies,[343] which in great measure were responsible for the spread of Protestantism in the non-Western world.

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[340] Gerald H. Anderson, "American Protestants in Pursuit of Mission: 1886–1986," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 12, no. 1 (1988): 98–118, cf. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 336; Dana Lee Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2005), 1–38, 81–302, 409–18; Suzan Elizabeth Smith, *Women in Mission: From the New Testament to Today* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2007), 121–62.

[341] Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process*, 232.

[342] L. H. Daggett, ed., *Historical Sketches of Woman's Missionary Societies in America and England* (Boston: L. H. Daggett, 1883), 13–205; Arthur T. Pierson, *The Modern Mission Century: Viewed as a Cycle of Divine Working, A Review of the Missions of the Nineteenth Century with Reference to the Superintending Providence of God* (New York: Baker and Taylor, 1901), 161–85; B. Broomhall, *The Evangelization of the World: A Missionary Band, a Record of Consecration, and an Appeal* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1889), 143–54.

[343] See Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 327–45; Stanley H. Skreslet, *Comprehending Mission: The Questions, Methods, Themes, Problems, and Prospects of Missiology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2012), 108–124; Dwight, Tupper, and Bliss, *Encyclopedia of Missions*, 836–47; Joseph I. Parker, *Interpretative Statistical Survey of the World Mission of the Christian Church: Summary and Detailed Statistics of Churches and Missionary Societies, Interpretative Articles, and Indices* (New York: International Missionary Council, 1938), 15–46; Rosemary Keen, *Survey of the Archives of Selected Missionary Societies* (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1968); R. G. Tiedemann, *Reference Guide to*

Missionary Lessons

The creation of mission societies was perhaps the most significant and lasting result of the Protestant missionary awakening of the late eighteenth century. These are some of the missionary lessons we can learn from the establishment of these institutions:

1. *Focus and flexibility*. Foreign mission work is by nature an exceptional activity.[344] The missionary enterprise demands, as a prerequisite, that geographical, religious, cultural, and political barriers be crossed before any successful result may be achieved. Adaptation, creativity, and innovative methodologies are required in order to build relational bridges and transmit the gospel message. The mission societies provided a small, focused, and flexible form of organization that could achieve all these requirements in a way that the institutional church simply could not. One of the greatest contributions William Carey made was to depart from the governmental/institutional missionary paradigm of his time and envision voluntary societies as the model for foreign mission work.

2. *Revival.* Religious revival frequently precedes missionary achievement. The Protestant awakening of the eighteenth century beginning with Germanic Pietism and followed by the evangelical revival in the American colonies and Great Britain, provided the indispensable corps of committed people who would serve in the mission field. Before selecting locations, developing mission strategies, or hiring personnel, church

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Christian Missionary Societies in China: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2009), 109–248.

[344] Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process*, 221.

leaders should prioritize helping church members develop a deep personal relationship with Christ.

3. *Mental training*. In the mission field, training and hard work are more profitable than willingness and charisma. A tradition of mental training accompanied missionary work in the formative years of the mission societies. Even though missionaries with modest educational attainment were also recruited, the better educated were sent. Many of them were highly skilled linguists, writers, publishers, educators, and entrepreneurs who also spent several years in seminary training.[345] This educational background was a fundamental factor in the success of their missionary service.

4. *Voluntarism*. Mission societies helped the institutional church realize that there was a vast army available and ready for missionary service. They became the means by which hundreds of thousands of people moved from passivity to active service for the sake of the gospel.[346] In like manner, church leaders should be constantly looking for new ways of getting more people involved in missionary work. One way is by providing opportunity, motivation, and training for doing missions on a regular basis.

The Seventh-day Adventist Church

The Seventh-day Adventist Church is currently one of the Protestant denominations with the strongest worldwide presence, institutionally operating in nearly every county of the world.[347] It should be noted, however, that this remarkable spread did

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[345] Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process*, 209–11.

[346] See Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 334–41.

[347] According to the latest statistical report of the denomination, Seventh-day Adventist work has been established in 215 out of the 237 countries and areas recognized by the United Nations. Office of

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not take place progressively throughout the 163 years of the church's existence. On the contrary, most of the denomination's worldwide expansion occurred in the years following the establishment of the Seventh-day Adventist Foreign Mission Board, when the Adventist mission endeavor exploded and Adventist missionaries were sent to the farthest corners of the world.

1889–1901: The Foreign Mission Board Era

Missionary Antecedents to the Foreign Mission Board

The establishment of the Foreign Mission Board was the climax of a long process of maturation toward missionary responsibility throughout the early years of the denomination. In fact, as early as November 7, 1844, Sabbatarian Adventists[348] were using the "shut door"[349] theory to express their understanding that no more mercy was

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Archives, Statistics, and Research, *Quick Statistics on the Seventh-day Adventist Church: Summary of Statistics as of December 31, 2014, Updated January 5, 2016* (Silver Springs, MD: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 2015), 1–2. Their outreach programs have been conducted in 974 languages and dialects used in publications and oral work. Office of Archives, Statistics and Research, *Annual Statistical Report* (Silver Spring, MD: Office of Archives, Statistics and Research, 2016), 95. Historian George Knight describes the current missionary program of the Seventh-day Adventist Church as "one of the most ambitious mission outreach programs in the history of Christianity." George R. Knight, "Historical Introduction," in *Historical Sketches of Foreign Missions* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2005), v.

[348] When October 22, 1844, came to an end and the expectation of the second coming of Jesus had become the "Great Disappointment," the extensive Millerite movement was basically divided into three main groups: (1) those who believed that the date and the event were a great hermeneutic mistake, and returned to their former denominations or renounced their faith; (2) the majority of the Adventist Millerites, who came to the conclusion that the event was right, but the date was wrong, and continued to set up new dates for Jesus' return; and (3) a minority, to whom the interpretation of Daniel 8:14 was mistaken not regarding the date (October 22, 1844), but the event to take place (not Jesus' return, but the beginning of the second phase of Jesus' ministry in the heavenly sanctuary). From this minority the Sabbatarian Adventists emerged. Prominent among them were James White, his wife Ellen G. White, Joseph Bates, Hiram Edson, and John N. Andrews. The Sabbatarian Adventists organized themselves into the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1863. Damsteegt, *Adventist Message and Mission,* 103–15.

[349] Timm points out that the immediate roots of this theory among Sabbatarians can be traced back to William Miller and the Millerite movement. In 1836 Miller warned that at Christ's second coming

available after the end of the 2,300 days (1844) for all those who rejected the Adventist

message, and for the wicked in general.[350] Consequently, they concluded, no missionary

activity was needed.[351] This conception was held among them until 1850.[352] However,

the conversion to Sabbatarian Adventism of individuals who had not taken part in the

Millerite movement forced them to reinterpret their shut-door missionary understanding

into an open-door missiology in the early 1850s.[353]

(which he believed would take place at the end of the 2,300 days of Daniel 8:14), "the gospel or mediatorial time should cease. No more time for mercy, no more Spirit to strive with you, sinner, no more means of grace, no more repentance unto life." William Miller, *Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ, about the Year 1843: Exhibited in a Course of Lectures* (New York: Kemble and Hooper, 1836), 54, cf. Alberto R. Timm, *The Sanctuary and the Three Angels' Message: Integrating Factors in the Development of the Seventh-day Adventist Doctrines* (Berrien Springs, MI: Adventist Theological Society, 1995), 71. However, that the door referred to in Matt 25:10 would shut at the Second Coming was suggested even by non-Millerite expositors. Matthew Henry, for example, stated that at the Second Coming, "the state of saints and sinners will then be unalterably fixed, and those who are shut out then will be shut out forever." Matthew Henry, *An Exposition of the Old and New Testament*, eds. George Burner and Joseph Hughes, 5 vols. (Philadelphia, PA: Barrington and Geo. D. Haswell, 1828), 5:292, cf. Timm, *The Sanctuary*, 70–71.

[350] Ellen G. Harmon (later Seventh-day Adventist co-founder Ellen G. White) was one who held the shut-door position. In 1874 she wrote: "With my brethren and sisters, after the time passed in forty-four I did believe no more sinners would be converted." Ellen G. White to J. N. Loughborough, August 24, 1874, cf. Knight, "Historical Introduction," vii.

[351] Damsteegt points out, "The immediate soteriological and missiological consequence of the disappointment were that Adventists thought their mission had been completed and the door of mercy closed against the churches and the world which had rejected the Advent proclamation of Christ's imminent personal return. They also felt that their shut-door views were confirmed by the hostile reaction of the public after the disappointment." Damsteegt, *Adventist Message and Mission*, 134.

[352] Knight points out that Adventists could not have had a mission of any magnitude during that period, since until near its end they had no message to preach, nor did the movement have a compelling force. Knight, "Historical Introduction," viii.

[353] The open-door missiology was first set forth by Ellen G. White in November 1848, when she urged her husband "to print a little paper," which would be "small at first," but would later become "streams of light that went clear round the world." Ellen G. White, "A Vision the Lord Gave Me at Oswego," unpublished manuscript, July 29, 1850, cf. Ibid., ix. In 1849, she reports another vision in which "Jesus rose up, [in the heavenly sanctuary] and shut the door in the most holy place, and passed the second vail, where he now stands by the Ark. . . . And that since Jesus has opened the door in the most holy place, which contains the Ark, the commandments have been shinning out to God's people, and they are being tested on the Sabbath question. . . . Therefore, Christians . . . who had not kept the true Sabbath, now rest in hope; for they had not the light." Ellen G. White, "Dear Brothers and Sisters," *Present Truth* 3 (1849): 21. Thus, the shutting of one door meant the opening of another. This new understanding laid the basis for correcting the misunderstanding of the shut door. In 1851, James White wrote that the door had been shut

During this new phase, Sabbatarian Adventists began to develop missionary awareness, although they had a limited concept of foreign mission and held varied views on how to accomplish the missionary task. James White suggested that their focus should be "not to send the gospel to the heathen, but to extend the solemn warning throughout the realms of corrupted Christianity."[354] European immigrants who had converted to Sabbatarian Adventism sent translated literature to their relatives and friends in their home countries.[355] Uriah Smith, in turn, reasoned that foreign mission might not be necessary, "since our nation is composed of people from almost every nation."[356]

By the time the Seventh-day Adventist Church was organized in 1863, worldwide mission had become a growing challenge for the denomination. Not only were there converts abroad, but the converts were calling for missionaries to be sent to their lands.[357]

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to those who heard the everlasting gospel and had rejected it, but that the door of conversion was still open. Nevertheless, at that point he still believed Sabbatarian Adventists should focus their missionary efforts on their ex-Millerite brethren. "Open and Shut Door," in *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, ed. Don F. Neufeld, rev. ed. (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1976), 1034–37. In 1853, Ellen White became one of the first among Sabbatarian Adventists to say that the Adventist mission was relevant to the world; she referred to it as "the last message of mercy that is ever to be given to a guilty world." White, "To the Saints Scattered Abroad," *Review and Herald*, February 17, 1853, 155.

[354] James White, "The Third Angel's Message," *Review and Herald*, September 4, 1856, 141.

[355] By 1861 Sabbatarian Adventists were already receiving news from England and Ireland telling of decisions to keep the Sabbath and wait for Jesus' second coming. Richard W. Schwarz and Floyd Greenleaf, *Light Bearers: A History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 1995), 38.

[356] Smith agreed with William Miller that the gospel merely needed to be preached to a representative from each nation. "Letters," *Review and Herald*, February 3, 1859, 87, cf. [Uriah Smith, editorial comment], *Review and Herald*, January 1, 1867, 48; [Uriah Smith], "The Gospel Preached in All the World," *Review and Herald*, July 16, 1872, 36; James White, "Our Faith and Hope," *Review and Herald*, December 27, 1870, 9–10, cf. Knight, "Historical Introduction," xi.

[357] There were reports of conversion in Ireland, England, and Africa. Literature requests were also coming from Italy and Switzerland. James White was one of the first to use the term "worldwide" in reference to the Seventh-day Adventist mission. Damsteegt, *Adventist Message and Mission*, 285–93.

In 1864, M. B. Czechowski[358] volunteered to serve as a missionary in Europe, but his proposal was turned down.[359] He decided to stop working for the Seventh-day Adventist Church and made arrangements with Adventist Christians, an organization of former Millerites who rejected the Sabbath, to do missionary work in Europe. Although financed by Sunday-keeping Adventists, Czechowski preached the Sabbath in Switzerland, France, Germany, and Hungary, and finally settled in Romania.[360]

Czechowski's labors bore fruit.[361] Communications between a group of Sabbath keepers whom he had instructed in Tramelan, Switzerland, and the Seventh-day Adventist headquarters in Battle Creek resulted in them sending a convert named James Erzberger[362] to attend the General Conference Session in 1869. Erzberger remained in the

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[358] M. B. Czechowski was a former Catholic priest and Baptist minister who converted to Sabbatarian Adventism and became a worker in 1857. After his conversion, Czechowski carried out mission work among French, Polish, Italian, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, and Germanic immigrants in the United States of America. J. N. Andrews, "The Seventh-day Adventists of Europe," *Review and Herald*, November 30, 1869, 181; M. B. Czechowski, "The French Mission," *Review and Herald*, September 23, 1858, 144; Id., "The N.Y. Mission," *Review and Herald*, September 1860, 124–25.

[359] As early as 1858, only one year after his conversion, Czechowski expressed his desire to serve in Europe among his countrymen. Czechowski, "The French Mission." Because he had recently converted to the faith and was seen as personally unstable, and for some other reasons, the Seventh-day Adventist leadership refused to send him to Europe as a missionary. Nevertheless, in 1869 J. N. Andrews stated in regards to him: "The most of the trouble was caused by mutual misunderstanding. We have no severe censure to place on Eld. C., nor do we wholly exonerate ourselves from blame. We should have taken greater pains to explain things that were misunderstood by him, and should have had greater interest in this noble-hearted man. Yet we were not wholly without reason for being perplexed at his course of action, and for finally leaving him to do whatever he pleased, without attempting to influence him." Andrews, "Seventh-day Adventists of Europe," 181.

[360] Borge Schantz, "The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought: Contemporary Appraisal" (PhD diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983), 257–60.

[361] In 1870, J. N. Andrews recognized "the providence of God in the raising up of this people in Europe. And what makes the work appear still more remarkable and providential is that it has been accomplished independent of our agency and help." J. N. Andrews, "Cause in Switzerland," *Review and Herald*, January 11, 1870, 22.

[362] James H. Erzberger (1843–1920) was born in Liestal, Switzerland. In 1864 he entered a Protestant training school to prepare for ministerial work, and later worked for a short time as a chaplain and evangelist. He met a group of Sabbath keepers in Tramelan, Switzerland, and joyfully accepted the

United States for fifteen months, living most of the time with James and Ellen White. He became fully acquainted with Adventism, was ordained, and returned to Switzerland in 1870 as the first Seventh-day Adventist minister in Europe. He conducted the first baptisms and organized the first church in Germany in 1876.[363]

Meanwhile, there was a growing sense of missionary obligation among Seventh-day Adventists in the United States. In January 1870, J. N. Andrews spoke of that time as "the period for the spread in all Christian lands, of the great truths connected with the third message of Rev. 14."[364] In December 1871, Ellen White reported a vision in which she was shown that "angels of God are moving on the hearts and consciences of the people of other nations" and the truths they were entrusted with were "of vital importance to the rest of the world." In one of the clearest indications of her understanding of the direction in which Seventh-day Adventists should move, she advises, "Young men should be qualifying themselves by becoming familiar with other languages, that God may use them as mediums to communicate His saving truth to those of other nations.[365]

It was around that time that the text of Rev 10:11, "Thou must prophecy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings," began to be understood as a

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Seventh-day Adventist faith. Albert Vuillermier baptized him in 1868. See "Erzberger, James H.," in Neufeld, *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, 430.

[363] Ibid.

[364] Andrews, "Cause in Switzerland," 22.

[365] Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White: Being a Narrative of Her Experience to 1881 as Written by Herself; With a Sketch of Her Subsequent Labors and of Her Last Sickness Compiled from Original Sources* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1915), 203–4. In order to meet the need for qualified workers to be sent abroad, the General Conference Session of 1873 voted to establish a denominational school in Battle Creek, MI. In 1901 this school moved to Berrien Springs, MI, and was called Emmanuel Missionary College. In 1858, the institution was renamed Andrews University, in honor of pioneer J. N. Andrews.

mandate for worldwide mission.[366] In 1874, enthusiasm for foreign missions continued to

build within Seventh-day Adventist circles. S. N. Haskell stated, "I have been informed

by brethren and sisters who have friends living in many of the Southern States, and at

least seven different nations in Europe, that there are those who have embraced the

Sabbath in each of these places during the last year."[367]

Another important development in this process, which helped to strengthen the

denomination's decision to directly engage in foreign mission, was a dream Ellen White

shared in April 1874. White wrote that a messenger in her dream spoke with authoritative

confidence: "The message will go in power to all parts of the world, to Oregon, to

Europe, to Australia, to the islands of the sea, to all nations, tongues and peoples . . .

Many countries are waiting for the advanced light the Lord has for them."[368]

Finally, as the culmination of this initial phase of the Adventist mission, J. N.

Andrews was sent to Switzerland as the first official Seventh-day Adventist missionary in

September 15, 1874.[369] It would take more than a decade before another missionary was

sent. In 1885, S. N. Haskell and four other missionaries and their families were sent to

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[366] Knight points out that in the General Conference Session in November 1873, James White gave an exposition of Rev 10 in connection with foreign missions. Earlier that year, he had applied the imperative of Rev 14:6 to preach the everlasting gospel to the entire world and the command of Rev 10:11 to the worldwide commission of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Those two texts, along with Matt 24:14, would impel Adventist missions to every corner of the earth, as the denomination sought to fulfill what it saw as its prophetic role in history. Knight, "Historical Introduction," xiv; Damsteegt, *Adventist Message and Mission*, 285.

[367] S. N. Haskell, "The Cause Is Onward," *Review and Herald*, May 26, 1874, 190; S. N. Haskell, "A Singular Co-incidence," *Review and Herald*, November 17, 1874, 165.

[368] White, *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White,* 209.

[369] In Switzerland, Andrews received support from Pastor Erzberger, the first Seventh-day Adventist pastor in Europe, who served as translator. Neufeld, *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, 430.

Melbourne, Australia.[370] Two years later, in 1887, the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists sent the ministers D. A. Robinson and C. L. Boyd and the colporteurs George Burleigh and R. S. Anthony to South Africa.[371] The foreign mission work of the denomination was taking definitive shape.

During this phase, Seventh-day Adventists felt a particular responsibility to spread their distinctive biblical message to Christian people. However, it did not take long before the denomination stopped considering mission to the non-Christian world as a responsibility of the evangelical mission societies.[372]

The Establishment of the Foreign Mission Board

One of the first indications that the Seventh-day Adventist march toward the ends of the world had reached the point of no return came in early 1889, when S. N. Haskell and Percy T. Magan were sent on a two-year journey around the world surveying missionary opportunities, possible challenges, and future mission sites.[373] Their reports captured the interest of many. Furthermore, the last years of the 1880s marked the

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[370] S. N. Haskell, "The Australian Mission," in *Historical Sketches of the Foreign Missions of the Seventh-day Adventists* (Basle, Switzerland: Imprimerie Polygotte, 1886), 91–108; C. C. L., "Our American Letter," *Present Truth*, June 1885, 223.

[371] William A. Spicer, *Our Story of Missions for Colleges and Academies* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1921), 207–12.

[372] Schantz, "Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought," 252–53.

[373] At that point, Haskell and Ellen White had become the most influential promoters of foreign mission work within Adventism. Both of them already had personal experience in foreign lands (Haskell had served for four years in Australia; beginning in 1885, Ellen White spent two years in Europe, where she visited England, France, Switzerland, Germany, Scandinavia, and Italy). What they said and wrote influenced many Adventists in regard to their global missionary responsibility. Schwarz and Greenleaf, *Light Bearers*, 207.

pinnacle of the foreign missions movement in American Protestantism up to that time.[374]

This greatly contributed to raising the level of missionary awareness among Adventists

and constantly reminded the denomination of their worldwide missionary responsibility.

Thus, in order to deal with the growing demands of foreign mission work as well

as to provide an institutional answer to the collective missionary enthusiasm among

Adventists, on November 5, 1889, the General Conference session voted to create the

Seventh-day Adventist Foreign Mission Board, "for the management of the foreign

mission work."[375]

It should be noticed that, as originally conceived, the Foreign Mission Board was

very limited in its autonomy, having no executive power. It was expected to perform the

role of an advisor to the General Conference Committee. The daily bulletin of the

General Conference session of 1889 states the proposal to be voted upon: "No plan or

suggestion of the Mission Board shall become operative until it has the sanction of the

General Conference Committee."[376] However, the delegates rejected the idea of creating

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[374] A propelling factor of this remarkable phase of Protestant foreign mission work in the United States was the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, which by 1887 had already established a working relationship with over a hundred women's collegiate associations. Sidney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (Binghamton, NY: Yale University Press, 1972), 864; Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions Executive Committee, *The First Two Decades of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions* (New York: Student Volunteer Movement, 1906), 1–36; John R. Mott, *The Evangelization of the World in This Generation* (New York: Student Volunteer Movement, 1905), 1–196.

[375] General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, "Conference Proceedings: Seventeenth Meeting," 141–42.

[376] General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, "Article IV. — Duties of Officers," in *Daily Bulletin of the General Conference* (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald, 1889), 45, cf. Bauer, "Congregational and Mission Structures," 105.

a "symbolic" mission structure, and instead, the Foreign Mission Board was placed in

charge of all matters related to Seventh-day Adventist mission work. Bauer points out,

> Even though the Foreign Mission Board was led and directed by the General
> Conference President, and even though there was a very close working relationship
> between the Foreign Mission Board and the denominational organization, the Foreign
> Mission Board 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 Foreign Mission Board 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.[377]

One of the first initiatives of the newly formed board was to divide the world into

three great geographical areas and create standing committees to be in charge of the

needs of (1) Europe and Asia, (2) Africa, South America, Mexico and the West Indies,

and (3) Oceania.[378] With the passing of time, advisory committees were also created to

provide on-site supervision of the work in areas such as England, Germany, central

Europe, Russia, and Australia.[379]

Bauer's extensive research on the Foreign Mission Board indicates that, in the

following years, the mission structure had the autonomy and developed the capacity to

(1) execute plans to raise funds for foreign mission work; (2) develop mission strategies;

(3) send its members on world survey trips; (4) set priorities; (5) set future policies;

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[377] Bauer, "Congregational and Mission Structures," 108. The Foreign Mission Board was composed of six members who ran the daily activities of the board, along with nine other members of the Executive Committee of the General Conference. General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, "Conference Proceedings: Seventeenth Meeting," 141.

[378] General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Records of the Foreign Mission Board of Seventh-day Adventists* (Washington, DC: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1889), 1:34, cf. Bauer, "Congregational and Mission Structures," 107.

[379] Ibid., 1:38.

(6) promote missions; (7) appoint, instruct, and supervise personnel; and (8) supervise overseas work.[380]

The Foreign Mission Board mainly recruited and sent three categories of missionaries: lay members, ministers, and professionals. They were sent to the same locations, but in different phases of the missionary process. This strategy is well exemplified by the transmission of the Adventist message in Brazil.

First, lay members were sent to work on literature distribution. Colporteurs, as they were called, were unordained and non-salaried workers who survived on the profits of their sales.[381] Colporteuring was seen as the obvious starting point, considering that since James White published *The Present Truth* in 1849, Adventists had been employing publications to spread their message.

After colporteurs had raised enough interest in the Adventist message and reported a considerable number of Sabbath-keepers, the Foreign Mission Board sent ordained personnel to baptize believers and organize churches.[382] Direct public evangelism was the method ministers most frequently applied. Greenleaf points out: "The

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[380] Bauer, "Congregational and Mission Structures," 111–32.

[381] In 1893, Albert Stauffer became the first Adventist worker to set foot in Brazil. He was a successful colporteur and officially began to make contact with the people of the land. Albert Bachmeyer, a young German sailor, converted to Adventism in Rio de Janeiro, following his meeting with another colporteur, E. W. Snyder. He began to sell literature himself in Sao Paulo and Santa Catarina, where he discovered immigrant Sabbath-keeping families in Brusque and Gaspar Alto that would later form the first nucleus of Adventism in Brazil. Greenleaf*, Land of Hope*, 28–33. Before the arrival of Stauffer, periodicals had already brought the Adventist message to Brazil. About this story see Ellsworth Olsen, *Origin and Progress of the Seventh-day Adventists* (Tacoma Park, MD: Review and Herald, 1925), 572–76.

[382] Among the first ordained missionaries, Mary and Frank Westphal were a case in point. The Westphals served Adventist communities in Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil, where they arrived in 1895. They trekked hundreds of miles visiting, preaching, and baptizing. However, their greatest contribution was to the process of unifying converts into an identifiable Adventist community. F. H. Westphal, "Preaching the Truth in Brazil," *The Home Missionary,* July 1895, 134–35.

big tent congregations served two purposes—they compensated the scarcity of preachers by bringing large number of people together, and through this association they created a sense of denominational identity."[383]

Then, professionals in different areas were sent in order to enable the church to offer a diversified approach to the public. Many times, missionaries had hardly begun their work when they felt the need to diversify.[384] It was within this context that professionals helped to establish schools, publishing houses, and medical missions. Thus, diversifying for the sake of applying an integral approach became a fundamental characteristic of Adventist missions.

As a result of this focused, flexible, and directed approach, by the end of the 1890s, Adventism had been established on every inhabited continent and on many of the islands of the seas.[385] It would not be inaccurate to suggest that the effectiveness of Adventist mission in the years following the establishment of the Foreign Mission Board

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[383] Greenleaf, *Land of Hope*, 43.

[384] Olsen, *Origin and Progress*, 575–76; Greenleaf, *Land of Hope*, 50.

[385] Spicer, who served for many years as the Foreign Mission Secretary of the denomination, offers a report of the expansion of the Adventist mission. In 1904, the world membership of the Seventh-day Adventist Church was 71,891, of which 16,470 were outside North America, in the following countries: (1) Europe: England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Switzerland, Italy, Turkey, Russia, Holland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Scandinavia, Austria, Germany, Romania, Wales, Bulgaria, Hungary, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Iceland; (2) West Indies: Antigua, Grenada, Haiti, St. Vincent, Bermuda, Barbados, Kingston, Jamaica, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, San Andres Island, Panama, St. Thomas, St. Kitts, St. Lucia, Tobago, Tortola, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Trinidad, the Bahamas Islands; (3) South America: Georgetown, British Guiana, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador; (4) Asia: India, China, Siam, Japan, Malay States, Singapore; (5) Africa: South Africa, Algeria, Egypt, Tunis, and other areas named Lake Nyasa, Mashonaland; (6) Oceania: Australia, Samoa, Cook Islands, Tonga, Sumatra, New Zealand; (7) Polynesia: Pitcairn, Norfolk, Raiatea, Tahiti, Sandwich Islands; (8) Central America: Mexico, Belize, and Bay Islands; (8) Middle East: Palestine and Syria. Spicer, *Our Story of Missions*, 98–102; Arthur Whitefield Spalding, *Origin and History of the Seventh-day Adventists* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1961), 207–233, 279–91.

was to a large degree because its missionary endeavor was based on this missionary model.

<div align="center">1901–2010: Foreign Missions Work under the
Direction of the General Conference</div>

In 1901 the Seventh-day Adventist Church was restructured in order to better address its missionary demands.[386] The challenge of the leaders of the denomination was to lead some 75,000 members—83 percent of whom were in North America—in mission to about two billion people, 1.3 billion of whom were non-Christians.[387] Additionally, recurring conflicts, especially around the relationship of the Foreign Mission Board to other auxiliary organizations,[388] became a threat to the development of the missionary zeal of the denomination.

Moreover, the church was experiencing extraordinary institutional growth, and there were continuous struggles over how these institutions should relate to the auxiliary organizations within the denomination, the state conferences, and the General

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[386] Oliver, "Principles for Reorganization," 40–65.

[387] Doss, "Structural Models for World Mission," 303.

[388] Auxiliary organizations were legal associations that dealt with the affairs of specific areas of the church such as publishing, health, Sabbath school, youth, and benevolence. Examples of attrition between these organizations include conflicts raised over the construction of a ship to sail on missionary voyages to the South Pacific, and the control of medical institutions and workers throughout the world. Other conflicts included the relationship between the International Tract Society, the General Conference Association, and the International Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, which insisted that health publications be sold only by colporteurs employed and administered by the Good Health Publishing Company and not by denominational agencies. Oliver, "Principles for Reorganization," 82–89.

Conference. Soon it became evident that the perpetuation of numerous independent

bodies[389] was chaotic and possessed the potential for schism.[390]

Furthermore, the 1890s witnessed a growing demand for decentralization of

decision-making authority within the denomination. Once again, Ellen White played a

leading role in the process. She openly spoke against the consolidation of institutions in

Battle Creek, insisting that the administration of the church should decentralize from that

location. Her conviction was that there was an urgent need to delegate responsibility to

more people as well as to other levels of church administration.[391]

Thus, the General Conference session of 1901 decided that: (1) unions and union

missions were to be immediately organized in all parts of the world, wherever possible;

(2) the auxiliary organizations were to be discontinued as independent entities and

integrated into the conference administrative structure under the direction of the General

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[389] Examples of auxiliary organizations operating independently include the Sabbath School Association, the Religious Liberty Association, the International Tract and Missionary Society, the Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, and the Foreign Mission Board.

[390] Oliver, "Principles for Reorganization," 113; Schwarz and Greenleaf, *Light Bearers*, 242–58.

[391] In a 1903 article, Ellen White states that "messages of warning" concerning the need to decentralize had been given for years. She goes on to quote paragraphs that she had written in 1895 and 1899: "The investments of large sums of money in the building up of the work in one place is not in the order of God. Plants are to be made in many places . . . There are those who are reasoning from the wrong point of view. Because it is more convenient to have work centered in one place, they are in favor of crowding everything together in one locality. Great evil is the result." She continues: "Notwithstanding frequent counsels to the contrary, men continued to plan for centralization of power, for the binding of many interests under one control." Ellen G. White, "Centralization," *Review and Herald*, December 10, 1903, 8-9; see also White, *Testimonies to Ministers* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1962), 301; White, *Testimonies for the Church,* 9 vols. (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1948), 9:261. A paper prepared by the White Estate has listed six "evils" of consolidation of institutions as described by Ellen White: (1) no preservation of individual judgment; (2) no training of young men to responsibility; (3) interference of one branch of the work with another branch of the work; (4) individuality and personal responsibility repressed; (5) neglect of other parts of the work; and (6) danger of becoming a ruling power. Ellen G. White Estate, *Confederation and Consolidation* (unpublished paper, 1977), cf. Oliver, "Principles for Reorganization," 119.

Conference executive committee as departments headed by department secretaries; (3)

the General Conference was to be directed by an enlarged executive committee; (4) the

ownership and management of institutions under the General Conference was to be

transferred to the respective unions; (5) provision was made for a more substantial

financial base for the church's missionary enterprise; and (6) the administration of the

mission work was to be under the supervision of the General Conference Committee.[392]

The reorganization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church marked the beginning of

a new phase of missionary enthusiasm and commitment within the denomination, which

would continue for three decades into the twentieth century. General Conference

President Daniells,[393] recently repatriated after fifteen years of missionary service,[394] and

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[392] A. G. Daniells, "A Statement of Facts Concerning Our Present Situation—8," *Review and Herald*, March 29, 1906; C. C. Crisler, *Organization: Its Character, Purpose, Place, and Development in the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1938), 157–76; Oliver, "Principles for Reorganization," 173–76; Schwarz and Greenleaf, *Light Bearers*, 256–57.

[393] A. G. Daniells (1858–1935) is considered one of the greatest contributors to the missionary expansion of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, serving as the president of the General Conference from 1901 to 1922. Gottfried Oosterwal, *Mission Possible: The Challenge of Mission Today* (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Association, 1972), 30; Bauer, "Congregational and Mission Structures," 153–58. When he left the position to become General Conference secretary, the Seventh-day Adventist Church maintained 1,647 missionaries in foreign lands. During his time in the presidency, almost two thousand missionaries were sent from North America. General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *The Sixtieth Annual Statistical Report: Year Ending December 31, 1922* (Washington, DC: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1922), 10; General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Ninety-eighth Annual Statistical Report of the Seventh-day Adventists: 1960* (Washington, DC: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1960), 2.

[394] Daniells served as a frontier missionary to New Zealand and Australia from 1886 to 1901. It was during this time that he organized the Australian work into a union with integrated departments, a structure that became a pattern for the 1901 reorganization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Neufeld, *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, 105–6; Schantz, "Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought," 378.

Secretary Spicer[395] were men of broad vision who kept mission work a top priority. In

practical terms, the General Conference Committee became a mission agency.[396]

In the year following Daniells's election, the Seventh-day Adventist Church sent

out sixty new missionaries, and during the next two decades ninety new missionaries on

average were sent every year from North America.[397] The number of mission stations

climbed from eight in 1890 to 150 in 1923. The denominational statistics report for the

same year shows that for the first time the church registered more members outside North

America than inside.[398]

A key aspect of Daniells's visionary mission strategy was his intentionality in

furthering Adventism in countries such as Germany, England, and Australia, in order to

expand home bases for sending missionaries.[399] Germany, especially, provided a strong

European home base for missions, since the work there became self-supporting sooner

than in other European countries and before long began to finance overseas missionaries.

Another important reason was the dynamic leadership of Louis Conradi. Under his

guidance the German church established Adventism in the Netherlands, Austria,

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[395] W. A. Spicer (1865-1952) served as secretary of the General Conference under A. G. Daniells before he became president from 1922–1930. He had personal experience as a missionary in England (1887–1892) and India (1898–1901). He traveled widely and was reported to have visited every corner of the mission field. Schwarz and Greenleaf, *Light Bearers*, 223, 274, 316–17.

[396] Bauer, "Congregational and Mission Structures," 153.

[397] Oosterwal, *Mission Possible,* 30.

[398] General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *The Sixty-first Annual Statistical Report: Year Ending December 31, 1923* (Washington, DC: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1922), 2, 10.

[399] Knight, "Historical Introduction," xxi, xxii; Schantz, "Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought," 321–25.

Czechoslovakia, Brazil, Tanganyika, Ethiopia, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, and Egypt.[400]

Australian missionaries spread Adventism in much of the South Pacific,[401] and the British

made great contributions to planting Adventism in many other parts of the world.[402]

On the other hand, the reorganization also caused a major change in the way

foreign mission work would be led within the denomination over the course of the

twentieth century.[403] Whereas specialized department directors with no administrative

responsibilities had conducted the former auxiliary organizations, the General Conference

Committee absorbed mission work, which was placed as one of the incumbencies of the

executive secretary of the denomination.

Bauer analyzes the practical implications of this decision:

> With no Mission department and no secretary to head up and promote missions, the
> promotion of mission in the Seventh-day Adventist church has been left dependent on
> the interest and commitment of the General Conference leadership. When the General
> Conference has been highly committed to missions they have used the whole power
> and prestige of the headquarters of the denomination to push concerns and needs of
> missions. However, when they have seen other needs that have occupied their time
> and effort, the concerns of missions have suffered since there is no department to
> press for mission needs.[404]

Moreover, when the General Conference established the divisions of the world in

1913, the administrators of these geographical areas became responsible for determining

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[400] Richard W. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1979), 359–60; Spicer, *Our Story of Missions*, 234; Neufeld, *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia,* 510.

[401] Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, 362; Neufeld, *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia,* 106.

[402] Knight, "Historical Introduction," xxi, xxii; Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, 360.

[403] The Foreign Mission Board continued as an entity for legal purposes until 1919, but its function had effectively ceased in 1903, following a transition period after the General Conference Session of 1901. Neufeld, *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, 910.

[404] Bauer, "Congregational and Mission Structures," 150–51.

when missionaries were needed. The natural consequence of this scenario was that church leaders considered the nurture and expansion of their local churches to be their primary responsibility. In like manner, General Conference officials continued to travel extensively, but more and more the concerns of a growing church absorbed their attention, and little energy was spent searching for unreached people. Thus, "with no Foreign Mission Board and no Department of Missions, there was no mission structure to hold in tension the needs of the unreached in contrast to the needs of the membership for nurture and services."[405]

The results of the removal of the Foreign Mission Board were not evident at first. Knight's[406] and Bauer's[407] research suggest that the rapid growth in worldwide Adventist mission that begun in the 1890s continued unabated into the first three decades of the twentieth century. However, after the Daniels and Spicer era, the missionary expansion of the church suffered a lack of continuity,[408] giving way to a new phase in which the main concern was strengthening the work already established. And yet, one could see this shift

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[405] Ibid., 152.

[406] Knight points out that the expansionary movement of the church during this period transformed the denomination from a North American church into a worldwide movement. Knight, "Historical Introduction," xx.

[407] For Bauer, the day-by-day operation did not differ much from the way the Foreign Mission Board operated. As long as Daniells and Spicer directed the General Conference, the overseas work received top priority and was responsible for the thrilling growth that resulted during that period. Bauer, "Congregational and Mission Structures," 164.

[408] Yost provides a report showing the number of countries the Seventh-day Adventist Church entered by decade: 1890–1899 = 36; 1900–1909 = 36; 1910–1919 = 13; 1920–1929 = 22; 1930–1939 = 10; 1940–1949 = 8; 1950–1959 = 5; 1960–1969 = 5. F. Donald Yost, "Political Divisions of the World: Territories Entered in Chronological Order" (unpublished report, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventist Archives, 1975), 1-5, cf. Bauer, "Congregational and Mission Structures," 171.

as a necessary step toward denominational maturation.[409] The denomination would once

again place strong emphasis on missionary expansion only in the 1990s, with the

launching of Global Mission.

Four main factors characterized Adventist mission from the second half of the

twentieth century until the first decade of the twenty-first century: (1) development and

expansion of institutions; (2) rapid increase in the number of members; (3) the

establishment of indigenous leadership; and (4) a stronger presence of workers coming

from other divisions of the church.

First, the denomination experienced a strengthening, maturation, and progressive

expansion of what George Knight calls the Adventist missiological quadrilateral:

publishing houses, educational institutions, medical facilities, and denominational

conferences.[410] During this phase the Seventh-day Adventist Church advanced from

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[409] Unlikely as it seems, there were benefits associated with the times when the church did not place a strong emphasis on foreign mission. The "shut door" era (1844–1852) gave the denomination the time to focus on developing a strong doctrinal platform. From that time up until J. N. Andrews was sent as the first official missionary in 1874, missionary awareness was developed within the denomination, resulting in the formation of a group of capable and committed people who would later serve in the mission field. After the Daniells and Spicer era, financial crisis and the Second World War surely served to displace the denominational focus from missionary expansion. However, the absence of strong emphasis on continuous missionary expansion after the first three decades of the twentieth century opened space for the processes of maturation and consolidation of the work already established.

[410] Knight points out that the Adventist quadrilateral was planted in all quarters of the earth during the great mission expansion that began in the 1890s and extended unabated up to the 1930s. Although slowed down, the expansion of those institutions continues in the present. George R. Knight, *The Fat Lady and the Kingdom: Confronting the Challenges of Change and Secularization* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 1995), 81–94. Knight also suggests that three factors indicate the growing maturity of Adventism: (1) being recognized by Protestants not as a sect to be avoided but as evangelical Christians; (2) the development of denominational universities; and (3) the development of indigenous leadership. George R. Knight, *A Brief History of Seventh-day Adventists* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1999), 142–44. Greenleaf remarks that it was during this phase that Seventh-day Adventist institutions broadened their offering of programs and services, upgraded their facilities, and experienced growth. Greenleaf, *Land of Hope*, 364–443. Schwarz notes the role of the establishment of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary in forming a professional ministry. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant*, 486–93.

9,718 institutions in 1930 to 79,353 in 2010.[411] Second, statistics from the denomination

show an explosion in church membership from the second half of the twentieth century

until 2010. Table 1 shows that the number of members almost doubled every ten years.[412]

Table 1. Adventist Church Membership, 1930-2010

Year	Members
1930	314,253
1940	504,752
1950	756,712
1960	1,245,125
1970	2,051,864
1980	3,480,518
1990	5.601,462
2000	11,687,229
2010	16,923,239

Third, it was during this time that the church truly became internationalized.

Missionaries coming from the United States, Europe, Great Britain, Australia, and South

Africa would cede leadership to local leaders in almost every area where the church was

operating. Additionally, local leaders in different parts of the world would take an active

part in the decisions of the worldwide church, since the presidents of the divisions

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[411] Data includes union conferences and missions, local conferences and missions, churches, primary schools, and institutions. Office of Archives, Statistics and Research, *2016 Annual Statistical Report,* 4.

[412] Office of Archives, Statistics and Research, *Annual Statistical Report* (Silver Spring, MD: Office of Archives, Statistics and Research, 2010).

became vice-presidents of the General Conference and individuals from around the world occupied many key positions in the organization.[413]

Fourth, an increasing number of workers would serve in places other than their places of origin during the second half of the twentieth century.[414] This category of worker, called an inter-division employee (IDE), was classified as missionary, although most of them served in teaching or administrative positions and had little impact on reaching unentered areas of the world. However, the first decade of the twentieth century saw a dramatic decrease in the number of IDE employees, who were replaced by volunteers, self-sustaining missionaries, and contract workers.

Missiological Implications

Prerequisites for Doing Mission

This chapter attempted to provide a short analysis of five representative missionary-sending movements, widely recognized for their remarkable roles in the spread of the Christian faith. Although these movements wrote their names in the history of Christian missions over almost 1,500 years, and were as varied as a monastic movement, a reform movement, a Protestant church, foreign mission organizations, and a denominational church, their missionary achievements are based on recurrent principles. Above all, they seem to confirm Andrew Walls's suggestion that missionary work depends on the combination of three equally indispensable conditions. First, a corps of people with the degree of commitment required to live on other people's cultural terms.

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[413] Knight, *Brief History of Seventh-day Adventists,* 144.

[414] Office of Archives, Statistics and Research, *2016 Annual Statistical Report,* 9.

In order to succeed in their enterprise, missionaries had to adapt to the conditions of life and ways of thinking of another cultural group. Furthermore, mission work required people who were prepared to explain, commend, and illustrate the Christian message without coercing acceptance of it.[415] Second, an organization equipped to recruit, train, and send committed people, providing a link between them and the areas where they serve. An important characteristic of these organizations is flexibility. Adaptability, creativity, and innovation are indispensable for the accomplishment of their missionary purpose. Third, sustained access to those areas where missionary activity was to be carried out. This logistical factor implied the capability of getting mission personnel into international bases, with the expectation of maintaining regular communication with them. It is also important to notice that in all five representative movements, missionary activity declined when the three were not fully in place.

Mission and Social Service

Mission and social service go hand in hand. These movements evidenced more than social concern: they had social responsibility and acted upon this principle. The results of their efforts were seen in the improved lives of the people they had contact with, as well as the development of the communities where they settled. These movements were always ready to offer something people did not have: intellectual knowledge, professional expertise, academic excellence, or profound legitimate religious

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[415] Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process*, 220; Seabra and Antunes, *Obras do padre Antonio Vieira,* 51–58.

experience. Above all, they took initiative in making their valuable assets accessible to the masses. Instead of privileges for a few, they made them blessings to be shared by everyone. In like manner, contemporary missionaries should always be looking for ways to offer distinctive services to their communities, making sure that the largest possible number of people will be able to benefit from them.

A Self-Reproductive System

The history of the five movements studied seems to indicate that missionary expansion always proceeds from a mission focused center, but does not remain dependent on it for continual development. In Ireland, Patrick's disciples were trained to establish other monasteries, which became new centers of mission, while Iona became the center responsible for the founding of dozens of monasteries, and from which the evangelization of Europe preceded. In like manner, the Waldensians established a self- reproductive system in which older Barbas were responsible for teaching new missionary pastors. Herrnhut was the Moravian center for years, but their missionary service also spread from England and the United States. No single mission society would be able to embrace the world: on the contrary, the Protestant expansion in Africa, Asia and Latin America was the direct result of the work of hundreds of mission-sending organizations in many countries of Europe and North America. Within Adventism, this fact is also evidenced, as Germany, England, Australia, and South Africa became important centers for the spread of the Adventist message, in addition to the United States.

Mission and Message

Message is a fundamental component of any missionary work. It was for the sake of God's message that missionaries accepted the risk of martyrdom and other hardships. Moreover, spreading the message was a crucial factor pushing missionaries to the ends of the Earth. Only God's message can provide people everywhere with the "best way" to be saved. Adventists, especially, should always remember that it was when their pioneer understood Rev 14:1 as an order to announce "the hour of judgment" and Rev 10:11 as a command to proclaim this message "to every tribe, tongue, people, and nation" that the movement entered a point of no return in its march toward all the nations of the earth. During Patrick's phase of the Celtic movement and Waldo's phase of the Waldensians, and throughout the existence of Adventism, proclaiming the message of the Second Coming of Jesus has fueled missionaries with a sense of urgency as well as providing people in general with a sense of warning and hope.

The Selection of the Missionaries

Both lay people and clergy have been indispensable to missionary work. What is important to note is that these five movements made the effort to send their best. A tradition of learning informed the training of missionaries, and frequently, those best prepared obtained more lasting results in the mission field. In many cases, the preparation of these missionaries took several years. Today, when missionary training lasts one to two weeks in many organizations, it is important to consider the standard set and applied by these remarkable movements.

This chapter analyzed five selected historical missionary movements, which greatly contributed to the spread of the Christian faith. Their successful missionary

principles and practices are a powerful source of inspiration and information for any

contemporary movement engaging in mission-sending activity. The next chapter will

describe the work of current mission-sending organizations in Europe, The United States,

and Brazil, in order to provide a final set of examples from which to draw a mission-

sending model for the South American Division of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

CHAPTER 4

MISSION-SENDING ORGANIZATIONS IN EUROPE,

THE UNITED STATES, AND BRAZIL

Change of Polarity in Christianity

For hundreds of years, Christianity has been seen as a Western religion.[1]

Christians living or coming from the Western countries of the world have long

considered themselves guardians of the Christian message, the ones responsible for the

defense and expansion of the Christian faith.

During the high imperial period, the British believed they were chosen by God

to bring peace and justice to the entire planet. For example, the report of the Centenary

Conference of 1888 mentions "the great extent to which the work of evangelization of the

world is taken up by, or thrown upon, the Saxon race." The report also calls attention to

the fact that "the contributions for missionary objects raised by Great Britain and

America are more than ten times the amount contributed by all other societies in the

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[1] There is no single definition of what the West is. The list of countries varies depending on whether or not cultural, political, and economic aspects are taken into consideration. Countries commonly regarded as "Western countries" include the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, France, Germany, Spain, New Zealand, and most other European Union countries, among others. It should be noticed, however, that Christianity was active and expansive in Asia at least a millennium and a half before the first Western missionary arrived there. In like manner, there are Christian communities in Africa that can claim a continuous history from the first or second centuries of the Christian era. It was only around 1500 that circumstances led to Christianity becoming intrinsically intertwined in the fabric of European civilization.

world," concluding that, "including our Brethren, the Saxons of Germany, and our honored cousins of Scandinavian blood, almost the whole evangelist work in the heathen lands is in the hands of the races derived from the great Saxon stock."[2] Africa, Asia, and Latin America were seen only as reminders of the difficult missionary task before them.

This reality became even more evident during the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, which is considered in missiological circles to be one of the most important events in the history of the missionary movement.[3] Out of the 1,215 officials attending the meeting, 500 came from England, 500 from the United States, 170 from continental Europe, and twenty-six from the "colonies"—white representatives of Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Only nineteen came from Asia, and they were converts of the missionary movement who were invited to represent the so-called "young churches" of the continent.[4] No native African was invited to Edinburgh, and no one seemed to notice that Latin America was also silently ignored.[5]

In contrast, the Third Lausanne Congress on World Evangelization, held in 2010 in Cape Town, South Africa, exposed a major shift in Christian membership. One hundred years after the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, now most

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[2] James Johnston, *Report of the Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World, held in Exeter Hall (June 9th-19th), London, 1888* (London: Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World, 1888), xv, xvi.

[3] David A. Kerr and Kenneth R. Ross, eds., *Edinburgh 2010: Mission Then and Now* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2010), 3–22, 307–17; Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 5–17; Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process*, 55–71.

[4] Stanley, *Edinburgh 1910*, 91.

[5] Ibid., 99; Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process*, 55–71.

participants came from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Out of the 4,000 delegates, 400 came from the United States, fifty from Canada, and eighty from the United Kingdom.[6]

Indeed, the last years of the nineteenth century marked the beginning of a new pattern in Christian demographics. The editors of the report produced for the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference stated that as early as 1882, churches in Africa and Asia were growing at a faster rate than churches in the countries from which the missionaries were coming.[7]

James S. Dennis produced a landmark work in 1902 that offers the fullest body of statistical data on missions that had hitherto been collected. He observes that in 1891, only nine Presbyterian churches in the entire United States were growing at the same rate as the Presbytery of Shantung in northern China. In like manner, not even one American Presbyterian church could come anywhere near the rate of growth of the Presbytery of Laos, which was in remarkably disfavored condition "away off in the depths of Asian heathenism."[8]

The arrival of the twentieth century strengthened this phenomenon. In the following decades, this trend was confirmed, and currently, it has been referred to as the

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[6] Tim Stafford, "Teeming Diversity: The Third Lausanne Congress Demonstrated That Global Evangelicalism Has Been Transformed," *Christianity Today,* December 2010, 35; Kerr and Ross, *Edinburgh 2010,* 307–17.

[7] Dennis, Breach, and Fahs, *World Atlas of Christian Missions,* 81–102.

[8] James S. Dennis, *Foreign Missions after a Century* (Edinburgh, Scotland: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1894), 44–45; see also James S. Dennis, *Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions: A Statistical Study of Foreign Missions*, 3 vols. (New York: Revell, 1897-1906), cf. Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process*, 50.

rise of the Global South,[9] changing tides,[10] or the next Christendom[11]—the shift in Christianity from the United States and Europe to Africa, Asia, and Latin America, where the majority of Christians now live.[12]

Kim points out that "while the nation-state model of Christianity, such as Lutheran, Anglican and Dutch reformed, have weakened in the West, African indigenous churches, South American grassroots churches, China's underground churches, house churches in India, and Indonesian independent churches are growing rapidly."[13] In total there are approximately 757 million Christians in Europe and in the United States, but almost double that in Africa, Latin, Asia, and Latin America, where over 1.5 billion people profess to be Christians.[14]

Throughout the twentieth century, the Catholic Church experienced most of its growth outside the European continent, and currently, there are 200 million more Christians in Latin America than in Europe. Table 2 presents the progression in Catholic membership on the two continents from 1900 to 2000.[15]

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[9] Kim, *Rise of the Global South.*

[10] Scobar, *Changing Tides.*

[11] Jenkins, *Next Christendom.*

[12] Hackett and Grim, *Global Christianity,* 71–78.

[13] Kim, *Rise of the Global South*, xxiv.

[14] Jenkins, *Next Christendom*, 2.

[15] Matthew Ericson, Sergio Peçanha, Shreeya Sinha, and Timothy Wallace, "The Catholic Church Shifted Southward Over the Past Century," *New York Times*, March 13, 2013, accessed May 3, 2017, http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2013/02/11/world/europe/the-catholic-church-shifted-southward-over-the-past-century.html.

Table 2. Catholic Church Membership by Continent, 1900 and 2000

Continent	Catholic Membership in 1900	Catholic Membership in 2000
Latin America	59 million	483 million
Europe	181 million	277 million
Asia	11 million	137 million
Africa	2 million	177 million
North America	13 million	85 million
Oceania	1 million	9 million

It is recognized that by choosing Francis, the first Latin-American pope, the cardinals sent a clear message signaling their understanding that the future of Christianity is in the Global South.[16] One could see these numbers as an indication of Christianity's failure in the Western countries of the world.[17] On the other hand, it is also possible to interpret the data as a success story for American and European Christians, considering that the very presence of Christianity in the Global South is a direct result of their missionary efforts.

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[16] *Global North* is a term used to describe the richest northern regions of the world, which include North America, Western Europe, and developed parts of East Asia such as Japan, China, and South Korea. On the other hand, the term *global South* is used to describe the developing countries of the world, most of which are found in Africa, Latin America, and developing Asia, including the Middle East. About global South Christianity, see Christopher R. Mwashinga, "Global South Christianity and Adventism: Trends and Implications," *Andrews University Seminary Student Journal* 2, no. 1 (2016): 33–51.

[17] Gianni Vattimo, *After Christianity*, trans. Luca D'Isanto (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 69–92.

Scholars agree that there are five main aspects associated with this shift: (1) membership, (2) indigenization, (3) theology, (4) resources, and (5) mission.[18] First, it is important to observe that the remarkable Christian membership increase in the Global South goes hand in hand with the fact that many converts are new to the Christian faith. Moreover, in many cases their conversion does not reach the worldview level.[19] Consequently, it is not uncommon to find Christians practicing their new faith while maintaining beliefs, practices, and presuppositions associated with their old primal religions, a situation that leads to dual allegiance.[20]

Additionally, there has been a strong proliferation of new independent denominations, often highly charismatic.[21] Hiebert's insights on human behavior are helpful to understand this phenomenon. He explains that conversion involves the cognitive (beliefs), affective (feelings), and evaluative (norms) dimensions of human

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[18] Samuel Scobar, *The New Global Mission: The Gospel from Everywhere to Everyone* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 7–28, 128–41, 155–70; Scobar, *Changing Tides*, 153–77; Jenkins, *Next Christendom*, 93–220; David J. Hesselgrave, *Today's Choices for Tomorrow's Mission: An Evangelical Perspective on Trends and Issues in Mission* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988), 183–98; Lamin Sanneh, *Whose Religion Is Christianity: The Gospel Beyond the West* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 14–104; D. Preman Niles, *From East to West: Rethinking Christian Mission* (St. Louis, MO: Chalice Press, 2004), 65–156; G. T. Ng, "Seventh-day Adventist Mission: The Shifting Landscape," *Journal of Adventist Mission Studies* 8, no. 1 (2012): 36–50; Noel Davies and Martin Conway, *World Christianity in the 20th Century* (London: SCM Press, 2008), 7–22; Stan Guthrie, *Missions in the Third Millennium: 21 Key Trends for the 21st Century* (Harrisonburg, VA: RR Donnelley and Sons, 2000), 90–111.

[19] For a full analysis of concept of worldview and its missiological implications, see Hiebert, *Transforming Worldviews*, 13–334.

[20] Paul G. Hiebert, R. Daniel Shaw, and Tite Tiénou, *Understanding Folk Religion: A Christian Response to Popular Beliefs and Practices (*Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1999), 15–30; Hiebert, *Anthropological Reflexions,* 73–92. For a response to this challenge, see Bruce L. Bauer, "A Response to Dual Allegiance," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (2008): 340–47.

[21] The breathtaking growth of Pentecostal churches in Africa and Latin America has been well documented in mission literature. Rio de Janeiro, for example, has some forty new Pentecostal churches opening every week. Jenkins, *Next Christendom,* 81.

life.[22] Traditional Protestant churches inherited the reformers' emphasis on the importance of defending truth against heresy, thus focusing on the cognitive dimension. On the other hand, Pentecostal and charismatic movements have been reminding us that it is not enough to have a "full head." It is also necessary to have a "full heart." By appealing to the affective dimension of the lives of people who often live in less than acceptable conditions, Pentecostals and Charismatics have been successful in accessing their feelings, which provide the initial impulse for conversion.

Within Adventism, notwithstanding the areas for improvement mentioned above, a profound shift in membership has also taken place. In 1915, the Adventist Church's membership was 136,879, and 56 percent of believers lived in the North American Division. In 2016, there are 19,126,447 members in the denomination, and approximately 92 percent of them live in the Global South.[23]

Second, Global South Christians have, to some degree, experienced indigenization.[24] It is widely accepted that the Protestant missionary awakening of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was in great measure responsible for the spread of

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[22] Hiebert, *Gospel in Human Contexts,* 158.

[23] Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research, *Annual Statistical Report* 1915, 4; Id., *Annual Statistical Report* 2016, 48; Silvano Barbosa, "A bola da vez: Mudança de paradigma no Adventismo da America do Sul," *Foco na Pessoa* 2, no. 1 (2013): 26; Andrew McChesney, "Adventist Church Tops 19 Million Members," *Adventist Review*, April 4, 2016, 1.

[24] The term *indigenous* comes from biology and indicates a plant or animal native to an area. It was used beginning in the mid-1800s in Protestant mission circles to express the idea that a church must be local within its own context. In a broader sense, "indigenization is a term describing the translatability of the universal Christian faith into the forms and symbols of particular cultures of the world." Harvie M. Conn, "Indigenization," in *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*, ed. Scott Moreau (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2000), 481–83; Harvie M. Conn, *Eternal Word and Changing Worlds: Theology, Anthropology, and Mission in Trialogue* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1984), 1–372; Michael Pocock, Gailyn Van Rheenen, and Douglas McConnell, *The Changing Face of World Missions: Engaging Contemporary Issues and Trends* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), 327–29.

Protestantism in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Self-denying Western missionaries went to the furthest corners of the world, propelled by a steadfast commitment to spread the gospel. They used the information and resources available at the time, aiming to offer the best service possible. Nevertheless, for a long time missionaries showed little concern for planting churches that would avoid replicating Western patterns and that would fit naturally into their environment.

It was only in the mid-nineteenth century that the concept of indigenous churches[25] began to be emphasized in missiological circles, when Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson used the term to promote the necessity of planting self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating churches.[26] With the passing of time, it has become more and more evident that their efforts bore fruit, although the full accomplishment of their missionary ideal would be better described as a work in progress than a finished task.

Churches, agencies, and denominations in the United States and Europe continue to send missionaries to the Global South. However, the number of missionaries being sent to take over leadership positions is falling. Within Adventism, for example, it has been over forty years since a missionary served as the president of the South American

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[25] See John Mark Terry, "Indigenous Churches," in *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*, ed. Scott Moreau (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2000), 483–85.

[26] Henry Venn (1796–1873) is recognized as one of the foremost Protestant missions strategists of the nineteenth century, and served as honorary secretary of the Church Missionary Society from 1841 to 1873. Rufus Anderson (1796–1880) worked at the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) from 1822 until 1866, but continued on the ABCFM Prudential Committee until 1875. About their life, work, and missiological influence, see Rufus Anderson, *Foreign Missions: Their Relations and Claims* (New York: Scribner, 1869), 48–49; R. Pierce Beaver, "The Legacy of Rufus Anderson," *International Bulletin of Mission Research* 3, no. 3 (1979): 94–98; Wilbert R. Shenk, "The Contribution of Henry Venn to Mission Thought," *Anvil* 2, no. 1 (1985): 25–42; R. Pierce Beaver, ed., *Pioneers in Mission* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1966), 22; Id., ed., *To Advance the Gospel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1967), 73–88.

Division, and over thirty years since a missionary served in any position at the division level.[27] In this division there are currently sixteen unions, eighty-one missions and conferences, seventeen tertiary educational institutions, fourteen health institutions, three publishing houses, two food industries, and two media centers, but none of the hundreds of administrative positions in all these institutions is occupied by a missionary.[28]

Over the past twenty years, the South American Division Youth Department has recorded a CD containing at least ten new songs every single year. More recently, those CDs have also received a DVD version. Hundreds of thousands of copies have been spread throughout the division territory, and the songs are sung on a weekly basis at home and in church. These materials have become an important indigenization element, since local musicians and composers have been able to express their spirituality, fears, hopes, and expectations in a way that is familiar to the believers, providing an alternative to the European-flavored hymnal translation that was previously the only option.

Moreover, while I am writing this page, the South American Division committee is celebrating the tenth anniversary of the missionary project Hope Impact, through which over 122 million books have been distributed in the division territory. See the numbers in Table 3.[29]

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[27] General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook 1975* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1975), 227; General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook 1985* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1975), 293.

[28] General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Seventh-day Adventist Yearbook 2015* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 2015), 265–318; Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research, *Annual Statistical Report* (Silver Spring, MD: Office of Archives, Statistics and Research, 2016), 8, 74, 79, 83, 84; Gretel Fontana, South American Division Secretariat, personal communication, June 20, 2017.

[29] Danillo Cornieri, costs analyst, Casa Publicadora Brasileira (Brazil Publishing House), personal communication, May 10, 2017.

Table 3. Books Distributed through Hope Impact

Title	Author	Year	Pages	Number of Copies
Em Busca De Esperança	Ellen G. White	2017	80	16,432,000
Esperança Viva	Ivan Saraiva	2016	96	15,056,000
Viva Com Esperança	Mark Finley / Peter Landless	2015	112	16,973,500
A Única Esperança	Alejandro Bullon	2014	112	16,788,000
A Grande Esperança	Ellen G. White	2013-2012	112	34,200,000
Ainda Existe Esperança	Enrique Chaij	2011	112	8,528,000
Tempo De Esperança	Mark Finley / Peter Landless	2010	112	7,465,000
Sinais De Esperança	Alejandro Bullon	2009	112	4,000,000
Esperança Para Viver	Ellen G. White	2008	112	1,215,000
Os Dez Mandamentos	Loron T. Wade	2007	96	2,142,000

The indigenization aspect of this lies in the fact that, instead of relying solely on translations for content, local writers wrote four of the ten published books. Indigenization is also taking place in many other parts of the Global South. Between 2013 and 2016, I had the opportunity to spend over 120 days visiting Seventh-day Adventist churches and institutions, as well as interacting with church members and leaders, in countries such as India, China, Mongolia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, and Brazil.

In India, officials at the division, union, and conference levels, living in places as different as Mumbai, Madurai, Delhi, and Jaipur, unanimously affirmed their understanding that missionaries will continue to be welcomed, but local leaders are better equipped to take on administrative positions.[30] Paradoxically, when questioned about

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[30] I conversed with church officials in the following places: (1) Ministerial Secretary of the Southern Asia Division, Central Mumbai Seventh-day Adventist Church in Mumbai, May 31, 2014; (2) President of the South Tamil Conference, conference headquarters in Madurai, June 3, 2014;

their replication of the Western liturgy, a local church leader in Delhi answered that the

reason behind it was to avoid any resemblance to Hindu culture.[31]

In Singapore, I questioned a local church leader about what it would take for me

to succeed as a missionary serving among them, if that was the case. He told me:

> First, you do not come to tell us what to do. You come to participate on what we are doing. Second, you do not come to spend a few months and go home. You come to stay at least one term, two terms. And third, when you are cooking our food in your home, in a way that we like it, then you will be ready to succeed in your work among us.[32]

It became evident to me that there is a tension between the "already" and "not

yet" aspects of the ongoing indigenization process that has been taking place in the

Global South. On the one hand, members and church leaders feel prepared and ready to

define the course they believe to be right for their church. In like manner, they indicate

knowledge of the best methodologies to evangelize their countrymen and engage in

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(3) President of the Northern India Union of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, union headquarters in New Delhi, June 8, 2014; and (4) President of the Madhya Bharat Section of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, Seventh-day Adventist Church of Jaipur, June 14, 2014.

[31] Conversation on June 7, 2014, at the Seventh-day Adventist English Church, New Delhi. There is little differentiation between culture and religion in the native Indian mind. For this reason, this local church leader believed that in order to show their renunciation of the Hindu religion, they would also have to remove all symbols of their culture, even those that foreigners would interpret as having no religious connotation. His affirmation indicates that there is room for a critical contextualization process in that community. However, local leaders indicate distrust and lack of information about the benefits of doing an exegesis of their culture in order to find out which aspects of it would conform to Biblical principles, and therefore, could be adopted in order to become more familiar and attractive to the native people. On May 31, 2014, at the Central Mumbai Seventh-day Adventist Church, I asked the Ministerial Secretary of the Southern Asia Division if there was more space for contextualization in that church, which had similar characteristics. He answered, "Yes, but not much." For an analysis of the development of the concept of indigenization and a comparison between indigenization and contextualization, see Moreau, *Contextualization in World Missions,* 123–26; Simon S. M. Kwan, "From Indigenization to Contextualization: A Change in Discursive Practice rather than a Shift in Paradigm," *Studies in World Christianity* 11, no. 2 (2008): 236–50.

[32] Conversation with a group of church leaders composed of three men and one woman, July 5, 2014, Seventh-day Adventist Community Church in Singapore.

mission to other cultures. On the other hand, in spite of the economic prosperity in many

countries of the Global South, many churches and institutions still face extreme financial

hardships and continue to depend on external support to implement actions that will

promote expansion and growth. Moreover, there seems to be space for the development

of a more in-depth contextualization process in many areas.

Third, Global South Christians have been increasingly developing their own

theologies. Currently, it is not uncommon to hear of Latin American theology,[33] African

theology,[34] and Indian theology.[35] Global South theologians have struggled with

questions regarding how the gospel relates to their cultural traditions and have sought

answers to basic questions asked by the common people. The current heated debate on

women's ordination within Adventist circles in the United States, for example, is of little

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[33] More commonly known as liberation theology, the religious movement gained notoriety in late twentieth-century Roman Catholicism and was centered in Latin America. It sought to apply religious faith by aiding the poor and oppressed through involvement in political and civic affairs, attacking the "sinful" socioeconomic structures that caused social inequities and promoting active participation in changing those structures. See Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* trans. Myra Bergman Ramos (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 43–188; Orlando Costas, *The Integrity of Mission* (San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row, 1979), 1–114; Timothy Yates, *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 163–92.

[34] African Christian theology emerged as a formal branch of study in the Catholic Church in the mid-twentieth century when several African priests trained in Rome and various European universities began to approach the faith as "African Christians," not merely the "consumers" of a Eurocentric understanding of the Christian faith. African theology scholars have largely coalesced around the theme of inculturation and gone on to probe, interrogate, and dialogue with realities both in and outside the African churches with regard to morality, worship, dogma, scripture, pastoral activities, evangelization, interreligious dialogue, etc. See Kwame Bediako, *Theology and Identity: The Impact of Culture Upon Christian Thought in the Second Century and in Modern Africa* (Cumbria, UK: Regnum Books, 1999), 348–49; Emmanuel Martey, *African Theology: Inculturation and Liberation* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2009), 1–148; Gwinyai H. Muzorewa, *The Origins and Development of African Theology* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2000), 5–114.

[35] Indian theology has been described as the attempt to reformulate biblical theology in Indian categories of thought, in a manner relevant to the Indian context. K. C. Abraham, *Transforming Vision: Theological-Methodological Paradigm Shifts* (Tiruvalla, India: Christava Sahitya Samithi, 2006), 11–49; Kuncheria Pathil, *Trends in Indian Theology* (Ann Arbor, MI: Asian Trading Corporation, 2005), 1–177.

concern to African or Indian Seventh-day Adventists, who rather want to know what the Bible has to say about ancestors and polygamy or the caste system and meditation as a way to salvation.

Hiebert explains that self-theologizing[36] does not necessarily lead to theological pluralism or relativism, pointing out that there is a distinction between the Bible and theology. The Bible is a historical document of God's revelation, whereas theology is the systematic and historical explication of the truths of the Bible. Theologies are influenced by culture, since human beings are shaped by their particular historical and cultural contexts—by the language they use and the questions they ask.[37] Therefore, all human theologies, those produced in the West as well as in the Global South, must be based on careful exegesis of the Bible, detailed exegesis of the local culture, and accurate hermeneutics, so that God's message is made relevant for the cultural environments of today.[38]

Walls points out that, in practical terms, however, with the proportion of Europeans and Americans in the Christian body declining year by year, it is the cultural contexts and worldviews of Africa and Asia and the rest of the non-Western world that are beginning to remake Christian living and thinking.[39] Again, he states:

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[36] In 1985 Paul Hiebert coined the term *self-theologizing* to express the necessity for indigenous communities to develop theologies that are biblically accurate but follow vernacular thought patterns as well as language. Self-theologizing is now widely accepted among evangelicals as an appropriate addition to the three-self formula: self-propagation, self-support, and self-governance. See Paul Hiebert, *Anthropological Insights for Missionaries* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1985), 193–224.

[37] Ibid., 197–98.

[38] Ibid., 202.

[39] Walls, *Cross-Cultural Process*, 50.

Africa has quietly slipped into the place once occupied by Europe; and the third Christian millennium begins with the likelihood that the West will matter less and less in Christian affairs as the faith becomes more and more associated with, and more and more marked by, the thought and life of Africa and Latin America and Asia.[40]

The reality described above within Adventism was evidenced during the General Conference Session of 2015 in San Antonio. In spite of the repeated arguments in favor of women's ordination, most of them espoused by Western representatives of the church, the absolute majority of those voting for a final decision was composed of Global South delegates, who rejected the proposal.

In a 2017 article, respected Adventist historian George Knight suggests that the result of that voting process was an indication that the General Conference should not adopt democratic procedures when making decisions involving delegates from Global South countries, which do not have a strong democratic tradition, implying that the delegates were not able to think for themselves and were just following the directions of their leaders. I believe another factor was that the delegates simply voted in line with their cultural patterns and worldviews.[41]

Fourth, in spite of the consistent Global South membership growth, Christian churches in many countries of the developing world still face profound economic challenges. The United States and Europe continue to finance the absolute majority of the

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[40] Ibid., 65.

[41] See George R. Knight, "The Role of Union Conferences in Relation to Higher Authorities," *Spectrum Magazine*, October 7, 2016, 10.

mission work currently being done,[42] as well as to invest substantial amounts of resources to further the development and expansion of existing churches.[43]

This fact is clearly evidenced within the Seventh-day Adventist Church. General Conference Secretary G. T. Ng points out that the North American Division, the major component of the Global North, remains the backbone of funding for the church's world budget. The tithes of the Global North increased from $54.4 million in 1960 to $1.15 billion in 2010, and that $54.4 million in 1960 was equivalent to approximately $875 million in 2010. In real terms, the Global North increased its giving 131 percent. The $1.15 billion it gave in 2010 represented 56.5 percent of the total tithe income of the world church. In other words, 8.5 percent of membership in the North contributed 56.5 percent of world tithes.[44]

On the other hand, the funds collected in Global South divisions of the church have been increasing consistently, and currently, the tithes originated in the Global South are almost equal to those from Western countries.[45] Latin America figures as the second largest contributor. The 2016 statistical report of the General Conference shows that the North American Division donated 39 percent and Latin America donated 38 percent of

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[42] Council on Foreign Relations, *Faith and Conflict*, 6.

[43] Ibid., 4.

[44] Ng, "Seventh-day Adventist Mission," 6.

[45] In his 2007 article, General Conference Secretary Ng compared the giving patterns of the Global North and Global South from 1960 to 2007 and projected that the donations of the Global South would surpass those of the Global North in 2016. In 2017, the contributions of the United States and Canada, Europe, and Australia equal approximately 52 percent of the total amount collected by the church, while Latin America, Africa, and Asia contributed 48 percent. Ng, "Seventh-day Adventist Mission," 10–11; Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research, *Annual Statistical Report* 2016, 48.

the total tithes collected within the denomination.[46] Among the three divisions with the highest amounts collected in tithes over the past five years, the South American Division has kept the highest growth rate. While the growth percentage for the North American Division was 8.74 percent, the Inter-American Division grew 18.36 percent, and the South American Division grew 50.20 percent. See the numbers in Table 4 below.[47]

Table 4. Adventist Church Tithes Collected by Division

Division	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010
North American Division	965,591,087	948,724,511	932,651,084	923,139,205	887,976,937
South American Division	611,825,174	556,546,373	528,914,791	511,548,033	407,333,740
Inter-American Division	244,994,299	244,375,348	230,339,654	222,360,237	206,987,023

Moreover, the numbers are even more impressive if the last ten years are considered. In 2006, the South American Division surpassed the Inter-American Division in amount of tithes collected to become the second greatest contributor to the church's world budget. It is interesting to notice that between 2006 and 2016, while the North American Division increased its tithes collected by 12 percent, from US$861,581,967 to US$965,591,087, and the Inter-American Division increased 47 percent, from

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[46] Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research, *Annual Statistical Report* 2016, 48.

[47] Ibid.; Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research, *Annual Statistical Report* 2015, 65; Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research, *Annual Statistical Report,* 2014, 61; Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research, *Annual Statistical Report* 2013, 61; Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research, *Annual Statistical Report* 2012, 43; Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research, *Annual Statistical Report* 2011, 39.

US\$166,408,114 to US\$244,994,299, the South American Division increased 223

percent, from US\$189,314,278 to US\$611,825,174. [48]

Fifth, Christians in the Global South are passionately enthusiastic about mission.

There are a growing number of Global South missionaries serving in many different

countries of the world. The penetrating research of Barrett, Johnson, and Crossing[49]

shows that the old-fashioned jargon referring to mission as an activity performed "from

the West to the rest" is an outdated reminder of the colonial era.

In fact, the surprising numbers listed in Table 5 show that there are currently more

missionaries being sent from Brazil than from Britain and Canada. Even though the

United States and Europe remain unmatched as Christian missionary powerhouses, it is

remarkable that there are more than 35,000 missionaries serving in the United States and

over 56,000 missionaries serving in Britain, Germany, France, and Italy. The recent

missionary word-of-order, "from everywhere to everywhere," offers a better description

of the reality, as Table 5 shows.[50]

This trend is also apparent in Adventism. G. T. Ng's research on the topic[51]

confirms that in 1960, the church sent out 490 long-term missionaries, and the

overwhelming majority, 443 or 90 percent of them, originated from Global North

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[48] Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research, *Annual Statistical Report* 2006, 39; Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research, *Annual Statistical Report* 2016, 48.

[49] David Barrett, Todd Johnson, and Peter Crossing, "Missionmetrics 2007," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 31, no. 1 (2007): 25–32.

[50] Ibid., 25–32.

[51] Ng, "Seventh-day Adventist Mission," 6.

Table 5. Missionaries Sent and Serving by Country

Country	Missionaries Serving Abroad	Foreign Missionaries Serving in the Country
Argentina	1,900	12,700
Australia	5,800	4,600
Austria	2,600	1,600
Belgium	10,800	1,312
Bolivia	3,000	4,400
Brazil	21,100	26,400
Britain	19,500	15,800
Canada	17,400	8,400
China	5,300	4,200
Colombia	3,700	7,400
France	32,200	16,900
Germany	28,000	10,600
India	7,400	8,400
Italy	33,300	12,700
Malta	1,100	30
Mexico	4,800	8,400
Philippines	2,100	10,000
South Korea	15,800	3,000
USA	115,700	35,100

countries.[52] In 2010, the Global North's share of world missionaries dropped to 54

percent, and 46 percent of all missionaries serving outside their divisions came from

Global South countries (Southern Asia-Pacific Division, South American Division, and

Inter-American Division).[53]

The five points presented on the previous pages suggest that Christianity in

general and the Seventh-day Adventist Church in particular have achieved organizational

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[52] Out of the 490 missionaries, 303 came from the North American Division, 53 from the Northern European Division, 50 from the Australasia Division, and 37 from the Southern European Division. Ng, "Seventh-day Adventist Mission," 10.

[53] The North American Division sent 33%, the Trans-European Division 7%, the Euro-Africa Division 7%, and 5% from the South Pacific Division. Ibid., 11.

and financial maturity in many areas of the developing world. For this reason, Global

South Christians have been expressing a growing confidence in their call to partner with

Western churches and institutions in the evangelization of the world.[54] Perhaps the fact

that best exemplifies this collective feeling is the growing number of mission

organizations in operation in the Global South.

The Indian Mission Association is connecting almost 200 national agencies, and

the Congresso Missionero Iberoamericano in Latin America is connecting 26 different

countries in a mission movement.[55] In Brazil alone, there are currently over one hundred

mission agencies recruiting, training, and sending short-term and long-term

missionaries.[56]

In Africa, a similar number of mission-sending organizations are operating

simultaneously within the continent and around the world.[57] The Nigeria Evangelical

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[54] Mission agency Operation Mobilization (OM) states that over the last ten years, around 100 students have been trained by OM Mozambique. According to the organization, this process has been taking place all over the world, in countries such as Panama, Brazil, Bangladesh, South Africa, Russia, Moldova, Papua New Guinea, and especially India. Operation Mobilization, *Emerging Mission Movements* (Oswestry: OM UK National Office, 2015), 2. About partnership in mission, see Samuel Cueva, *Mission Partnership in Creative Tension: An Analysis of Relationships within the Evangelical Missions Movement with Special Reference to Peru and Britain from 1987-2006* (Cumbria, UK: Langham Monographs, 2015), 17–426; William D. Taylor, ed., *Kingdom Partnerships for Synergy in Missions* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1994), 9–242; Guthrie, *Missions in the Third Millennium*, 93–100.

[55] David D. Ruiz, ed., "The Two Thirds World Church," paper presented at the 2004 Forum for World Evangelization in Pattaya, Thailand, September 29 to October 5, 2004, published by the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, 9; see also Scobar, *Changing Tides*, 153–77.

[56] These organizations include http://vocacionados.org.br/site/organizacoes-missionarias/; https://dicas.gospelmais.com.br/conheca-45-organizacoes-missionarias-do-brasil.html; http://achediscipulos.blogspot.com/2010/01/estou-postando-aqui-uma-lista-mais-ou.html; http://perspectivasbrasil.com/agencias-de-apoio-e-especializadas/; http://cadernoalfa.blogspot .com/2009/09/lista-de-missoes-e-agencias.html.

[57] The Church of Pentecost, originating in Ghana in 1962, today has a growing student movement and association of young professionals (Pensa ITI). It is reported to have established 2,681 international missions out of its 18,426 church congregations (called assemblies) by mid-2015. This is a contemporary example of African churches in mission to the rest of the world, and the story can be multiplied for many

Mission Association (NEMA), founded in 1982, is made up of ninety missionary agencies and denominations and has more than 3,800 missionaries in thirty-eight countries. Although many of those agencies started operating in African countries as branches of Western mission organizations, they have become channels through which African missionaries have been able to serve in other cultures.[58]

In like manner, Asia has become fertile soil for producing and sending out missionaries. In 2013, several prominent Chinese leaders from unregistered churches met at the Asian Church Leaders' Forum in Seoul and established a goal to reach China's 500 unreached minority groups and send out 20,000 overseas missionaries by 2030.[59] On the other hand, there are at least 500 officially registered South Korean missionaries in China, though this number could be as high as 2,000.[60] The country has close to 22,000 missionaries serving overseas, many of whom are tentmakers.[61]

In the following pages, a few representative mission-sending organizations in Europe, the United States, and Brazil will be briefly analyzed. The goal is to provide

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other denominations across many other African countries. Nana Yaw Offei Awuku, "Engaging an Emerging Generation of Global Mission Leaders: Embracing the Challenge of Partnerships," *Lausanne Global Analysis* 5, no. 6 (2016): 1; see also http://africamissions.org/africa/agencies.html.

[58] For a long time, Africa Inland Mission has been recruiting Americans and Europeans, as well as Asians and South Americans, to serve as missionaries in Africa. More recently, however, the organization has promoted their conviction that African Christians are a crucial part of their labor force and has been mobilizing African Christians who feel called to missions and have the support of their local church. The application process may be started online at https://aimint.org/african-mobilization/.

[59] David Ro, *The Rising Missions Movement in China* (Charlotte, NC: United World Mission, 2016), 1–5.

[60] Christianity Today Editors, "The Rise and Struggle of South Korean Missionaries," *Christianity Today*, March 16, 2017, accessed May 16, 2017, http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2017/march-web-only/rise-and-struggle-of-south-korean-missionaries.html.

[61] Ng, "Seventh-day Adventist Mission," 3.

current examples of successful missionary practices that could fit the organizational

structure and theological presuppositions of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Mission-Sending Organizations in Europe, the United States, and Brazil

Church Mission Society

The CMS was founded in London on April 12, 1799, by a group of Christian

activists who included William Wilberforce, John Venn, John Newton, and Josiah Pratt.

They were committed to three great causes: abolition of the slave trade, social reform at

home, and world evangelization.[62] The society was conceived as a vehicle for mission for

the Church of England. They agreed to be loyal to the leadership of bishops, but not

dominated by clergy, and emphasized the role of lay men and women.

CMS Organizational Structure

Although officially an Anglican institution, CMS is not confined to Anglicanism

in terms of either missionaries they send[63] or partners around the world. Currently, the

CMS maintains missionaries in forty countries across Africa, Asia, South America, the

Middle East, and Europe, who are sent out from Britain and Europe as well as through

their sister societies CMS-Africa and Asia CMS. Local churches have also been able to

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[62] Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Mission Society,* 4 vols. (London: Church Mission Society, 1916), 1:82–83, 4:449; Church Mission Society, *Our History* (Oxford, UK: Church Mission Society, 2016), 1.

[63] In fact, CMS's first missionaries were German Lutherans. Stock, *Church Mission Society,* 1:82–83.

send missionaries in partnership with the CMS. Figure 1 illustrates the strong operational

interdependence among all partner organizations as well as CMS internal structure.

Figure 1. CMS organizational structure.[64]
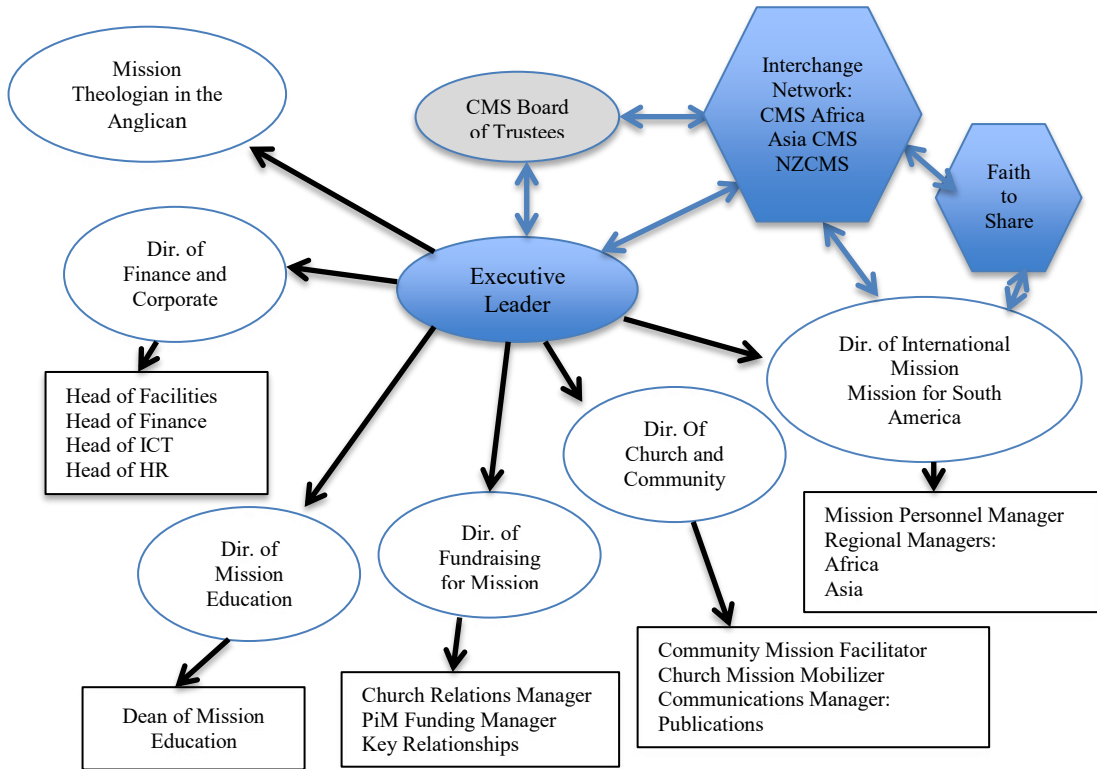
Partnerships

The CMS has been in continuous operation for over 200 years, during which the

world of missions has changed significantly. Throughout those years, the organization

has demonstrated an accurate understanding of missionary challenges and opportunities,

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[64] Church Mission Society, *CMS Organizational Chart 2016* (Oxford, UK: Church Mission Society, 2016), 1.

and greatly contributed to starting trends that would promote change.[65] Currently, CMS operates under the presupposition that mission is no longer a movement from North to South but from everywhere to everywhere, and the conviction that the decisions of our mission work in Africa or Asia should be made in those places and not in the United Kingdom.[66]

Within this context, the establishment of local partnerships became a fundamental aspect of their operational model. For this reason, CMS has created an expanding partnership called Interchange Network. The network is composed of sister organizations—CMS-Africa, Asia CMS, and NZCMS—each enjoying a great level of autonomy in all matters related to mission work in their respective geographical areas. The purpose of this initiative is twofold: (1) to take the DNA of this 218-year-old mother organization into those areas, and (2) to develop indigenous mission movements in Africa, Asia, and Oceania.

Additionally, in 2000, CMS established Faith2Share, an international, multicultural, and evangelical network of mission movements based on five continents, in more than 100 countries.[67] The network aims to strengthen the mission of each member

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[65] Evidence of this fact is seen in the central roles played by leaders of the organization such as William Wilberforce in the abolition of the slave trade; Rufus Anderson in the establishment of self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating churches; and Max Warren in the establishment of partnerships in mission. W. Wilberforce, *A Letter on the Abolition of the Slave Trade: Addressed to the Freeholders and Other Inhabitants of Yorkshire*, 2 vols. (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1807), 1:11–345; Rufus Anderson, *Foreign Missions: Their Relations and Claims* (New York: Scribner, 1869), 48–49; Max Warren*, Partnership: The Study of an Idea* (London: C.M.S. Press, 1956), 1–127.

[66] Phillip Mountstephen, CMS executive leader, oral presentation at Church Mission Society headquarters in Oxford, May 30, 2013.

[67] Faith2Share, *Faith2Share: We Believe Faith Needs to Be Shared* (Oxford, UK: Faith2Share, 2013), 1–5.

by effective sharing of resources for mission such as skilled people, financial resources, prayer support, training, and information. One of the core goals of the organization is "to encourage the establishment of and partner with new and emerging mission movements, especially in the Global South."[68] Currently, Faith2Share has developed a unique role as an advocate for collaboration in mission in both the Global North and the Global South, bringing together over forty mission movements and 5,000 missionaries.

Moreover, in 2007 CMS merged with the South American Missionary Society. Until then the organization had no mission work involvement in South America. This partnership focuses on developing a church planting movement in the continent.

Furthermore, CMS established the CMS Timothy Mission Partner Programme to achieve three main purposes: (1) identify those of outstanding character and faith in nations where the church has not taken root; (2) make sure they are trained and equipped—theologically and practically—in mission, evangelism, church growth, and community transformation; and (3) support them through mentoring, prayer, and making sure their modest living costs are fully met. As a result, CMS has been able to partner with people who are perfectly placed to impact their communities—knowing the language and living alongside those they serve—as well as keeping their cutting edge in mission and continuing to learn how to engage sensitively and effectively in cross-cultural mission.[69] There are currently over forty Timothy Mission Partners serving in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe, and the Middle East.

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[68] Ibid., 2.

[69] Phillip Mountstephen, *CMS Timothy Programme: Raising Up Local People in Mission to Share Jesus and Change Lives* (Oxford, UK: Church Mission Society, 2013), 2.

Church Mission Society has also been increasingly committed to sending people in mission to truly marginalized places, where material and spiritual poverty are real. One example of this vision is their work in Uganda, where 11 million Anglicans currently live, the second largest Anglican community in the world. Church Mission Society has more mission partners in Uganda than anywhere else in Africa, although their intention is to establish a stronger presence in places with greater needs, such as Rwanda, Burundi, Congo, and South Sudan.

Mountstephen explains that this partnership strategy has implications. Perhaps the most important of them is that, as an organization, CMS needs to be not only a sending agency but also a receiving agency, in order that the gifts of the global church will be received back in the United Kingdom, Asia, North Africa, and Oceania.[70] For him, if CMS is creative, ready, and prepared to send as well as to receive missionaries, they will be a blessing to the world and play a role in the re-evangelization of the United Kingdom and Europe.

Missionary Profile

Church Mission Society has long believed that "success will depend upon the kind of men [and women] employed."[71] For this reason, the organization looks for people in tune with their values—pioneering spirits, who are not happy to stay at home but are

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[70] Mountstephen, oral presentation, May 30, 2013.

[71] Henry Venn, *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East* (London: Church Mission Society, 1845), 4.

willing to step out in faith into new contexts and new situations, with a certain toughness

and resilience. Mountstephen points out,

> We want people who are evangelistic, even though they might not be directly
> involved in evangelism; faithful people, who see mission work as a long term calling,
> who will stick to the task that God has called them to. They may go as a teacher's
> trainer, as an agriculturalist, or they may go as a physician, but they all go in the name
> of Jesus.[72]

Selection and Training of Missionaries

Church Mission Society maintains a rigorous selection process for missionaries.

The organization has a team of selectors, most of whom have been missionaries

themselves, who basically assess the candidates according to the values described above.

They "attempt to make sure these people meet that criteria," says Phillip Mountstephen,

executive leader of the organization.[73]

The next step is to discuss what their training needs are. Training will vary

according to the candidate's previous experiences. Sometimes, CMS sends candidates to

be trained by other mission training colleges in England. The candidates might also be

trained in their own institution. The most important aspect of the training process,

however, is to make sure that the training is tailored to fit the particular context in which

missionaries will serve.

Over the past few years, the organization has sent more and more missionary

candidates to a secondary training session that takes place within the culture to which

they are going. This has been made possible by their global interchange network.

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[72] Mountstephen, oral presentation, May 30, 2013.

[73] Mountstephen, oral presentation, May 30, 2013.

Mountstephen says, "If someone is being trained for mission in Asia, it makes much more sense that they be trained in Asia."[74] An essential part of the training process is to ensure missionaries know the importance of taking culture seriously and understand the relationship between the gospel and human culture. Consequently, understanding the principles of cross-cultural mission is a critical aspect of CMS's training process.

Mission Opportunities

Currently, there are more than 300 CMS missionaries giving their time, skills, and love in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe, the Middle East, and the United Kingdom. A contributing factor for this remarkable reach is that CMS offers mission opportunities that can last from a weekend to a lifetime, such as the following:[75]

1. Resource Weekend—It is designed to give missionary candidates the opportunity to explore one of a number of pioneering mission communities in the United Kingdom, for a weekend. The goal is to provide candidates with a taste of what it is like to live crossing boundaries.

2. Encounter Mission Teams—The goal is to inspire missionaries to live out their faith in practical and transforming ways by joining an encounter team. Church Mission Society takes the teams to a variety of countries where the organization maintains people and projects. The initiative takes place in spring and summer and lasts two to four weeks.

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[74] Ibid.

[75] Church Mission Society, *Love the World, Give Yourself: CMS Mission Opportunities from a Weekend to a Lifetime* (Oxford, UK: Church Mission Society, 2013), 1–8.

3. Gap Placements—Provides missionaries with the opportunity to work alongside long-term CMS missionaries in places like Tanzania, Kenya, Argentina, Peru, Chile, Egypt, or the United Kingdom. Areas of service include working with children and youth, teaching English, administration, leading worship, and the list goes on! Projects last four months to one year.

4. Short-Term Mission—Allows missionaries to share their skills—theological, training, medicine, education, and community development—with one of the organization's partner projects in South America, Africa, Europe, the Middle East or Asia, for a period of time that lasts from four months to two years.

5. Long-Term Mission—CMS long-term missionaries work alongside local Christians in more than forty-five countries in a wide range of roles: theological education, community transformation, leadership training, medical practice, agricultural programs, etc. The organization is committed to support long-term missionaries in discerning their calling, find them the best possible situation, and send prayer and financial support. Long-term missionaries are expected to serve from four years to a lifetime.

6. Mission Associates—Mission associates are people who already have a cross-cultural placement set up and want to connect to CMS for friendship, support, and prayer. There is no time limit for this category.

Ways of Action

The Church Mission Society describes itself as a community of people in mission who want the world to know Jesus. Their goal is to raise people to share Jesus and change lives. The organization aims to achieve this goal in six ways:[76]

1. Mission Community—The larger community of mission-minded people within the Anglican Communion.

2. Mission Partners—Cross-cultural missionaries who go to other cultural contexts in the United Kingdom and Europe and all over the world. They work with local churches and local agencies. They may go as teacher trainers, as agriculturalists, or as doctors, but they all go in the name of Jesus.

3. Timothy Mission Partners—Indigenous leaders, sponsored, supported, and developed by the organization to minister in their own communities, in their own context.

4. Interchange Mission Network—CMS sister organizations, CMS-Africa and Asia CMS, which express the principle of mission from everywhere to everywhere. The network includes Faith2Share, which connects over forty mission agencies and 5,000 missionaries in five continents.

5. Pioneer Mission Training—CMS is a training organization, committed to mission education, training people for pioneer service within the British context as well as around the world. There are several ways to participate in the CMS pioneer course and

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[76] Church Mission Society, *Church Mission Society Core Commitments: The Whos, Whats, and Hows of CMS* (Oxford, UK: Church Mission Society, 2013), 1.

a number of qualifications available, including certificate in ministry, foundational degree in ministry, MA, the ordained pioneer ministry pathway, and individual modules.[77]

6. Grants—CMS invests in the birth and development of mission movements across the world.

Funding

The CMS is registered in England and Wales as a charity organization number 1131655.[78] In order to raise the necessary financial resources for its operation, the society maintains a fundraising team and a church relations team, which work together to make sure it will receive the over £200,000 required to meet its obligations each month.[79]

One of the strategies CMS adopts is to offer a wide variety of options and venues for donating. Donors may give a one-time gift or a recurring donation. It is also possible to give to funds designed to accomplish different purposes, such as the people in mission fund and the pioneer fund. For those willing to finance a specific missionary, all current missionaries and projects are listed on CMS's website with a link for direct giving.[80] Church Mission Society leader Phillip Mountstephen points out that "gifts in wills are

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[77] Church Mission Society, *Pioneer Mission: Leadership Training Prospectus* (Oxford, UK: Church Mission Society, 2013), 1–15.

[78] Phillip Mountstephen, *"Asante Sana"—Thank You So Much* (Oxford, UK: Church Mission Society, 2013). 1–8.

[79] Ibid., 8.

[80] Church Mission Society, *Ways to Give* (Oxford, UK: Church Mission Society, 2017), 1.

absolutely vital" for the organization to continue sharing Jesus and changing lives all over the world.[81]

Church Mission Society also seeks to enlarge the organization's fundraising team by encouraging regular people to organize special fundraising events.[82] Support, suggestions, and ideas are offered on the phone or by email. Additionally, CMS suggests that donors transform funerals into fundraising events by asking for donations to CMS in lieu of flowers.[83] Another suggestion for such occasions is to launch a much loved tribute page, where family and friends will find pictures, stories, thoughts, even music related to the deceased person, and will have the chance to honor them by making a contribution to the organization.[84]

Other venues for fundraising initiatives include connecting with trusts and foundations to include CMS as an option for their charitable investment. Additionally, CMS's mission personnel are expected to raise support from their own contacts and churches.

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[81] Phillip Mountstephen, *Gifts in Wills* (Oxford, UK: Church Mission Society, 2017), 1.

[82] See a list of fundraising events ideas at http://www.churchmissionsociety.org/other-fundraising-ideas, accessed June 7, 2017.

[83] The words "in lieu of flowers" in an obituary mean the family is requesting you make a contribution to a charity instead of sending flowers to the family.

[84] Hannah Caroe, *Pay Tribute to a Loved One in a Lasting Way* (Oxford, UK: Church Mission Society, 2017), 1-3.

Mission 21

Mission 21 is the oldest ecumenical mission in Europe.[85] The organization,

originally named Basel Mission Society,[86] was founded in 1815 as a strategic

transnational joint effort to train missionaries for the colonial fields and prospective

territories of the Protestant colonial powers.[87] The Evangelical Missionary Society of

Basel contained members from the Lutheran Church in Württemberg, Germany, and the

Reformed Church of Basel, Switzerland. Its founding president, Reverend Nikolaus von

Brunn, emphasized the non-denominational pietist character of the society,[88] and from

the early years of the organization established a consistent relationship with major

mission societies in Britain, such as the CMS and London Mission Society, as well as

other Dutch societies.[89] The organization has kept its non-denominational vocation since

then, and in 2001 merged with four other closely related missions to become Mission 21.

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[85] Claudia Bandixen, Mission 21 director, personal communication, May 19, 2017; Paul Jenkins, "The Church Mission Society and the Basel Mission: An Early Experiment in Inter-European Cooperation," in Kevin Ward and Brian Stanley, eds., *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799–1999* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 43–65.

[86] Other names adopted by the organization include German Missionary Society, Evangelical Missionary Society, and Basel Mission.

[87] Regina Ganter, *German Missionaries in Australia: Basel Mission Society* (Brisbane: Australian Research Council, 2015), 1–13.

[88] Jon Miller, *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control: Organizational Contradictions in the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, 1828–1917* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 13–18.

[89] The initial policy of the Basel mission was not direct involvement with mission work, but rather to train male students for the established British and Dutch societies. Seth Quartey, *Missionary Practices in the Gold Coast, 1832–1895: Discourse, Gaze and Gender in the Basel Mission in Pre-Colonial West Africa* (Youngstown, NY: Cambria Press, 2007), 26.

Mission 21 Organizational Structure

   In 2015, Mission 21 celebrated the two hundredth anniversary of the Basel

Mission. Currently, Mission 21's board of trustees consists of representatives from the

Basel Mission, the Evangelical Mission in Kwango, and the Moravian Church, which

form the Continental Meeting Europe.[90] However, the highest decision making body of

the mission organization is the Mission 21 synod, which includes representatives from

partner institutions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Mission 21 organizational

structure is illustrated in Figure 2.

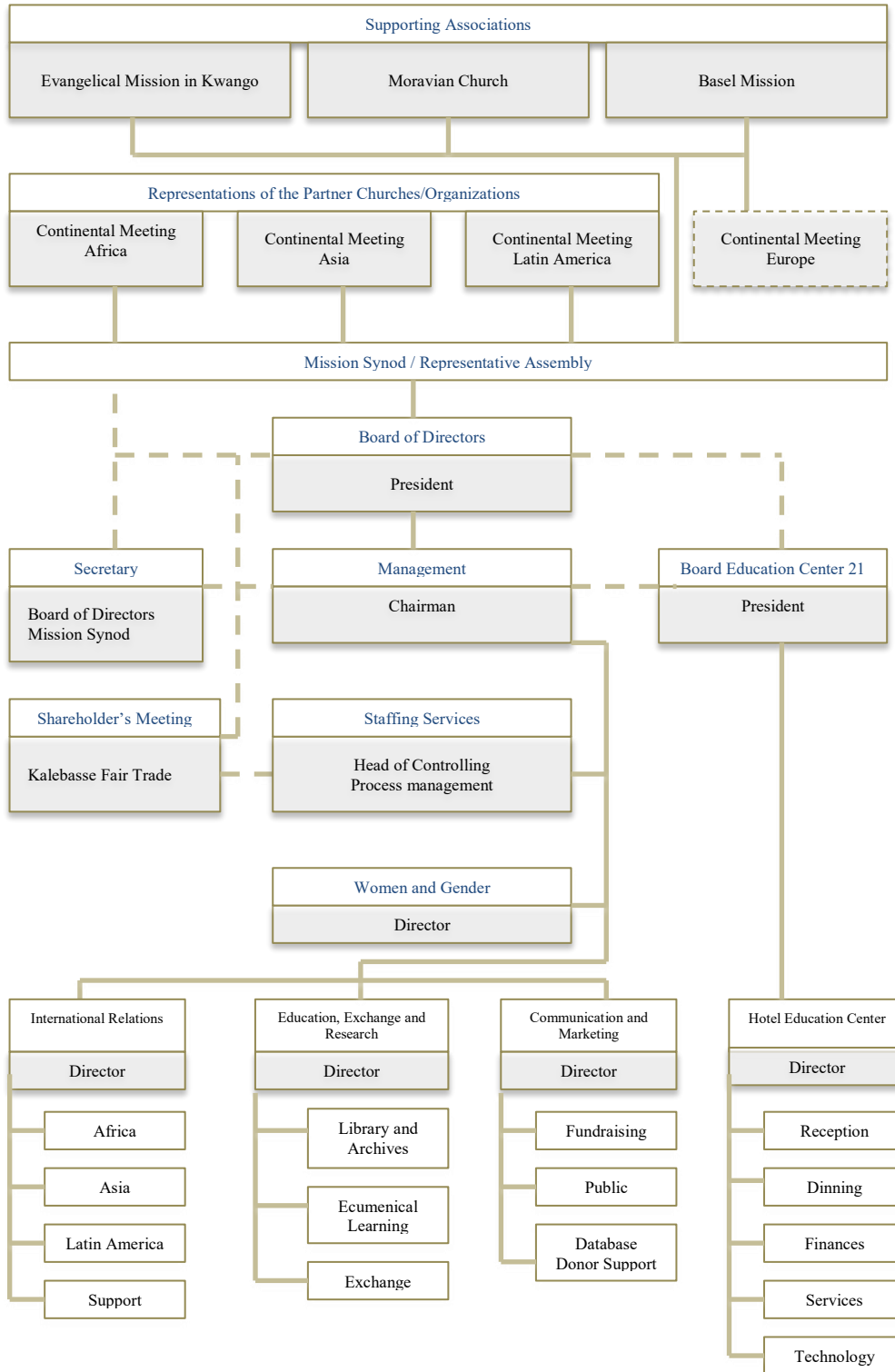   [90] Mission 21, *Portrait of Mission 21* (Basle, Switzerland: Basler Mission21, 2014), 1.

Figure 2. Mission 21 organizational structure.

Partnerships

Mission 21 defines itself as a community of churches and organizations, which connects people from different cultures and countries.[91] The partner churches are actively involved as equals in the forming and organizing of new partnerships and projects.[92] Currently, Mission 21 operates alongside seventy partner churches and organizations in twenty countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.[93]

The International Relations department is responsible for project work and cooperation programs at Mission 21.[94] In practical terms, it coordinates existing projects as well as facilitates the establishment of new partnerships. As a result, Mission 21 and its partners are currently involved in over one hundred projects in areas such as reduction of poverty and rural development, theological training and further education, health care projects and HIV/AIDS prevention, education, building and developing churches and congregations, peace work and inter-religious dialogue, and advancement of women and gender issues.[95]

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[91] Betina Krause, *Leitbild: Wer ist mission 21, was vertritt mission 21, Was tut mission 21* [Mission statement: Who is Mission 21? What is Mission 21? What does Mission 21 do?] (Basel, Switzerland: Mission 21, 2013), 1–16.

[92] Mission 21, *Our Mission* (Basel, Switzerland: Mission 21, 2017), 1.

[93] Dorothea Loosli-Amstutz, *Projekte der Entwicklungszusammenarbeeit der schwizerischen Evangelischen Werke* [Projects of Cooperation and Development of the Swiss Protestant Works] (Bern, Switzerland: Projektdienst der Evangelischen Werke, 2013), 3–47.

[94] Mission 21, *Portrait of Mission 21,* 1.

[95] Mission 21, *Our Main Focus* (Basel, Switzerland: Mission 21, 2017), 1; Mission 21, *Our Mission*, 1; Loosli-Amstutz, *Projekte der Entwicklungszusammenarbeeit der schwizerischen Evangelischen Werke,* 25–33; Claudia Bandixen, *Tatigkeitsbesicht 2012* [Progress Report 2012] (Basel, Switzerland: Mission 21, 2012), 3–31.

Partnership seems to be the concept around which all the Mission 21 initiatives revolve. The Training Exchanges Research department is intended to further and enrich relations within the community of churches and organizations by providing training, organizing meetings and events, sending personnel on trips or short-term assignments, and promoting academic research. Both the international relations and the training exchange research departments center their actions on four key areas: (1) training, (2) peace-building, (3) health, and (4) agriculture and income promotion.[96]

In 2013, I had the opportunity to attend the Mission 21 synod,[97] the highest-level decision-making body of the organization.[98] As I observed the meetings and talked with leaders and members of the society, it became clear to me that Mission 21 indeed relies on participation. The partner churches and organizations working in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Europe express their opinions and concerns and actively participate in the process of accepting new members into the community and establishing new projects.

It is important to note that Mission 21 has been maintaining deep-rooted partnerships over the last two hundred years, and so, the primary focus of the organization is not so much looking for new partners but continuing and strengthening the current partnerships.

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[96] Mission 21, *KirIhre Unterstutzung zahlt: Kirche weltweit, Projekte, die helfe*n [Your support will be paid: Church worldwide, projects that help] (Basel, Switzerland: Mission 21, 2013), 1–8.

[97] Evangelisch-reformierte Kirche des Kantons St. Gallen and Mission 21, *Mission Moves: Missionssynode und Missionsfest 5. Bis 9. Juni 2013 in St. Gallen* [Mission Moves: Mission Synod and Mission Feast: June 5–9 in St. Gallen] (Basel, Switzerland: Mission 21, 2013), 1–8.

[98] The 2013 Mission 21 synod took place on June 5-7, 2013, in the St. Mangen Center, Magnihalden 15, St. Gallen, Switzerland. Mission 21 synod secretary Silke Fehrenbach invited me to the event by mail on April 2, 2013.

Missionary Profile

Missionaries are not called as such and are not assigned to do traditional mission work. They are defined as ecumenical staff, and alongside short-term personnel take as their primary responsibility to enrich the personal and professional exchanges between churches through meetings, training offers, and research work.[99] In other words, ecumenical staffers are not sent to evangelize but to develop the partner organizations by sharing their expertise with them.

For this reason, Mission 21 personnel are not in any way sent to reach the unreached but, instead, to raise their local partners to a higher level of quality in the services they provide to the local communities. Zimmerman points out,

> The ecumenical coworkers are experts who support the work of our partners. When one of our partners defines what they need—let's say they require a specialist for some special medicine thing—we use our network, and also regular media to advertise the position. And so, we are looking for specialists, top professionals, experts in their areas.[100]

Mission 21's focus on improving life conditions for the people living in their partners' communities is based on the belief that spreading the gospel and diaconic action belong together.[101] The organization understands diaconic action include standing up for a life of dignity, for human rights and peace, as well as combating poverty, oppression, and exploitation by peaceful means.

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[99] Mission 21, *Portrait of Mission 21,* 1.

[100] Mark Van Zimmerman, director of the Department of International Relations, oral presentation, Mission 21 synod, June 6, 2013, St. Mangen Center, Magnihalden 15, St. Gallen, Switzerland.

[101] Mission 21, *Portrait of Mission 21,* 1.

Consequently, the organization centers its efforts on attracting and sending to their partner organizations the best professionals possible.[102] This fact was evidenced during Mission 21's synod in St. Gallen on June 6, 2013, when an ecumenical coworker, introduced as one of the best lawyers in Switzerland, addressed the community.

On the other hand, focusing not on message or beliefs but on skills has some missiological implications for the organization. Perhaps the most important is that it is not uncommon for Mission 21 to recruit ecumenical personnel from outside the Christian community, from people who have no ties to Christian beliefs and lifestyle. The natural consequence is that many times Mission 21 sends a dissonant message to the communities where they minister, since their "missionaries" frequently provide excellent services while living in contradiction to the message their local partner churches proclaim. For this reason, in 2013 Mission 21 director Claudia Bandixen stated that one of her goals for her next tenure was increasing the number of Christian missionaries.[103]

Missionary Selection and Training

Considering that Mission 21's ecumenical coworkers are frequently highly qualified professionals in their areas of expertise, training is not a main area of concern for the organization.[104] It generally takes two weeks and is only intended to help ecumenical staff to become acquainted with Mission 21 as well as with the receiving

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[102] Professionals Exposure Program, *Globalisieren Aber Andders:Mit Kurzeinsätzen im süden* [They are globalizing: With short insights from the South] (Basel, Switzerland: Mission 21, 2013), 1–14.

[103] Claudia Bandixen, Mission21 director, oral presentation, Mission 21 synod, June 6, 2013, St. Mangen Center, Magnihalden 15, St. Gallen, Switzerland.

[104] Bandixen points out that in the early years of the organization, missionaries were trained for a period of time that ranged from four to eight years. Ibid.

partner organization. It also provides information on some of the peculiarities of the

country where they will serve. Consequently, during the selection process, Mission 21

looks for professionals who already evidence intercultural competences,[105]

communication skills, and sensitivity to grasp an accurate picture of the situations of the

partner churches.[106]

Funding

The work of Mission 21 is made possible by the financial support of many

churches, individuals, and different institutions. The organization manages a yearly

operational budget of more than eight million Swiss francs,[107] of which 76.1 percent is

invested in projects, 15 percent in administrative expenses, and 8.9 percent in information

work.[108] Mission 21 ecumenical co-workers are fully supported by the organization.

Adventist Frontier Mission

Adventist Frontier Mission (AFM) is an independent ministry that supports the

mission of the Seventh-day Adventist Church by establishing indigenous church-planting

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[105] Professionals Exposure Program, *Profis Sich Interkulturell* Qualifizieren [Professional intercultural qualifications] (Basel, Switzerland: Mission 21, 2013), 1–14.

[106] Van Zimmerman, oral presentation, June 6, 2013.

[107] In 2015, funding came from the following sources: 64.5% donations (churches and other donations); 15.3% funds from the Swiss government for development work; 9.1% Bread for All; 6.1% funds from Germany (German Branch of Basel Mission and Evangelical Mission in Solidarity); 1% income from services; 1% legacy; 0.4% others. Magdalena Zimmerman, Mission 21 Department of Education director, personal communication, June 10, 2017.

[108] Mission 21, *Tätigkeitsbericht 2012* [Progress report 2012] (Basel, Switzerland: Mission 21, 2012), 22–27.

movements among unreached groups.[109] The organization was officially established in

1985, with Clyde Morgan serving as president and executive director. Initially, AFM

focused on areas they believed would more readily respond to the gospel. From 1991 on,

however, the successful missionary work of Brad and Cathie Jolly in the previously

closed country of Mongolia[110] shifted the organization's attention to reaching unreached

groups, often isolated behind barriers of geography, language, and prejudice,[111] who have

no access to the gospel because there is no viable Christian presence among them.[112]

AFM Organizational Structure

Over the past thirty years, AFM has sent more than 178 career missionaries and

408 short-term student missionaries to the front lines of mission work. They have served

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[109] Adventist Frontier Mission, *Our Mission, Our Vision, Our Core Values* (Berrien Springs, MI: Adventist Frontier Mission, 2017), 1–2.

[110] Adventist Frontier Mission, *Our History: A New Chapter* (Berrien Springs, MI: Adventist Frontier Mission, 2017), 1. There is currently a Seventh-day Adventist Mission Conference in Mongolia with six churches, five companies, and 2,177 members. The organization also maintains one school and one institute of language in the country. Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research, *Seventh-Day Adventist Church Yearbook 2016: Mongolian Mission*, http://www.adventistyearbook.org/default.aspx?page=ViewAdmField&Year=9999&admfieldid=MGMF&Section=General#Search, accessed June 5, 2017.

[111] AFM seeks to send missionaries where there is great need for any gospel worker. In some cases, a national worker from elsewhere in the region may be better suited to cross the cultural barriers, but not always. Barriers of tribalism, racism, and prejudice that exist between neighboring groups are often greater than the barriers of language and culture that exist between groups separated by half the globe. After their missionaries have identified a unique worldview approach to evangelizing the local people, they intentionally train nationals within that group to continue the vibrant church-planting movement long after the missionary is gone. Adventist Frontier Mission, *FAQs* (Berrien Springs, MI: Adventist Frontier Mission, 2017), 1.

[112] AFM's interest on reaching the unreached is mostly based on their conviction that these groups will greatly benefit from hearing the gospel. There are 4,075 unreached groups totaling more than 3 billion people. Out of every 1,000 gospel workers worldwide, only fourteen serve among the unreached. Out of every $100 given for Christian ministry worldwide, less than one penny goes to help reach the unreached. Adventist Frontier Mission, "Focus Facts on the Unreached," *Adventist Frontiers*, Special Edition, 2015, 5–6; Adventist Frontier Mission, *Why We Go: The Need* (Berrien Springs, MI: Adventist Frontier Mission, 2017), 1.

forty groups of people in all. Currently, the organization counts ninety-three missionaries, serving twenty-five groups in twenty-one countries in Europe, Africa, Asia, Oceania, and the Middle East.[113] The organizational structure supporting this consistent missionary movement is presented in Figure 3.

Partnerships

Adventist Frontier Missions seeks to work in close cooperation with the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The organization only begins a project after first receiving an invitation from the Adventist Church in a particular part of the world and signing an agreement with them. These agreements list specific areas of cooperation, mutual support, and collaboration in outreach.[114]

A further example of this close partnership is given in item 1.2.6 of AFM's board policy, which states the organization's intention to integrate self-sustaining, self-propagating, and self-supporting churches into the oversight of the local Seventh-day Adventist mission/conference. Adventist Frontier Mission has signed agreements with every world division of the Adventist Church. Additionally, a General Conference representative sits on the organization's board of directors.[115]

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[113] Adventist Frontier Mission, "AFM at a Glance," *Adventist Frontiers*, Special Edition, 2015, 3–4.

[114] Adventist Frontier Mission works exclusively among groups of people where the Seventh-day Adventist Church does not yet have an established congregation of believers. Thus, the organization neither repeats nor competes with what is already being done. This operational principle is made clear in the statement "We are pioneering new mission work and only new work." Adventist Frontier Mission, *FAQs*, 1.

[115] Adventist Frontier Mission, *Partners* (Berrien Springs, MI: Adventist Frontier Mission, 2017), 1.

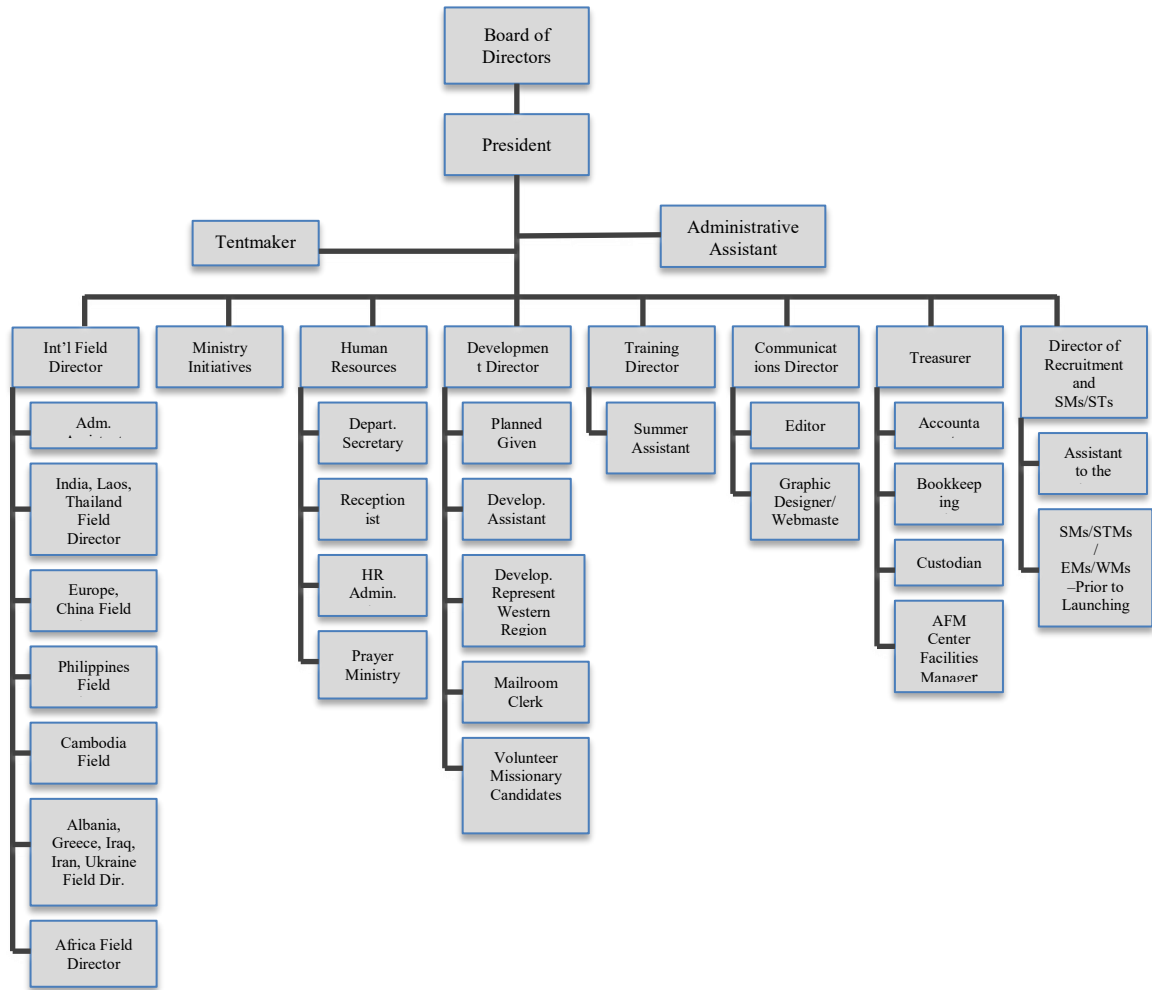Figure 3. AFM organizational structure.

Moreover, AFM maintains sister organizations in Canada, South Africa, and

Brazil, and is currently working toward expanding in Great Britain and Southeast Asia.[116]

Although these sister organizations enjoy limited autonomy in their decision-making

processes, they perform an important role as the sole voice of frontier mission work

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[116] Ibid.

among Adventists in those regions, as well as in opening new fields for the strengthening of the organization's missionary force.

Adventist Frontier Mission has seen the growing mission involvement of Global South Adventism as an opportunity to establish new partnerships. In June 2017 the organization signed a contract with the Inter-American Division to coordinate all aspects related to the training of their missionaries, who will be fully funded and logistically supported by that division.[117]

Finally, AFM has maintained partnerships with other supporting ministries of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, such as Abundant Life[118] in South Africa and Gospel Outreach[119] in India. These partnerships are intended to facilitate AFM's operational work in those areas.

Missionary Selection and Training

During the initial years of operation, AFM missionaries departed to the mission field with little training. However, over the years, AFM's missionary training program expanded and matured. Currently, it is recognized within Adventist circles as one of the best available.

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[117] Adventist Frontier Mission Ministries Initiatives Directors, personal communication, Berrien Springs, MI, June 7, 2017.

[118] Adventist Frontier Missions has partnered with Abundant Life (ABL), a South African mission organization, which equips young people to take the word of God to the streets and into the homes of "every tongue, kindred and nation." Abundant Life supports and helps establish the AFM presence in South Africa and also creates a support team to train and equip missionaries that want to serve the unreached in the world.

[119] AFM has an agreement with Gospel Outreach and the Adventist Church to reach the displaced Tibetans of northern India. Gospel Outreach is dedicated to extending the international ministry of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in what's known as the 10/40 Window of the world. It raises funds for local evangelists in some of the world's poorest countries.

As a cross-cultural church-planting ministry,[120] AFM focuses on preparing

missionaries to make disciples who will continue the work long after the missionary is

gone. For this reason, the organization's training process seeks to develop a wide range of

skills in the prospective missionary, such as fundraising, linguistics, discipling,

anthropology, and leadership development, among others.[121]

Adventist Frontier Mission career missionary training is delivered in three stages.

The first stage, orientation, is a one-week event "designed to help missionary candidates

understand the unique mission of AFM and think carefully about their call and

motivation to become missionaries."[122] During this phase, missionaries learn how to

build a prayer and financial support team.

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[120] AFM's church-planting model has eight phases. First, prepare. In this initial step, missionaries perform activities that include receiving in-depth mission training, building their support team, and raising funds, all within the framework of the development of an intimate relationship with Christ and soul-winning involvement in the missionaries' own community. Second, connect. During this phase missionaries are expected to pray abundantly and focus on meeting local needs as Jesus would, learning the heart language, and studying the culture. Third, introduce. Now, missionaries are encouraged to pray for divine appointments and wait on God to bring them a person of peace who will allow the missionary to introduce the gospel to them and to their network. Fourth, renew. It is during this stage that missionaries help these people to move toward a biblical worldview. The work of the Holy Spirit in transforming people's minds as well as study of and obedience to Scripture are crucial factors during this phase. Fifth, cultivate. The goal of this phase is to create a Christ-centered culture. Sixth, leadership development. That is the time when missionaries seek God's counsel in selecting future leaders. Seventh, expect multiplication. Believers are now organized into multiplying churches. Eighth, transfer. In this final phase, the new movement is entrusted to mature disciples who will perform their ministries under the leadership of the local Seventh-day Adventist mission. Adventist Frontier Mission, "Church-Planting Model," *Adventist Frontiers*, Special Edition, 2015, 42–43.

[121] Adventist Frontier Mission, *Summer Institute of Frontier Missions: Career Missionary Training* (Berrien Springs, MI: Adventist Frontier Mission, 2017), 1–8; Adventist Frontier Mission, *AFM Training Tasks Based on the Needs of the Lost* (Berrien Springs, MI: Adventist Frontier Mission, 2014), 1–4; Adventist Frontier Mission, *SIFM 2017: Career Missionary Training Schedule* (Berrien Springs, MI: Adventist Frontier Mission, 2017), 1.

[122] Adventist Frontier Mission, "AFM Training," *Adventist Frontiers*, Special Edition, 2015, 42–43.

The following step in the training process begins about three months prior to the missionary's departure to the field. It consists of an intense twelve-week program that approaches subjects such as adjustment to cross-cultural living, how to learn languages proficiently, how to complete a thorough study of the target culture, strategic ministry planning in the cultural context, medical ministry, servant leadership and discipleship, marriage and family in missions, writing and photography, spiritual warfare, church planting, and team building.[123]

The final phase of training for career missionaries takes place after the missionary has serving in the field and after completion of their culture study. The objective of these three weeks of training is to help missionaries establish a clear vision for their mission.

Adventist Frontier Mission's short-term missionaries, on the other hand, undergo a four-week training session that is considered "one of the most intensive and comprehensive available anywhere."[124] A key aspect of AFM's training is helping missionaries to absorb the fundamental principle that "interpersonal relationships are the anvils on which the grace of God forges the gospel on people's hearts."[125] Once short-term missionaries are in the field, career missionaries are assigned to orient them in their service.

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[123] Adventist Frontier Mission, *Training Options* (Berrien Springs, MI: Adventist Frontier Mission, 2017), 1; Adventist Frontier Mission, "AFM Training," 37.

[124] Subjects of study include: (1) how to build effective, cohesive teams that live out the gospel; (2) how to learn the local language—key to unlocking people's hearts; (3) how to take care of yourself spiritually, mentally, and physically; (4) AFM's church-planting cycle and how you fit into it; (5) what it means to embark on a discipleship adventure with Jesus; (6) worldview and how it impacts our ability to communicate with people; and (8) how to engage in spiritual warfare. Ibid.

[125] Ibid.

Missionary Opportunities

Currently, AFM offers the following missionary service opportunities:[126]

1. Career Missionaries—This line of service is designed to attract those who feel called by God to spread the Christian message amid groups of people who have never had an opportunity to hear of God's plan of salvation. Adventist Frontier Mission points out, however, that this call should be faced as possibly the greatest challenge of one's life. Career missionaries are expected to dedicate eight to ten years of their lives to learn the language of a group, understand their culture, and share the gospel in a way that is biblically accurate and culturally relevant.

2. Student/Short-Term Missionaries—This is an opportunity for those who are willing to take time off from school or employment to minister to unreached people. Adventist Frontier Mission's short-term missionaries are expected to serve for one academic year or more.

3. Tentmaker Missionaries—Adventist Frontier Missions is committed to equipping and nurturing Adventist professionals who want to work in a specific mission field in areas such as business, medicine, teaching, engineering, software consulting, and others. Tentmakers support themselves while reaching out to people who may not have the chance to hear the gospel except through their witness.

4. Explorer Missionaries—Explorers are AFM's personnel who conduct research for their new project locations. Explorer missionaries are expected to spend at least two

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[126] Adventist Frontier Mission, "Missionary Service Opportunities," *Adventist Frontiers*, Special Edition, 2015, 33.

weeks in a certain location taking pictures and video, and searching out contacts for future AFM missionaries.

Funding

Adventist Frontier Mission is committed to financially supporting their mission personnel by providing salary, Social Security contributions, workers' comp, taxes, and benefits such as health insurance and a retirement plan. On the other hand, the organization understands that each missionary's call is confirmed as they see God open doors to fund their ministry. For this reason, prospective missionaries are trained to build fundraising skills that will enable them to fund their ministry.

In addition, AFM collects funds directly from donors through their website and inserts in the official magazine of the organization. Supporters are given the option to finance specific missionaries, specific projects, or the organization as a whole. Moreover, the organization encourages donors to consider bequests[127] or charitable gift annuities.[128]

Eighty percent of all funds collected are destined to finance missionary projects, which includes salaries, benefits, medical, food, transportation, and other expenses. Ten percent is applied toward providing administrative support and leadership to the

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[127] A bequest is a statement in a donor's will stating their desire that a certain asset, dollar amount, or percentage of the estate be given to a charity.

[128] A charitable gift annuity is a contract between a donor and a charity, The contract stipulates that in exchange for a contribution, the charity will pay the donor a certain amount of money annually. Actuarial tables provided by the IRS and other criteria are used to determine the annuity amount.

organization. Six percent of the income promotes fundraising actions, three percent goes to training, and one percent to children's education.[129]

Jovens Com Uma Missão (JOCUM) [YWAM]

Jovens Com Uma Missão is the Portuguese abbreviation for the Brazilian branch of YWAM, an evangelical, interdenominational, and cross-cultural missionary organization dedicated to "know God and make Him known."[130] The global movement that currently counts over 18,000 full-time missionaries, based in over 1,200 locations in 181 countries, began officially in 1960 with Loren Cunningham, a twenty-year-old student from the United States.[131] In fifty-seven years of operation the organization grew to become one of the world's largest missionary training and sending structures. Although initially JOCUM focused on recruiting and training young people, currently their missionary force includes families, retired people, university graduates, and

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[129] Adventist Frontier Mission, "Fundraising Explained: Six Foundational Beliefs Govern AFM's Approach to Fundraising," *Adventist Frontiers*, Special Edition, 2015, 28–29.

[130] JOCUM, *Conheça a JOCUM* [About us] (Maraingá, PR: Jovens Com Uma Missão, 2017), 1.

[131] In 1956, Loren Cunningham spent a part of his summer break in Nassau, Bahamas, touring with a singing group. One night Loren had what he defines as a vision: "I lay down on the bed, doubled the pillow under my head and opened my Bible, routinely asking God to speak into my mind. What happened next was far from routine. Suddenly, I was looking up at a map of the world. Only the map was alive, moving! I sat up. I shook my head, rubbed my eyes. It was a mental movie. I could see all the continents. Waves were crashing onto the shores. Each went onto a continent, then receded, then came up further until it covered the continent completely. I caught my breath. Then, as I watched, the scene changed. The waves became young people—kids my age and even younger—covering the continents. They were talking to people on the street corners and outside bars. They were going house to house. They were preaching. 'Was that really you, Lord?' I wondered, still staring at the wall, amazed. Young people—kids really—going out as missionaries! What an idea! And I thought 'Why did God give me this vision?'" In the summer of 1960, Loren graduated from college. With the vision still on his mind, Loren led a youth mission trip to Hawaii. While there, he developed more of the vision for a new organization. He started that organization, Youth With a Mission, by the end of the year. Two years later, Loren married Darlene Scratch. Together, they are viewed as co-founders of YWAM today. Loren Cunningham, *Is That Really You, God? Hearing the Voice of God* (Seattle, WA: YWAM Publishing, 2001), 32–33.

professionals from over one hundred countries. In broad terms, JOCUM missionary ages range from nine to ninety years.

In Brazil, JOCUM began its activities in 1975 with Jim and Pamela Stier in Contagem, Minas Gerais state. Since then, the organization has been attracting people from different backgrounds to work together in a wide variety of evangelist activities. In 2017, there are fifty-five JOCUM offices and training centers spread throughout all regions of Brazil, from which 1,500 missionaries have been sent to different parts of the world.[132] Jovens Com Uma Missão missionaries have visited and witnessed in all countries of the Earth.[133]

Organizational Structure

Jovens Com Uma Missão [YWAM] has a decentralized structure that encourages indigenous and multicultural leadership. As the organization has grown over the years, it has developed as a family of ministries, rather than a highly structured, centralized agency. Although the organization has a national as well as a global network of leaders, it does not have an international administrative headquarters.[134]

Each JOCUM base has a director or a leadership team who are judicially responsible for the local work. These leaders have total control over decision-making

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[132] JOCUM, *Conheça a JOCUM,* 1.

[133] JOCUM, *Serviço voluntário e missões* [Volunteer service and missions] (Maringa, PR: JOCUM, 2017), 1

[134] YWAM does have a senior leadership group, called the Founders' Circle, which meets once a year. YWAM also has a leadership structure for the University of the Nations and leadership teams for global ministries such as Frontier Mission, King's Kids, and Ship Equipped Ministries. YWAM, *Our Leadership* (Louisville, WI: Youth With a Mission, 2017), 1.

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processes and get together regionally or nationally for mutual cooperation and accountability.

Each JOCUM location is also independent and singly responsible for initiating training programs, planning outreaches, recruiting staff, fundraising, and defining their objectives, activities, and ministerial priorities. Some JOCUM centers are large, accommodating over one hundred staff serving full time in a variety of activities. Others are small, with only a handful of people focused on a specific ministry. Jovens Com Uma Missão teams can be found in rural settings and urban centers, occupying all sorts of buildings, apartments, mud huts, and tents.[135]

Nevertheless, there are operational common denominators to all JOCUM bases. First, all JOCUM locations embrace the purpose[136] of the organization. They also are expected to uphold the values[137] of JOCUM and are held accountable to these principles and convictions. Second, all JOCUM missionaries are required to attend Discipleship Training School as a ministerial prerequisite. Third, all JOCUM activities are focused on three main areas: evangelism (Rom 10:14–15), mercy (Matt 5), and training (Mark

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[135] YWAM, *Where We Are* (Louisville, WI: Youth With a Mission, 2017), 1

[136] JOCUM's purpose is to know God and to make Him known.

[137] JOCUM's values are: (1) Know God; (2) Make God known; (3) Hear God's voice; (4) Practice worship and intercessory prayer; (5) Be visionary; (6) Champion young people; (7) Be broad-structured and decentralized; (8) Be international and interdenominational; (9) Have a biblical Christian worldview; (10) Function in teams; (11) Exhibit servant leadership; (12) Do first, then teach; (13) Be relationship-oriented; (14) Value the individual; (15) Value families; (16) Practice dependence on God; (17) Practice hospitality; (18) Communicate with integrity. JOCUM, *Valores fundamentais* [Foundational values] (Maringá, PR: JOCUM Brasil, 2017), 1–5.

16:15).[138] These elements are intended to link together all JOCUM bases and ministries of YWAM.

Missionary Selection and Training

Jovens Com Uma Missão missionaries are trained in one of the organization's 650 Discipleship Training School (DTS) locations spread all over the world.[139] The course is a six-month full-time program offered by YWAM's University of the Nations, intended to bring the prospective missionaries into a more intimate relationship with Jesus as well as to equip them to serve others in areas varying from agriculture to linguistics, from drug rehabilitation to cross-cultural ministry.[140]

The training process is composed of lecture and outreach phases. In the lecture phase, missionaries learn not only from lectures but also from community living and practical training. The outreach phase focuses on applying what was learned in the classroom through an intense, cross-cultural experience.

Many of the DTS locations offer a special focus on a specific interest, an area of service, or a nation. The "Crossroads" or "All Ages" DTS meets the needs of students over thirty, such as second-career people or families with children.[141] Attending the DTS

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[138] JOCUM, *Nossa estrutura* [Our structure] (Maringá, PR: JOCUM Brasil, 2017), 1.

[139] To search for locations, access https://www.ywam.org/wp/dts/.

[140] YWAM, *Discipleship Training School* (Louisville, WI: Youth With a Mission, 2017), 1; JOCUM, *O que é a escola de treinamento e discipulado?* [What is the Discipleship Training School?] (Maringá, PR: JOCUM Brasil, 2017), 1; YWAM, *YWAM Training* (Louisville, WI: Youth With a Mission, 2017), 1. YWAM currently maintains thousands of ministries in almost a hundred different areas. See https://www.ywam.org/wp/, accessed June 12, 2017.

[141] YWAM, *Discipleship Training School,* 1.

foundational course[142] is a prerequisite for becoming JOCUM staff,[143] as well as for

taking JOCUM's second-level training, which can be combined into degree programs

through the University of the Nations.[144]

The University of the Nations

The University of the Nations performs a fundamental role within JOCUM. It has

become the central engine that enables the organization to perform most of its activities.

It is mainly through the University of the Nations' programs that JOCUM missionaries

are attracted, trained, and sent on mission.

The enterprise was officially established in 1978 in Kona, Hawaii, as Pacific and

Asia Christian University. In the following years, schools were developed rapidly in

many nations on six continents, and the regional and local names no longer reflected the

worldwide scope of the organization. For this reason, in 1989, the institution's name was

changed to University of the Nations (U of N).[145] In 2017, the U of N operates in 650

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[142] The University of the Nations establishes that 75 percent of the curriculum be common to all Discipleship Training Schools and 25 percent of the classes be adapted to the peculiarities and interests of each location. JOCUM's current curriculum covers the following areas: (1) God's nature and character; (2) God's intention for individuals, people, and creation; (3) God's redemption; God's family; God's world; and (6) JOCUM: An answer to God. YWAM, *DTS Teaching* (Louisville, WI: Youth With a Mission, 2017), 1; JOCUM, *O currículo da ETED* [DTS curriculum] (Maringa, PR: JOCUM Brasil, 2017), 1.

[143] JOCUM staff serve in positions such as accountants, graphic designers, evangelists, receptionists, administrators, church planters, teachers, physicians/nurses, cooks, carpenters, journalists/editors, etc. JOCUM does not pay its staff. Most staff members meet their financial needs by partnering with friends and churches or working in other businesses for financial, practical, or ministry reasons. YWAM, *Join Staff* (Louisville, WI: Youth With a Mission, 2017), 1–2.

[144] YWAM, *YWAM Training,* 1.

[145] University of the Nations, *University of the Nations: History* (Kona, HI: University of the Nations, 2017), 1.

locations in 160 countries, providing over 600 programs in approximately 100 languages.[146]

The U of N is committed to teaching and developing men and women spiritually, culturally, intellectually, and professionally, aiming to equip students to serve in all spheres of society and in all nations.[147] The core program at the U of N is the DTS, which is required for all other courses. The institution offers associate's degrees, bachelor's degrees, and master's degrees from its seven colleges: (1) Arts and Sports; (2) Christian Ministries; (3) Communication; (4) Counseling and Health Care; (5) Education; (6) Humanities and International Studies; (7) Science and Technology.[148]

Each U of N location offers a live-learn environment where students live together in dormitories, study together in class, and work together on campus. Unlike students at typical universities, U of N students take only one twelve-unit subject per quarter. Each

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[146] The University of Nations is unique in its international missionary training scope. Because national accrediting agencies have major differences in their systems, the institution has not, at present, applied for any one nation's accreditation. Some University of the Nations students have received transfer credit for some of their U of N courses. This credit has been granted by other higher educational institutions rather than by accrediting agencies. Also, certain universities have accepted U of N degree graduates into master's programs. University of the Nations, *University of the Nations: History,* 1; JOCUM, *Uma universidade como nenhuma outra* [A unique university] (Maringa, PR: JOCUM Brasil, 2017), 1.

[147] YWAM, *The University of the Nations* (Louisville, WI: Youth With a Mission, 2017), 1.

[148] In addition to the programs offered in its seven colleges, the University of Nations maintains seven international centres, which are intended to facilitate the collaboration and cooperation of individuals, groups, and organizations to fulfill specific missions objectives. With endeavors in all spheres of society, the centres focus on the integration and networking of resources and people within a fabric of partnerships. Though not academic institutions in and of themselves, U of N centres work with the colleges to develop training programs and schools that serve their unique mandate. University of the Nations centres focus on the following seven areas: (1) Community Development and Justice; (2) Discipleship Training Schools; (3) Family Resource; (4) GENESIS Centre; (5) Student Mobilization; (6) Extension Studies; (7) Core Curriculum. University of the Nations, *Colleges and Centres* (Kona, HI: University of the Nations, 2017), 1.

week, the school focuses on a different theme within that subject, instructed by international speakers who are respected within their fields. [149]

Each school session is typically followed by an internship or cross-cultural field assignment to give immediate application of what was learned. Thus, with courses being offered and projects taking place all over the world, the U of N in partnership with its mother organization YWAM truly operates within a multicultural and cross-cultural standard. There are currently over 30,000 students taking courses at the U of N.[150]

Mission Opportunities

Jovens Com Uma Missão missionaries serve communities worldwide through hundreds of ministries in three main categories: (1) evangelism, (2) training, and (3) justice and transformation (also called mercy). The organization's evangelistic actions are based on their conviction that everyone has the right to hear the good news about Jesus, and their hope to see fellowships of believers worshipping and following Jesus in every nation, tribe, and tongue.[151] Their methods include the use of music, arts, sports, technology, etc., in order to connect with people and develop friendships.[152]

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[149] YWAM, *University of the Nations,* 2.

[150] JOCUM Brasil, *Venha fazer missão com a gente* [Be a missionary with us] (Maringa, PR: JOCUM Brasil, 2017), 1.

[151] YWAM, *YWAM Ministries* (Louisville, WI: Youth With a Mission, 2017), 1.

[152] The organization's evangelism resources include these ministries: (1) The Pocket Testament League, which provides a free monthly supply (thirty copies) of the Gospel of John in English, Spanish, Italian, Japanese, or Chinese; (2) Indigitech, a clearinghouse website for evangelistic resources, including high-tech gadgets, in many different languages; (3) One Story Media, which provides website access to a growing library of Bible story sets for oral cultures; (4) YWAM Frontier Mission, a movement within YWAM, focusing on starting Jesus-centered fellowships within the world's unreached groups; (5) Impact Eternity, a simple, clear training course to understand God's heart for all peoples and how to get involved in Frontier Missions; (6) Create International, who are makers of evangelistic media for a growing number of groups; (7) Thirty Days of Prayer for the Muslim World, which focuses on learning more about Islam

Second, JOCUM sees training as an integrative part of missionary work, since it continuously enables missionaries to grow in their relationship with God and serve others. The organization's main two instruments for training are the U of N and the DTS.

Third, the JOCUM justice and transformation ministry team operates relief and development programs in over one hundred countries, working among people living in desperate circumstances. Missionaries serve in areas such as agricultural assistance, prevention of human trafficking, health care, and micro-enterprise development. Their goal is to ease suffering and provide hope for those affected by poverty, disease, or injustice.[153]

Funding

Each JOCUM worker raises enough funds to support their own financial needs. For most people in YWAM, these funds come from friends, family, and churches that contribute financially. Other workers rely on their own savings, part-time jobs, foreign employment, small businesses, or even pension income.[154] The organization supports their missionaries in the fundraising process by providing training and resources that will better equip those who want to begin raising financial support as well as those who need to strengthen their support team.

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and praying for Muslims; and (8) Mission InfoBank, an online database of missions-related resources. YWAM, *Evangelism Resources* (Louisville, WI: Youth With a Mission, 2017), 1.

[153] JOCUM Brasil, *Justiça e transformação* [Justice and transformation] (Maringá, PR: JOCUM Brasil, 2017), 1; YWAM, *YWAM Ministries* (Louisville, WI: Youth With a Mission, 2017), 1.

[154] YWAM, *Support Raising* (Louisville, WI: Youth With a Mission, 2017), 1.

The South American Division as a Sending Organization

In 2014, in an unprecedented initiative, the South American Division decided to actively participate in the worldwide mission of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Until then, this division had been making its missionary contribution by promoting Sabbath School mission stories, taking up mission offerings, and collaborating with the world church headquarters in the United States whenever it requested missionaries from South America.

However, the "Missionaries to the World" project lifted the South American Division to a new level of engagement in mission work, as the organization selected twenty-five families to serve as frontline missionaries in different countries in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, fully funded and logistically supported by the division. [155] In a joint effort among all the institutions of the church in South America, $13 million was set aside for supporting the first five years of this project. [156] In total, in 2017 the South American Division is maintaining twenty-seven missionary families outside its territory. [157]

Andrew Walls suggests, [158] and the historical chapter of this research seems to support, that successful mission work has depended on the combination of three preconditions, equally indispensable: (1) a corps of committed people; (2) an

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[155] Kuhn, "Você está preparado," 6.

[156] Boger, "Missionarios para o mundo," 4.

[157] Erton Kohler, "Vamos Conversar?" Facebook Live presentation, June 13, 2017, accessed June 13, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/IgrejaAdventistadoSetimoDia/.

[158] See the introductory chapter of this research, pages 2–6.

organization equipped to mobilize, send, and maintain such a force; and (3) sustained

access to specific international locations. Throughout history, the missionary movement

has depended on the combination of these three factors, and the absence of one or more

of them has resulted in times when Protestants were not able to establish missions, even

when they were willing to do so.

With this in mind, it is necessary to point out that even though the South

American Division can positively identify committed people and maintain sustained

access to the international locations where they are being commissioned to serve, it lacks

an organization exclusively dedicated to foreign missions, fully equipped to recruit, train,

send, follow up, and repatriate their missionary force.[159] More importantly, this division

does not have a department or any mission structure in place to be the official voice of

missionary work in South America, constantly raising awareness among church members

and institutions of the church about the needs of the least evangelized areas of the

world.[160]

Thus, there is currently no structure set up in this division to attract missionaries

and facilitate their access to mission work, as well as to provide a link between those who

are willing to go and the regions of the world that in some cases are in desperate need of

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[159] The South American Division has been trying to compensate for these limitations by delegating the general coordination of the project "Missionarios Para o Mundo" [Missionaries to the World] to the Stewardship Department director, Hebert Boger, as well as by sending a missionary family to serve in the Middle East and North Africa Union Mission, accumulating the positions of missionary field director and Adventist Development and Relief Agency director.

[160] In 2016, South American Division President Erton Kohler indicated that by nominating experienced career missionary Elbert Kuhn as Adventist volunteer service director, the organization was taking initial steps to establish a more defined structure for mission work in its territory. Erton Kohler, personal communication, September 9, 2016.

receiving them. Consequently, the current praiseworthy missionary-sending actions are being executed as one among the many evangelistic projects of this division.[161]

Nevertheless, it should be noted that it has been through the agency of organizations exclusively dedicated to foreign missions that the missionary movement has achieved its most effective results.[162] These organizations provide the necessary structure for mission work to be done not as a single project but as a growing and continuous activity.

Considering all the factors mentioned above, and in view of furthering the promotion, management, and expansion of missionary work in South America, what mission-sending model would best fit the organizational structure and theological

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[161] A weakness of this approach is that the vision and promotion for the advancement of missionary enterprise are heavily dependent on the leaders who launched the projects. Consequently, whenever other leaders who do not share their missionary passion, enthusiasm, and expertise replace them, missionary work suffers a lack of continuity. Examples of this are found in the history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church as one compares the missionary expansion of the denomination during and after the years following the leadership of General Conference presidents A. G. Daniells and W. A. Spicer. See Silvano Barbosa, "Uma organização de envio de misionarios para a Divisão Sul-Americana" [A mission-sending organization for the South American Division], *Foco na Pessoa* 5, no. 2 (2016): 29.

[162] One example of this is found within Adventism. In order to deal with the growing demands of foreign mission work as well as to provide an institutional answer to the collective missionary enthusiasm among Adventists, on November 5, 1889, the General Conference session voted to create the Seventh-day Adventist Foreign Mission Board, "for the management of the foreign mission work." The Foreign Mission Board was totally in charge of surveying the world to ascertain needs and developing 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. In the following years, the mission structure had the autonomy and developed the capacity to (1) execute plans to raise funds for foreign mission work; (2) develop mission strategies; (3) send its members on world survey trips; (4) set priorities; (5) set future policies; (6) promote missions; (7) appoint, instruct, and supervise personnel; and (8) supervise overseas work. The Foreign Mission Board mainly recruited and sent three categories of missionaries: lay members, ministers, and professionals. As a result of this focused, flexible, and directed approach, by the end of the 1890s, Adventism had been established on every inhabited continent and on many of the islands of the seas. It would not be inaccurate to suggest that the effectiveness of Adventist mission in the years following the establishment of the Foreign Mission Board was to a large degree because its missionary endeavor was based on this missionary model. For more see chapter 3, pages 166–76.

presuppositions of the South American Division of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in terms of: (1) the operation of mission-sending organizations within the division? (2) the relationship of the South American Division to another division? and (3) the relationship of the South American Division to the General Conference? The next chapter aims to answer these questions.

Missiological Implications

Partnership in Mission

Mission work is done in partnership. Protestant Christians in the United States and Europe will always have the wonderful success story of how Western missionaries established the Christian faith in Africa, Asia, and Latin America to tell. In spite of the current Western decline in Christian membership, the United States and Europe continue to be Christian missionary powerhouses and maintain remarkable missionary know-how. Additionally, the church in Western countries enjoys other favorable conditions such as an abundance of financial resources; stronger currencies; and the world's lingua franca— English. As Global South Christians increasingly engage in mission work, they should not think of it in terms of taking over a responsibility once assumed by Western Christians.[163] On the contrary, it should be conceptualized on the foundational base of partnerships. It has been increasingly evidenced that partnership between Western and

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[163] In 2013 I wrote an article making this very suggestion. A year later, a lunch conversation with Andrews University World Mission Department chair Wagner Kuhn began the paradigm change process in my mind. In the following years, visiting mission-sending and mission-receiving organizations in Europe, Asia, and the United States helped me to realize the fundamental role of partnership in missions. See Barbosa, "A bola da vez," 27–28.

Global South mission-sending and mission-receiving organizations will make the missionary enterprise more effective as a whole.

New Mission-Sending Bases Within Adventism

General Conference president A. G. Daniells (1858–1935), one of the greatest contributors to the missionary expansion of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, had a visionary mission strategy that included intentionally furthering Adventism in countries such as Germany, England, and Australia, in order to expand home bases for sending out missionaries.[164] Germany, especially, provided a strong European home base for missions, since the work there became self-supporting sooner than in other European countries and began to finance overseas missionaries. Under the dynamic leadership of Louis Conradi, the German church established Adventism in the Netherlands, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Brazil, Tanganyika, Ethiopia, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. The current development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Global South countries such as Brazil, South Korea, and Nigeria suggests that intentional action should be taken to consolidate the position of these countries as new home bases for mission within Adventism.

The Establishment of Mission-Sending Structures for Global South Seventh-day Adventists

Seventh-day Adventists in many parts of the Global South have been able to plant self-sustaining, self-governing, and self-propagating churches. One of the immediate

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[164] See pages 178–80 of this research.

results of this successful missionary and evangelistic work has been an explosive growth in membership and financial resources. More importantly, many of these churches have evidenced intense passion, growing qualifications, and remarkable capability for missions. For this reason, leaders of the church in those regions should continuously work on expanding their mission-sending structure to allow young people, professionals, and pastors to fulfill their cross-cultural missionary call.

The next chapter will suggest a mission-sending model for the South American Division that conceives a harmonious operation of multiple mission-sending organizations within the division based on the concept of partnership with other divisions of the church, and taking into account the central position of the General Conference of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Biblical principles, historical lessons, and missionary practices from current mission-sending organizations presented in this research will orient the model.

CHAPTER 5

A MISSION-SENDING MODEL FOR THE SOUTH
AMERICAN DIVISION OF THE SEVENTH-DAY
ADVENTIST CHURCH

Foundational Aspects of the Model

Over the past five years, I have followed the unprecedented missionary initiatives

of the South American Division with great happiness. They are the results of visionary

leadership, courageous effort, and decisive commitment to the worldwide mission of the

Seventh-day Adventist Church. Even if the "Missionaries to the World" project was

discontinued and no further cross-cultural missionary activity was developed, what has

been done so far is in itself truly remarkable and has already borne fruit for eternity.[1]

The mission-sending model proposed in this chapter was not conceived as a

correction to the work being done, but instead, based on the necessity of establishing a

mission structure that will promote continuous and growing missionary activity from the

South American Division territory. The goal is to give as many disciples as possible the

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[1] In 2017, the Stewardship Department of the South American Division published a booklet in which the twenty-five missionary families shared their experiences in the mission field. In total, 387,000 copies were distributed in the division territory. Herbert Boger Jr. and Victor Trivelato, *Um Por do Sol na Janela 10/40: Sua Fidelidade e Orações os Mantén Lá* [A sunset at the 10/40 window: Your prayers and faithfulness keep them there] (Tatui, Brazil: Casa Publicadora Brasileira, 2017), 1–114.

opportunity to consciously exercise their remnant role—to live and proclaim the advent message to all the world in their generation.[2]

Indeed, as early as 1888 the Student Volunteer Movement adopted the slogan "The Evangelization of the World in This Generation." Propelled by this watchword, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the movement counted 100,000 members in forty countries and greatly contributed to the work of the mission societies.[3]

Perhaps the wave of missionary enthusiasm created by the Student Missionary Movement provides the best historical background for Ellen White's conviction in 1900 that Jesus could have returned in her time. In the context of promoting the expansion of the work in the mission fields, she said: "Had the purpose of God been carried out by His people in giving to the world the message of mercy, Christ would have, ere this, come to the earth, and the saints would have received their welcome into the city of God."[4] Possibly for this reason, General Conference Education Director Lisa Beardsley-Hardy in 2013 celebrated the 150th anniversary of the Seventh-day Adventist Church with mixed

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[2] "The Advent Message to All the World in My Generation" is the aim of the youth ministries of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. See Youth Ministries Department, *Mission, Aim, Motto, Pledge* (Silver Spring, MD: Seventh-day Adventist General Conference Youth Department, 2017), 1.

[3] John R. Mott, Nettie Dunn, and R. P. Wilder, "Report of the Executive Committee," in *Report of the First International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Mission* (Boston, MA: T. O. Melcalf, 1891), 22–32; John R. Mott, J. Ross Stevenson, and Hans P. Andersen, *The First Two Decades of the Student Volunteer Movement* (New York: The Student Volunteer Movement, 1906), 3–36; *Student Mission Power: Report of the First International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions Held at Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A. Feb. 26, 27, 28 and March 1, 1891* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1979), x.

[4] Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 9 vols. (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1948), 6:449; Ellen G. White Estate, *Ellen G. White Statements on the Apparent Delay of the Second Advent: Arranged in Chronological Order*, accessed June 15, 2017, http://www.whiteestate.org/issues/delay.html.

feelings: "It's almost an embarrassment to be celebrating 150 years, but it's also an affirmation of faith in Christ's return."[5]

On the other hand, the last decades have witnessed the creation of more new mission structures than at any other time in history.[6] A few decades ago, YWAM did not exist. Currently, YWAM has over 18,000 full-time missionaries, based in over 1,200 locations in 181 countries.[7] Additionally, the movement operates training centers in 650 locations in 160 countries, providing over 600 programs in approximately 100 languages to over 30.000 student missionaries.[8] Youth With a Mission missionaries have witnessed in all the countries of the world.[9]

Such missionary achievements from the past and present no doubt bring renewed inspiration to the Seventh-day Adventist movement in South America, which truly aims "to call all people to become disciples of Jesus Christ, to proclaim the everlasting gospel embraced by the three angels' messages (Revelation 14:6-12), and to prepare the world for Christ's soon return."[10] The model suggested below intends to provide the church with a vehicle exclusively dedicated to pursuing this worldwide mission.

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[5] Daniel Burk, "Thriving Denomination Somewhat Sad and Embarrassed To Celebrate 150 Years," *Christianity Today*, April 2013, accessed June 15, 2017, http://www.christianitytoday.com/ news/2013/april/thriving-denomination-somewhat-sad-and-embarrassed-to.html.

[6] Pierson, *Dynamics of Christian Mission,* 30.

[7] There are fifty-five Jovens Com Uma Missão (YWAM) locations in Brazil, which in 2017 have sent out over 1,500 missionaries. See chapter 4 of this research.

[8] See chapter 4 of this research.

[9] JOCUM, *Serviço voluntário e missões,* 1.

[10] This statement was voted on by the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists Executive Committee at the Annual Council Session in Silver Spring, Maryland, on October 13, 2014. General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, "Mission Statement of the Seventh-day Adventist Church,"

Key Characteristics of the South American Division

In addition to the biblical principles, historical lessons, and missionary practices presented in the previous chapters of this research, five peculiarities of the South American Division were considered in order to create the organizational model: (1) number of members; (2) number of institutions; (3) finances; (4) qualified workers; and (5) youth.

With over 1.5 million members, Brazil is the country with the most Seventh-day Adventists in the world.[11] There are at least two major implications of this fact for missionary work. First, the South American Division has in its territory the largest single "stable" of potential missionary candidates for the denomination. Second, all those whom God has called for missions need an accessible pathway to receive training and to test their missionary vocation.

There are over 100 institutions—eighty-one conferences and missions, sixteen unions, and seventeen tertiary schools—that potentially could implement the model and become mission-sending organizations.[12] More importantly, the division has 27,333 churches and companies that could support specific mission-sending structures, finance particular missionaries, or in some cases, even become mission-sending structures.[13] For

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accessed June 15, 2017, http://www.adventist.org/en/information/official-statements/statements/article/go/0/mission-statement-of-the-seventh-day-adventist-church.

[11] Office of Archives, Statistics and Research, *Annual Statistical Report* (Silver Spring, MD: Office of Archives, Statistics and Research, 2016), 22, 30.

[12] Ibid., 8. Data updated in June 2017 according to the Information System of the South American Division.

[13] Ibid., 22, 75.

this reason, the model presupposes that the institutions of the church whose leaders feel

called to engage in foreign mission work and which are able to implement the model

should have the opportunity to do so.

Third, in recent decades the South American Division has experienced one of the

most consistent periods of financial growth in its history.[14] In the last decade, the division

became the second greatest contributor to the church's world budget. During this period,

while the greatest contributor—the North American Division—increased the dollar

amount collected by 12 percent, from US$861,581,967 to US$965,591,087, the South

American Division increased 223 percent, from US$189,314,278 to US$611,825,174.[15]

Even in 2016, when Brazil faced the worst economic crisis in its history,[16] the financial

growth of the division was almost the same as the perceived economic inflation.[17] An

important fact related to the proposed model is that most of the division's institutions

enjoy consistent financial health, as they are not dependent on large contributions coming

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[14] Office of Archives, Statistics and Research, *Annual Statistical Report 1985–2016* (Silver Spring, MD: Office of Archives, Statistics and Research, 1985–2016).

[15] See chapter 4 of this research.

[16] Fabiane Stefano and Flávia Furlan, "Recessão caminha para ser a mais grave da história do Brasil" [Recession moves towards becoming the worst in Brazil's history], *Revista Exame*, April 2016, accessed June 19, 2017, http://exame.abril.com.br/revista-exame/recessao-caminha-para-ser-a-mais-grave-da-historia-do-brasil/; Graziele Oliveira E Marcos Coronato, "Como o Brasil entrou, sozinho, na pior crise da história" [How Brazil entered, by itself, the worst crisis of its history], *Revista Época*, April 2016, accessed June 19, 2017, http://epoca.globo.com/ideias/noticia/2016/04/como-o-brasil-entrou-sozinho-na-pior-crise-da-historia.html.

[17] Kohler, "Vamos Conversar?"

from a small number of donors, but instead on small contributions coming from a large number of churches.[18]

Fourth, the South American Division's distinctive endowment for missions becomes evident as one considers the large number of potential qualified workers in its territory. In addition to about 500 new pastors graduating each year from seven theological seminaries,[19] thousands of young professionals graduate from over 100 accredited college programs[20] in one of the seventeen tertiary institutions of the division. It is important to note that the establishment of mission-sending structures in Seventh-day Adventist colleges and universities will enable these institutions to fulfill the original purpose of their existence.[21]

Fifth, the South American Division membership is remarkably young. In June 2017, there are 1,345,300 Seventh-day Adventists under thirty-five years of age in the division territory—54 percent of all members. Only 11 percent of the membership is

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[18] Office of Archives, Statistics and Research, *Annual Statistical Report* (Silver Spring, MD: Office of Archives, Statistics and Research, 2016), 39–41.

[19] In 2016, the South American Division seminaries had the following numbers of graduates: (1) FADBA—135; (2) UNASP—135; (3) UPEU—66; (4) UAB—60; (5) FAAMA—46; (6) UAP—24; (7) UNACH—24. In 2017 IAP will hold its first theology graduation, with forty-five graduates expected. Adolfo Soarez, dean of South American Division Adventist Latin American Theological Seminary, personal communication, June 20, 2017.

[20] See lists of the programs available at the main universities and colleges of the Division: http://www.unasp-sp.edu.br; http://www.uapar.edu; http://www.upeu.edu.pe/en/; http://www.uab.edu.bo; http://www.adventista.edu.br.

[21] The first Seventh-day Adventist educational institution was established in 1874 with the purpose of meeting the growing demand for educated workers for the mission fields. George Knight, "Historical Introduction," in *Historical Sketches of Foreign Missions,* ed. George R. Knight (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2005), xiii.

sixty-five or older.[22] Consequently, knowing the potential of this young generation of Adventists to fuel the missionary movement from South America, the mission-sending model will propose locations, curricula, and mission opportunities that are especially appealing to them.

A Flexible, Decentralized, and Self-Reproductive System

The model also observes three fundamental characteristics of mission-sending structures since the apostolic times: (1) flexibility; (2) decentralization; and (3) a self-reproductive system.[23] Flexibility is of crucial importance to the model, since the institutions of the church in South America—which are intended to be the main engine of the missionary movement—have different sizes, infrastructures, financial positions, and vocations. Therefore, this proposal focuses on presenting principles of operation as well as aspects of the organizational structure that should be common to all institutions implementing the model. On the other hand, each mission structure will have space and the opportunity to fulfill its own call and vision.

Decentralization is equally indispensable, due to the simple fact that no single institution of the church in South America would be able to embrace all the work of optimally providing mission training and assignments to all candidates in all geographical areas of the division. I must confess that in the beginning of this research, my goal was to

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[22] As of June 20, 2017, the South American Division has 2,506,364 members, with (1) 1,345,300 under thirty-five years old; (2) 880,448 between thirty-six and sixty-four; and (3) 280,616 sixty-five years old or older. Gretel Fontana, South American Division Secretariat, personal communication, June 20, 2017.

[23] See pages 59–62, 68, 91–100, 105, 112, 113, 172–179, 179, 191–200, 202, 251–258 of this research.

come up with a model for a single mission organization,[24] exclusively led and financially

sponsored by the South American Division. However, the flood of evidence[25] I found

over the past two years fully convinced me that the early church, historical mission

movements, and current successful mission organizations have operated in the opposite

way. Additionally, a decentralized model seems to better fit the organizational structure

of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

In like manner, a self-reproductive system gives leaders of all institutions who

feel called to engage in mission-sending activity the opportunity to implement the model.

These three missionary principles undergirding the model provide the necessary base for

doing mission work as a growing and continuous activity.

A Sending and Receiving Community: Partnership in Mission

Finally, it is important to point out that the fundamental basis for the South

American Division's engagement in the worldwide mission of the Seventh-day Adventist

Church is not substitution, but instead, partnership. In other words, the goal is not to take

over the role so far performed by the General Conference, but, on the contrary, to partner

with the General Conference and other divisions of the world in order to fulfill the

division's part in God's mission.

Mission work is done in partnership. However, in order to establish solid

partnerships, the South American Division's mission structures need to be not only

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[24] Silvano Barbosa, "Uma Organização de Envio de Missionários Para a Divisão Sul-Americana," 26–31.

[25] See pages 58–67, 85–200, 251–258 of this research.

sending organizations but also receiving communities, in order for the gifts of the worldwide church to be received back in South America. For instance, while the South American Division is taking its first steps in the process of recruiting, training, and sending missionaries, it can count on the experience and expertise of churches in the USA and Europe, which have been engaged in this process for over a hundred years. On the other hand, partnerships with other divisions will allow the church in South America to share the peculiar gifts with which God has blessed it.

A Mission-Sending Model for the South American Division

The Institutional Role of the South American Division

The main role of the South American Division is to be the official voice of the foreign mission work within its territory, constantly promoting the challenge remaining and the needs of the mission fields, as well as presenting success stories. No other institution of the church in South America is better equipped to assume this role, for a few reasons: (1) representatives of the South American Division are considered the highest authorities of the church in their respective ministries, and so, are best positioned to lead the church in this area; (2) the South American Division is in a singular position to attract and call the most qualified workers to lead mission work in its territory; and (3) South American Division mission work leaders will have access to all geographical areas of the territory and can support the processes of recruiting and training missionaries.

Equally important, however, is the crucial role of the South American Division in providing a link between the mission-sending structures within its territory and the international areas where missionaries will serve. For this reason, a fundamental task for

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the division's mission work leaders is to feed the system by establishing partnerships

with other divisions of the church where projects will be implemented and missionaries

sent. The more partnerships created, the more efficiently mission organizations will

recruit, train, and send missionaries. On the other hand, a lack of partnerships will result

in no specific purpose for training and frustration for missionary candidates.

The South American Division will also work in close partnership with the General

Conference to identify potential locations for mission work. In addition, the division will

provide an official answer to all legal demands and institutional policies of the church's

world headquarters, which maintains a final official record of all missionary work of the

denomination.

Thus, the South American Division will be primarily responsible for coordinating

and supporting the establishment and operation of mission-sending structures within its

territory. An immediate and evident benefit associated with this role is the removal of a

heavy financial burden from the division. Perhaps the most important single action that

will enable the organization to perform this role is the creation of a World Mission

Department.[26] Although since 2016 the division has been attempting to give a more

defined structure to mission work by strengthening the Adventist Volunteer Service,[27]

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[26] Although World Mission is not a current department of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, which instead maintains a director for the Office of Adventist Mission, it is important to remember the remarkable initiatives of General Conference President A. G. Daniells while he served as a frontier missionary to New Zealand and Australia from 1886 to 1901. It was during this time that he organized the Australian work into a union with integrated departments, a structure that did not exist in the denomination and became a pattern for the 1901 reorganization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Neufeld, *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, 105–6; Schantz, "Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Thought," 378.

[27] In 2016, South American Division president Erton Kohler indicated that by nominating experienced career missionary Elbert Kuhn as Adventist Volunteer Service Director, the organization was

this nomenclature does not adequately represent the task and scope of the cross-cultural mission work of the organization.

The Establishment of Mission Institutes

The initiative of establishing mission organizations within the South American Division territory will originate not from the division's World Mission Department but from the institutions of the church—universities and colleges, unions, conferences, even local churches—that are competent to implement the model. These mission-sending structures will be called Mission Institutes.

Each Mission Institute will be attached to a sponsoring institution. For example, if the Adventist College of Bahia (FADBA) decides to establish a mission-sending structure, it would be called FADBA Mission Institute. Thus, Mission Institutes will not have an independent legal or institutional identity. Instead, each institute will function as a semi-autonomous organization under the corporate identity of the sponsoring institution. That is, although each Mission Institute will have an organizational structure and appointed leadership, the highest decision-making body will not be the executive committee of the institute but the executive committee of the sponsoring institution.

Mission Institutes will be fully equipped to perform all essential activities related to the execution of mission work, which include: (1) creating an organized structure; (2) recruiting; (3) training; (4) providing mission opportunities; and (5) funding. A description of each activity is provided below.

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taking initial steps toward establishing a more defined structure for mission work in its territory. Erton Kohler, personal communication, September 9, 2016.

Organizational Structure

In order to successfully engage in mission work, each sponsoring institution will appoint leaders to fill crucial positions in their Mission Institute. These leaders will compose the Mission Institute Committee, which will submit its recommendations to the final decision-making body—the executive committee of the sponsoring institution. As the Mission Institute expands, new positions should be created[28] to meet specific demands. However, assigning qualified personnel to the key functions presented in Figure 4 is the minimum necessary requirement for establishing a Mission Institute.
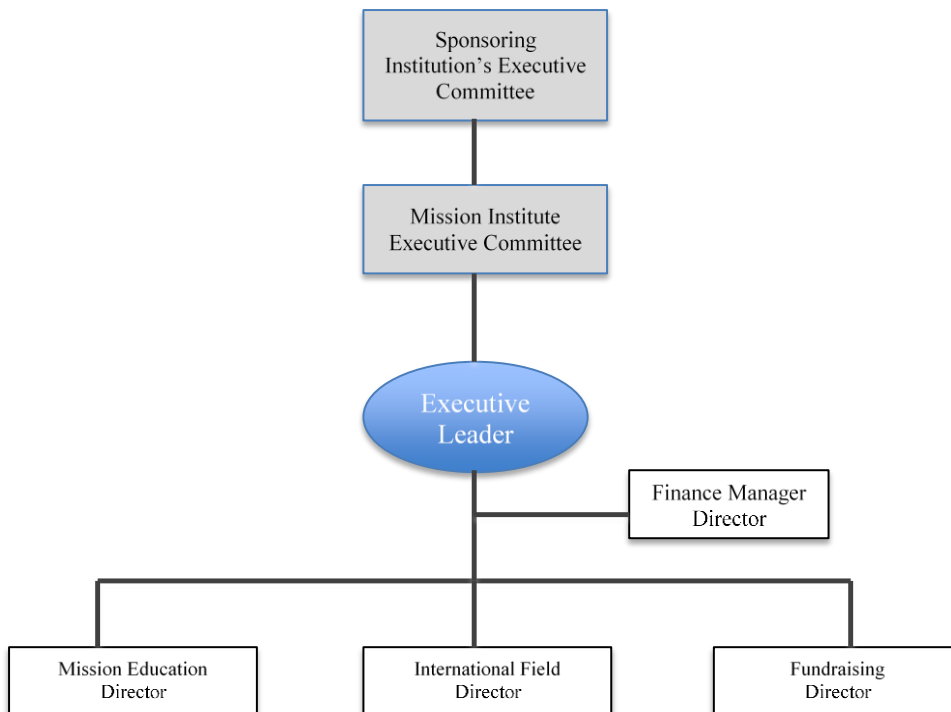
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                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │     Sponsoring      │
                    │ Institution's Executive │
                    │     Committee       │
                    └─────────────────────┘
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                    │  Mission Institute  │
                    │ Executive Committee │
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                         ╭─────────╮
                         │Executive│
                         │ Leader  │
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                              ├──────────│ Finance Manager  │
                              │          │     Director     │
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  ┌──────────────┐    ┌──────────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐
  │Mission Education│  │International Field│  │  Fundraising │
  │   Director   │    │     Director     │   │   Director   │
  └──────────────┘    └──────────────────┘   └──────────────┘
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Figure 4. Mission Institute organizational structure.

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[28] See the organizational structures of leading mission organizations in Figures 1-3.

The roles of these positions are described below:

1. Sponsoring institution's executive committee—The highest decision-making body of the Mission Institute.

2. Mission Institute committee—Composed of the administration of the sponsoring organization (president, treasurer, and secretary), in addition to the executive director, finance manager, and board of directors of the Mission Institute. The main duty of this committee is to make suggestions to the executive committee of the sponsoring organization.

3. Executive director—Mainly concerned with coordinating the integrated operation of all areas of the Mission Institute. As the official voice of the organization, this person is expected to aggressively engage in the recruiting process. The executive director's suggestions to the Mission Institute committee also focus on promoting an expanding future for the organization.

4. Finance manager—Works under the supervision of the treasurer of the sponsoring institution and the leadership of the Mission Institute executive director in order to coordinate all financial transactions of the organization.

5. Mission education director—Provides training tailored to meet the demands of each mission opportunity offered by the Mission Institute.

6. International field director—Coordinates mission assignments and follow-up with missionaries in the field.

7. Fundraising director—Enables missionaries to build their support teams, as well as directly engage in fundraising actions on behalf of the Mission Institute.

Additionally, each Mission Institute will have a physical address and appropriate location to provide lodging and training to missionary candidates. Within this context, the division's universities and colleges figure as ideal locations, considering that all the necessary infrastructure is already established and, in most cases, they even have space for expansion. However, unions, conferences, and local churches could meet these demands by utilizing the organization's headquarters infrastructure along with their respective Youth Training Centers (CATRE).

Recruiting

Each Mission Institute will be responsible for promoting mission work and recruiting their own missionary candidates. Closely associated with a successful recruiting process is the variety of mission opportunities offered at a specific Mission Institute. To clarity, the more options for engagement in mission work it provides, the better positioned the Mission Institute will be to attract different categories of missionary candidates, such as students, recently graduated professionals, pastors, and retired people. All those who feel called to serve cross-culturally in a specific country or to perform a specific ministry will be required to apply to the Mission Institute of their choice and should have an accessible pathway to receive training and test their missionary vocation.

The establishment of solid international partnerships is fundamentally necessary to enable Mission Institutes to provide different types of missionary opportunities. For this reason, the division's World Mission Department will play a crucial role in the process by creating the link between the Mission Institutes and the international areas where missionaries will serve.

Training

The history of the missionary movement has provided abundant evidence that in

most cases, better-qualified workers produce the most lasting results in the mission

field.[29] Currently, in a time when many mission organizations have developed a partial

view of their mission[30] and, consequently, provide limited training to their missionaries,

South American Division Mission Institutes will take up the challenge of providing

comprehensive training programs tailored for their mission assignments. Five

fundamental aspects will be considered:

1. Curriculum—Mission Institute training programs will aim to develop

missionaries as disciples of Jesus who are growing spiritually, thinking biblically,

reasoning missiologically, living wholistically, and serving incarnationally.[31] In addition,

the curriculum will focus on preparing missionaries to perform practical aspects of

missionary work in connection with the spiritual needs of the people they serve: to

recognize and satisfy their spiritual hunger, reconciliation with God, spiritual unity and

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[29] Evidence that supports this assertion includes the works of: (1) the apostle Paul; (2) Patrick; (3) Columban; (4) the Waldensian missionaries; (5) Nicolau Von Zinzendorf; (6) William Carey; and (7) J. N. Andrews. See pages 49–63, 74–77, 84–87, 97–98, 125–127, 158–160, 171 of this research.

[30] Mission 21, for example, has focused on attracting and sending to their partner organizations the best professionals possible. For this reason, it is not uncommon for the organization to recruit missionaries (called ecumenical personnel) from outside the Christian community. Frequently these professionals have no ties to Christian beliefs and lifestyle. The natural consequence is that many times Mission 21 sends a dissonant message to the communities they minister in, since missionaries frequently provide excellent services while living in contradiction to the message their local partner churches proclaim. For this reason, Mission 21 director Claudia Bandixen, in 2013, presented as one of her goals for her next tenure to increase the number of Christian missionaries. The training of these missionaries lasts only two weeks. See chap. 4.

[31] South American Division's Mission Institutes will adopt the training objectives of the General Conference Institute of World Mission: Growing Spiritually, Thinking Biblically, Reasoning Missiologically, Living Wholistically, and Serving Incarnationally. Cheryl Doss, *Mission Institute Schedule of Classes: June 4–24, 2017* (Silver Spring, MD: General Conference Institute of World Mission, 2017), 1–3.

fellowship, growing in Christ, and engagement on God's side in the Great Conflict as played out in the local context.[32] English as Second Language will also be a curricular requirement. In addition to this curriculum, each Mission Institute will have the opportunity to develop its own call and vision, focusing on specific ministries, countries, or world religions. For this reason, the base curriculum offered in Appendix A of this research provides general subjects for study in all institutes, but leaves space for the addition of topics dealing with specific areas of concern. Andrews University provides three hours of undergraduate or graduate academic credit for each class. Efforts will be made to allow South American Division institutions to do the same.

2. Phases—Training will be delivered in two or three phases, depending on whether the missionary candidate will serve as a short-term or long-term missionary. Short-term missionaries will be trained in two phases: lecture and outreach. During the lecture phase, missionaries will learn not only from lectures but also from team interactions, community living, and practical training. The outreach phase focuses on applying what was learned in the classroom through an intense cross-cultural experience. Long-term missionary training will consist of three phases: orientation, lecture, and mission in context, which are respectively intended to raise awareness about the privileges and demands of the missionary life, qualify trainees for mission service, and provide local instruction on the peculiarities of the specific area where missionaries will serve.

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[32] These five areas of need were adapted from the Adventist Frontier Mission training curriculum, which is recognized in Adventist circles as one of the best available. Adventist Frontier Mission, *AFM Training Tasks Based on the Needs of the Lost* (Berrien Springs, MI: Adventist Frontier Mission, 2014), 1–4.

3.   Duration—Training will be provided in modules of three, twelve, or twenty weeks, depending on the missionary's choice of mission opportunities offered at the Mission Institute. Missionaries serving for three weeks to three months will be required to take a three-week module. Those whose mission work lasts four months to two years will be required to take a twelve-week module. Long-term missionaries will be required to complete the three phases of training in a twenty-week module. However, duration of training may vary according to the previous missionary experience of the candidate.

4.   Location—Training locations should offer a live-learn environment where students live together in dormitories, study together in class, and are enabled to serve together in the field. The seventeen tertiary educational institutions of the division are the ideal location to house the training part of the mission-sending process, considering that the complete infrastructure for lodging, meals, and classrooms is already in place. However, other sponsoring institutions could utilize CATRE or other locations that adequately meet these needs.

5.   Cost—Training costs will reflect the duration of the training module and the mission assignment. In other words, they will include courses, lodging, meals, travel, and insurance. Long-term missionaries' financial plans will include the costs with salaries and retirement plans. Prospective missionaries may choose not to take a mission assignment after the training session; in this case, they would only pay for the costs related to training. Thus, each Mission Institute will define the training/sending costs for the missionary opportunities offered, while missionary candidates will choose which Mission Institute to apply to.

Mission Opportunities

Each Mission Institute will offer one or more of the following mission opportunities, which vary in duration from a weekend to a lifetime:

1. Encounter Mission Teams—Designed to give prospective missionaries the opportunity to spend a weekend exploring one of a number of "One Year in Mission" projects around the South American Division. The goal is to provide candidates with a taste of what it is like to live crossing boundaries.

2. Mission Trips—Mission Institutes will take mission teams to a variety of countries where they maintain missionaries and projects. The initiatives will take place as part of the outreach phase of the training of short-term missionaries.

3. Gap Quarter, Semester, or Year Placements—Provides missionaries with the opportunity to work alongside long-term missionaries around the world. Areas of service include working with children and youth, teaching English, administration, leading worship, and the list goes on! Projects last four months to one year.

4. Short-Term Mission—Allow missionaries to share their skills in theology, training, medicine, education, and/or community development with one of the organization's partners, for a period of time that lasts from four months to two years.

5. Tentmakers—Mission Institutes will equip and nurture Adventist professionals who want to work in a specific mission field in areas such as business, medicine, teaching, engineering, software consulting, and others. Tentmakers support themselves while reaching out to people who may not have the chance to hear the gospel except through their witness.

6.   Long-Term Mission—Long-term missionaries work alongside local Seventh-day Adventist missions, conferences, or unions in a wide range of roles: theological education, community transformation, leadership training, medical practice, agricultural programs, IT, etc. Long-term missionaries are expected to serve from four years to a lifetime.

Funding

South American Division Mission Institutes are committed to financially supporting their missionaries. On the other hand, the organization understands that each missionary's call is confirmed when they see God open doors to fund their ministry. For this reason, prospective missionaries will be trained to build fundraising skills that will enable them to fund their ministry by building supporting teams.[33]

Thus, each missionary will raise enough funds to meet their own financial needs. For most missionaries, these funds will come from friends, family, and churches. Other workers will rely on their own savings, part-time jobs, foreign employment, small businesses, or even pension income. Some Seventh-day Adventist institutions may decide to keep one or more workers on their payroll while accepting their requests and assigning them to be trained and sent as missionaries.

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[33] Betty Barnett, *Friend Raising: Building a Missionary Support Team That Lasts* (Seattle, WA: YWAM Publishing, 1991), 1–160; Peter Harris and Rod Wilson, *Keeping Faith in Fundraising* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2017), 1–150; Ellen Bristol, *Fundraising the SMART Way: Predictable, Consistent Income Growth for Your Charity* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2014), 1–256; Brian Rust and Barry McLeish, *The Support-Raising Handbook: A Guide for Christian Workers* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1984), 9–117; Kim Klein, *Ask and You Shall Receive: A Fundraising Training Program for Religious Organizations and Projects* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2000), 1–143; William P. Dillon, *People Raising: A Practical Guide to Raising Support* (Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1993), 3–248.

In any case, the Mission Institute fundraising director will support missionaries in the fundraising process by providing training and resources that will better equip them to begin raising financial support or strengthen their support teams. Additionally, Mission Institutes will make efforts to raise their own financial support to meet their operational, communication, and expansion needs.

This chapter suggested a flexible, decentralized, and self-reproductive mission-sending model for the South American Division based on biblical principles, historical lessons, and current practices of successful mission organizations. In addition, special characteristics of the division such as (1) number of members, (2) number of institutions, (3) finances, (4) qualified workers, and (5) youth were considered in order to orient the model in regard to crucial aspects of the execution of mission work, which include (1) an organized structure; (2) recruiting; (3) training; (4) providing mission opportunities; and (5) funding. The final chapter will present conclusions and recommendations, mostly related to the implementation of the model.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The missionary God of the Bible is a sending God. Since Adam and Eve were sent from the Garden of Eden, God has continued to involve Himself with His creation, sending various messengers in order to bridge the gap caused by sin, to reveal Himself and His will, and to restore this planet to its original state. Whenever God is about to move forward to advance His mission, He invites His servants to join Him so that every aspect of His mission will be accomplished through them. Indeed, sending has been defined as the divine modus operandi.

Of all the sending activities of God, the sending of the Son is central, for it was the culmination of the ministry of the prophets, it embraced within itself as its climax the sending of the Holy Spirit, and it provided an understanding of the nature of the church's mission. When Jesus sent the disciples (John 20:21), He was simply announcing a continuation of the mission for which the Father had sent Him. The disciples received no new commission, but carried out His. Consequently, the church should define its mission based on an accurate understanding of Jesus' mission.

Since the mission of the church flows from the divine sending and is a participant in it, sending defines not one task of the church but its very nature and being, a natural implication of participating in what God has been doing. Thus, sending and being sent are central to what the church is and does in order to perform its role as an instrument of

God's mission. When this sending activity is not taking place and the church is only concerned with its well-being or the maintenance of its existence, it is not being true to its fundamental nature.

The Gentile church of Antioch seems to have been the first to evidence an understanding of the missionary sending nature of the church, as they accepted their missionary call in both local and worldwide terms. They were the first to preach beyond Jerusalem to people who had no connection with the synagogue and were the first to be called Christians. In Antioch, the divine principle of cooperation by which the human and the divine work together to accomplish God's purpose of salvation was clearly displayed.

Until this point, missionary work, especially in relation to the Gentiles, had mostly been done in an almost fortuitous way. In Antioch, however, the Holy Spirit added intentionality to the process and mission became the result of planned, structured actions, marking the beginning of the church's engagement in organized mission. It was also the Holy Spirit who led the church in Antioch to understand that one of the ways Christians would be enabled to effectively carry the gospel across geographic, cultural, linguistic, and religious boundaries was the formation of missionary bands.

As time went by and the church spread across the Roman Empire, it became clear that there was no one center, no single strategy, but a united understanding that the work was to spread the message of Jesus and His life to all peoples. History reveals that similar flexible, decentralized, and self-reproductive mission structures, whose committed members were bound by ties that went beyond church membership, have repeatedly served as God's instruments in different times and forms, to take the gospel to new cultures and places.

Evidence of this suggestion is found in the missionary work of: (1) the Celtic Christian Communities—400s–600s—a monastic movement in Ireland; (2) the Waldensians—1100s—a reform movement in Italy and France; (3) the Moravians—1700s—a Protestant church in Germany; (4) mission societies—1800s—foreign mission organizations in Europe and in the United States; and (5) Adventism—1889–1901, as a denominational foreign mission organization in the United States, and 1901–2010, as a worldwide denominational organization.

Now, in an unprecedented initiative, the South American Division has decided to join the long list of instruments God has used to take His message to the ends of the earth by sending frontline missionaries to serve in different countries in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. Currently, there are twenty-seven families fully funded and logistically supported by the division.

Mission historian Andrew Walls analyzes the transmission of the Christian faith as well as the origin of the modern missionary movement. His studies suggest—and the history of the missionary movements mentioned above strongly supports—that successful missionary work depends on the combination of three preconditions, equally indispensable: (1) a corps of committed people; (2) an organization equipped to recruit, train, send, and care for this missionary force; and (3) sustained access to international locations. The absence of one or more of these elements historically resulted in times when Protestants were unable to establish missions even when they were willing to do so.

Although the South American Division can positively identify the first and third factors, it lacks an organization exclusively dedicated to foreign mission. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the missionary movement has achieved its most effective results

through the agency of mission-sending organizations exclusively dedicated to foreign missions. These organizations provide the necessary structure so that mission work is done not as a single project but as a growing and continuous activity.

The mission-sending model suggested in the previous chapter of this research is intended to provide the South American Division with a vehicle exclusively dedicated to making as accessible as possible to as many disciples as possible the opportunity to consciously exercise their remnant role—to live and proclaim the advent message to all the world in their generation.

This flexible, decentralized, and self-reproductive organizational model was based on biblical principles, historical lessons, and current practices of successful mission organizations presented throughout this research. In addition, special characteristics of the division such as (1) number of members, (2) number of institutions, (3) finances, (4) qualified workers, and (5) youth were considered in order to orient the model. Finally, crucial aspects related to the execution of mission work were discussed, such as (1) an organized structure; (2) recruiting; (3) training; (4) mission opportunities; and (5) funding.

My intention in undertaking this five-year journey was not just to write an academic work, but to produce something that God could use to build His kingdom and save millions of people for the kingdom of heaven. For this reason, after having read hundreds of books, talked to leaders of mission-sending organizations on four continents, and studied the subject for five consecutive years, it all being tempered by eighteen years of ministerial service and fully covered by constant prayer, I strongly recommend that

this mission-sending model be implemented in the South American Division of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

With this in mind and for the purpose of facilitating this process, I would like to make a few recommendations. First, to create a World Mission Department at the division level. This is perhaps the most important single action that will enable the South American Division to perform its threefold role: (1) to be the official voice of cross-cultural mission work in its territory, constantly promoting the challenge remaining and the needs of the mission fields, as well as presenting success stories; (2) to coordinate and support the establishment and operation of mission-sending structures within its territory; and (3) to constantly feed the mission-sending process by establishing consistent partnerships with other divisions of the church, as well as meeting all legal and institutional requirements of the General Conference.

Second, to appoint a commission to write a working policy to be adopted by each Mission Institute. The purpose of this policy is to offer principles of operation that will orient the conception and execution of all projects at home and in the mission field. Moreover, it will provide guidelines that will promote an expanding future for the mission structure.

Third, the following steps should be considered before implementing the model: (1) to enrich the model by discussing it with a commission composed of representatives of university and college directors, union and conference administrators, and the division's World Mission Department committee; (2) to vote on the final version of the mission-sending model at the South American Division Executive Committee; (3) to present the model to the executive committee of each union, university, and college of the

division; (4) to launch the mission-sending model during a weekend at all universities and colleges of the division; (5) to launch the mission-sending model during a special event at each conference and mission of the division in the following months. the division, such as Núcleo de Missão e Crescimento de Igreja [Mission and Church Growth Center], Instituto de Missões do Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo (UNASP-SP) [UNASP-SP Mission Institute], and Instituto de Missões do Instituto Adventista do Parana (IAP) [IAP Mission Institute], should receive special support to implement the model. These are the forerunners and trendsetters of what we expect to become a multiplying movement in South America.

I envision a time when every mission-minded leader of the different institutions of the Adventist Church in the South American Division will have the opportunity and receive motivation to implement this model. Many of these institutions are already sufficiently equipped to do so. Others have most of what is required to develop the capability of establishing Mission Institutes.

Moreover, I anticipate the moment when Mission Institutes will be established in all divisions of the church, making it possible for all who feel called to mission work anywhere on earth to have an accessible pathway to receive training and test their missionary vocation. Such a development will promote a denominational sharing of resources for mission such as skilled people, financial resources, prayer support, specialized training, and information, resulting in collective missiological enrichment.

The all-embracing worldwide mission of the Seventh-day Adventist Church demands the engagement of all who count themselves among the end-time remnant people. Perhaps the establishment of Mission Institutes, exclusively dedicated to foreign

missions, is the bridge that will enable the denomination to send thousands of

missionaries from everywhere to everywhere, efficiently connecting those who want to

go to the areas that desperately need to receive them. Why not initiate this process in the

South American Division?

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