ASSEMBLIES OF GOD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

A COURSE ON INDIGENOUS CHURCH PRINCIPLES FOR NATIVE AMERICAN LEADERS IN THE NORTH-CENTRAL REGION OF THE UNITED STATES

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JOHN RUE DAVIS

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ABSTRACT

This project set out to investigate how many Native American Assemblies of God churches in the north-central region of the United States utilize indigenous church principles and to improve the education of local church leadership on the nature and value of indigenous churches. Initial research began by establishing through official statistics and interviews with Fellowship supervisors that most of these churches were neither self-governing nor self-supporting. The research then focused on finding a clear biblical model for how new churches were supported, governed, and propagated. Existing missionary theory was then examined on the same topics. Finally, missionary outreach to American Indians was examined historically to see what had been the actual practice.

The results of this research were then used to construct a seminar tailored to presenting the indigenous church model to local Native American church leadership in four churches in four states of this region. The results from the pre-session instrument showed that most local leaders who participated in the seminar began with ideas that were not consistent with the indigenous church model. However, at the completion of the seminar, the post-session instrument showed that they were aware of the information supporting the indigenous model and willing to answer according to this information. This change is significant since the seminar contradicts and implicitly condemns current practice.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The American Christian church has viewed Native Americans as a mission field for at least three hundred and fifty years since the early Puritan efforts at converting the surrounding tribes. The efforts continued at various levels throughout the colonial period and during the settlement of the continent by Europeans. Although after this conquest the missionary effort moved from foreign to home missions status, it has continued to this day. While there have been both successes and failures during this time, as it will be shown later in this project, a very large majority of the Native American population has not been converted.[1] Since there are in excess of five hundred recognized tribes and major regional variations, it is beyond the scope of this project to deal with all aspects of the problem. The author will instead limit this study to the condition of Native American Assemblies of God churches in the North-Central region of the United States, especially the Dakotas. The author has direct experience in this area as he currently is training leadership for ministry in this region of the nation among existing Native American churches.[2]

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[1]Refer to the statistics in table 1 of chapter 3 that show that most Native Americans have not identified with the Church.

[2]The author has served as an appointed home missionary with U.S. Missions of the Assemblies of God in South Dakota since 1998, first teaching at Black Hills Indian Bible College and now with Institute for Ministry Development.

The Problem

Few ethnic Native American Assemblies of God churches in the North-Central region of the United States are indigenous based on the commonly accepted three-self standard.[3] That is, they do not meet the test of being "self-governing," "self-supporting," and "self-propagating." In particular, these churches are not "self-supporting" and "self-governing." This is a generality but one that is demonstrable, in part, statistically and, in part, by the assessment of denominational leadership. The author will approach the matter first from the available statistics and then from the assessment of those who have oversight of these churches.

The General Council of the Assemblies of God maintains statistics on its churches through a self-reporting system called the Annual Church Ministries Report (ACMR). The ACMR is a report on the strength and activities of local churches. It requires answers to questions on attendance, church programs, membership, church income, the value of church property, ethnicity, and related areas. This information is available in summary form through the Assemblies of God Office of the Statistician. The Office of the Statistician does not release information from individual churches, due to privacy considerations. The author accessed this information to provide points of comparison between the Assemblies of God churches in the North-Central region as a whole and the Native American Assemblies of God churches in the North-Central region (hereafter Native American churches).

[3] Chapter 3 will explore the definition of "indigenous church" and "contextualized church planting."

The Assemblies of God divides churches into two groups based on local church strength. The first group is General Council affiliated. They manage their own affairs through local leaders, generally by some form of church board. The second group consists of district-affiliated churches, which means that the district exercises the management function. On a statistical level only one of twenty-three or (4.3 percent) of Native American churches in the region are General Council affiliated churches.[4] This compares with 336 of 817 or (41 percent) of Assemblies of God churches overall for the region.[5] This means most Native American churches cannot manage their own affairs and their respective districts manage them.

The author interviewed the district superintendent or person assigned by the district to oversee Native American churches in South Dakota, North Dakota, and Montana concerning the condition of these churches.[6] As a balance, the author also interviewed the President of the Assemblies of God Native American Fellowship and the Wesleyan Director for Native Americans concerning their churches in South Dakota. Everyone interviewed mentioned the need for stronger local leadership when asked, "What are their greatest needs?" Norman Freitag, the North Dakota superintendent, was

[4] Sheri L. Doty, e-mail (Springfield, Mo.: Statistician for the General Council of the Assemblies of God, 22 August 2005).

[5]The National statistics are also very poor. Only fifteen of one hundred seventy eight or 8 percent of Native American churches are sovereign. Sherri L. Doty, "Acm 762," (Springfield, Mo.: Statistician for the General Council of the Assemblies of God, 2000).

[6]Appendix A is the form the author used for interviews and has four questions: How many Native American churches are there in your district? What are their greatest needs? What are their greatest strengths? How many are dependent on some source of funds outside the local church? The notes from these interviews are in the author's possession.

representative and the most succinct saying, "local leaders, lay leadership."[7] Richard Stewart of the Montana district expressed the need as, "stability of the local church … [through] lay leadership."[8] Adrian Jacobs, the Wesleyan director for Native Americans, was the most eloquent saying, "the need to be discipled beyond subsistence level to develop local leadership."[9] The fact that everyone interviewed included stronger local leadership as part of the greatest need indicates that denominational leadership feels Native American churches are weak in the area of self-government.

The ability to assess whether Native American churches are self-supporting is more limited. The ACMR statistics do not show the sources of income for churches and, therefore, the author cannot use these statistics to answer the question. The denominational leaders charged with supervision of these churches, however, are an excellent source of information. This is because the Assemblies of God structure makes these leaders part of the official governing board for district affiliated churches. Since most Native American churches are district affiliated, these leaders have firsthand knowledge of their budgets. When asked how many Native American churches in their districts are dependent on funds from outside sources, every leader responded that three out of five or more of the Native American churches in their districts are dependent on outside sources of income.[10] As a point of comparison, the author interviewed Adrian

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[7] Rev. Norman Freitag, interview by author, notes in author's possession, 22 February 2002, Rapid City, S.Dak.

[8]Rev. Richard Stewart, interview by author, notes in author's possession, 31 January 2002, telephone interview.

[9]Rev. Adrian Jacobs, interview by author, notes in author's possession, 22 February 2002, Rapid City, S.Dak.

[10]Norman Freitag answered three of five for North Dakota. (Freitag, interview by author.) Richard Stewart answered five of seven for Montana. (Stewart, interview by author.) Stephen Schaible answered

Jacobs, the Wesleyan director for Native Americans. Jacobs told the author that all five of their churches in South Dakota are dependent on outside income.[11] Given the direct knowledge that these leaders have of Native American church operations, it is clear that most of these churches do not meet the indigenous church standard of being self-supporting.

The fact that the Native American Assemblies of God churches in the North-Central region are not "self-supporting" and "self-governing" means that the local congregations are not taking responsibility for their own long established churches but are relying on outsiders for money and leadership. As will be seen in chapter 2, this lack of commitment is uncharacteristic of New Testament churches that took on these responsibilities very quickly. The Assemblies of God views, "The Bible as our all sufficient rule for faith and practice."[12] The situation among Native American Assemblies of God churches in the North-Central region represents a clear lack of conformity to New Testament practice. This is the problem that this project will address.

The Purpose

Since the only people who can change this situation are the leaders of the local Native American churches, any solution must involve them. By contrast, though

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five of six for South Dakota. (Rev. Stephen Schaible, interview by author, notes in author's possession, 2 April 2002, Rapid City, S.Dak.)

[11](Jacobs, interview by author.) John Maracle, president of the Assemblies of God Native American Fellowship, estimated that nationally half the ethnically Indian churches were totally dependent and half were partially dependent on outside funds. (Rev. John Maracle, interview by author, notes in author's possession, 2 February 2002, Rapid City, S.Dak.)

[12]The General Council of the Assemblies of God, "Minutes of the 50th Session of the General Council of the Assemblies of God with Revised Constitution and Bylaws," (Springfield, Mo.: The General Council of the Assemblies of God, 2003), 88.

missionaries may influence these churches, they themselves are always outsiders and cannot take the "three-self" responsibilities. In the same way, district leaders, while often involved in the administration of these churches, are not part of these churches and, therefore, cannot take the "three-self" responsibilities. The purpose of this project is to create a seminar for the Institute for Ministry Development that will educate local Native American church leaders on the biblical nature and value of indigenous churches. The seminar will be presented in multiple churches to reach as many leaders as possible both during and following the completion of this project. The biblical basis for this seminar will be explored in chapter two. Chapter three will consider the definitions of indigenous church and contextualized church planting.

The Plan

To reach the greatest number of Native American church leaders, a seminar will be developed to present the concepts of "three-self" churches. The seminar will take an indirect approach to this subject by presenting the development of churches in the New Testament. The seminar will present three-self churches as the biblical pattern by using examples of churches in Acts and the Pauline epistles. It will guide the participants through this material without demanding that they immediately employ it. This approach is generally compatible with the preferred learning style of many Native Americans, which is to observe until they are confident of themselves before acting.[13] The seminar will be designed for presentation in local Native American churches on Wednesday evenings or Sunday afternoons following a meal since these are the times when the

[13]Hap Gilliland, *Teaching the Native American*, 2d ed. (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall Hunt Publishing, 1992) 61.

largest groups of local leaders are likely to be assembled. This approach sets the time available at two to three hours since this is about as long as most leaders will comfortably remain after the meal.

A pre-session instrument and a post-session instrument will evaluate the effectiveness of the seminar. The tests ask specific questions about how new churches operated in the New Testament. The tests are essentially identical and are designed to be non-threatening and appear as an integral part of the seminar by deliberate similarity to adult Sunday school material. The pre-session and post-session instruments will be identical except for the heading and are included in appendix B. The pre-session instrument is in the form of a familiar Sunday school technique called “Get Started Thinking!” and the post-session instrument is called “Now what do you think?” The pre-session and post-session instruments include four questions: What are the main qualifications for church leaders in the New Testament? Who was responsible for evangelism in the new churches? Where did the money come from to run the new churches? How long did missionaries usually stay when they planted a church? The success of the seminar will be judged by any changes in participants’ responses from the pre-test to the post-test.

CHAPTER 2

BIBLICAL-THEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

Chapter 2 will address the scriptural foundations for indigenous church doctrine. It will seek principles and examples that apply to the Church in any context. Although the Old Testament setting is pre-Church Age, it does provide the context that produced the Church and examples of how God's people organized for religious purposes. The New Testament provides examples and teaching about managing the expansion of the Church into new places. The purpose of this chapter is to examine this material for indigenous church principles to present to local Native American church leaders, so that they, in turn, can adapt the concepts to their local churches.

Old Testament Context

In examining the Old Testament, a distinction must be made between religious and national functions. Although these overlap in a theocracy, they are separated in the Church Age, and Jesus insisted, "My kingdom is not of this world" (John 18:36, KJV). For example, the Church is concerned with disciplining only its members and not the world (1 Cor. 5:12). In the Old Testament theocracy, the full weight of governing the righteous, the unrighteous, and sojourning outsiders had to be taken into account. Because of this and other differences, much of the material contained in the Old Testament is concerned with matters that are not ecclesiastical in nature. The research will focus only on the issues applicable to indigenous church practices. Answers will be sought for how religious institutions are supported, and from where and to whom

benevolence flows. This study will only examine issues of governance concerned with discipline and doctrine. The author will examine these for patterns that fit both in a theocracy and in a local church context. As there is little example of intentional outreach, the author will not examine this area. An advantage of including the Old Testament in this study is that it covers a long sweep of history and a variety of conditions. This provides a check against the brevity of the New Testament period that is limited entirely to the Roman Empire and Church history spanning a much shorter time. This section will examine the material from four periods—wilderness, judges, monarchial, and postexilic.

Finances

During the wilderness period, there is little indication in Scripture that religious institutions received ongoing support from the people. Presumably, everyone gathered his or her omer of manna daily, and there was no need to support anyone. Alternatively, it is possible that most people were in rebellion against giving any support.[14] Deuteronomy 12:5-7 describes the duty of bringing tithes, offerings, and firstfruits to the central sanctuary by the Israelites once they are in the land. This is in contrast to the then current situation where, “Every man [is doing] whatsoever is right in his own eyes” (v.8). However, the model for supporting religious institutions by tithes given in this passage is merely a reiteration of the law given earlier in Numbers 18:21-32. Here the Levites are to receive the tithe of the nation and, in turn, tithe to the priests. Wenham observes that this

[14]Oswald T. Allis, *God Spake by Moses: An Exposition of the Pentateuch* (Great Britain: The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1951), 115. Allis suggests that Num. 15:2 “impl[ies] that the priestly ritual of the tabernacle was in abeyance during the wilderness period (cf. Amos 5:25; Acts 7:42).”

"would have constituted a huge income for them if the nation had been faithful in paying them."[15] However, the faithfulness of the nation to these instructions was not very strong.

There is no mention in Scripture of tithe paying during the period of the judges. Rather, the Law seems to have been largely ignored. The statement from Deuteronomy is repeated twice: "Every man did that which was right in his own eyes" (Judg. 17:6; 21:25). The only possible exception is when the people came to the sanctuary with offerings (1 Sam. 1-2), but Scripture never refers to these as tithes.

Even in the period of the monarchy, the first mention of tithing does not occur until the reign of Uzziah in Amos 4:4. The reference, however, does assume the widespread knowledge and acceptance of the practice. Likewise, during this time the only mention of firstfruits involves the irregular giving of them to some prophets (2 Kings 4:42). Again, the context assumes widespread knowledge of the practice. The principle is formally recognized and put into practice in the time of Hezekiah. Concerning this, Allen remarks, "Judean readers would have realized that the specifications of firstfruits and tithes earmarked for such support were derived from the Torah."[16] Their recognition and acceptance of their responsibility is so overwhelming that the prepared storage is inadequate. It is clear that whether or not such giving was always practiced, it was accepted as a doctrine.

In the postexilic period, tithing to support religious institutions was a clearly recognized duty as shown by its inclusion in the oath taken by the people that they would

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[15]Gordon J. Wenham, *Numbers: An Introduction and Commentary*, vol. 4, *The Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries*, ed. D. J. Wiseman (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1981), 145.

[16]Leslie C. Allen, *1, 2 Chronicles*, vol. 10, *The Communicator's Commentary*, ed. Lloyd J. Ogilvie (Waco, Tex.: Word Books, 1987), 396.

tithe for the support of the Levites and priests (Neh. 10). Its fulfillment, however, still fell short as is seen when the oath was quickly broken (13:10-13) and when condemnation was heaped upon those failing to tithe (Mal. 3:8-12).

In summary, the basic pattern of support for religious institutions was intended to be tithing. The tithes were to flow from the people to the Levites, who were then to send on a tithe from their portion to the priests. That is, the money was intended to flow from the local people toward the central sanctuary.

Benevolence was entirely a local affair in the Old Testament. In the wilderness period, there was no need for benevolence because of the blessing of the manna and the clothing that did not wear out. The means for handling benevolence in later periods was laid out by Moses in three separate provisions. First, the poor were to be permitted to glean fields, vineyards, and orchards. Craigie observes that this method of support "would be such that they could maintain their honor and self-respect. They would not have to beg or seek a 'hand-out' … they would work for their own small harvest."[17] Second, a provision was given in Deuteronomy 14:28-29 for the people to set aside tithes every third year for relief of the poor. Thompson indicates, "The whole tithe was to be stored in the village … and not taken to the central sanctuary. It was to be used for the relief of local need."[18] This would locally make available a regularly replenished store for emergency needs and for those unable to glean the fields. The third provision was simply to loan the poor what they needed: "If there is a poor man among your brothers in any of

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[17]Peter C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, *The New International Commentary on the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 311.

[18]J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy: An Introduction and Commentary*, vol. 5, *The Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries*, ed. D. J. Wiseman (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1974), 184.

the towns of the land that the LORD your God is giving you, do not be hardhearted or tightfisted toward your poor brother. Rather be openhanded and freely lend him whatever he needs" (Deut. 15:7-8 NIV). This practice was made even more generous later when Moses specified that no interest could be charged on loans to fellow Israelites (Deut. 23:19). Gamoran asserts, "When Israel created its law against interest, the only loans that were given were loans to the poor and the hungry."[19] Further, if the law was fully practiced, such a loan would approach being a gift as God instructed that all debts be forgiven every seventh year (Deut. 15:1).

It is not clear how well the instructions given for dealing with benevolence through Moses were implemented in later times. The book of Ruth, which is set in the period of the judges, assumes the poor have the right to glean and makes it critical to the story. There are no references in Scripture to the poor gleaning in later periods. Whether Scripture simply does not mention the custom or it ceased is not clear. The only reference to practice of the third-year tithe is in Amos 4:4, where those involved are condemned for the hypocrisy of engaging in this charity while simultaneously mistreating the poor. The mention, however, establishes the institution as being observed as late as the time of Jeroboam II. Loans to the poor seem to have occurred but not necessarily as a form of benevolence. Stein suggests a long list of instances where Scripture condemns loans for interest.[20] The miracle story of the prophet's widow and the bottomless oil jar in 2 Kings 4 shows the hardness of at least some of the lenders. In the postexilic period, Nehemiah 4

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[19]Hillel Gamoran, "The Biblical Law against Loans on Interest," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 30, no. 1 (1971): 128.

[20]S. Stein, "The Laws on Interest in the Old Testament," *Journal of Theological Studies* 4, no. 2 (1953): 169-169.

shows proper exercise of loans to the poor when the poor appeal to Nehemiah, who is loaning funds in a charitable manner and demands that others do the same. There is nomention at any time of funds being taken from one region and sent to another for the purpose of benevolence.

Governance

An examination of governance answers two key questions applicable to indigenous church issues:

(1) What is the basis for proper decision-making?

(2) Are disciplinary decisions made locally or at a higher level?

Beginning in the wilderness period, the basis for proper decisions was God's revealed will through His prophets directly and as preserved in their writings. The establishment of this pattern began with Moses receiving God's Word, particularly when he carried the Law down Mount Sinai. The instructions given during the Mosaic period also presume that this pattern will continue. Those in leadership who were not also prophets were to use this material for direction. Even while Aaron was still undergoing his consecration ceremony, God gave him instructions for himself and his descendants: "You must teach the Israelites all the decrees the LORD has given them through Moses" (Lev. 10:11 NIV). God provided a variety of means to accomplish this task. Some were quite practical, involving ordinary things such as teaching about determinations of leprosy (Deut. 24:8). Others were formal such as the instructions given to read the Law to the assembled people during the Sabbath year (31:10-13). In yet another example, in anticipation of the monarchy, the future king was to make a copy of the Law from one

provided to him by the priests, and, thus, "Follow carefully all the words of this law and these decrees" (17:18). In all these areas, the pattern is the same: to know God's Word and act accordingly.

What is said about later periods generally seems to bear out this pattern. Even though the period of the judges shows individualism in control and central authority broken down, the sole reference to authoritative instruction fits the pattern of activity according to God's Word. In 1 Samuel 12:25, Samuel promises to continue teaching the people in spite of their demand for a king. It is unclear whether Samuel is speaking by his authority to reveal God's Word as a prophet or as the surviving public link to the sanctuary, and, therefore, custodian of the Law. In either case, the pattern that God's revealed Word is the authoritative source of doctrine continues.

During the period of the monarchy, Jehoshaphat sent out a group from Jerusalem with the Book of the Law to teach the people (2 Chron. 17:9-11). Again, the authority came from God's revealed Word contained in the Book of the Law. The only recorded instance of a king having a copy of the law is the child king Joash, to whom Jehoiada gave a copy at his coronation (2 Kings 11:12) fulfilling the demand of Deuteronomy 17:19.[21] This shows the king in the position of receiving the Law as a part of his investiture to direct him during his reign.

The pattern of doctrine coming from the Law is even stronger in the postexilic period. In Ezra 7:25, the Persian monarch sends Ezra with full authority to establish normative teaching based on the Law. Scripture shows the authority of the Law over

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[21]Carl Schultz, "עדות," in *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament,* ed. R. Laird Harris (Grand Rapid: Eerdmans, 1980), 1577. According to Schultz, the "testimony" that Joash received may be identified with the Law and fulfills instruction in Deut. 17:19-20.

local practice when the local acceptance of mixed marriages was found to be in conflict with the revealed Law. The Law is held to be authoritative even over individual opposition and at the cost of destroying families. Again, in Nehemiah 8, the Law is read to the people who respond with obedience immediately by celebrating the feast of tabernacles, of which they seem to have been previously unaware. Thus, throughout the Old Testament, it is clear that while the people did not always obey the Law nor did they know all of its contents, they did not challenge its authority as the basis for decision-making.

While doctrine was established by the Law, disciplinary matters were generally resolved as locally as possible. The pattern of keeping discipline local first appears in Exodus 18, during the wilderness period and actually predates the giving of the Law. Moses, exhausted by the demands of the people, received advice from Jethro to appoint levels of leaders who would bring matters to him only when they were unable to resolve them at a lower level.

Deuteronomy 1:14-16, formalizes instructions for the pattern of keeping decisions at as low a level as possible once the people were in Canaan. This is then repeated in 16:18. The breadth of examples where local leaders had authority to act is quite wide. The people are instructed to use the local elders in cases that include murder and extradition in 19:11,12; rebellious sons in 21:19; disputes over a bride's virginity in 22:15; and Levirate marriages in 25:7. These examples demonstrate a pattern of using elders that Huey says extended to, "all parts of Israel's history."[22] Only when the matter

[22]F. B. Huey, *Ruth*, vol. 3, in *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, ed. Frank E. Gaebelein (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), 541.

is too hard for a local decision is the matter to be forwarded to the central authority (17:8-13).

Instructions in Joshua 20:1-6 demonstrate the application of local primacy in the land during the period of the judges. The narrative in Ruth 4:1-12 also shows this practice. In the first passage, where murder is the issue, the elders act first even though there is provision for a central appeals process. In the second, where only domestic issues are under consideration, the elders alone appear. In the monarchial period, the people recognized the king as the supreme appellate judge. The villages, however, continued to be the primary location for disciplinary actions. Aside from the local elders, 1 Chronicles 23:4 placed six thousand Levites as judges in the land, and in 2 Chronicles 19:5, Jehoshaphat appointed judges in all the cities, thus placing disciplinary action close to any offense. Scripture shows the same pattern in the postexilic period when the Persian king gave Ezra authority to place judges in all the cities (Ezra 7:25). Even when the people brought mixed-marriage cases to Jerusalem to be dealt with in Ezra chapter 10, the local element appeared accompanying those involved. It is clear from this survey of the Old Testament that the people considered discipline first as a local matter.

Summary of Old Testament Findings

A summary of the issues from the Old Testament applicable to indigenous church issues shows four things. First, support for religious institutions flows from the local level to the central authority without exception. Second, benevolence is entirely a local issue with a variety of mechanisms all placed within the local context. Third, the Law establishes doctrine. To keep it before the people, Moses and, later, the priests were made custodians of the Law with the charge to teach the people. Fourth, discipline takes place

primarily in the local context and only goes to a central authority when matters are irresolvable. Although the amount of information varies in different periods, what is available shows these patterns are consistent throughout the Old Testament. It is likely, then, that a church begun by Jews would organize itself in a way that was consistent with their previous history in these areas.

New Testament

The New Testament provides the model for managing the expansion of the Church. My purpose is to examine the New Testament for patterns and instructions on proper management of new churches in the areas of support, governance, and propagation. Where the Old Testament provides general examples of how God's people organized themselves, the New Testament presents the pattern for the Church. This is particularly true as it documents the handling of a major expansion of the Church across cultural lines by the Apostles. The author believes that the New Testament represents the normative pattern for the Church and that it should still be the standard for all Church issues. As such, the way the Apostles directed the issues of support, governance, and propagation in local churches should be the guide for handling these issues today. In examining the New Testament model, the author will look first at the Jerusalem church, then at the initial expansion following the martyrdom of Stephen, the church at Antioch, and, finally, the work of the Pauline group. Following this survey, the author will address the governance issues for established and new churches by considering their relationships with one another as well as the proper basis for decision making.

The Jerusalem Church

Acts gives more detailed information on the Jerusalem church than any other local church, which makes its example especially important. Although unique in some respects, Jervell says, "The development of the Jerusalem church in Acts is typical, as this church in the beginning was more complex and manifold than later."[23] The large number of pilgrims present at its founding is one reason suggested for this complexity. In any case, there are at least two linguistic groups and numerous nationalities foreshadowing the conditions of later church plantings. Likewise, outsiders planted the church in Jerusalem, even though it was the first church and, thus, could have no mother church. The Apostles clearly filled the role of church planters for the Jerusalem church, introducing the resurrection gospel to the masses with the preaching and miracle of the Day of Pentecost. Where there was no church the day before, there was now a church of over three thousand. Furthermore, even though the Apostles had often been in Jerusalem, they were not from Jerusalem, being mostly Galileans and part of an itinerant ministry. As a result, although the Jerusalem church does not provide an example of how to relate to a mother church, one can examine the relationship that it had with those who planted the church. Thus, a study of the Jerusalem church, planted by outsiders and experiencing typical development, provides material in which patterns of New Testament Church development may be sought.

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[23]Jacob Jervell, "The Acts of the Apostles and the History of Early Christianity," *Studia Theologica* 37, no. 1 (1983): 21.

Governance in the Jerusalem Church

Concerning the matter of governance, initially the Apostles seem to have led with demonstration of supernatural works and reference to Scripture at critical junctures. Acts 2 demonstrates this with its record of the dramatic impartation of the Spirit, followed by the apostolic witness of the Resurrection and their citation of Scripture. When administrative decisions had to be made sometime later, governance seems to have been essentially in the Apostles' hands in consultation with the congregation. An example of this joint handling of administrative responsibility occurred when the people agitated for action over the uneven distribution of benevolence funds. The Apostles responded after consultation with the believers with the appointment of seven Spirit-filled men to oversee the distribution.

The sole example of discipline mentioned in the Jerusalem church was the incident involving Ananias and Sapphira. It appears to be an exceptional situation handled by Peter, possibly as the spokesman for all the Apostles. There is an inference of supernatural intervention, although it is not expressly stated. The Apostles do not consult the congregation in this situation.

The Apostles continued to appear as the leadership as they received and apparently recognized Saul's ministry (Acts 9:27). The congregation continued to give input as well when they first questioned Peter and then accepted his actions toward the Gentiles (11:2-18). Again, at this critical juncture as in chapter 2, three elements were used to find direction. Peter is apostolic testimony to God's supernatural intervention and, then, used Jesus' words and the Old Testament to confirm his interpretation.

This pattern with the Apostles in the foremost leadership position was not permanent as local control gradually increased with the appearance of elders. The first mention of elders is in connection with an offering sent by Antioch for the poor without reference to the Apostles (11:30). The elders and James first appeared together, along with the Apostles, at the Jerusalem council, with James rather than one of the Apostles credited with summarizing the results (15:4). Later, James and the elders around him act as leaders, without mention of the Twelve, in receiving Paul and even requesting a particular course of action from him (21:18-20). This change represents a progression in administrative governance from the church planters to the local leadership. With no clear statement from Luke, Haenchen says of this process, "The Twelve fade out of Acts …without any declaration of an apostolic succession [and without indicating] whether they installed the Lord's brother James and the presbyters, who succeeded them in the leadership."[24] What is clear, however, is that with the passage of a few years, local leadership has gradually taken over administrative governance functions from those who planted the church.

Propagation of the Gospel in the Jerusalem Church

Propagation of the gospel in the early history of the Jerusalem church emphasizes the role of the Apostles. Yet, even while the Apostles remain Luke's primary focus, it is evident that their efforts were not the only propagation that was occurring by the time the Seven came into focus. Though the Seven were appointed to benevolence work, they emerged as propagators in their own right. Stephen was clearly working as an evangelist when the

[24]Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary*, 14th ed., trans. Bernard Noble and Gerald Shinn (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971), 93.

Jewish leadership seized him. Philip's actions in Samaria demonstrated that he had been active in evangelism previously and had merely been forced by circumstances to relocate his efforts. The statement in Acts 8:4, "Those who had been scattered preached the word wherever they went," indicates the continuing activities of numerous other unnamed workers. Evangelism also continued in Jerusalem following the persecution (Acts 8:1) since there were again "thousands of Jews [who] have believed" living in the city (21:20). While there may have been some apostolic involvement in this growth, it is clear that their role was fading and there is no explicit mention of evangelism by the Apostles in Jerusalem after Acts 5. At least part of the reported growth was the fruit of local workers engaged in propagation activities.

Support in the Jerusalem Church

Although there is little information about the support of general church ministries in the Jerusalem church at anytime, benevolence is mentioned often. The earliest summary of the church's benevolent activities includes Acts 2:44-45, the mention of provision for those in need. Additional details are supplied in another summary: "There were no needy persons among them. For from time to time those who owned lands or houses sold them, brought the money from the sales and put it at the Apostles' feet, and it was distributed to anyone as he had need" (Acts 4:34-35). Both the incident with Ananias and Saphira and the appointment of the Seven grow out of situations involving benevolence funds. Clearly, the Jerusalem church was taking care of the poor within its congregation.

This situation changed, however, as Bruce observes, "Later on, especially after the famine mentioned in Ch. 11:28, the Jerusalem church appears to have suffered from

chronic poverty."[25] The result appears to be that the church was no longer able to care for its poor. At this point, outside funds from wealthier churches began to arrive for the purpose of benevolence. The first mention of these outside funds is in Acts 11:29, where funds were sent from the Antioch church to the Jerusalem church at the direction of the Holy Spirit. Later, Paul mentioned the urging of the Apostles, then in Jerusalem, to "remember the poor" (Gal. 2:10). In response to this, Paul brought a significant offering from the churches of Acacia, Macedonia, and, possibly, Galatia on his last trip to Jerusalem.[26] The New Testament record makes it clear that concern for the poor was a significant issue in the Church and that it was first addressed locally and then, from the outside when local resources failed. It is significant that the funds for the relief of the poor were sent to the Jerusalem church from the outside both at the prompting of the Spirit and at apostolic request through apostolic agency.

The Initial Expansion of the Church

The description of the initial expansion of the Church into the areas surrounding Jerusalem focuses on evangelism carried out by Phillip and Peter. The only additional information is provided by two summary statements. First, the return and rapid departure of the now converted Saul ushered in a time of peace and growth for the church: "Throughout Judea, Galilee and Samaria"(Acts 9:31). There is no mention of the Apostles or outside workers being active in propagation. The second related summary statement gives similar information: "The word of God continued to increase and spread"

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[25]F. F. Bruce, *Commentary on the Book of the Acts, The New International Commentary on the New Testament,* ed. F. F. Bruce (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1954), 109.

[26]C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, vol. 7, *Black's New Testament Commentary* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1968), 386.

(Acts 12:24). The context, however, follows Herod's persecution of the Apostles, which resulted in James' martyrdom and Peter being forced to flee the area.[27] With no other Apostles ever mentioned again as active in propagation in this area, the growth may be attributed to the results of local efforts. This shows propagation in the areas surrounding Jerusalem following the same pattern as in Jerusalem. The work was started by outside church planters but was ultimately taken over by the local church.

Information on church finances and governance in the area surrounding Jerusalem is very sparse. There is virtually no information about church support aside from the housing given Peter and the praise given Dorcas for her benevolent acts. It might be inferred that at least traveling church workers received room and board. In the case of Dorcas, even less information is available, since it is not clear if she acted alone or through the church. The information about church governance is also minimal. A disciplinary action might be inferred in the rebuke of Simon and comparable to the situation involving Ananias and Saphira. The context, however, shows the rebuke to have been a spontaneous response to sin rising up in a meeting rather than an administrative act. Therefore, there is not enough information to establish any real pattern in how these issues were handled. The Antioch Church

In Antioch, outside sources provide most of the recorded evangelistic efforts. The initial church planters were Cypriots and Cyrenians, who were escaping persecution in Jerusalem. Mention is also made soon afterward of Barnabus and Saul. Again, the recorded reports cover only a brief period, from the beginning of the church until immediately following. Scripture provides no information on the methods of propagation

[27]Peter's presence in Antioch mentioned in Gal. 2:11 may be the result of this flight.

after the church at Antioch was well established. What can be said is that the outsiders about whom we have information left fairly soon for other ministry and the church continued to thrive in their absence. This implies that local efforts at propagation had replaced those of the church planters.

Another way of looking at how the Antioch church handled propagation involves no speculation. It is their assumption of missionary activity. In contrast to the church in Jerusalem that was driven by persecution to a de facto missions program, the Antioch church voluntarily sent out missionaries (Acts 13:1-4). Such a commitment to missions makes it unlikely that the work at home was neglected.

There is also no mention of the expenditure of funds locally in Antioch. However, they did send funds to Jerusalem for relief efforts. In addition, although it is not explicitly stated, the church apparently gave traveling funds to the delegation sent to Jerusalem and later the missionaries sent out to Cyprus. The alternative possibility is to suppose that Paul and Barnabus were independently wealthy, since there is no indication they stopped to work on this journey. It would seem likely that a church that would fund external relief and missionary activities would also take care of internal ministries.

The administrative governance of the church in Antioch seems to have been in the hands of teachers and prophets who originated elsewhere. Most notable among these is Barnabus who was sent there by the Jerusalem church presumably to look into the state of affairs of the Antioch church. These leaders appeared to function by teaching the people parallel to the earliest descriptions of the Apostles in Jerusalem. Yet, when these leaders made decisions, they did not seem to act alone but rather functioned in a way paralleling the Apostles' actions toward the Seven. For example, when the churches

decided to send benevolence funds to Jerusalem, the Spirit prompted the action through a prophet and then, "the disciples…decided to provide help" (Acts 11:29). So again, the Spirit, the leaders, and the people all seem to have acted together to make the selections of men for a special duty. (Acts 13:1-3).[28]

Although its named leadership originated elsewhere, the church in Antioch does not seem to have been under outside control. Thus, the believers in Antioch, not just the leadership, decided to send benevolence to Jerusalem (Acts 11:29). In addition, they sent out missionaries (13:1-4), and they received the report from the missionaries—all without reference to outside authorities (14:27). Perhaps, most telling is that they appointed representatives and sent them to join with others in Jerusalem to look into the issue of circumcision for Gentile converts (Acts 15:2,3). In addition, the church willingly sent out at least a major portion of its external leadership team. Taken together, these actions paint a picture of a church that operated quite independently of outside administrative control.

The Churches beyond Antioch

Propagation in the Churches beyond Antioch

The record in Acts of the spread of the gospel beyond Antioch focuses largely on initial contacts and short summaries of follow-up visits by the church's planters. Most of the evangelism in these accounts is attributed to outside church planters. The pattern was

[28]Although the people are not expressly mentioned in this passage, commentators as diverse as Stanley Horton, I. Howard Marshall, and Ernst Haenchen all specifically mention that the presence of the congregation is assumed. See Stanley M. Horton, *Acts: A Logion Press Commentary*, rev. ed. (Springfield, Mo.: Logion Press, 2001), 223. I. Howard Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction and Commentary*, *The Tyndale New Testament Commentaries*, vol. 5, ed. R. V. G. Tasker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 215. Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary*, 14th ed., trans. Bernard Noble and Gerald Shinn (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971), 395.

quite repetitive: A missionary came and preached, people believed, and a local church was established. The missionary then commended the new believers to God and moved on. Little information is given as to ongoing propagation in the church afterward. The epistles written to these newly established churches dealt mostly with problems related to internal church matters and contain only passing references to evangelism. Clearly, these churches were evangelizing in the absence of the church planters, since the church continued long after the planters had left.

The limited number of references to propagation in the New Testament that focus on exceptional success or some kind of abuse demonstrates that the church did propagate. Paul focuses on success when he commends a young Thessalonian church of such effective evangelism that, "The Lord's message rang out from you" (1 Thess. 1:8). Morris makes the point of how exceptional this is by saying, "This is the only time he [Paul] speaks of a church as a pattern to others."[29] The abuse of evangelism also generates a reference in Philippians 1:14-18 where Paul says, "Some preach Christ out of envy and rivalry, but others out of good will." In this case, Paul views preaching as common enough that he only addresses the abuse rather than the occurrence. It may be that unlike many other facets in the life of the church, the need for propagation caused few problems. The truth of this is seen in that the only reference that might imply a lack of enthusiasm for evangelism in the Pauline corpus is a disputed interpretation of Philemon 6.[30] Clearly, with many churches started by only a few weeks of outside

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[29]Leon Morris, *The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians*, *The New International Commentary on the New Testament*, ed. F. F. Bruce (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959), 60.

[30]Of the NAS, TEV, NEB, KJV, NKJV, ASV, RSV, and NIV, only the NIV adopts a reading of Philemon 6 that supports this interpretation saying, "I pray that you may be active in sharing your faith." Moule says, "This is notoriously the most obscure verse in this letter" and then provides a comprehensive

evangelism, followed by short follow-up visits months or even years apart, the only explanation for their long-term survival is active local evangelism.

A different way that the new churches showed that they had assumed the function of propagation was by the missionaries they produced. One known example of secondary missionary propagation was the church at Colossae. When Paul addressed this church, he made it clear that he had never been there (Col. 2:1), but instead credited a Colossian named Epaphras (1:7) for planting the church. Epaphras was with Paul when Colossians was written, apparently serving there on behalf of Lyconian churches, as Paul praised him to these churches as, "working hard for you [the Colossians] and for those at Laodicea and Hierapolis" (Col. 4:13). In another case, Paul credited the Philippians with sending Epaphroditus to work with him during his imprisonment and to bring funding as well (Phil. 2:25). Beyond this, Paul had a number of companions working with him from the churches that he planted who may have been church representatives or personal volunteers. Regardless of their status, their presence demonstrated zeal in the new works for propagation.

Finances in the Churches beyond Antioch

The new churches beyond Antioch of Syria appear to have been financially independent from the beginning. There is no indication in the short descriptions in the book of Acts that new churches received any financial assistance from church planters. Indeed, Paul's epistles addressed to the new churches teach specifically that it is the responsibility of the believers to support their local teachers: "Anyone who receives

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discussion of the issues including various scholars' opinions. C. F. D. Moule, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon*, *The Cambridge New Testament Greek Testament Commentary*, ed. C. F. D. Moule (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 142.

instruction in the word must share all good things with his instructor" (Gal. 6:6). This implies a local church structure with a locally paid leadership. Ridderbos comments that this is "the more remarkable because the letter to the Galatians has an early date."[31] Moreover, Paul asserted that rather than supporting the local church, he had a financial claim on his converts. Paul laid out this teaching in both 1 Corinthians 9:1-18 and 2 Corinthians 11:7-12, but explained that he had declined to make use of this financial claim on the Corinthians for the sake of avoiding confusion between himself and money-motivated false teachers.[32] Toward the end of his ministry, Paul again specifically taught that local elders should be paid (1Tim. 5:17-18). Lock suggests that one may interpret from the context that the local church having supported widows should support elders with "twice that given to widows."[33] Plainly, the early church leadership expected the local churches to pay their leaders without outside help.

Not only did Paul teach new churches that they must support their local leaders, he also instructed them to be supportive of ministries beyond their local area. An instance of this occurs when Paul instructed the Cretan church to support Zenas and Apollos, two workers passing through. (Titus 3:13) This giving was for the Cretans' own benefit, as Homer A. Kent explains, "The church in Crete is to take the lead in good works.… By grasping such opportunities for doing good as lie all about us, we enable the Spirit of God

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[31]Herman N. Ridderbos, *The Epistle of Paul to the Churches of Galatia, The New International Commentary on the New Testament,* ed. F. F. Bruce (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953), 217.

[32]Additional examples of Paul's declining to receive funds from new converts in order to teach the importance of being industrious may be seen among the Thessalonians (1 Thess. 2:9; 2 Thess. 3:8) and in Ephesus (Acts 20:34).

[33]Walter Lock, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles*, in *The International Critical Commentary* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924), 62.

to make our lives fruitful, productive of the virtues which God desires in believers."[34] Less didactic, but more concrete examples of this teaching include Paul's praise lavished upon the Philippians for their support of him soon after he left them and moved to Thessalonica to work (Phil. 4:16). Conversely, Paul chided the Corinthians saying, "I robbed other churches by receiving support from them so as to serve you" (2 Cor. 11:8). Perhaps the clearest example of Paul's expectation that the local church should take responsibility for supporting workers beyond their local area was when Paul informed the Romans, "I hope to visit you while passing through [on my way to Spain] and to have you assist me on my journey there" (Rom. 15:4). Thus, Paul expected a church he had not founded and had not yet visited to contribute to his ongoing missions work, when he passed through. These examples show Paul instructing his converts from his earliest letters to his last to accept financial responsibility for those who taught them and, ultimately, even for assisting workers who were engaged in other locations.

Benevolence within the churches beyond Antioch appears in the conclusion of Paul's farewell address to the Ephesian elders (Acts 20:34-35). Paul used himself as an example of industriousness, one who not only took care of himself, but also was able to help others. He included the otherwise unknown saying of Jesus, "It is more blessed to give than to receive," (v. 35) to support his actions. Generalized references occur both in Ephesians 4:28, where benevolence is a duty contrasted to theft and in 1 Corinthians 13:3, where benevolence is a great work made valueless without love. It is likely that benevolence is going on in these churches just as it was in the Jerusalem church, unmentioned until a problem forced it to the forefront. As a case in point, 1 Timothy 5:3-

[34]Homer A. Kent Jr., *The Pastoral Epistles* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1958), 240.

16 presupposes a large and systematic benevolence expended upon widows and seeks to regulate it to the best advantage. By contrast, there is no indication that more established churches were sending any support into these newer churches for the purpose of benevolence. Rather, the reverse occurred with Paul's organization of a fund to be sent from these churches to the poor in Jerusalem.[35] This indicates the willingness on the part of new churches to send benevolence to the point of need, even if it was to an older established church.

Governance in the Churches beyond Antioch

The information in the book of Acts about governance in the churches beyond Antioch is mostly limited to brief summaries and material is concentrated instead in Paul's epistles. The epistles, written from months to years after the churches were established show mainly the situation at that time, with little information about initial conditions. Although they do not supply the more sequential history that is available on the Jerusalem church, they do provide a series of snapshots from a variety of churches in different stages of maturity. The material is heavy in the area of discipline, often addressing a reluctance to act or other deficiencies in local churches. In general, the information seems to show Paul urging the churches themselves to do what they should and, thus, guiding the churches toward self-sufficiency.

In Acts and the Pauline material, the establishment of a local church is seen as incomplete without a provision for local leadership. Thus, Paul instructed Titus to

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[35]There are numerous mentions of this offering in Scripture (e.g., Acts 21:26; 1 Cor. 16:1; 2 Cor. 8-9; Rom. 15:26-2). In addition to the giving of the Macedonians and Achaians based on 1 Cor. 16:1, Barrett suggests that the Galatians were also a part and even the true inspiration of the offering saying, "It is probable that the Corinthians had heard, perhaps from the Galatians, of the collection Paul was organizing, and had asked what part they were to play in it." See Barrett, 385.

"straighten out what was left unfinished and appoint [καταστησης] elders in every city" (Titus 1:5). The parallel situation involving new churches is the record of when Paul and Barnabus reached the terminus of their joint mission trip in Derbe and retraced their journey in Galatia (Acts 14). They stopped and χειροτονησαντες (appoint, elect, choose) elders in each city.

The use of χειροτονησαντες has occasioned much debate. Lohse describes the contemporary usage saying, "The reference is not to election by the congregation. The presbyters are nominated by Paul and Barnabas and then with prayer and fasting they are instituted into their offices."[36] Bruce gives a similar explanation, "[These leaders] were appointed on the model of those in the Jerusalem church."[37] If Bruce is correct that these elders were selected the same way as the deacons were in Jerusalem, this would mean that the people proposed and the Apostles accepted and confirmed the selection. The use of καταστησης in Titus matches the terminology used with regard to the selection of the Seven in Acts 6:3 and may also imply a practice.

Regardless of the exact procedure, the key idea is that establishing local leadership was a part of the church-planting process. Since Paul often planted a church and left in a few weeks and Paul's longest stay seems to have been about three years in Ephesus, it is evident that new churches were forced to quickly become self-sufficient in

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[36]Eduard Lohse, "*χειρ, χειραγωγεω, χειραγωγοω, χειρογαφον, χειροποιητοω, αχειροπιητοω, χειροτονεω,*" vol. 9 in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament,* ed. Gehard Kittle (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), 437.

[37]F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text and Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1951), 287.

leadership. If the method of selecting that leadership did involve the people, it served to emphasize self-sufficiency from the very beginning for new churches.

In any case, by the time churches had been in existence for some time they were seen as running their own affairs. In the area of leadership, this appears when apparently a considerable group of Ephesian elders met with Paul in Miletus and he tells them flatly "that they would never see his face again" (Acts 20:38). Later, when writing to the Philippians, Paul specifically greeted "the overseers and deacons"(1:2). The organizational gap between the initial establishment of leadership and a functional self-sustaining leadership would appear to be filled by Paul's instructions for selecting leaders (1 Tim. 3, Titus 1). If similar teaching was given to most church plants, the pattern would be that Paul got the church up and going and then left the church with an organization that would be self-sustaining. The cutoff, however, was gradual rather than sharp as will be seen next as discipline is examined.

Within the area of governance, discipline, as well as being the most extensively represented in Paul's epistles, also presents a good picture of how the new churches were weaned from supervision. When the Thessalonian church was only a few months old, Paul categorically issues them orders: "In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ we command you brothers keep away from every brother who is idle" (2 Thess. 3:6). The Corinthian church at a time when it was a few years old faced the practice of flagrant immorality and worse the willingness of many in the church to ignore it. Dealing with this in his first letter to the church Paul tells them,

> Even though I am not physically present, I am with you in spirit. And I have already passed judgment on the one who did this, just as if I were present. When you are assembled in the name of our Lord Jesus and I am with you in spirit, and the power of

> our Lord Jesus is present, hand this man over to Satan, so that the sinful nature may be destroyed and his spirit saved on the day of the Lord (1 Cor. 5:3-5).

Yet this is not the sort of preemptory instruction given earlier to the Thessalonians for Barrett observes, "Paul thus knows his own mind quite clearly, and does not hesitate to declare it. This does not mean, however, that he intends to impose it on the church. Under these circumstances the act contemplated will be the act of the whole church, not of the apostle only."[38] Even though he does it very directly, Paul helped the church to create a mechanism to deal with the situation. His strategy becomes clearer in the next chapter when Paul instructs the Corinthians to refrain from taking each other to secular courts and instead "appoint as judges even men of little account in the church" (1 Cor. 6:4). Thus, Paul did not act to settle the disputes, rather he instructs the Corinthian believers how to go about doing it for themselves. In epistles addressed to churches that are yet older, Paul adopted a more distant stance. He said to the Romans "I urge you," when dealing with those who would divide the church (16:17). To the Philippians faced with a dispute among the leadership, Paul says, "I plead"(4:2). Paul thus altered his approach so that he asserted a moral authority as a replacement for any more direct command. A pattern emerges of Paul giving directions to young churches, then gradually showing churches how to solve problems internally, and, finally, urging them to do what they know they should do.

A passage that would seem to be an exception to this pattern occurs when Paul announced that he would come in person to deal with persistent, open sin in the church: sin that the church was unwilling or unable to handle (2 Cor. 13:1-4). Paul had apparently

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[38]Barrett, 124.

written the Corinthians previously without success about the situation and delayed planned visits in order to give the church time to act. Thus, the situation behind this apparent exception of guiding the church toward mature self-sufficiency was the persistent open defiance of Paul's apostolic authority. The defiance of such authority understood in today's terms would be a group of the Corinthians openly rejecting Scripture. With the Corinthian church unable or unwilling to solve its problem, Paul intervened. This is a significant precedent limiting the independence of the local church when its actions threaten the integrity of the whole body.

Inter-Church Relationships

A pattern has emerged that shows most churches in the New Testament developing from their founding by outsiders to a church handling its own affairs. The working out of this pattern is not always simple or straightforward, since the process must interact with fallen human nature. As a result, in the majority of churches, complications of some sort appear. This is seen often in the area of governance where at times outside individuals or an older established church attempts to assert control over newer churches. Jacob Jervell sees the Jerusalem church doing this in Acts to such an extent that that he says, "According to Luke, Jerusalem has authority over all the Christian churches."[39] Bruce agrees that some in the Jerusalem church as well as others outside of the Jerusalem church believed that it possessed authority over all the churches.[40] The question then becomes, can a sending church or people within that church insist that its local standards be adopted by churches its representatives plant?

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[39]Jervell, 22.

[40]F. F. Bruce, "The Church of Jerusalem in the Acts of the Apostles," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 67, no. 2 (1985): 652-53.

The church as a whole was forced to confront this question when men from Jerusalem come to the church in Antioch and announced that circumcision was necessary for salvation (Acts 15:1). This is a critical issue since many of the Antiochenes and those in the churches their missionaries had planted were uncircumcised. They asked if the gospel according to Barnabus, Paul, and those who first preached to them was defective or if the requirement of circumcision was only a demand some Jews from Jerusalem were seeking to impose upon them. To settle the issue, the Antiochenes sent a delegation to Jerusalem to consult the Apostles and elders.

It is important to remember that the council consisted of representatives from Jerusalem, the elders and Pharisees, representatives from Antioch, and the Apostles. First, those who demanded that circumcision be imposed upon all believers presented their case. Then the apostle Peter bore witness of how God used him to bring uncircumcised Gentiles into the Church with the endorsement of supernatural wonders. In doing this, he implicitly reminded them that the Church had already recognized uncircumcised Gentiles as accepted by God. The apostle Paul then bore witness to essentially the same thing. It was left to James, the foremost Jerusalem elder, to cite a scriptural basis for these testimonies and then present an agreeable plan that both churches could accept. Martin Dibelius explains this plan not as a dictation but as a means of keeping an open path for fellowship between the Gentile and Jewish portions of the Church:

> The contents of the decree are regarded virtually as a concession by the people of Jerusalem to the Gentile believers and not the reverse. No particular burden is to be laid upon Gentile believers. The four points are those which go without saying: these

> conditions will be necessary especially if Jewish and Gentile Christians are to associate with one another, and they will surprise no one.[41]

Thus, the Jerusalem council based on Scripture and the apostolic witness repudiated the actions of the Jerusalemites, who attempted to force their standards on Antioch (Acts 15:1). The action not only reconfirmed the earlier decision taken after the salvation of Cornelius' household, but it also addressed outside attempts to seize control of newer works. First, the statement, "Some went out from us without our authorization and disturbed you"(v. 24) expressly disavows the Judaizers who went to Antioch. Second, the nature of the statement as Dibelius has observed is a practical basis for cross-cultural fellowship and "no particular burden" to the Gentiles.[42]

Further support for understanding the council this way is seen in how Paul handled its decree after returning from Jerusalem. Bruce says, "[Even though] Paul, … stoutly resisted any attempt to impose the authority of Jerusalem over his Gentile churches, [he] took care to maintain as friendly relations as possible with Jerusalem."[43] As a result, when returning to the territory that he and Barnabus had evangelized, Paul "delivered the decisions reached by the Apostles and elders in Jerusalem for the people to obey" Acts 16:4. Thus, he showed respect for both regions involved in the council. Later, however, when Paul was dealing with similar issues in Corinth, Bruce says, "He never appeals to the decree — he does not even mention it — but argues from first

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[41]Martin Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, trans. Mary Ling and ed. Heinrich Greven, (London: SCM Press, 1956), 97.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Bruce, "The Church of Jerusalem," 653.

principles."[44] This shows that Paul did not regard it as a forever-binding verdict but as a practical way that the attempt of one church to impose its local standard on another church was resolved.

The dispute of Acts 15:1 is not the only time when individuals from one church attempted to impose control over other churches, but it is merely the opening volley in the long dispute over who controls local standards. A later dispute in the Corinthian church was fomented by a group Bruce describes as "interlopers [who] argued that no teaching could be validated unless it was authorized by Jerusalem."[45] Paul's lengthy response rejecting their actions may be summed up in his labeling of them as "false apostles, deceitful workmen, masquerading as apostles of Christ" (2 Cor 11:13), and in the next two verses as "Satan's servants." The apostle thus rejected the attempt to impose the authority of outside forces other than Scripture or the apostolic witness of Christ over the churches he planted.

Conclusion

The general model of a New Testament Church development that emerges from the preceding information shows a great deal of organizational self-sufficiency from the time of its planting. The task of establishing a local church is seen as incomplete until local leadership is in place. The local church is expected to demonstrate its acceptance of this leadership by supporting it out of local funds. Long-term dependence on the church planter is discouraged, and, instead, local structures are expected to handle local problems by bringing people together, bringing them to repentance, or, in extreme cases,

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[44]Ibid., 655.

[45]F. F. Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Heart Set Free* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 277.

removing people from the body. In one case, the precedent was set of a new church sending a delegation to the mother church to settle a dispute fomented by interlopers coming from the mother church. This generally agrees with the Old Testament background of handling locally whatever could be handled locally. The exception in both the Old and New Testaments were disputes that proved irresolvable in the local context at which point superior authorities were involved. In summary, the observed church-planting model sets in place the mechanisms for organizational self-sufficiency and then steps back and coaches the church to operate in them.

The founders of newly planted churches in the New Testament expected them to be financially self-sufficient from near their beginning. Church planters assumed the right to receive support even during the planting process. However, at times they refused support from a newly planted church for the sake of providing an example of personal industry or to avoid appearing motivated by money. The Apostles clearly taught the new churches to support their own leaders and to assume support of their own benevolence. In the case of benevolence, the information given on at least two occasions in Scripture implies that the churches had developed large and systematic programs, even in young churches. The founders also taught the churches to support missions from their inception. In at least one case, this occurred even before the establishment of local leadership. The first focus of this support was on traveling workers, who depended on local churches for housing and traveling funds. The second focus was benevolence aimed at the Jerusalem church that seemed to have been severely impoverished. This agrees with the Old Testament background where funds flowed from the local to the center of power, but not

the reverse. In conclusion, Scripture indicates that new churches generally provided for their own internal finances and generating additional finances for missions.

While propagation obviously must be initiated by outside planters, the continuance of the church after their departure demonstrates that the local church assumed this function. The best direct evidence that the new churches assumed the work of propagation is seen in the evangelistic workers that they produced. In the case of the Jerusalem church, descriptions of the Seven clearly show that they were engaged in evangelism. Later, churches also produced evangelistic workers such as Epaphras, who seem to have evangelized the Lyconian area. The general instructions that churches should support these workers show they were a well-established part of the larger Church. Thus, the church planters seem to have ultimately reproduced not only local churches but also themselves in the form of new evangelists and church planters.

The model provided in Scripture for church-planting shows that new churches very quickly achieved a great deal of self-sufficiency. Local leadership in most cases was in place within a short time and everywhere within a few years. The founders considered this leadership competent to manage the affairs of the church and intervention occurred only in egregious situations. The funding for the local church came from the local church in nearly every case. The exceptions to this were benevolence aimed at the impoverished Jerusalem church and funding for some itinerant workers in the fractious Corinthian church. The model further shows that the local church assumed propagation and, ultimately, produced and supported new church planters as well. In general, within a few years of its planting, a church should have been fully indigenous locally and active in supporting other church-planting efforts.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Developing Concept of Contextualization

The growth of the Church in the Third World through the twentieth century is one of the great successes in the history of the Church. Initiated by missionaries largely from the West, hundreds of millions of believers have sprung mostly from churches shaped in the self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating model. While elements of this model appear in Protestant practice at least as early as the Puritan missions to Native Americans in the mid-seventeenth century, it is far from the sole approach employed over the next two centuries. However, by the latter half of the nineteenth century, missionary leaders were explicitly describing and calling for the use of the self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating model. In 1861, Henry Venn of the British Church Missionary Society wrote, "of the elementary principles of self-support and self-government and self-extension" and insisted that, "Native converts be trained, at as early a stage as possible upon a system of self-government, and of contributing to the support of their own native Teachers."[46] At the same time, Rufus Anderson of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions advocated a similar approach by appealing to apostolic missions as the model for current mission. He said of those missions that,

[46]Henry Venn, *Minute on the Organization of Native Churches* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1861), 68-69.

"The responsibilities for self-government, self-support, self-propagation were thrown at once upon the several churches" with the strong implication that modern missions should do the same.[47] With the sending missionary leadership clearly adopting the three-self-model, the expectation was that those on the field would apply it. Thus, by 1885, John Nevius wrote from the field about the adoption of this method presenting, "reasons which have led to the disuse of the former [method of missionary supported workers], the adoption of the latter [indigenous method] and the manner in which the transition has been made."[48]

Writing in 1927, a field-experienced Rolland Allen analyzed Paul's missionary methods and the status of missions. Allen advanced the discussion by demanding that Christianity be truly at home in the culture where its people live and not dominated by imposed foreign practices. He observed that in his time, "Everywhere Christianity is still an exotic."[49] Judging this a failure, Allen said, "We desire to see Christianity established in foreign climes putting on a foreign dress and developing new forms of glory and of beauty."[50] For biblical precedent, he observed that Paul "refused to transplant the law and the customs of the Church in Judea into the Four Provinces."[51] This is an important advance upon the three-self model; it not only said that the Church must be characterized by the three-self model, but that the form that the model assumes must come out of the

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[47]Rufus Anderson, *Foreign Missions: Their Relations and Claims*, 3d rev. ed. (New York: Scribner, 1870), 16.

[48]John L. Nevius, *Planting and Development of Missionary Churches*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1958), 7.

[49]Rolland Allen, *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962), 141.

[50]Ibid., 142.

[51]Ibid., 131.

culture in which it is practiced. In 1953, when Melvin Hodges wrote *The Indigenous Church,* he tacitly acknowledged this in his definition of the indigenous church. He said, "Applied to missionary work, the word indigenous means that as a result of missionary effort, a national church has been produced *which shares the life of the country in which it is planted* [italics added] and finds within itself the ability to govern itself, support itself, and reproduce itself."[52] Notice how Hodges' statement of the three-self model is preceded by the requirement that the national church, "shares the life of the country in which it is planted."[53] He later developed this idea in part during his explanation of self-government by saying: "One point deserves special emphasis. The standard of doctrine and conduct must be an expression of the converts' own concept of the Christian life as they find it in the Scriptures. It is not enough that it be the missionary's belief. This is a vital distinction. There is nothing to be gained by taking our ideas and forcing them on the converts.… Instead, we must come together and patiently sit with them a day or a year, as the occasion requires, until we have reached an understanding. It is to be *their* church, so it must be *their* standard"[54]

John Beekman described the application of this process explaining how in the face of syncretism among the Chols, "Problems which had been both seen by the missionary and reported by the Indians [were solved by asking]…pertinent questions

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[52]Melvin L. Hodges, *The Indigenous Church* (Springfield, Mo: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), 9.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Ibid., 25-26.

[during]…Bible study classes."[55] This allowed the local church to find answers rather than having them proposed by the missionary. The three-self model was refined to say that the application of the three-self pattern must fit into the culture of the local church.

Criticism continued, however, asserting that the churches produced by the three-self pattern were not truly indigenous, only copies of the home church in distant locations. In this vein, Donald McGavran complained in 1970 that, "indigenous church principles are often confused with nationalization."[56] Earlier in 1958, William Smalley had gone even further decrying the very three-self pattern as an American imposition on other cultures.[57] He then defined an indigenous church as, "A group of believers who live out their life, including their socialized Christian activity, in the patterns of the local society, and for whom any transformation of that society comes out of their felt needs under the guidance of the Holy Spirit and the Scriptures."[58]

Into this context, "early in 1972 Soki Coe and Aharon Sapsezian, directors of Theological Education Fund, introduced into our vocabulary the term 'contextualization.'"[59] Their definition is:

> It means all that is implied in the familiar term 'indigenization' and yet seeks to press beyond. Contextualization has to do with how we assess the peculiarity of third world contexts. Indigenization tends to be used in the sense of responding to the

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[55]John Beekman, "Minimizing Religious Syncretism among the Chols," *Practical Anthropology* 6, no. 6 (1959): 243.

[56]Donald A. McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970), 335.

[57]William A. Smalley, "Cultural Implications of an Indigenous Church," *Practical Anthropology* 5, no. 2 (1958): 51.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Bruce Nicholls, "Living Theology for Asian Churches: Some Reflections on the Contextualization Syncretism Debate," in *Biblical Theology in Asia*, ed. Ken Gnanakan (Bangalore, India: Asia Theological Association, 1995), 21.

> Gospel in terms of a traditional culture. Contextualization, while not ignoring this, takes into account the process of secularity, technology, and the struggle for human justice that characterize the historical moment of nations in the Third World.
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> Yet a careful distinction must be made between authentic and false forms of contextualization. False contextualization yields to uncritical accommodation, a form of culture faith. Authentic contextualization is always prophetic, arising always out of a genuine encounter between God's Word and His world, and moves toward the purpose of challenging and changing the situation through rootedness in and commitment to a given historical moment.
>
> It is therefore clear that contextualization is a dynamic not a static process. It recognizes the continually changing nature of every human situation and the possibility for change, thus opening the way for the future.
>
> The agenda of Third World contextualizing theology will have priorities of its own. It may have to express its self-determination by uninhibited opting for a 'theology of change', or by recognizing unmistakable theological significance in such issues as justice liberation, dialogue with people of other faiths and ideologies, economic power, etc.[60]

The coining of the term contextualization was a catalyst for consideration of the weaknesses of the three-self concept.

In spite of Coe and Sapsezian's elaborate definition, partially quoted above, the consideration of the issue produced multiple definitions for contextualization in the following years.[61] These definitions have varied depending on the theological

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[60][Shoki Coe and Aharon Sapsezian] Theological Education Fund Staff, *Ministry in Context: The Third Mandate Programme of the Theological Education Fund* (Bromley, England: Theological Education Fund, 1972), 20.

[61]Bruce Fleming holding to the original definition of contextualization seems to view the evangelical reshaping of the term as illegitimate. He says, "Historically, the evangelical approach has been that of indigenization of the gospel. Many still practice this method as such. This approach recently, has also been called contextualization. This, however, appears to be a misuse of the term, for evangelicals do not contextualize either in the technical or in the popular way. The main distinction between evangelical methodology and contextualization is the high place given to the Bible by evangelicals. The evangelicals implement an informed indigenization. By the use of insights gained from anthropology and related social sciences, and missiology, evangelicals seek to indigenize the gospel in the modern context. This approach may be termed context-indigenization." Bruce C. Fleming, *Contextualization of Theology: An Evangelical Assessment* (Pasadena, Cal.: The William Carey Library, 1980), 78.

presuppositions of the authors.[62] From within evangelical circles, the 1974 Lausanne papers, coming only two years later, produced two definitions that are centered on communication. Bruce Nicholls defines it as, "The translation of the unchanging content of the gospel of the kingdom into verbal form meaningful to the peoples in their separate cultures and within their particular existential situations."[63] Byang Kato produced a similar definition of contextualization saying, "We understand the term to mean making concepts or ideals relevant in a given situation…it is an effort to express the never changing Word of God in ever changing modes for relevance."[64] The publication of additional evangelical definitions of contextualization centering on communication of the gospel continued. Tippett succinctly said, "Contextualization is taken to mean the process of making evangelism and the new lifestyle relevant in the specifics of time and space."[65] While these definitions are useful, they are primarily written from the perspective of doing evangelism. This limits how much they advance the three-self model.

Hesselgrave, though writing with a focus on evangelism, broadens the evangelical definition to include all of church life. In this, he is coming closer to Coe and Sapsezian's original definition, especially with the inclusion of theologizing:

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[62]David Hesselgrave provides a detailed discussion of this in David J. Hesselgrave, *Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally: An Introduction to Missionary Communication*, 2d ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1991), 131-144.

[63]Bruce J. Nicholls, "Theological Education and Evangelization," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice: Official Reference Volume Papers, and Responses*, ed. J. D. Douglas (Minneapolis: World Wide Publications, 1975), 647.

[64]Byang H. Kato, "The Gospel, Cultural Context and Religious Syncretism," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice: Official Reverence Volume Papers, and Responses*, ed. J. D. Douglas (Minneapolis: World Wide Publications, 1975), 1217.

[65]Alan R. Tippett, "Contextualization of the Gospel in Fiji: A Case Study from Oceania," in *Gospel and Culture*, ed. John Stott and Robert T. Coote (Pasadena, Cal.: William Carey Library, 1979), 390.

> Contextualization can be thought of as the attempt to communicate the message of the person, works, work, and will of God in a way that is faithful to God's revelation, especially as it is put forth in the teachings of Holy Scripture, and that is meaningful to respondents in their respective cultural and existential contexts. Contextualization is both verbal and nonverbal and has to do with theologizing; Bible translation, interpretation and application; incarnational lifestyle; evangelism; Christian instruction; church planting and growth; church organization; worship style—indeed with all of those activities involved in carrying out of the Great Commission.[66]

D. A. Carson advances a similar understanding of contextualization in a briefer form. He relates it to the classic three-self formula with the addition of the church doing its own theologizing.[67] George W. Peters takes this same idea back a step by relating it directly to hermeneutics. He says: "Contextualization properly applied means to discover the legitimate implications of the text in a given situation.…It is perfectly in place to ask: What did Luke 4:18 mean to the people in the synagogue of Nazareth when Jesus read it to them and what are its implications for Latin America, Africa, India etc. today?"[68]

Bruce Nicholls continues to accept this assessment in 1995 saying: "Without a careful analysis of the human and social predicament in a given situation there can be no relevant contextualization no matter how faithfully the interpreter is committed to the Biblical text. True contextualization must involve a thorough knowledge of both the given Word and the changing context."[69]

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[66]David J. Hesselgrave and Edward Rommen, *Contextualization: Meanings, Methods, and Models* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1989), 200.

[67]D. A. Carson, *The Church in the Bible and the World* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1987), 220.

[68]George W. Peters, "Issues Confronting Evangelical Missions," in *Evangelical Missions Tomorrow,* ed. Wade T. Coggins and Jr. E. L. Frizen (South Pasadena, Cal.: William Carey Library, 1977), 169.

[69]Bruce Nicholls, "Living Theology for Asian Churches: Some Reflections on the Contextualization Syncretism Debate," 24.

Embedded in these definitions is the implicit acknowledgment that contextualization is reflexive in nature affecting both the sending church and the new church. John Jefferson Davis makes this explicit and puts it in historical context saying: "While all theologies have been addressed to their own situations, and thus implicitly 'contextualized,' it has not been until the modern period, especially with the rapid rise of the historical mode of thinking in the nineteenth century, that this fact has been self-consciously taken into account as a basic methodological issue for systematic theology."[70] The understanding that all theology is contextual has now become dominant. Bevans, writing from a Catholic perspective, says, "As we understand theology today, contextualization is part of the very nature of theology itself."[71] In 2000, Chris Wright states from an evangelical perspective, "The reality of 'contextualised [sic] theology' is now taken for granted provided we recognize that we are all interpreting contextually, because all of us interpret in a particular context!"[72]

However, the development of a contextualized theology by new churches in their cultural context has not been easy. It takes time, and this has been difficult for many missionaries to accept. Escobar, observing this, says, "The slow process of development of a contextual theology for a young church tends to be considered inefficient and costly, and it is easy to substitute prepackaged theologies translated from English."[73] Adeny

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[70]John Jefferson Davis, "Contextualization and the Nature of Theology," in *The Necessity of Systematic Theology*, ed. John Jefferson Davis (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1980), 173-174.

[71]Stephen B. Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1992), 1.

[72]Chris Wright, "Christ and the Mosaic of Pluralisms," in *Global Missiology for the 21st Century: The Iguassu Dialogue*, ed. William D. Taylor (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), 82.

[73]Samuel Escobar, "Evangelical Missiology: Peering into the Future at the Turn of the Century," in *Global Missiology for the 21st Century: The Iguassu Dialogue*, ed. William D. Taylor (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), 111.

laments this saying that: "Americans in mission today also bring a knowledge of the theory of contextualization…knowledge is not enough.… It requires openness to ambiguity and even failure.… Yet because our activist values propel us, and because we have the resources to do so, we often jump into mission projects like elephants."[74] Indeed, the mere translation of words into another language does not guarantee that the theology presented will be useful. Dryness observed and described the results of simply translating existing works in the Philippines. He says, "I still remember the puzzlement of my well-educated Filipino friends to the arguments of Francis Schaeffer in the 1970's — arguments that I had found exciting and convincing. The problems of true truth and personal meaning made no impact on their intuitive group-oriented consciousness."[75] At this point, it is interesting that Hodges, though lacking the term "contextualized theology" presciently describes doing it when he says, "We must come together and patiently sit with them a day or a year, as the occasion requires, until we have reached an understanding. It is to be *their* church, so it must be *their* standard."[76] Glasse and McGavran explain this idea in detail, contending that Christians from within a culture are the ones who must make the application of Scripture for the culture.

> If theology is to be of any use to the people of a given culture, it must be framed in terms of their thought world. It must be understandable to them. This will usually mean that they will frame it. Christians in each *ethnos*, each homogeneous unit, each segment of humanity, will wrestle with the biblical revelation. They will not only translate the Bible into their own language, but will express its revelations in their

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[74]Miriam Adney, "Telling Stories: Contextualization and American Missiology," in *Global Missiology for the 21st Century: The Iguassu Dialogue*, ed. William D. Taylor (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), 384.

[75]William A. Dryness, *Invitation to Cross-Cultural Theology* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), 20.

[76]Hodges, 26.

> own thought forms. A common word today to describe this process is *contextualization*."[77]

Of the many definitions, this statement presents the best summary of the understanding of contextualized theology.

Because of the foregoing summary of the development of the doctrine of contextualization in missionary activity, the author understands contextualization to be a two-step process. First, it involves the presentation of the gospel in a manner relevant to a given culture that produces local churches moving toward the three-self criteria. The second occurs as believers in these churches interpret and apply Scripture to all areas of their churches in a culturally appropriate way, doing no violence to the Scripture.

Contextualization in the Native American Church

Richard Twiss' statement that "Native North Americans are perhaps foremost among those who have never seen the rise of an indigenous church movement or a widespread revival" are some of the saddest words ever written in light of over three hundred and fifty years of missionary effort.[78] A full analysis of the reasons for this failure is beyond the scope of this project. Olmstead suggests a partial answer when he says that the "feeling on the part of White settlers that they had some moral and spiritual responsibility toward the natives [was]…almost always eclipsed by the tendency to exploit the hapless aborigines."[79] Nevertheless, a review of the nature of the effort and a

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[77]Arthur F. Glasse and Donald A. McGavran, *Contemporary Theologies of Mission* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1983), 139.

[78]Richard Twiss, "Out of Sight, out of Mind," *Mission Frontiers* 22, no. 4 (2000): 12.

[79]Clifton E. Olmstead, *History of Religion in the United States* (Englewood Clifts, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1960), 274.

comparison of it to indigenous church planting principles and contextualization may yield additional insights into the reasons for its failure and possible direction for current and future efforts. To facilitate this, missionary activities will be reviewed historically and then analyzed in light of indigenous church principles and contextualization.

The early missionary efforts to Native Americans in the English colonies were light and scattered in spite of official endorsement in colonial charters.[80] According to Henry Bowden not over a dozen clergy made any attempt at outreach to the Indians.[81] He suggests that the reason for this inactivity came first from the colonists' status as de facto religious refugees and secondly from their view that it was not a proper full-time employment for clergy.[82] From the viewpoint of the Indians, the colonists were a competing group and not to be trusted.[83] Thus, in the earliest period, the Church as a whole was disinclined to act on the imperative to evangelism, and those who needed the gospel were discouraged from believing.

With the multiplication of colonies and colonists, the situation began to shift, and a number of now famous individuals became involved in missions to the Indians. The results included translation and publication of a catechism in 1653 and the complete

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[80]Both the First Charter of Virginia and the Charter of Massachusetts Bay refer to the official desire that the native population be evangelized. "First Charter of Virginia, April 10, 1606," The Avalon Project at Yale Law School Web site; available from http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/va01.htm; accessed 30 September 2003. "The Charter of Massachusetts Bay: 1629," The Avalon Project at Yale Law School Web site; available from http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/mass03.htm; accessed 24 March 2005.

[81]Henry Warner Bowden, *American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 113.

[82]Ibid., 115.

[83]George Jennings, "A Model for Christian Missions to the American Indians," in *Readings in Native American Missions*, ed. Jim Demsey (Phoenix: American Indian Bible College, 1992), 106.

Bible in 1663.[84] The number of converts also grew significantly so that by 1675 there were fourteen villages of converts comprising twenty-four congregations.[85] In addition, Native leadership began to appear and was accepted by the missionaries. John Eliot reported in 1670 that, "Elders were ordained, two Teaching-Elders …(and) also two Ruling-Elders, with advice to ordain Deacons also."[86] He goes on in the same report to mention that the "Church of Natick doth send forth fit Persons unto some remoter places, to teach them the fear of the Lord."[87] Altogether, these reports seem to indicate the elements were coming together for a successful missionary enterprise producing a three-self indigenous church.

This positive situation was short lived as external circumstances in the form of King Philip's War in 1675-1676 devastated the work.[88] At the end of the war, the Church among the Indians had so declined that only four of the previous fourteen villages were rebuilt.[89] Thus, what had been a burgeoning work, showing all the signs of auspicious future, all but ended. It was not until over fifty years later as part of the Great Awakening that real progress in missionary outreach to Indians again occurred.[90]

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[84]Olmstead, *History of Religion,* 83.

[85]Ibid.

[86]John Eliot, "A Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel in the Year 1670 in Old South Leaflets Vol. 1 No. 21," in *Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History*, ed. Peter G. Mode (Boston: J.S. Canner & Company Inc., 1964), 524.

[87]Ibid.

[88]Bowden, 130.

[89]Ibid., 132.

[90]Olmstead, *History of Religion,* 84.

The approach taken toward missions among Native Americans at this time incorporated acculturation to a European lifestyle as a constituent part of conversion. The converts and interested persons were gathered out of their own culture and assembled into English style villages. Eliot's states that, "Natick our chief town…began Civil Government in the year 1650."[91] Clearly, this does not indicate a Native American type of government. Other changes in lifestyle taught to new Indian believers included such things as, "cut[ting] their hair,…wear[ing] European clothes,…dwell[ing] as nuclear families in separate houses,…[and,] erect[ing] fences to enclose plots of land for private use."[92] Indeed, "Except for retaining their original language, Massachuset[sic] converts seem to have permitted a rather thoroughgoing behavioral metamorphosis."[93] Overall the Puritans, "In teaching the Indians how to live a full Christian life…were…teaching them in fact to act like Englishmen."[94]

This method of incorporating acculturation to a European lifestyle as a part of conversion set the general pattern for missions to Native Americans. When the Great Awakening occurred and missions efforts resumed, those who undertook the work seemed to have used essentially the same approach. For example, John Sargeant founded New Stockbridge, a work, "Built after the pattern of an English colonial town and boast[ing] a small school for the training of Indian children."[95] This work produced forty-

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[91]-Eliot, 525.

[92]Bowden, 128.

[93]Ibid., 129.

[94]Ibid., 126.

[95]Olmstead, *History of Religion,* 180.

two communicant members.[96] David Brainerd, well known for his posthumously published diaries, also founded a community "spen[ding] a total of sixteen months in New Jersey…[though his] converts totaled no more than fifty."[97] His brother, John, took over for him and went with the community when it was later relocated to Brotherton.[98] Samuel Kirkland began with a different approach and wanted "no socioeconomic alterations or enforced cultural standards until the Indians themselves requested such changes."[99] In addition, he did not form independent villages, as did most other missionaries. Nevertheless, he eventually, "urged White behavioral standards on converts willing to adopt them."[100] Though not embracing contextualization, Kirkland was the most open to Native culture during this time.

In terms of numbers, the Moravians ran one of the more successful missionary efforts in the eighteenth century. Zinzendorf states that out of a nation of about three thousand Delawares [Lenape], "300 are become United Brethren and Sisters."[101] After various hardships imposed by the French and Indian War, Schweinitz describes the establishment of the village of Fridenshutten in Pennsylvania under the efforts of David Zeisberger.[102] Fridenshutten, "embraced twenty-nine log-houses, with windows and

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[96]Ibid., 180.

[97]Bowden, 154.

[98]Ibid., 156.

[99]Ibid., 147.

[100]Ibid., 148.

[101]Nicolaus Ludwig Zinzendorf, *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, ed. William Reichel, vol. 1 [no second volume] (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1870), 118.

[102]Edmund De Schweinitz, *The Life and Times of David Zeisberger* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1870), 310-315.

chimneys, like the homesteads of the settlers, and thirteen huts, forming one street, in the center of which stood the chapel, … having a schoolhouse as its wing … back of the houses were the gardens and orchards, … the entire town was surrounded by a post and rail fence and kept scrupulously clean … the women passed through the streets sweeping them … the converts had large herds of cattle and hogs, and poultry of every kind."[103] The structure and success of Fridenshutten "indicated how much the Delawares had assimilated to what missionaries thought Christian civilization should embody."[104] Unfortunately, "relentless pressure of new settlers never abated," and in 1772 the community relocated to, "a favorable site in Ohio."[105] This pressure never abated, and the situation reached a nadir in 1781 during the American Revolution when "The Christian Indians welcomed a company of American militia who, they supposed, had come on a friendly mission. Instead, they were crowded into two buildings and ruthlessly slaughtered. Only two boys in the party of 96 escaped."[106] While this was a low point, the pressures were continual. Olmstead says of the converts produced by Zeisberger's efforts that by 1798, "Six times they fled from hostile native Indian tribes or British and American military armies."[107] Ultimately, such pressures left the leading Moravian missionary, "Zeisberger [to] die in 1808 amid the ruins of his missionary work."[108] In this

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[103]Ibid., 316-317.

[104]Bowden, 159.

[105]Ibid., 159.

[106]Olmstead, *History of Religion*, 207.

[107]Earl P. Olmstead, *Blackcoats among the Delaware: David Zeisberger on the Ohio Frontier* (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1991), 3.

[108]Bowden, 162.

case, somewhat of a three-self, though not a contextualized model, was employed. Whether or not it could have succeeded in the end is unknowable, as White western expansion effectively ended the effort.

A somewhat different missionary approach is represented by Moor's Indian Charity School run by Eleazer Wheelock. In a lengthy report in 1762, Wheelock lists eleven reasons for using Indians as workers among Indians most of which involve cultural understanding.[109] Although this sounds like a step away from the approach that conversion automatically should result in acculturation, the operation of the school belies such a concept. The ages of the students involved with the school are typified by his description of two boys, "John Pumshire in the 14th, and Jacob Wolley in the 11th years of their age,"[110] sent to him when he requested students from John Brainerd. The school separated students from their families so completely that he says, "I scarcely hear a word of their going home, so much as for a visit, for years together, except it be when they first come."[111] The daily routine Wheelock describes occupies them from before daylight until bedtime with prayers, studies, or chapel and is without a break even on the Sabbath.[112] Eventually his plan came to include, in addition to academics, that a boy be trained as "blacksmith" or "carpenter and joiner" and the girls "in all the arts of good housewifery."[113] The effect of such a curriculum must have been to a large degree

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[109]Eleazer Wheelock, "Wheelock's Narrative (1762) in Old South Leaflets Vol. 1 No. 21," in *Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History*, ed. Peter G. Mode (Boston: J.S. Canner & Company Inc., 1964), 531-532.

[110]Ibid., 533.

[111]Ibid.

[112]Ibid.

[113]Ibid., 534.

acculturation to English colonial life. Ultimately, Bowden says, "Moor's Charity School made no lasting evangelistic mark."[114]

By the national era, about one hundred fifty years of missionary effort had not produced large numbers of converts let alone the conversion of whole tribes. Nevertheless, the missionary groups were not in despair. John Lathrop, in addressing the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America in 1804, says: "Although the attempts to Christianize the Indians of North America, hitherto have been attended with little effect, it is the wish of the pious and benevolent that attempts may be still continued. If experience has pointed out defects and errors, in former attempts, new experiments, and conducted on different principles, may hereafter succeed."[115] This evaluation fits what Olmstead refers to as, "The revival of missionary interest early in the national era."[116] Jennings expressively says, "After the American Revolution…a wave of missionary zeal swept the new nation, and a large number of societies were founded for bringing the Christian message to the vanquished 'first Americans.'"[117] Berkhofer emphasizes this by listing eleven new societies formed for this purpose during this period.[118] He describes, "Missionary directors [who] envisioned

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[114]Bowden, 140.

[115]John Lathrop, *A Discourse before the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America* (Boston: 1804), 19. Quoted in Robert F. Berkhofer, *Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977), 153.

[116]Olmstead, *History of Religion*, 274.

[117]Jennings, 106.

[118]Berkhofer, 3.

stations strung across the continent, … larger stations staffed by missionaries who lived there year-round, … [and] access to tribes farther away."[119]

While this represents a surge in enthusiasm for missions, the objectives seem to have changed little. In addition, the approach of the various missionary groups was quite similar. Berkhofer says, "In observing their efforts in the Indian tribes, little variety is seen because of the uniform extrareligious[sic] assumptions."[120] One of the best known of the new agencies, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, (hereafter, American Board) states in its policy, "A certain degree of general improvement is in a self-propagating Christianity, and must be fathered as *means* thereto."[121] A working out of the meaning of 'general improvement' in the field is seen in a report from Stephen Riggs, an American Board missionary to the Dakota, who says, "Dakota women did not wash [laundry] usually they put on a garment and wore it until it rotted off."[122] This was not something acceptable to the missionaries, and therefore he says, "The gospel of soap was indeed a necessary adjunct and outgrowth of the Gospel of Salvation." [123] The 'gospel of soap' is something of a synecdoche. Missionary John Pitezel says bluntly, "In the school and in the field, as well as in the kitchen, our aim was

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[119]Ibid., 2.

[120]Ibid., 44.

[121]"Outline of Missionary Policy," American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Report, 1856, 51. Quoted in Berkhofer, Robert F. *Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977), 10.

[122]Stephen Riggs, *Mary and I: Forty Years with the Sioux* (Stephen Riggs, 1880; reprint, Williamstown, Mass.: Corner House Publishers, 1971), 42.

[123]Ibid., 42.

to teach the Indians to live like White people."[124] Berkhofer summarizes this objective saying for the missionaries, "The only good Indian was a carbon copy of a *good* White man."[125] The question to the missionaries was how to bring about these changes. The answer was often seen to be education. The missionaries aspired to "revamp Indian life by raising a godly generation … to snatch the children before their 'habits of life' were formed and teach them."[126] Clearly, contextualization was not part of the missionary agenda at this time.

The missionaries' goal of Indian acculturation to White society, in addition to their conversion, was sufficiently obvious in that it received government support. The government "Encouraged the activities of benevolent societies in providing schools for the Indians."[127] This began in 1819 when Congress authorized an annual, " 'civilization fund' to stimulate and promote this work."[128] The law stated that "The President [is] … to employ capable persons of good moral character, to instruct [the Indians] in … agriculture … and … their children in reading, writing and arithmetic [and provided] … the annual sum of ten thousand dollars" for the purpose.[129] Early examples of this support to American Board works include "Quarterly grants of $200 to $300 … to the schools at

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[124]Pitezel, John, *Lights and Shades of Missionary Life* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Walden and Stowe, 1883), 57.

[125]Berkhofer, 10.

[126]Ibid., 16.

[127]Francis Paul Prucha, ed., *Documents of United States Indian Policy*, 3d ed. (Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 33.

[128]Ibid., 33.

[129]"An Act Making Provision for the Civilization of the Indian Tribes Adjoining the Frontier Settlements," in *Statutes at Large* 2, 85, (1819): 516-517.

Brainerd, Eliot, and Mayhew during the early [18]'20's."[130] This cooperative relationship continued throughout the nineteenth century until "the 1899 Appropriation Act affirmed that it now made the 'final appropriation for sectarian schools' [and the] partnership of church and government was officially dissolved."[131]

The Indians' response to the approach of mixing cultural and religious conversion in the southern parts of the country was quite impressive. Work began under the American Board in 1817. In contrast to their home lifestyle, pupils were kept busy in structured activities.[132] Surprisingly the tribes themselves seem to have supported the work as seen by the "cordial good-will of the chiefs who visited the mission school and expressed a hearty appreciation of its work," and parents, some of whom "came a distance of 160 miles bringing eight promising children for the school."[133] In addition to individuals, "The Choctaw nation…voted to donate the entire annuity received from the sale of lands…to the support of the missions school."[134] Furthermore, the mission was willing to adapt and attempt something of a contextualized approach. Evarts, the American Board secretary, after a survey of the work, "Decentralized missions, increased the use of native languages, and reduced civilizing activity."[135] In particular, "It was

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[130]William Ellsworth Strong, *The Story of the American Board* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910), 41.

[131]R. Pierce Beaver, *Church, State, and the American Indians: Two and a Half Centuries of Partnership in Missions between Protestant Churches and Government* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1966), 168.

[132]Strong, 37.

[133]Ibid, 38.

[134]Ibid, 39.

[135]Charles A. Maxfield, "The Legacy of Jeremiah Evarts," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 22, no. 4 (1998): 173.

decided both in Cherokee and Choctaw nations that the Indian youth in the schools should be taught their own language first."[136] The result of this effort was that "by the 1820's people were calling the Cherokees a Christian nation."[137] Shortly thereafter in 1829 among the Choctaw, there was "a religious awakening…[that brought in] many hundreds of inquirers…the chiefs being the leaders of their people."[138] In sum, it appeared that at last there was the conversion of whole tribes.

Unfortunately, White expansion expressed through the Indian Removal Act of 1830 again marred the long-term outcome. This act resulted in the forced removal of the Cherokee and Choctaw beyond the Mississippi to Oklahoma. Nevertheless, the exceptional behavior of the Christian Indians during this act of ethnic cleansing was noted all along the path westward.[139] Ultimately, missionary work continued in the Indian Territory. There, the new Indian believers, "Instead of rejecting Christianity as some malignancy of White culture … continued in the faith."[140] In a typical report from the 1850s, Mr. Hotchkins stated that in his district among the Choctaws, "All the judges, the school commissioners, and twelve captains out of fifteen are members of the church."[141] Perhaps more significant is his report that, "We have been building a meeting house that

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[136]Strong, 41.

[137]Beaver, *Church, State, and the American Indians,* 105.

[138]Strong, 42.

[139]Ibid., 45.

[140]Bowden, 178.

[141]Mr. Hotchkins, "Choctaws: Station Reports, Good Water,"*Missionary Herald* 42, no. 10 (1851): 324.

will cost seven or eight hundred dollars…we have solicited no foreign aid."[142] Also of interest from the same area but among the Cherokees is the report of effective Indian soul-winners and long-term pastors.[143] The long-term fruit of this awakening is seen nearly a hundred fifty years later in the breakdown of Beavers 1978 survey indicating that over 235 of the 520 Indian clergy found in a national survey were in Oklahoma.[144] In addition, the survey identified over a quarter of Oklahoma's Indian population as church members.[145] Indeed, these believers represent more than a quarter of all Indian believers found in the 1978 nation-wide survey.[146] These results suggest that in the area where practices were the closest to indigenous and contextual, the best results were achieved.

Unfortunately, the White expansion to the west continued to heavily impact missionary effort over the next generation with no other reported large-scale awakenings. Rather, Strong lists a string of outreach failures in the center of the continent but exonerates the missionaries saying: "The fact was that…the interference of hostile White men, the growing prejudice against a government that broke its treaties so lightly, together with the repeated removals of the tribes as the country expanded made constructive work impossible."[147] Beaver, in agreement with this assessment, says,

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[142]Ibid., 324.

[143]Brethren of the Cherokee Mission, "Cherokees: Extracts from Recent Communications," *Missionary Herald* 42, no. 10 (1851), 326-327.

[144]R. Pierce Beaver and Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center. *The Native American Christian Community: A Directory of Indian, Aleut, and Eskimo Churches* (Monrovia, Calif.: MARC, 1979), 41.

[145]Ibid., 381.

[146]This fraction is realized by comparing Beavers' overall figure shown on page 18 with his figure for Oklahoma shown on page 381. Beaver and Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 18, 381.

[147]Strong, 47.

"Indian missions declined steadily as the mid-century approached. There were many reasons, but removal was the chief of them."[148]

In 1831, the "Nez Perces and Flatheads [Northwest Tribes] sent delegations …charged with seeing if they could get religious instruction for their people."[149] In response to these appeals, the American Board sent several missionaries "In 1836…[who], not only trained the Indians in religious subjects but taught them new methods of agriculture."[150] After ten years of work, Mrs. Whitman expressed some of the missionaries' own attitudes in an 1847 letter to her mother describing a neighboring station as important, "to the cause of civilization and Christianity in the country at large."[151] While this strongly implies that acculturation was a part of the missionaries' goal, three-self aspects were also a part of the work. In an 1840 letter, Mrs. Whitman reports herself as refusing the use of her home as a place of worship. Instead, she admonished the Indians that, "people in other places build their houses of worship and did not let one man do it all alone, and urged them to join together by and by and build one for themselves of adobe."[152] Unfortunately, westward White migration into the area brought about Indian-White conflict and what might have eventually developed from the missionaries' efforts remains unknowable. Olmstead summarizes the results of the

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[148]Beaver, *Church, State, and the American Indians*, 117.

[149]Alvin M. Josephy, *The Indian Heritage of America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), 326.

[150]Olmstead, *History of Religion*, 276.

[151]Narcissa Whitman, "Letters and Journals of Narcissa Whitman (1836-1847)," ed. Mrs. Stephen Prentiss, *Public Broadcasting System* Web site, 1; available from http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/resources/archives/two/whitman2.htm#050240; accessed 4 February 2005.

[152]Ibid.

missionaries' efforts and tragic end of the mission. "For a time their efforts were rewarded with phenomenal success. Then in 1847 a rumor was started … that Dr. Whitman was responsible for a series of epidemics.… [T]he result was an Indian attack upon the mission during which Dr. and Mrs. Whitman and twelve others were massacred. The Oregon mission was closed."[153] Josephy suggests that the larger reason behind the massacre was "the swelling tide of emigrants [that] became a threat to the lands of the Northwest tribes. Apprehension grew among the Indians and clashes occurred."[154] Strong, writing for the American Mission, more darkly suggests rival White influences saying, "It came out later that the plot contemplated the slaying only of American missionaries; Frenchmen and Roman Catholics were to be spared, which facts point to certain influences as fomenting discord."[155] In either case, the expansion of White settlements again proves to be a great hindrance to missionary outreach.

Occasionally, however, White expansion produced conditions that fostered conversions. The Santee Dakotas by 1858 were confined to a small reservation along the Minnesota River.[156] "The missionaries, noticing that many Indians hostile to Christianity chose to move away rather than accept confinement, accepted the hardships caused by the treaties because the new conditions not only screened out native opposition but curtailed the nomadic tendencies of those who stayed."[157] Following four years of reservation mismanagement, an uprising occurred in 1862 that resulted in the confinement of

[153]Olmstead, *History of Religion*, 276.

[154]Josephy, 327.

[155]Strong, 51.

[156]Bowden, 189.

[157]Ibid., 188.

hundreds of mostly male Indians in prison camps.[158] Over the next few years most of these detainees converted to Christianity.[159] Stephen Riggs, one of the missionaries personally involved, reports that the Indians "were unwilling now, in their distresses, to be without God—without hope, without faith in something or someone. Their hearts were aching after some spiritual revelation."[160] Berkhofer reports that in several camps nearly all the Indians converted with the total from the camps at about 1,350 conversions.[161] Riggs, from just one camp, personally reports that "about three hundred … stood up and were baptized."[162] These were not "jailhouse conversions" abandoned upon release. Riggs, again as an eyewitness, reports in his 1880 book, "After many years of testing have elapsed, we all say that was a genuine work of God's Holy Spirit."[163] Indeed, after a series of relocations, one group, "Gathered near Flandreau, South Dakota, where they maintained an inconspicuous native identity [and] their community still exists today [1981]."[164] The author was, however, unable to find this group through inquiries among area Christians in 2004.

The latter part of the end of the nineteenth century saw the last free tribes confined to reservations and ended the relocations forced on the Indians by White settlers. In general, the missionary effort to this point had not been successful. Berkhofer

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[158]Ibid.,190.

[159]Ibid.

[160]Riggs, 188.

[161]Bowden, 190.

[162]Riggs, 189.

[163]Ibid.

[164]Bowden, 191.

remarks that, “After thousands of dollars and hundreds of missionaries, the managers and patrons of the missionaries societies [begun after the American Revolution] had to account their eight decades of effort among the American Indians as unsuccessful.”[165] Strong, editorial secretary of the American Board, tempers the results but has essentially the same evaluation. “A review of Indian missions, after a generation of effort, prompts some disappointment. Fields undertaken at great cost of men and money were already closed; others were languishing.”[166] In Strong’s evaluation, much of the reason for this failure is the continuous advancement of White settlement. “All [the tribes] were unsettled and irritated by their frequent transfers. The White man’s word came to be little respected, so that the reputation and good will of the missionaries were seriously hurt in the eyes of those who inclined to regard them as of like character with the rest of their race.”[167] After roughly two hundred and fifty years of missionary labor, there were few lasting results.

The failure was not total. As has been mentioned, there had been many small successes since the beginning of the effort. The largest was among the Cherokee that Strong refers to as “conspicuous among the missionary achievements of the period.”[168] The American Board, “discontinued its Tuscarora and Cherokee missions in 1860…[concluding] Christianity is recognized among them [the Cherokee] as much as in

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[165]Berkhofer, 153.

[166]Strong, 54.

[167]Ibid.

[168]Ibid., 55.

any portion of the United States."[169] In the case of the Tuscarora, there is also some outside testimony to success since, when, "At the end of 1860, the American Board withdrew its support from the Tuscarora Mission."[170] "The Mission thereupon applied in 1861 to come under the care of the Niagara Presbytery and was accepted."[171] These are exceptional, however, as "no other society followed the board's example among the Cherokee Tribe or any other tribe."[172]

Missionary agencies generally welcomed the forced settlement of the tribes on reservations because it ended the dislocations caused by White settlers and native nomadism. Nevertheless, reservations did not offer the missionaries an environment without challenges. Dr. Crary, a first-hand witness, denounces mismanagement of "Indian government as the most atrocious, most foolish ever imposed,…it is supported by a band of unscrupulous thieves.…[and nothing] can be done while the reigning Indian rings rule the Government." [173] In response to such complaints, "In 1869 President Grant instituted reforms many hoped would improve the situation."[174] "As a result of this policy, thirteen denominations exercised control over seventy-three agencies, with each church monopolizing evangelical activities in designated jurisdictions. These assignments

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[169]American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Report*, 1860, p 128. Quoted in Robert F. Berkhofer, *Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977), 155.

[170]Ibid.

[171]Barbara Graymont, "The Tuscarora New Year Festival," reprint from *New York History, 1969*, *Tuscarora and Six Nations* Web site, 1; available from http://tuscaroras.com/pages/history/new_years.html; accessed 23 January 2004.

[172]Berkhofer, 156.

[173]Rev. Dr. Crary, "Indian Missions," *Missionary Advocate* 26, no. 2 (1870), 7.

[174]Bowden, 192.

did not acknowledge historical missionary influences or current religious affiliations among the Indians, especially pluralistic ones."[175] Beaver explains these reassignments in detail and notes, "The two missions boards with the best claims to priority, continuity, and experience were ignored."[176] In addition, the assignments excluded three southern denominations due to "the bitterness of Reconstruction politics [although they] …probably had more Indian members than all other Protestant churches together."[177] In the end, "The procedure simply did not create a more effective administration and it produced more interdenominational rivalry than it did native converts."[178] The dissatisfaction with this outcome resulted in "the opening of all reservations to all churches in 1881."[179] This situation has continued to the present time with the tribes settled on fixed reservations and the reservations open to anyone wanting to engage in missionary effort.

Three major changes affecting the way missionary outreach to Native Americans was carried out occurred around the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. The first already discussed was the confinement of the last free tribes to reservations and the opening of all reservations to all groups. The second was a general decline in the emphasis on Indian missions. Last, and perhaps most significant, was a shift in viewpoint from what had been an almost universal disdain for Native American culture and goal of assimilation to many holding a preservationist view for Native

[175]Ibid.

[176]Beaver, *Church, State, and the American Indians*, 138.

[177]Ibid.

[178]Bowden, 193.

[179]Beaver and Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 31.

American culture. The outcome of these three changes generally represents the state of missions to Native Americans through the twentieth century.

Three clear signposts mark the decline in interest in Indian missions. The first is the decline in official government support through the Indian Civilization Act. There was a reduction in appropriations throughout the 1890s and formally ended in 1899.[180] The second was among the boards and denominations where, as Berkhofer says, there was: "increasing discouragement of the missionary directors and their public [with the] agonizingly slow growth of Indian Christianity."[181] Consequently, "Less and less space was devoted to American Indian missions and mention of them was shifted further back in the report."[182] The third was the organizational shift of Indian missions from foreign to home mission status among the various denominations and agencies.[183] This followed a clear logic of seeing a people in the midst of churches, as properly the province of home missions. While the shift to home missions status should not mean an automatic downgrade in emphasis, that was the result for Indian missions. Pierce Beaver says it bluntly: "Indian missions became largely a housekeeping affair concerned mostly with maintenance rather than expansion."[184]

The assimilationist goal of the missionaries reached its fullest expression at the end of the nineteenth century advancing from merely seeking to turn the Indians into good Whites to seeking their full integration into larger White society, especially as

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[180]Beaver, *Church, State, and the American Indians,* 168.
[181]Berkhofer, 160.

[182]Ibid.

[183]Beaver, *Church, State, and the American Indians,* 208.

[184]Ibid.

citizens. The editor of the independent *American Missionary* expressed this goal in 1873 as, "The civilization of the Indians and their introduction into the rights and privileges of citizenship."[185] Episcopalian Bishop Hare explained his work as "that of resolving the Indian structure and preparing its parts for being taken up into the great whole in Church and State."[186] Beaver says, "Episcopalians, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians vocal about Indian affairs clearly looked to its fruit being the integration and absorption of the civilized Indian citizen into the general American society."[187] The only real difference of opinion was whether it was more effective to use reservations as an intermediary step or to force the Indians into immediate integration with White society. The majority thought reservations could isolate Indians "from contact with bad White people, [and keep them where they could be] Christianized, and protected in their development toward civilization and citizenship."[188] Hare, in contrast, saw reservations as "a solid foreign mass indigestible by our common civilization."[189] He explains, "The Indians are not an insulated people, like some of the islanders of the South Sea. Our work is not that of building up a National Indian Church."[190] The American Board held similar views and "with integration in view, promoted fraternal intercourse between the Dakota churches

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[185]American Missionary Association, "The Indian Question," *American Missionary* 17, no. 6 (1873): 124.

[186]M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *The Life and Labors of Bishop Hare: Apostle to the Sioux* (New York: Sturgis & Walton Company, 1912), 54.

[187]Beaver, *Church, State, and the American Indians*, 201.

[188]Ibid., 192.

[189]Howe, 54.

[190]Ibid., 55.

and the frontier home mission churches."[191] Clearly, those supporting the ongoing system of reservations won the debate. However, both approaches had the same objective, to convert the Indians to Christianity and integrate them into White civilization.

This assimilationist goal began to shift in the twentieth century beginning in government circles. Until this time, "There was little conflict between the missions and the Indian Service over government policy."[192] "In the 1920's, however,…voices began to defend cultural pluralism as an alternative to destroying minority lifestyles."[193] These voices gained the power to act with the appointment of John Collier as Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1933.[194] Bowden describes Collier as "a romantic visionary who idealized the pre-Columbian Indian communities."[195] In office, "Collier…set out vigorously to rescue and foster the traditional tribal culture."[196] The missionaries generally opposed this policy, "because they thought that, in reviving tribalism, it subsidized segregation and perpetuated racial prejudice."[197] They were also likely provoked by Collier's order prohibiting "any interference with Indian religious life or ceremonial expression…[and ending] compulsory attendance of Indian children at Christian classes of instruction and worship."[198]

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[191]Beaver, *Church, State, and the American Indians,* 201.

[192]Ibid., 210.

[193]Bowden, 198.

[194]S. Lyman Tyler, *A History of Indian Policy* (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1973), 125.

[195]Bowden, 202.

[196]Beaver, *Church, State, and the American Indians,* 210.

[197]Bowden, 205.

[198]Beaver, *Church, State, and the American Indians,* 211.

With the passage of twenty-five years, however, many missionaries were also abandoning the objective of assimilation. This is reflected in a 1958 survey of Indian missionary workers conducted by Ann Lively on behalf of the National Council of Churches. In her survey, 60% of Protestant workers were found to be either "pro-culture" or (mixed) and only 35% were found to be "pro-assimilation."[199] Lively describes the largest group "mixed" as thinking, "that substantial accommodation is necessary but that certain positive values should be retained."[200] These ideas of accommodation and retaining positive values represent a major shift in the earlier missionary objective about which Beaver could say, "Everyone [with three named exceptions] engaged in the mission had disdained Native American culture and barred it from the churches."[201] Lively's questions and analysis do not address the underlying attitudes of those with a more positive view of Native culture. This is unfortunate as at least two very different attitudes are possible. The best would be looking toward a contextualized Church; the other would be an adoption of idealized views like Collier's.

Recent Developments among Native Americans

A recent significant development in Native American missions is the appearance of "an Indigenous Pentecostal Movement [among the Navajos starting] around

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[199]Anne O. Lively, *A Survey of Mission Workers in the Indian Field* (New York: National Council of Churches in the USA, 1958), 15.

[200]Ibid.

[201]Beaver and Missions Advanced Research and Communication Centers, 46.

1960.[sic]"[202] Scates explains that the movement is largely located in "camp churches" outside of the missionary stations. He describes these "camp churches" saying: "The camp church is started by a Navajo in his own or a relative's home. It may go through a series of building programs. It has Navajo leadership from its inception and is usually composed of relatives. It has self-determination, Indian identity, self-pride and is self-supporting."[203] The most recent count of the number of churches produced by this movement was in 1976 and found seventy-six, all but three of which had Navajo pastors.[204] Scates suggests that the reason for this growth is the contextual nature of the work. "They make fewer cultural mistakes and know at what points to enter a power encounter with the old religion.… Almost all the time they know what should be retained and adapted in the church. They are able consciously and unconsciously to find 'functional substitutes' to meet the felt needs of their people."[205] The explosive growth of this movement suggests that indigenous and contextualized churches can flourish among Native Americans. It is unfortunate that this is the only large-scale example the author has encountered.

In recent years, several Christian Native American leaders have begun to consciously wrestle with contextualization. While the origin of the contextualization process must go back to the sheer practicalities of the first missionary effort and have continued to the present day, these leaders are deliberately seeking to understand how

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[202]David R. Scates, *Why Navajo Churches Are Growing* (Grand Junction, Col.: Navajo Christian Churches, 1981), 81.

[203]Ibid., 90.

[204]Thomas Dolaghan and David Scates, *The Navajos Are Coming to Jesus* (South Pasadena, Cal.: William Carey Library, 1978), 94.

[205]Scates, 84.

Christianity should deal with Indian culture and practices. Russell Begaye, in a 1992 article, examines day-to-day observances that meet needs expressed in the Navajo culture. He then concludes: "The Christian missionary will generally dismiss all these observances and beliefs as satanic, but that does not deal with the problems.… For the Christian religion to be accepted by the Navajos, it must provide realistic and practical solutions to the basic Navajo need for temporal and eternal security; protection against supernatural forces, ill health, natural calamities, and anti-social tensions; it must provide hope, peace, joy, and love: and a sense of belonging with a purpose."[206] Despite the fact that Begaye does not address the answer to these questions, his deliberate approach to the problem demands that solutions be found. While Scates' description of camp churches suggests that others have also wrestled with the question and found answers thirty years earlier, these have clearly not satisfied everyone. Though Pentecostal in his background, Begaye's search seeks systematic answers to these problems rather than transient "power encounters."

Craig Smith, Chippewa, takes up the search for contextualized Native American Christianity in *Whiteman's Gospel.* He begins with the history of Indian missions, saying, "It was the belief of those engaging in historical Christian ministry among Native people [that their goal must be] not only to evangelize, but to move Indians from the perceived state of savagery to that of a civilized state,…redemption therefore was…predominately horizontal."[207] This is familiar ground. Smith goes on, however, to evaluate that ministry focusing on the three-self principle as a part of the horizontal and conclude by

[206]Russell Begaye, "Christianity and American Indian (Navajo) Values," in *Readings in Native American Missions*, ed. Jim Demsey (Phoenix, Ariz.: American Indian Bible College, 1992), 66.

[207]Craig Stephen Smith, *Whiteman's Gospel* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Indian Life Books, 1997), 46.

rhetorically asking, "Does the American church have a measuring rod of success that is at its worst, not biblical, and at its best primarily cultural, based upon the American secular view of success?"[208] He concludes by saying that, "Just as the European people, over time had to evaluate their culture, including its customs, arts, and conveniences, in light of God's Word, our Native cultures must be given the same opportunity."[209]

Adrian Jacobs very deliberately takes up this evaluation in *Aboriginal Christianity the Way It Was Meant To Be.* After asserting the wrongness of churches demanding clothing, architecture, and music that is offensive to Indian people, he says, "It is this very ability that Christianity possesses—the ability to be expressed, understood, and lived out in every culture of the world—that is the genius of the Creator's way."[210] While this is not unusual, Jacobs goes on to advance the discussion by creating a distinction between religious and civil ceremonies in culture generally and Indian culture in particular.[211] "Civil ceremonies are not primarily religious in nature. Respect for and the recognition of God is often a part of these activities. [However,] no particular belief system is required of the participant usually. Respect for human dignitaries is expected."[212] Jacobs then examines a series of civil ceremonies for both cultural and biblical viewpoints and concludes that, "We [must] as Christians think very seriously about Aboriginal

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[208]Ibid., 75.

[209]Ibid., 122.

[210]Adrian Jacobs, *Aboriginal Christianity the Way It Was Meant to Be* (Rapid City, S.Dak: Adrian Jacobs, 1998), 2.

[211]Ibid., 23.

[212]Ibid.

ceremonies and carefully evaluate them before we do anything rash with them."[213] In a separate work Jacobs provides a very concrete starting point for this in the area of the church's civil organization by including a suggested constitution for a local church that provides organization he deems more in harmony with Aboriginal culture.[214]

Some Native American churches are expanding this approach to civil ceremonies to worship, calling it "a contextual native worship style."[215] Randy Woodly describes an example of this style of worship as practiced in the church he pastors, Eagle Valley Church, Carson City, Nevada. Some of the practices he includes are the use of circles, an eagle feather staff, burned sage, and sweat lodges.[216] Jacobs had earlier laid the theological basis for such practices in a pamphlet titled *Syncretism—The Meeting of the 2 Roads.* In it, he lays out four responses to cultural conflict. These are: "1. Rejection [eliminate or discard], 2. Absorption [incorporate or swallow up], 3. Syncretism [Uniting of opposing views], 4. Sanctification [setting apart for God's intended purpose]."[217] While his emphasis in the pamphlet is on ceremonies, his thesis clearly could include the use of objects for Christian worship formerly used in pagan worship. He later expands this idea to include beliefs in a 2000 *Missions Frontiers* article. "I am suggesting that elements of Native American religious belief that are in line with God's Word also be affirmed and utilized as points of contact and bridges of communication for the good

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[213]Ibid., 26.

[214]Adrian Jacobs, *Pagan Prophets and Heathen Believers* (Rapid City, S.Dak.: Adrian Jacobs, 1999), 27-40.

[215]Randy Woodly, "Putting It to the Test: A Look at Congregations That Are Aiming to Worship with Native Forms," *Missions Frontiers* 22, no. 4 (2000): 18.

[216]Ibid.

[217]Adrian Jacobs, *Syncretism: the Meeting of the 2 Roads,* (Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, Canada: Northern Canada Missions Distributors, 1994 [supplied]), 4.

news of Jesus Christ to Native Americans."[218] Jacobs then goes on to make the obvious connection to Paul's Mars Hill speech as justification for his position.[219]

The Native American District of the Christian and Missionary Alliance have expressed a different Native American position in this discussion. In the adopted Task Force report *Boundary Lines*, they reject "the stand [that] Native churches should adapt from animistic practices ways of worship so the church will have a Native American identity."[220] They instead contend that the Europeans who brought the gospel to North America were simply passing on what they themselves had received centuries earlier. "The inhabitants of those countries were animists and upon conversion made a complete break with their old animistic worship. Much of their church worship and practice they inherited from those representatives of the church who brought them the gospel.… Because of this reality in church history, *the native Christian church has not been singled out on this issue.*"[221] (italics in original) This does not mean they reject the idea of contextualization; indeed, they demand it, and that it be done by members of the culture.[222] They also list some areas in which they see contextualization already occurring. These are: "How each culture: views time, views the proper conduct of children in services, determines what constitutes professionalism and quality in worship

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[218]Adrian Jacobs, "Drumming, Dancing, Chanting, and Other Christian Things: Getting Beyond the Fear of Syncretism to Face the Challenge of Sanctification," *Mission Frontiers* 22, no. 4 (2000): 17.

[219]Ibid., 19.

[220]Task Force, *Boundary Lines: The Issue of Christ, Indigenous Worship, and Native American Culture* (Glendale, Ariz.: The Native American District of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, 2000 [supplied]), 16.

[221]Ibid., 17.

[222]Ibid., 54.

services, views the role of the clergy, determines proper decorum in public meetings, views issues of stewardship of time talents, and treasures."[223] At the same time, they specifically reject taking objects formerly used in animistic ceremonies for use in the church. "The idea of redeeming objects from spirit worship for Christian worship cannot be reconciled with the biblical position on separation from such objects and practices."[224]

In the section, Developing the Concept of Contextualization, Glasse was cited as saying that contextualization occurred when Christians within an *ethos*, "wrestle[d] with the biblical revelation…[and]…express[ed] its revelations in their own thought forms."[225] The existence of the above discussion is evidence that Native Americans are taking up the task of contextualization within their culture. Further evidence comes from the newly launched North American Institute for Indigenous Theological Studies.[226] The author sees these developments as indication that the church among Native Americans may eventually overcome the admixture of cultural and Christian ideas that they were originally presented with to develop into a contextualized body.

Current Native American Responses to Christianity Other than Acceptance

Three and a half centuries of missionary work undertaken mostly from an assimilationist approach has produced a wide range of Native American response. In addition to those who have accepted Christianity with varying degrees of cultural

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[223]Ibid., 46.

[224]Ibid., 13.

[225]Glasse and McGavran, 32.

[226]Sue Careless, "Not a White Man's Religion," *ChristianWeek Online* Web site 1; available from http:www.christianweek.org/stories/vol15/no18/story3.html; accessed 8 January 2002.

trappings, there have been three general responses. First, some have rejected "the White man's religion" and maintained tradition spiritual practices in either original or repackaged forms. Second, some have engaged in a syncretism of traditional practices and mostly Catholic Christianity. Finally, some have compartmentalized their approach to religion practicing both traditional spirituality and becoming involved with a church without seeing any contradiction between the two.

The revival and increasing popularity of the Sun Dance ritual among the Plains tribes is an example of the rejection of "the White man's religion." Bowden says that this "ritual celebration of traditional power reinforces native religious patterns without drawing on or contributing to Christian symbolism in any meaningful way."[227] A related response has been the acceptance of Peyote religion from Mexican tribes and its spread northward across the plains. La Barre explains that deculturalization efforts spread Peyote religion because they established English as a common language, weakened tribal influence, and created broad inter-tribal contacts via residential schools.[228] "Thus, ironically, the intended modes of deculturizing the Indian have contributed preëminently[sic],"[229] to the spread of Peyote religion. Its acceptance, however, rests on very traditional practices since peyote religion supported the tradition of vision quests.[230] Accordingly, whether through more or less original or introduced forms, traditional Native American spiritual practices have persisted in the face of assimilationist efforts.

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[227]Bowden, 218.

[228]Weston La Barre, *The Peyote Cult*, 5th ed. (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 113.

[229]Ibid., 113.

[230]Bowden, 215.

The Catholic Church most clearly demonstrates a syncretistic response to the missionary assimilationist approach. An example from a parish in a New Mexico church occurs where "above the stations of the cross are large pictures of *Kachinas*…spirits worshiped by the Zuni and other Pueblo people."[231] In the north, one can find syncretism in "fulfillment theology" in the Catholic Church, which essentially "views…Lakota forms as prefiguring the coming of Christ."[232] An application of this is a poem by Edgar Red Cloud who identifies the Pipe with Christ and the White Buffalo Woman with the Virgin Mary.

When the Indians knew Mother Earth,
they knew the Blessed Virgin Mary
but they did not know her by name.
The Woman
who brought the Calf Pipe
is the Blessed Virgin Mary
who brought Christ [233]

The author has observed it is a common practice to use Catholic and traditional symbols together in religious ceremonies such as funerals in Lakota contexts.

The third approach adopted by Native Americans in response to missionary work undertaken from an assimilationist approach is compartmentalization of religious practices and belief. In this response, the Native Americans have adopted a form of Christianity without releasing traditional religion. The author has directly observed this in conversations with Dakotas who describe participation in the Sun Dance and vision

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[231]Jo Ann Carver, "The Native American Is a Mission Field," in *Readings in Native American Missions*, ed. Jim Demsey (Phoenix, Ariz.: American Indian Bible College, 1992), 10.

[232]Raymond J. and Douglas R. Parks DeMallie, ed. *Sioux Indian Religion: Tradition and Innovation* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 14.

[233]Edgar Red Cloud, "[No Title Given]," in *Meditations with Native Americans Lakota Spirituality*, ed. Paul Steinmetz (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: Bear & Company, 1984), 129.

quests, followed immediately by an anticipation of a proper Roman Catholic wedding.[234] Those involved showed no awareness of any conflict between or any intent to commingle the two religions. De Mallie and Parks describe this phenomenon in *Sioux Indian Religion*:

> Most Sioux people maintain membership in, and belief in the efficacy of, some Christian denomination. Many of the leaders of traditional ceremonies belong to the Roman Catholic or Episcopal churches. They see no conflict between traditional beliefs and ceremonies and those of Christianity. For the most of the past century, they have kept these two religious modes separate. Some Sioux men entered the ranks of the clergy and preached against traditional religious practices, but most solved any potential conflict by compartmentalizing Christian and traditional activities.[235]

Though the author disagrees with DeMallie and Parks about the portion of Native Americans holding membership in churches based on surveys shown in table 1, their description of religious practice agrees with the author's own observation.

Statistics Relating to Native American Missions

A final area of examination in the history of missions to Native Americans are the statistics compiled from the beginning to the last quarter of the twentieth century. These allow, for the first time, a quantification of missionary success beyond the level of individual agencies and denominations. The author selected five surveys ranging from 1916 to 1978 for examination. While these surveys are not fully consistent, the author chose these because they contained the most consistently defined information available over the longest period. The 1978 survey is the last available to the author. Table 1 contains these surveys for easy reference. All the statistics used are for Protestant work in

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[234]Lakota Couple, interview by author, 27 April 2004, personal conversation, Rapid City, S.Dak.

[235]DeMallie, 14.

TABLE 1

NATIVE AMERICAN BELIEVERS FROM 1910 TO 1980

Year	Surveyor	Census[1]	Believers	Aprox. %	Churches	Believers per Church	Clergy	Churches per Clergy
1910		265,683						
1916	Beach[2]		29,252	11.4	323	90.6	124	2.6
1920		244,437						
1925	Beach[3]		32,465	11.2	514	63.2	263	1.9
1930		332,397						
1950	Lindquist[4]	343,410	39,200	11.4	437	89.7	N/A	N/A
1970		827,225						
1977-1978	Beaver[5]		88,166	7.8	1511	58.3	532	2.8
1980		1,420,400						

[1]Campbell, Gibson and Kay Jung, "Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States" *United States Census Bureau* Web site, 2-3; available from http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0056.html; accessed 22 April 2004. The approximate percentage of Native believers for all surveys, except Lindquist who worked in the decimal year, was calculated by averaging the census data from the preceding and following decimal censuses and then dividing into the number of believers.

[2]Harlan P. Beach and Burton St John, World Statistics of Christian Missions (New York: The Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, 1916), 76.

[3]Harlan P. Beach and Burton St John, World Statistics of Christian Missions (New York: The Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, 1916), 76.

[4]Gustavus Elmer Emanuel Lindquist and Russel E. Carter, Indians in Transition : A Study of Protestant Missions to Indians in the United States (New York: Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A, 1951), 34.

[5]R. Pierce Beaver and Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center., The Native American Christian Community: A Directory of Indian, Aleut, and Eskimo Churches (Monrovia, Calif.: MARC, 1979), 18.

the continental United States including Alaska. Two areas will be examined first, the total

number of communicant Native American believers compared to the population and, second, the number of ordained clergy compared to the number of churches. The author chose these areas for having the most consistently defined information available over the longest period and for their relevance to the indigenous church. In addition, United States Census data is included to allow a comparison of believers to the total number of Native Americans.

The starting point, Beach's 1916 survey, puts the percentage of Native Americans holding church membership at about 11.4%. This remains essentially stable through Lindquist's 1950 survey and then drops sharply to 7.8% in Beaver's 1978 survey. Beaver's survey counts both members and regular attendees and, therefore, makes the decline even more pronounced. He explains this broader counting method as more accurate reasoning that, "Churches define membership in widely varying terms, and some actually have no membership, and only record attenders [sic] or participants in the fellowship."[236] Beaver designed this change to produce a more accurate result but his analysis suggests that the number of Native Americans who were claimed by churches as communicants or regularly attending in his survey is seriously inflated.[237] In explanations, Beaver notes that in eight states the number of Indians claimed by the churches exceeded the Indian population, in case of Kansas, by an astonishing 549%![238] As a result, the 7.8% Beaver's broader and admittedly inflated numbers produce, indicate that the percentage of believing Native Americans is falling significantly. However, in the author's opinion, the more than doubling in the number of Indian believers found by

[236]Beaver and Missions Advanced Research and Communication Center, 18.

[237]Ibid.

[238]Ibid., 35.

Beaver over the 1950 survey means that in spite of changes in definition and inflated reporting, the absolute number is probably not falling.

The second number the author will examine is the proportion of Indian churches per Indian clergy person. The 1916 and 1925 survey numbers place the proportion of churches to clergy at 2.6 and 1.9. Since the number of churches is increasing rapidly, this is a positive situation. Lindquist's 1950 survey, though failing to provide the numbers necessary to derive a proportion, reports in analysis that those dealing with personnel say, "Generally speaking the churches are short of candidates for the ministry."[239] Beaver's 1978 survey shows a large increase in both the number of churches and clergy. However, the 2.8 proportion of churches per clergy person derived from his numbers is the highest for any survey. Thus, in spite of the improvement in the first decade of the surveys, the numbers point to a long-term problem as the 1978 proportion of 2.8 is worse than the 1916 starting point of 2.6. The most benign understanding of this situation is that outsiders are planting new churches faster than it is possible to train clergy to fill them. Other alternatives are that over a long period Native Americans are not responding to ministerial calls or that the mechanisms to place them in recognized positions are failing.

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[239]Gustavus Elmer Emanuel Lindquist and Russel E. Carter, *Indians in Transition: A Study of Protestant Missions to Indians in the United States* (New York: Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A, 1951), 34.

CHAPTER 4

PROPOSED PROJECT DESCRIPTION

This chapter explains the proposed intervention to the problem of Native American churches failing to meet the commonly accepted "three-self" standard. It will include a summary of the problem, the purpose of the project, the scope of the project, the context of the project, and the major phases of the project. The chapter will conclude with the project's anticipated contribution to ministry.

The Problem

Few Native American churches meet the commonly accepted "three-self" standard as indigenous churches. In particular, most of these churches are not "self-supporting," that is they are supported by outside funds. In addition, very few of these churches are "self-governing" as nearly all are under district supervision. This means that these congregations are not taking responsibility for their own churches. The failure of these congregations to assume these responsibilities represents a significant deviation from the example of the New Testament practice and should be corrected.

Purpose of the Project

The purpose of this project is to create a seminar for the Institute for Ministry Development that will educate local Native American church leaders on the biblical nature and value of indigenous churches. This seminar will emphasize that New

Testament churches were indigenous in character and, by implication, challenge these leaders to conform to this biblical standard. Because only local leaders can correct this local problem, the seminar will be presented in multiple churches to reach these leaders both during and following the completion of this project.

The Design of the Project

The seminar produced for this project will be called “New Testament Church Development”. It will consist of three sessions of lecture and guided discussions that lead the participants through the New Testament examples of new church development. The seminar may also be presented as a longer first session combining material in sessions one and two of a three-division presentation. The bulk of the material will focus on the local church taking responsibility for its own governance and support. Local evangelism will be included at the end as a more positive subject since the Native American churches seem most active in this area. The sessions will begin with a pre-session instrument and will conclude with a post-session instrument.

The Approach

Because the material challenges the current practices of most of these churches, the seminar will be designed to be comfortable and familiar. It is planned for presentation in Native American churches on Wednesday evenings or Sunday afternoons following a meal. It will be flexible in length, composed of two or three sessions, totaling about three hours based on the local conditions. The presentation will employ an overhead projector rather than a video projector since most Native American churches use this equipment. In addition, familiar techniques will be utilized. For example, the seminar will begin by informally asking people to fill out a “Get Started Thinking!” form. Though the form is

the pre-session instrument, it is deliberately formatted to be similar to Sunday school material. This allows the pre-session instrument to be given without the uncomfortable appearance of being a "test." In the lecture and guided discussion, the participants will be guided through the material without any demand that they immediately act upon it. This will allow them to observe how others have handled church development and to become comfortable with the pattern. The emphasis is on concrete examples that may be imitated. The biblical nature of the material will be emphasized and the terms indigenous and "three-self" pattern will not be explicitly used. The author has chosen this approach since the term indigenous carries political meaning with this group. Further, individuals interpret the term differently, often assigning a negative meaning. The author rejected the term "three-self" because it would be new to most participants and would likely draw attention only to itself with no educational effect.

The Sessions

The seminar is based on a three-session division. The first session will begin by emphasizing that we should follow the example of the Bible. The first session will then examine the first Pauline missionary journey focusing on the brevity of the work in each town. The session will emphasize that the churches of necessity became humanly self-sufficient very quickly after they were planted. Following this will be a guided discussion of who led the churches after the missionaries left. The discussion will include a handout that lists the known Pauline requirements for pastors and deacons. A critical observation will be emphasized that nearly all the qualifications are moral and that the only skill required is that pastors are "able to teach." The session will then show that missionaries did remain longer in large cities using them as training centers.

The second session will lead the participants through the gradual withdrawal of the apostles' control in the Jerusalem and Corinthian churches. It will present a pattern that shows that missionaries moved from being the chief administrators and decision makers at the beginning to the role of consultants and, finally, intervening only at necessity. A guided discussion of 1 Corinthians 5:1-6, 6:1-8, and 14:29-32 in which Paul coaches the Corinthians in ways to solve their own problems will follow.

The third session will begin with an interactive lecture on how the churches in Acts and the epistles made the transition very quickly from receivers to givers. The presentation will include both admonitions and numerous concrete examples of churches providing support to missionaries, local leaders, and relief work. A careful look at the impoverished Philippians' giving for local work, relief, and missionary support will be among the examples given. A briefer segment will also emphasize that the missionaries left the churches after only short stays and that the local people must have taken responsibility for evangelism or the churches would have died out.

The Scope of the Project

The project will focus on the Native American churches of the north central region of the Assemblies of God. The objective of this project is to make local Native American church leaders aware of the nature and value of the indigenous church concept. This project will consist of three hours of lecture and guided discussion. The course will be offered several times to groups of local leaders. A pre-session instrument and post-session instrument will be given to determine the effectiveness of the course in raising the awareness of these leaders to the indigenous church concept. The test results together

with the author's observations of the classes will be used to evaluate the project's effectiveness, ideas for improvements, and areas needing further study.

Because the content of the seminar is almost entirely biblical, the project could be adapted for other groups that are struggling with taking responsibility for their own churches. Those groups whose learning style favors guided learning and concrete examples would be most likely to benefit with the least adaptation. The project could also be adapted for presentation to missionaries who work with groups that are struggling with taking responsibility for their own churches, to give them a fresh biblical picture of their goal.

The Context of the Project

The Native Americans of the North-Central region have been the subject of missionary activity for at least 170 years. During that time, at least one significant awakening occurred and churches have been planted across the area. The Assemblies of God alone has fifteen U.S. Missions missionary units in the region. All of the churches that participate in the project will be in excess of fifteen years old. None of the churches will be sovereign. The churches will be located in four states. Three are located in small reservation towns and one is located in Bismarck, the capital of North Dakota. This diversity should allow an evaluation of the project's appropriateness and effectiveness.

Since the project is aimed at local church leaders, all of the seminars will be held in local churches to allow the maximum exposure of this group. The seminar is designed to be informal and comfortable for those attending and will follow a meal. The seminars will be announced and open to the whole church in an informal and comfortable setting.

The seminars will be approximately three hours in length with one or two brief breaks. This will allow time for an easy pace of presentation and discussion together with the evaluation tools. The seminars will begin with a pre-session instrument and end with a post-session instrument.

Major Phases of the Project

The completion of this project will be the product of five phases of development that include research, planning, action, evaluation, and writing. These phases will begin with the research phase and continue mostly in order except for the writing phase that will occur concurrently with the others. The explanation of these phases follows.

Research

The research phase will begin with an examination of the scriptural basis for indigenous church doctrine. It will first examine the Old Testament for principles that apply to church organization. The New Testament will then be examined for teaching and examples of how church expansion was handled by the apostles. The purpose is to assemble scriptural material concerning indigenous church principles. These principles can be presented to local Native American church leaders so that they in turn can apply these principles in their local churches.

The second focus of the research phase will be an examination of the literature to discover how indigenous church principles have been understood in the missionary context. It will examine the definitions of “indigenous church” and “contextualized church planting” as they have developed since the mid-nineteenth century. It will also include a brief historical examination of how the missionary effort among Native Americans has been carried out in the light of indigenous church principles. This second

focus will conclude with an evaluation of the recent Native American response to the missionary outreach.

Planning

The planning phase of the project will be primarily concerned with compositing the results of the research phase into a presentation for local Native American church leaders which will educate them concerning indigenous church principles. This phase will include the following areas: (1) deciding which areas of indigenous church principles to be emphasized, (2) shaping the best format for the presentation of indigenous church principles, (3) deciding the setting in which the indigenous church principles are most likely to be accepted, (4) selecting the best means for evaluating the response of the local Native American church leaders to the presentation, and (5) choosing the best locations for presenting the seminar to achieve a broad test of its effectiveness. With the exception of deciding on the principles to be emphasized, these areas are not sequential but they will be interrelated.

Action

The action phase of the project will consist of two parts: the preparation of the seminar and the presentation of the seminar. The seminar preparation will involve laying out the material to be taught and then arranging it into the best design for the audience. A major consideration will be keeping the audience comfortable with material that may challenge their existing attitudes and practices. Following this, appropriate visual aids and handouts for the audience will be assembled. The author is personally aware that much of the target audience resists anything that looks like a test. As a result, the creation of the evaluation tool will require particular care so that the audience will find it

acceptable and complete the form rather than ignore or resist the evaluation tool. The tool will be designed with open-ended questions so participants may express feelings and attitudes as well as knowledge. Locations and dates for the seminar will then be chosen, with consideration given to including a broad set of test groups.

The second part of the action phase will be the presentation of the seminar to local Native American church leaders. The preferred learning style of this group is that of observation and guided learning that allows the student to become comfortable with new material before employing it himself or herself. As a result, close attention will be given to feedback received during each seminar and the audience response will be allowed to compress or expand the time allotted to various portions of the seminar. The author will carefully explain the method of completion for the evaluation tool. The evaluation tool is significant for this project as well as helpful in introducing the material so the students are better able to fix in their minds what they have learned.

Evaluation

The evaluation phase of the project will focus on the data gained from the pre-session instrument and post-session instrument as well as the verbal feedback from the seminar participants that occurs during the presentations. The pre-session instrument and post-session instrument will be examined to determine if the participants demonstrate a greater understanding of indigenous church principles and if their attitudes show any change. The latter is obviously difficult to assess but the open-ended questions used may provide the opportunity in some cases. The data and feedback will then be used to make recommendations for future revisions to the seminar's structure and to provide direction for future research and action.

Writing

The writing phase of the project will occur along with all other phases of the project. As chapter drafts are completed they will be sent to the editor, advisor, and project coordinator for advice and approval with appropriate revisions made after evaluation at each level. When all revisions and changes have been incorporated and the product accepted by the project coordinator, this phase will be complete.

Project Contribution to Ministry

A successfully completed project will contribute to three areas of ministry. The project, if successful, will affect the leadership of the churches where it is presented educating them concerning indigenous church principles and encouraging them to take greater responsibility for themselves. Second, it will produce a biblically based seminar teaching indigenous church principles that will be available for use in Native American churches. Finally, because of the seminar's strong biblical basis, it should be adaptable for use in other settings where established churches have not taken responsibility for themselves. The evaluation tools, which will be used in the seminar, will provide insight into the current attitudes of local leaders in Native American churches.

Affect Local Leaders

In the author's experience working among Native American churches, he has seldom seen any local leaders beyond the pastor attend functions outside the local church. If these leaders are to be educated about the biblically abnormal state of dependency that their churches are operating in, it will have to be in the local setting. If the project is successful, the local leaders who participate in the seminar will gain an understanding of

the New Testament pattern of church development. This is a first step toward changing the practice in these churches.

Seminar

The creation of a seminar designed for local church leaders, which explains indigenous church principles using biblical examples and avoiding threatening terminology, will be a useful tool in Native American churches. Many of these leaders are unaware of the biblical teaching about church development. They, therefore, accept their current state of dependency as normal and are unlikely to change without education and motivation. The content of the seminar emphasizes that they are able to take responsibility for their own church. The seminar, if successful, will encourage them to change without raising resistance from extraneous elements. In addition, because the seminar avoids technical terminology and relies upon strictly biblical material, it should be adaptable to other groups that are in similar situations.

Provide Insight into Local Leader's Thought

The evaluation tool asks a series of open-ended questions concerning indigenous church principles. Examining the responses to these questions will provide insight into the understanding and attitudes of local church leaders in Native American churches. The pre-session instrument will show the current thinking of local Native American leadership. The post-session instrument will show how these leaders respond to the seminar's presentation. Prayerful consideration of this information could be used to help shape district policy concerning these churches. In addition, it may reveal other areas in which education and exhortation are needed.

CHAPTER 5

DESCRIPTION OF ACTUAL PROJECT

Chapter 5 describes the actual presentation of the project in Native American churches in the North-Central region. This chapter describes the preparation of the project, the presentation of the project in the churches, and the immediate response of the participants to the project.

Preparation of the Project

The preparation phase began with determining the expansion in understanding that local Native American church leaders would need to see the nature and value of indigenous churches. It then examined the best method of presentation to impart that understanding. Consideration was given at the same time for the creation of a tool that would measure whether or not this understanding was expanded. Preparation concluded with the selection of churches in which the seminar would be presented.

Preparing for an Expansion in Understanding

Expanding the understanding of local Native American church leaders concerning the nature and value of the indigenous church is the principal goal of this project. The first step in this process was collecting and organizing the biblical material related to the subject. The material was then compared to the accepted understanding and application of indigenous church principles in a missionary context as developed in chapter 3. Since most of these principles were developed in a context of foreign missions, further

consideration was then given to the specific context of the Native American churches as revealed by the history of missionary efforts focused on them. As seen in chapter 1, the areas of demonstrable shortcoming in Native American churches are in self-government and self-support. The primary emphases of the seminar was directed at expanding the understanding of local Native American church leaders in these areas. The author decided that the concept of self-propagation should also be included to a lesser degree for the sake of balance and as possible encouragement in an area where Native American churches are more in line with the biblical example. The rationale for including or excluding material was: (1) Does the material explain indigenous church principles? (2) Does the material address the weaknesses discovered in the current Native American church situation? (3) Will the material be perceived as biblical or as a management seminar? (4) Can the material be adequately presented in the time available? and (5) Does the material lend itself to guided learning and learning by observation of others?

Preparing an Adequate Presentation of the Selected Material

Once the material had been selected for the seminar, the actual creation of the seminar was undertaken. This was done with careful consideration of the target audience of local Native American church leaders. The author has several years of experience teaching in this area. Based on this experience, it was decided that since the material challenged the current operating practices of the target audience, an effort should be made to present the material in a way that would lend it the maximum authority. The author planned to do this by emphasizing the biblical nature of the material and by avoiding citation of human authority. In addition, to offset the challenging nature of the material the author tried to make the seminar comfortable in as many other respects as

possible. The general structure utilized several approaches familiar to the audience from adult Sunday school material. These included a “Get Started Thinking” opener, overhead transparencies, and single-page handouts. Furthermore, the seminar emphasized two of the preferred learning styles: observation and guided learning. Since the nature of the seminar prevented direct observation of the “three-self” practices, multiple examples were selected from the New Testament and the audience was led through observing what others have done. The use of guided discussion also allowed the audience to work through the material. Finally, the need for change was presented indirectly. That is, the seminar clearly presented a New Testament model that varied from the practice of these churches, but it nowhere demanded that the churches conform to the model. The seminar notes are included in appendix C with the overhead transparences and handouts included in appendix D.

Preparing for an Assessment of the Project’s Effectiveness

In order to determine if the objective of this project was achieved, pre-session and post-session instruments were created to measure the awareness of the participants concerning the indigenous church concept. The design of the instruments was a series of four open-ended questions that allowed the participants to show both knowledge and attitude concerning the “three-self” indigenous church concept. The pre-session and post-session versions were identical except for the heading and are included in appendix B.

The instrument’s design was based on the author’s experience with the target audience in which many are reluctant to fill out anything that resembles a test. The author has also observed a significant resentment among members of the target audience against being used as research subjects. Consequently, to overcome these points of resistance, the

instrument was deliberately laid out to avoid the appearance of a test or of a research project aimed at the "Indians." This was done by utilizing the design of a common adult Sunday school teaching tool often titled, "Let's Get Started," which introduces the day's lesson by asking survey-type questions concerning the material to be covered. This approach solicits the necessary information while giving the instrument a feeling of familiarity. It was judged by the author as least likely to arouse resistance and most likely to be filled out. This format was also consistent with the preferred test style, as, "most Indian students prefer essay-type exams rather than multiple choice tests."[240] An additional benefit from this approach was that the instrument functioned as an integral part of the seminar. Just as the tool it is based on, the instrument introduced the main points covered in the seminar and reemphasized them at the seminar's conclusion.

Selecting the Churches in Which to Evaluate the Seminar

In order to gauge the effectiveness of the seminar, the author decided to select four churches from a broad area in the North-Central region. The author contacted churches in Hays, Montana; Bismarck, North Dakota; McLaughlin, South Dakota; and White Earth, Minnesota. Since the purpose of the seminar was to teach indigenous church principles to local Native American church leaders who are not currently practicing them, all the churches selected were district affiliated rather than sovereign churches and have been in existence for over fifteen years. Three of these churches were established on reservations while the fourth was off the reservation in the city of Bismarck, North Dakota. This diversity is intended to improve the evaluation of the project's appropriateness and effectiveness. The author asked these churches to allow the

[240]Gilliland, p. 58.

presentation of the seminar, “New Testament Church Development,” on a Sunday afternoon or Wednesday night following a meal. To improve the evaluation of the seminar, churches where the author regularly teaches classes were not used, although the author has previously spoken in all but one of the selected churches.

When the churches were contacted, the actual scheduling varied somewhat from the planned approach. In Bismarck, the seminar was scheduled for Saturday morning, 21 November 2002, in conjunction with a brunch to which the workers of the church were specifically invited. The seminar in White Earth was scheduled on Wednesday evening, 8 January 2003, following a meal with the church workers invited. In the case of McLaughlin, the seminar was scheduled for Tuesday evening, 21 January 2003, following a meal with the church workers invited. In Hays, the seminar was scheduled in lieu of Sunday evening service without a meal on 16 February 2003.

Execution of the Project

In each case, except Hays, the presentation began informally with the presenter passing out the pre-session evaluation instrument to the participants as they finished eating or arrived. In the church at Bismarck, most of the participants accepted the pre-session instrument, but declined to fill it out. This was due to an expressed fear of not knowing the answers or being wrong. In every case, except at Hays, the seminar proceeded smoothly as planned through the material with breaks at the end of the first segment or second segment. In the churches where eating preceded the seminar, the guided discussions elicited more response than expected. At the end of each seminar, the adults who had been present for the complete seminar filled out a post-session instrument. In White Earth, some who had arrived late also filled out a post-session

instrument. At Hays, the only church where the author was not previously known, the seminar replaced the Sunday evening service. No meal accompanied the Hays seminar and pre-session instruments were passed out when the pastor had introduced the presenter. The flow of the seminar was also hindered by several interruptions from people arriving during the seminar and making requests of the pastor. In addition, the lack of any previously established relationship with the people hindered interaction between the presenter and the audience. Since all the presentations were done in an informal atmosphere, not everyone who participated was present for the entire seminar. In the four churches, a total of twenty-nine adults were present for the entire seminar and accepted pre-session and post-session instruments. This breaks down to seven in Bismarck, eight in McLaughlin, eight in White Earth, and six in Hays.

Findings of the Project

The findings of the project will be examined first by explaining the method of evaluation that was used as it relates to the content of the seminar. Then the method of evaluation will be applied to the pre-session and post-session instruments from the seminars in each of the four churches in which the seminar was presented. The presentations are treated separately as each was unique due to local conditions and the designed allowance of discussion and questions to affect the precise content in each church.

The Method of Evaluation

The objective of this project is to make local Native American church leaders aware of the nature and value of the indigenous church concept. In order to determine if the objective of this project was achieved, pre-session and post-session instruments were

administered at each presentation of the seminar to measure the awareness of the participants to the indigenous church concept before and after the seminar. The instruments were identical except for their headings and contained the following four questions: (1) What are the main qualifications for church leaders in the New Testament? (2) Who was responsible for evangelism in the new churches? (3) Where did the money come from to run the new churches? and (4) How long did missionaries usually stay when they planted a church? The openness of the questions often resulted in the participants responding with specific information from the seminar in the post-session instrument. Another result was the occasional display of various attitudes in response to the seminar both in the pre-session and post-session instruments.

The answers from each church will be included in a chart with the evaluation of the seminar in that church. Many of the answers are short, often consisting of one or two word responses. These are included as they appear. The few long answers have been summarized by the author from the original forms. The most common long answers are to question one on the post-session form as the participants drew from the handout distributed in the seminar. The similarity of many answers is not a result of the authors summarizing, but reproduces the actual answers. Because the participants were not individually segregated while filling out the evaluation instruments, the similarities are probably a result of collaboration. Group work is very common among Native Americans and reflects the cultural context of the seminar.

In the seminar, the issue of self-government is addressed by showing that in Scripture missionaries who planted churches usually stayed only a short time. Missionaries then appointed local leaders based primarily on character and then coached

the local leaders through occasional visits and letters. The importance of the character requirement is to show that no special qualifications, unavailable to the local church members, were required for leadership. The first and fourth questions are designed to address awareness of these self-government issues.

The seminar addressed the issue of self-support again by showing that the missionaries stayed only a short time in each place and could not have provided long-term financial support for the churches. This was combined with the presentation of biblical content instructing the churches to support their local leaders. The seminar also demonstrated that even newly planted local churches were expected to support relief and missionary activities and, in fact, did so. The third and fourth questions are designed to address the issue of self-support.

Although a failure in the area of being self-propagating was not demonstrated in chapter 1, some material from this area was included in the seminar for the purpose of a complete presentation. The primary way the seminar addressed self-propagating was by showing that the missionaries were not present to evangelize after the initial church planting effort. Therefore, the local people must have carried out propagation activities or the churches would have collapsed. The author also suggested that the absence of material in the epistles urging evangelism shows the people were carrying it out satisfactorily and, consequently, few instructions were needed. The second and fourth questions are designed to address the issue of self-propagation.

Evaluation of the Four Church Seminars

At the church in White Earth, eight adults were present for the entire seminar and filled out both the pre-session and post-session instruments. Six additional individuals

also filled out post-session instruments but these are not included in the chart. The chart showing the results for those who filled out both evaluation instruments is below.

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF PRE-SESSION AND POST-SESSION INSTRUMENTS FOR WHITE EARTH

White Earth		
Questions	Pre-session	Post-session
What are the main qualifications for church leaders in the New Testament?	Born again Born again Don't know Born again Living for God Spirit-filled Lots of Holy Spirit	Born again Grasp moral truth Good morals Morals list qualifications from the handout Living for God Good character Morals list qualifications from the handout
Who was responsible for evangelism in the new churches?	Believers Believers Believers/Pastors Blank People ? ?	Believers Believers Everyone People in the church People People in the church Congregation
Where did the money come from to run the new churches?	Other churches, pastors Everyone People in the church From the Lord [The pastor?] Earned it Tithe Offerings Offerings	Tithes Everyone People in the church The church Donations Missions to start The congregations New converts
How long did missionaries usually stay when they planted a church?	Depends Year Year + Don't know 10 years 5-10 years ? ?	Started and moved 2 months 2 months except training centers Few months 2 months or more 2-4 years 2 months /longer in big cities 3 months to 3 years

In the area of self-government, most participants moved strongly in the direction promoted in the seminar. With regard to the question about leadership qualifications, six out of eight participants went from another answer to the moral qualifications promoted in the seminar. Of the remaining two, one participant gave a related answer both before and after and the other said “born again” on both occasions. Concerning the question about the length of missionary stays in the new churches, every participant went either from unknown or to a year or more to answers that reflected the information in the seminar. Three of the eight participants added the detail that missionaries remained in larger cities for teaching purposes up to three years. These results suggest that three-eighths of the participants generally accepted the seminar’s premise in the area of self-government in the pre-session and seven-eighths accepted it in the post-session.

With reference to the issue of self-support, question three on the pre-session questionnaire received a wide range of answers. Three participants put the source of funds outside the local people, two participants were unclear saying only “offerings,” and three participants gave answers that seem to indicate the local church. In the post-session, two of those indicating the local church as their response on the pre-session form kept their original answers. Five other participants also indicated the local church as their response on the post-session form with one participant seeming to pick up on the early Philippian giving to Paul and saying “missions to start.” Together with the already mentioned results to question four, this suggests that the participants went from three-eighths in agreement with the seminar’s premise in the area of self-support to at least seven-eighths in agreement.

In the area of self-propagation, five participants indicated on the pre-session instrument that the local church was responsible for local evangelism with three participants not knowing. The post-session answers show all eight assigning the responsibility for propagation to the local church. Again, considered with the results of question four, the participants moved from five-eighths agreement on the pre-session instrument to eight out of eight participant agreement on the post-session instrument.

At the church in McLaughlin, eight adults were present for the entire seminar and filled out both the pre-session and post-session instruments. Table 3 is a chart showing the results for those who filled out evaluation instruments.

In the area of self-government, most participants moved strongly in the direction promoted in the seminar. On the first question of the pre-session instrument, which covers leadership qualifications, one-eighth of the participants had a morals list. On the post-session instrument, seven-eighths of the participants had a moral qualifications answer as promoted in the seminar. The fourth question concerning the duration of missionary activity shows answers ranging from a “couple of weeks” to “until someone could take over” on the pre-session instrument. In the post-session, six out of eight of the participants answered three months with another saying “three weeks.” A final participant answered, “Each others homes.” The author believes that the three-month answer comes from one of the participants guessing the total number of churches in the Galatian work and then dividing that into a couple of years the seminar mentioned for the whole journey. This answer was then likely shared with the other participants. While this is not the duration presented in the seminar, holding the idea that the missionaries remained

only a short time rather than years would promote the desired conclusion that the churches had to be self-governing.

TABLE 3

COMPARISON OF PRE-SESSION AND POST-SESSION INSTRUMENTS FOR McLAUGHLIN

McLaughlin		
Questions	Pre-session	Post-session
What are the main qualifications for church leaders in the New Testament?	Salvation-faith Salvation devotion to Christ Blank Having Christ in life Godly-submissive-visionary Blank Integrity Faithfulness	Appointed elders wise in Word Salvation-devotion-morals list qualifications from the handout Morals list qualifications from the handout Titus 1:5-9 Titus 1:5-9 & 1 Tim. 3:1-15 Morals list qualifications from the handout Moral character Morals list qualifications from the handout
Who was responsible for evangelism in the new churches?	Everyone Body and disciples Elders and deacons Everybody Everybody Laity Apostles Disciples-converts	The church Body Believers Elders Church New converts-laity Apostles and new converts Body of believers
Where did the money come from to run the new churches?	From the people Believers Land sales God Established churches Members selling all they have Offerings from believers People of the church	From the people in the church Believers Missions The village where ever they were Established churches Members giving all New converts Other churches
How long did missionaries usually stay when they planted a church?	Until someone could take over 3-6 months 3 years Blank Long enough Couple of weeks 2-3 years Year	3 months 3 months 3 months 3 months 3 weeks a month Each others homes 3 months and revisits 3 months

In the area of self-support, both the pre-session and post-session instruments show several views represented. In the pre-session, two participants focused on the early Jerusalem experience and referred to people giving up everything including their land. One participant simply says God. Four participants say people, the church, or something similar. One participant says established churches. In the post-session instrument, three participants clearly indicate the new church was the source of funds, three said other churches in some way, one repeats "members giving all," and one repeats believers. After careful consideration, the author is uncertain whether this mix of answers represents the focus of some participants on the missionary support given to Paul by the Philippians for the initial work in Thessalonica and Attica or the failure of the teaching to communicate the self-supporting premise. Since three of the participants make a clear move toward the concept of support coming from the new church and all agree that the church planters were not present to provide support, a misplaced focus on the initial planting stage rather than a general communication failure seems more likely. It is also possible that at least three participants had their minds firmly made up before the seminar and were unmoved by it.

In the area of self-propagation, both pre-session and post-session results show broad agreement that the church is responsible for evangelism. The primary change that occurred is the new focus on new converts by two of the participants and the dropping or de-emphasis of focus on the apostles by two participants. Generally, with the agreement that the church planters were only present for a short time, this indicates that there was motion from six-eighths to eight-eighths that the new churches undertook self-propagation.

At the church in Bismarck, with a single exception, the participants declined to give answers to the pre-session instrument. They indicated that they did not know the answers and had come to find out. The fear of undertaking a task until certain of success is characteristic of many Native Americans in learning situations.[241] Although the shape of the pre-session and post-session instruments was designed to overcome this difficulty, it failed in this case. It is interesting, however, that there is extraordinary agreement between the answers given on the post-session instrument and the content of the seminar. All the responses are compatible with the seminars content. Although it is possible that the participants had this information before the seminar, it is more likely that they were open to instruction and gathered the material from the seminar. The participants' agreement with the seminar also does not guarantee that the answers represent participants' actual beliefs, but it does clearly show that they are in possession of the information the seminar presented. The chart in table 4 shows the responses in Bismarck.

At the church in Hays, six adults were present for the entire seminar and completed both the pre-session and post-session instruments. Several additional individuals were present for parts of the seminar and one filled out a post-session instrument. The chart in table 5 shows the results for those who completed both evaluation instruments. It is notable that several times on the pre-test instrument, not always by the same participants, spaces were left blank or the answer "I don't know" was given. There is also a strange discontinuity in the responses to the fourth post-session question concerning the duration of missionary activity. This may reflect the disruptions that occurred during the presentation of the seminar in Hays.

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[241]Gilliland, p. 61.

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF PRE-SESSION AND POST-SESSION INSTRUMENTS FOR BISMARCK

Bismarck		
Questions	Pre-session	Post-session
What are the main qualifications for church leaders in the New Testament?	Spirit-filled, character, able to teach	List of moral qualifications from the handout List of moral qualifications from the handout Spirit-filled, character, able to teach List of moral qualifications from the handout List of moral qualifications from the handout Character Character- establishing a functioning church
Who was responsible for evangelism in the new churches?	All born again believers	Elders Founder-elders First church planter then local people The elders Leadership first then elders and church people Everyone The church
Where did the money come from to run the new churches?	From established church	Mother church The church From established church then local people From the church members The people in the church The people's giving From within the church
How long did missionaries usually stay when they planted a church?	1 year ?	2-3 weeks Weeks to a couple of months-Long enough to establish elders From 1 month to 6 years 4 to 6 weeks of years depending on the need 6 weeks to 3-6 years 1 1/2 to 3 Years Long-enough to establish leadership

In the area of self-government, three of the six participants left the pre-session question about leadership qualifications as unknown. The remainder varied greatly, with one emphasizing evangelism and another homes in order. The last wrote a long answer with pastoral requirements. In the post-session instrument, four out of six answered with

TABLE 5

COMPARISON OF PRE-SESSION AND POST-SESSION INSTRUMENTS FOR HAYS

Hays		
Questions	Pre-session	Post-Session
What are the main qualifications for church leaders in the New Testament?	Tell All about the Lord-Be a Leader in God Their Own Homes in Order Blank Born Again-Call on Life-Own Home in Order-Leave all to Follow Him Saved-BAHO-I don't Know Don't Know	Pass the Word about the Lord Moral Men –Houses in Order Moral List Husband 1 Wife-Whole bunch of Other Requirements Good Moral Character-Feed People Run Things-Teach-Handle Money-Church Discipline
Who was responsible for evangelism in the new churches?	God Apostles Men who were learned from the Bible -Pastor led by the Spirit Saved People-We are Commissioned Blank Don't Know	The People The Churches Evangelist and New Converts From the People The people Body of Christ not Pastor
Where did the money come from to run the new churches?	God & Followers and Other Churches Donations Blank Body of Christ Blank Don't Know	Followers From the Churches Themselves From the Congregation From the People The People Body of Christ
How long did missionaries usually stay when they planted a church?	Some a Lifetime some Not as Long 5 Years 2 Years or More Blank Blank Don't Know	2 or 3 Years Around 1 Year Around 5 Years Just Long Enough to get Church Started 4 Weeks or Less 3 Weeks to 3 Months

the information promoted in the seminar. One stayed with evangelism and the remaining participant seems to have confused leadership functions with qualifications. On the fourth

question that covers the duration of missionary activity, three of the six participants moved from no answer on the pre-session instrument to the answer promoted by the seminar. Of the remainder, one participant moved from an indefinite time to two or three years and another moved from five years to one year. One participant strangely moved from one year to five years. This may reflect longer times mentioned for cities where teaching was more prominent such as Jerusalem since the participant's other answers strongly reflect the seminars information. These answers show about half of the participants moving toward the positions promoted in the seminar.

In the area of self-support, three of the six pre-session instruments were blank or don't know. Of the remainder, two were generalized and one listed God, followers, and other churches. In the post-session, five-sixths of the participants responded in agreement with the seminar and one gave a compatible answer. Although the answers about the duration of missionary activity meant to support the idea of self-support are not as clear, it seems obvious that the participants accepted the idea that the new churches were self-supporting.

In the area of self-propagation, there are four different answers, a blank, and a "don't know" in the pre-session instrument. Of the four different answers, only one includes the new congregation. In the post-session instrument, all the answers are compatible with the seminar. Again, although the question about duration of missionary activity received an uncertain answer, the participants have accepted the position that the churches were self-propagating.

Summary

Chapter 5 described the actual presentation of the project in Native American churches in the North Central region. The preparation of the project, including the rational for selection of material and methods of presentation, was described as well as the selection of churches in which the material was presented. It also included a description of the unique situation of each presentation. Finally, the chapter included a church-by-church analysis of the immediate response of the participants to the project. Chapter 6 will be a summary evaluation of the entire project.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY EVALUATION

The purpose of chapter 6 is to provide a summary evaluation of the project. The chapter will look first at the effectiveness of the project. Then the implications of the project for the Native American churches and recommendations for leadership in this area will be examined. The chapter will conclude with recommendations for further study.

Assessment of the Project's Effectiveness

This evaluation will begin with the assessment of the project's effectiveness starting with the genesis of the project. Then the summary will consider the research needed to support the project. Following this, the seminar produced by the project and the findings of the project will be examined. Finally, this section will discuss improvements to the process inspired by the study.

The Genesis of the Project

The project began with the author's perception that many Native American churches did not appear to meet commonly accepted ideas of missionary practice. Specifically, they did not appear to be indigenous under the description of being self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating. Research into the official status of these churches verified that very few are self-governing. Additional confirmation came from interviews with those responsible for the oversight of these churches acknowledging that

very few are self-supporting. Although the author has observed major outside support for these churches' efforts at propagation, the lack of self-propagating status was not established. The author decided that an effective solution to these issues would be to address them directly in the local churches. This led to the thrust of the project, to make local Native American church leaders aware of the nature and value of indigenous church principles.

Supporting Research

Given that the three-self indigenous church concept is widely taught and accepted, it is surprising to discover that most of the literature is dedicated to the mechanics of implementation. Comparatively little research focuses on the biblical basis for the concept. This led to an examination of Scripture for organizational principles for God's people.

In the Old Testament, there were four main findings. First, support for religious institutions goes from the local to the central, without exception. Second, benevolence is entirely a local issue with a variety of mechanisms all placed with local context. Third, the Law establishes doctrine. Fourth, the primary application of discipline is in the local context and only taken to a central authority when matters are irresolvable locally.

In examining the New Testament for information about church organization, the following observations were made. The general model of New Testament church development shows a great deal of organizational self-sufficiency. From the inception of a church planting, the expectation is that local structures will handle local problems. The observed church-planting model sets in place the mechanisms for organizational self-sufficiency. Then the church planter stepped back and coached the church to operate in

them. Intervention occurred when scriptural principles were clearly flouted. Newly planted churches were financially self-sufficient from their beginning. New churches were taught to support their own leaders and to support their own benevolence. In addition, church planters taught the support of missions from the beginning. Information about ongoing propagation is less direct. However, the continuance of the church after the departure of the church planter demonstrates that the local church assumed this function. The evangelistic workers produced by these new churches are the best direct evidence that the churches assumed the work of propagation.

The author then turned to the area of literature in the field. Research was focused on both ideas about church development and how the church had developed among American Indians during the more than three hundred and fifty years of missionary effort. It appears that church planters applied the basic elements of the indigenous church concept to American Indians by the mid-seventeenth century, though without formal expression. The exception being that the imposition of European organizational forms constricted self-government. The formal use of the three-self indigenous church concept occurred in the mid-nineteenth century in both British and American foreign missions organizations. This concept remained stable with the focus on its implementation through much of the twentieth century until the debates over “contextualization” began in 1972. The debates essentially revolved around two issues. The first concern was how much of a church’s practice should come from the church planter’s cultural baggage. The second concern was to what degree a new church should reorganize the beliefs it has received to meet its own need. Although the debate continues, there is movement toward allowing the receiving church to make the application of Scripture to their own culture. Roland

Allen, in 1927, wrote extensively on this subject. In addition, Melvin Hodges, in the 1950s, addressed many of these issues under the rubric of self-government.

The record of missionary outreach to American Indians was then examined to see how the indigenous church concept was or was not applied. As previously mentioned, many of the indigenous church concepts were applied in the beginning of this outreach. The weakness was the demand that new churches institute the three-selfs in ways alien to the people. In addition, two related issues constantly undermined the missionaries' effort. First, White expansion across the continent brought almost constant conflict with the people who were sending the missionaries. Second, missionaries almost constantly forced the Indians to acculturate to the practices of the people that were taking or had taken their land. The attempts at acculturation were clearly in conflict with the current understanding of contextualization and compounded by the circumstances.[242] In the twentieth century two nearly opposite developments occurred. First, some missionaries began to adopt an idealized view of Indian cultures, which may be related to a developing syncretism, with some Indians seeking to hold church affiliation and practice traditional religion simultaneously. Second, an indigenous church movement, especially among the Navajo, has begun with recent debate among some Christian Indian leaders about contextualization. Whether or not this second development will expand significantly is currently unknown. Available surveys on Indian acceptance of Christianity indicate a decline during the twentieth century and that non-Natives pastor almost two-thirds of existing Indian churches.

[242]An interesting exception occurred when an awakening among the Choctaw and Cherokee tribes in the 1820s corresponded to their more general adoption of many European practices. The continuing strength of the church in Oklahoma today is a testimony to the greatness of this awakening.

Several conclusions emerged from this research. First, there is a clear biblical pattern for church development. Second, this pattern largely corresponds with the missionary practices described as the indigenous church concept including the proviso that the three-selfs are applied in a contextualized manor. Third, historically, missionary efforts aimed at American Indians did not use this pattern.

The Seminar

To apply this research to the problem, the author fashioned a seminar based on the biblical research to educate local Native American church leaders about the three-self concept. The seminar was designed to teach material which conflicted with the current practices of the target group. The author chose a variety of approaches he believed would present the material in the least threatening manor. In doing this, the author emphasized the biblical basis of the material and avoided the appearance of a manufactured system. In particular, the emphasis was on examples of New Testament churches. Adherence to the three-self indigenous church concept was never demanded of the participants; it was left to the participants to apply the material. In addition, the author chose approaches and techniques familiar to the participants such as overhead transparencies, Sunday school survey forms, directed discussion, and Scripture handouts. Conversely, the seminar avoided “high tech” techniques, such as PowerPoint presentations, which might look too sophisticated. The seminar was presented on four occasions with integrated before and after survey forms.

The Findings

In the three presentations where the group filled out the evaluation instruments

both before and after the presentation, there was general movement toward the material the seminar presented. On the question about self-government, at White Earth, none of the participants responded to the pre-session instrument with the material suggested by the seminar. After the seminar, six of the eight participants responded on the post-session instrument with the answer promoted in the seminar. At McLaughlin, one of the eight participants responded on the pre-session instrument with the material suggested by the seminar. After the seminar, seven of the eight participants responded on the post-session instrument with the answer promoted in the seminar. At Hays, none of the participants responded on the pre-session instrument with the material suggested by the seminar. After the seminar, four of the six participants responded on the post-session instrument with the answer promoted in the seminar. In Bismarck, where only one participant was willing to fill out the pre-session instrument, the answer given on the pre-session instrument was consistent with the material promoted in the seminar. After the seminar, all seven of those completing the post-session instrument responded with the material suggested by the seminar. These results indicate a movement of not less than two-thirds of those participating from ignorance or disagreement with the material presented about self-government to awareness of the material or, at least, willingness to respond with the material suggested in the seminar.

On the question about self-support, at White Earth, three-eighths of the participants responded to the pre-session instrument with the material suggested by the seminar. After the seminar, seven-eighths of the participants responded with the answer promoted in the seminar on the post-session instrument. At McLaughlin, none of the participants clearly responded to the pre-session instrument with the material suggested

by the seminar. After the seminar, three-eighths of the participants responded on the post-session instrument with the answer promoted in the seminar. As discussed in the findings, another three-eighths may be in agreement using a slightly different focus, but this is not certain. At Hays, none of the participants responded to the pre-session instrument with the material suggested by the seminar and half of the respondents gave no answer. After the seminar, five-sixths of the participants responded on the post-session instrument with the answer promoted in the seminar. In Bismarck, where only one participant out of seven was willing to fill out the pre-session instrument, the answer given was opposed to the material promoted in the seminar. After the seminar, all seven that completed the post-session instrument responded with the material suggested by the seminar. These results indicate a movement of approximately half of those participating moved from ignorance or disagreement with the material presented about self-support to awareness of the material or, at least, willingness to respond with the material suggested in the seminar.

The pre-session instrument generally shows that most local leaders are unaware of the New Testament model of church development. This is significant because their ongoing dependency may be a result of ignorance rather than a deliberate choice. Because the seminar directly challenged the current practice of the participating churches, the author expected high resistance to the material. The result, however, was a general movement of the participants from positions at variance or ignorance of the positions advocated in the seminar to positions advocated in the seminar. The movement toward the advocated positions was one-half of the participants on the issue of self-support and two-thirds on the issue of self-government. Because different churches representing four

states and varied local circumstances hosted the seminar, the similar results should have validity. On the surface, then, the seminar was successful. Since the participants generally were the local leadership of their churches, these changes in understanding have the potential to translate into changes in practice. To determine if the seminar was successful in actually changing the practice in these churches someone would need to examine each church in the future to see if the material received in the seminar was translated into action.

Recommended Improvements

Although the seminar was adapted somewhat to the participants in every location based on their responses to the discussion section, the author believes that greater adaptation to the local situation would be desirable. The presenter could base these adaptations on an interview with the pastor or district superintendent before the seminar's presentation. In particular, the presenter could seek positive points in a church's current practice that could be complimented. In addition, the presenter could ask about local difficulties in order to avoid unintentional offences.

The presenter should always be familiar to the participants. This allows greater personal interaction and enhances the effectiveness of teaching in Native American contexts. Always using a meal as an icebreaker would also help this process. If necessary, the presenter could offer a different seminar first or perhaps preach on some occasions before the New Testament Church Development seminar.

Recommendations for Leadership

Since local Native American church leaders were generally receptive to the material contained in the seminar, the author believes that it or a similar tool should be

used extensively in this area to bring the indigenous church concepts directly to these leaders. While the measuring instruments show a definite change toward indigenous church principles, it is unlikely that a single seminar would change established current practices. A strong steady message of the biblical nature of indigenous church principles, however, should be a positive influence. Teaching that includes strong indigenous church messages should, therefore, be incorporated in other classes and seminars whenever possible.

The history of missionary outreach to Indians shows that the current situation with most Native American churches failing the indigenous test has existed for a long time. Further, this situation did not develop in a vacuum. It is unlikely that any single approach can alter it quickly or without changes to current institutional practice. District and national leadership should carefully examine established policies to see if they promote indigenous churches or dependent churches. The Church should change policies that promote and sustain dependent churches. Because missionary personnel are part of the current situation, they will likely have to adjust their current activities for the situation to change. Therefore, church leadership should push the concept of three-self churches with current personnel and their assignments reviewed to ensure they promote three-self objectives. If church leadership determines that changes are warranted, it is vital that they reassign personnel rather than eliminate them. The experience, expertise, and necessary financial support they represent are considerable.

Churches who persist in a state of dependency should have support gradually withdrawn in a “tough love” attempt to help them become self-sufficient. If this is ineffective and change is not forth coming, church leadership should encourage the

planting of new churches to reach the same areas where these churches are located. All new church plants should be allowed to succeed or fail. To promote three-self principles is to risk failure just as God allowed free will and risked failure. Church leadership should give those involved in the attempts every help that does not violate three-self principles. This might include the use of specialized “boot camps” similar to those often used in general church plants. At the same time it should be remembered that they are acting as missionary church planters and that there is a greater than normal burden on the new local believers to take up three-self responsibilities. Therefore, if new plants fail because the new believers decline to accept three-self responsibilities no undue opprobrium should be attached to the missionary church planter. Otherwise, the planters will do anything necessary to appear to succeed and almost certainly violate indigenous church principles in the process.

Recommendations for Further Study

Unfortunately, Beaver conducted the most recent national survey and it is now almost twenty-five years old. Someone with appropriate qualifications should undertake another such survey to establish the current situation for the whole of North America. This is a large task but it will allow all believing churches to best employ their resources to reach these people groups.

The dynamics of applying indigenous church principles to American Indians are somewhat different than in most missionary situations. The Church at one time correctly considered missionary outreach to American Indians a foreign missions enterprise. This outreach is now a home missions enterprise. In the case of American Indians, this means that missionaries are sent from a more numerous, culturally dominate group to a smaller

group that is surrounded by the large group. This creates resistance on the part of the smaller group because it is struggling to maintain cultural identity. Consequently, many contextualization issues become very confused and controversial. Future researchers could advance the understanding of these issues by studying other analogous situations for insights. Specifically researchers should consult missionaries in locations such as Nigeria where numerous small tribes are surrounded in a similar way. Another possible source of information is the Gypsy population. The researchers should consider the wisdom these missionaries and others in similar situations have gained and look for applications to the American Indian situation.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW FORM FOR DISTRICT LEADERS

Name _____ Time /Date _____

Location _____

How many Native American churches are there in your district?

What are their greatest needs?

What are their greatest strengths?

How many are dependent on some source of funds outside the local church?

APPENDIX B

PRE-SESSION AND POST SESSION INSTRUMENTS

Get started thinking!

What are the main qualifications for church leaders in the New Testament?

Who was responsible for evangelism in the new churches?

Where did the money come from to run the new churches?

How long did missionaries usually stay when they planted a church?

Handout A

Now what do you think?

What are the main qualifications for church leaders in the New Testament?

Who was responsible for evangelism in the new churches?

Where did the money come from to run the new churches?

How long did missionaries usually stay when they planted a church?

Handout C

APPENDIX C

SEMINAR NOTES

Session 1

Pass out Handout A and explain that you want them to start thinking about the subject. Collect the handout.

Display Overhead 1 and use it to remind the class that we use the Bible for both "faith and practice" and "faith and conduct." This means that we take not only doctrinal statements from the Bible, but also patterns of practice and conduct to use in our churches.

Walk the class through Acts 13 and 14 using Overhead 2 and including the following information:

The dates are about AD 46-48.

Acts 13:1-3 Commissioning and sending of missionaries by the church in Antioch of Syria

Acts 13:4-12 They covered the whole island of Cyprus visiting multiple synagogues and coming to the governor's attention.

Acts 13:13-50 Sample synagogue sermon. Note the use of Scripture with people who would recognize and should believe it.

Acts 13:51-14:5 Point out the area covered. Note the miracles.

Acts 14:6-20 Sample sermon for heathen. Note the lack of Scripture quotation since it would not be accepted. The fickleness of the audience should also be noted.

Acts 14:21-25 Note the return to each city. They were left with elders who were expected to take charge of the churches.

Acts 14:26-28 The missionaries return and report to the sending church.

The new churches are not ignored. Paul writes Galatians to advise the churches about AD 49. Point out Gal. 6:6 that the churches are expected to pay they own leaders.

Acts 15:36-41 The missionaries return to the churches to check on their condition.

Use the following to lead a discussion of the material in Acts 13 and 14.

How long did the missionaries stay in each town?

How did the missionaries decide who should be an elder?

Pass out Handout B

Why would the missionaries use these qualifications?

What do they emphasize?

What do they leave out?

Be sure the following material is included in the discussion. The only "skill requirements" on the lists are in 1Timothy 2:2, "able to teach," and in Titus 1:9, the ability to, "encourage others by sound doctrine and refute those who oppose it." Everything else is character. Be sure to note that Titus is instructed to do exactly the same thing that the missionaries in this section of Acts do for new churches. Note that Timothy is in an established church. As a result, in 1 Timothy 6:6, a qualification is included against appointing new believers, but not in Titus.

Use Overhead 3 to point out major cities where the missionaries did not hurry through but stayed longer and engaged in teaching. They seem to have become de facto training centers.

Jerusalem	10+ years	Acts 2:46, 5:42, Teaching 12:1ff Herod runs off the apostles in about AD 42.
Antioch	1+ years	Acts 11:26, Teaching
Corinth	1½ years	Acts 18:11 Teaching
Ephesus	3 years	Acts 19:9-10, 20:31 Teaching

Where we have information we can see, new leaders are raised up in these places.

- Jerusalem
  - The Seven
    - Stephen Acts 6:8-10
    - Philip Acts 8:4-8
  - The Cypriots Acts 11:19-21
- Ephesus
  - Epaphras apparently goes home to Colossae Col. 1:7, 2:1, 4:12

Session 2

Use Overhead 4, cover everything except the opening question, “How were new churches managed?” Allow for short answers. Uncover the rest of the overhead and explain the pattern. “Consult with the People” can mean both asking the people before taking an action and acting as consultants to a maturing church. This whole overhead shows a process involving people that does not move in a straight line but moves generally forward.

Use Jerusalem as the first example. Walk the class through the following.

- •The church was started by the apostles who are outsiders. (They are Galileans and itinerant workers).
- •The apostles are apparently doing it all including funds and distribution for relief (cf. Acts 4:32-35), discipline (Acts 5:1-10).
- •When they apparently cannot handle everything in Acts 6:1, the people complain and The Seven are appointed in consultation with the people.
- •A smooth transition to local leadership is interrupted by persecution beginning with Stephen (Acts 8:1).
- •The apostles are still handling management in Acts 9:27, receiving Saul.
- •The people question and Peter answers in Acts 11:2-18.
- •<u>Elders appear in Acts 11:28 and handle the offering without reference to the apostles.</u>
- •The apostles are scattered in about AD 42 by Herod.
- •The <u>apostles and elders are both present</u> for the council of Jerusalem in AD 50; the 12 are not mentioned again in Jerusalem.
- •Paul is received by the elders in Acts 21:18 with no mention of the 12.

While the process is not neat and clean, the direction is clear from the founders to local leadership.

Show Overhead 5 and talk the class through the content. Have the class look up 1 Corinthians 5:1-6, 6:1-8, 14:29-32. Ask the class, “How do these instructions guide the Corinthians toward self-management?” Ask the class, “Can you think of other examples?”

Ask, “Who won the lost in the new churches?”
“Who won the lost after the original planters left?”

Display Overhead 6 showing only the top.
Possible answers 1 Peter 3:15; James 5:19, 20; 2 Timothy 4:5

Show the rest of Overhead 6
Evangelism is mentioned when it is exceptionally effective (1Thessalonians 1:7, 8).

Evangelistic preaching is mentioned only when it is abused to try to hurt Paul while he is in prison (Philippians 1:12-18).

Outside help (like modern evangelists) does occur.

Peter	Acts 9:32-43
Apollos	Acts 18:27-28

Session 3

Display Overhead 7 showing only the Scripture. Remind the class of the following examples of people doing this.

Peter in Joppa with Simon the tanner	Acts 9:23
Paul in Philippi with Lydia the merchant	Acts 16:15
Paul in Corinth with Gais	Romans 16:23
Paul expected this of Philemon	Philemon 22

Display the rest of Overhead 7 and ask the class, "What would be the advantage of the worker staying in homes?" Write answers on the overhead.

Some important possible answers include: extra contact, minimized expense, teaching the people to support workers from the very beginning.

This pattern of teaching the people to support workers continues through Paul's epistles. Lighthearted statement: Once a church is started-Pay the Preacher!

Have the class look up the following Scriptures:

Galatians 6:6	This is from Paul's first letter.
1 Corinthians 9:3-14	This is from about the middle of Paul's work. Notice how much it sounds like Jesus' words and explains them.
1 Timothy 5:17,18	This is from the end of Paul's work. It probably means that workers should be paid double what the widows were given.

Ask this as a rhetorical question. "How many of you have heard a lot about supporting missions?" State that it is in the book and not just in the Great Commission.

Look at the example of the Philippians support of Paul.

Philippians 4:15,16	The Philippians current and past support.
2 Corinthians 11:8, 9	This was sent to a richer area! (2 Cor. 8:1)

People are taught to support missionaries who are traveling.

Titus 3:13	People are taught to support traveling missionaries even before they have pastors.
3 John 5-8	Encourages missionary support.
9-11	Condemns refusal to support missions.
12	Makes this letter what we would call endorsement.
Romans15:24	Paul had never been to Rome. I am going to visit you, then you can support me. Looks like a classic missionary after support.
1 Corinthians 16:6	Same, except Paul had planted the church.

When you add this to the example of commissioning and sending missionaries who after they have done the work return and report as we saw in Acts 13 and 14, the picture revealed is much like our current system.

The church also cared for the impoverished.

Local	
In the beginning	Acts 4:32 This may need clarification with 2Th.3:10.
Especially widows	Acts 6:1, 1Tim. 3:16
Foreign	
Jerusalem	Acts 11:27-30
	Rom. 15:25-26

Pass out Handout C, “Now what do you think?” Ask the class to fill it in and think about any differences from the first sheet.

APPENDIX D

SEMINAR TEACHING AIDS

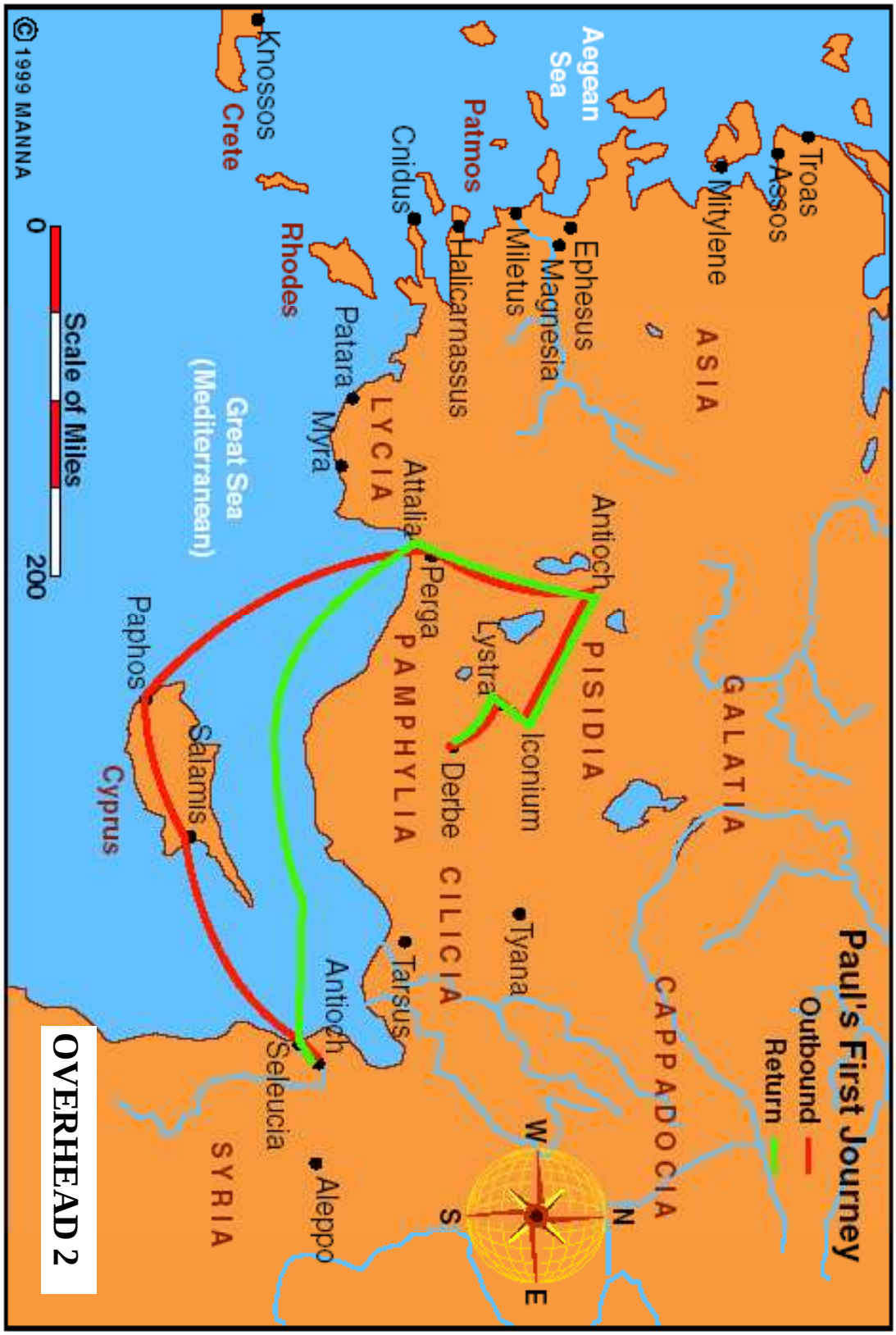
Statement of Fundamental Truths
(Preamble)

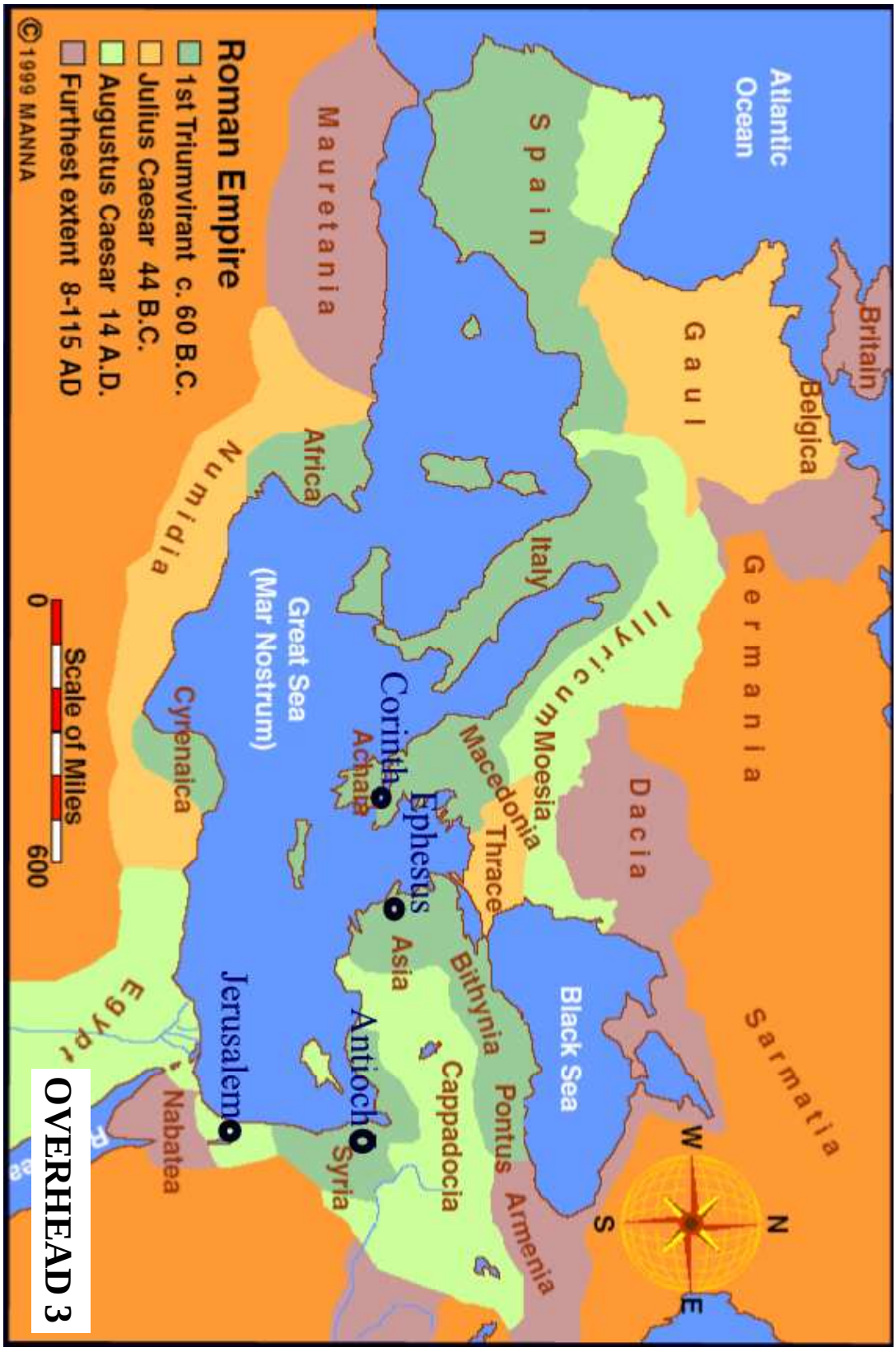
The Bible is our all-sufficient rule for faith and practice.

1.The Scriptures Inspired

The Scriptures both the Old and New Testaments are verbally inspired of God and are the revelation of God to man, the infallible, authoritative rule of faith and conduct.

OVERHEAD 1





OVERHEAD 3

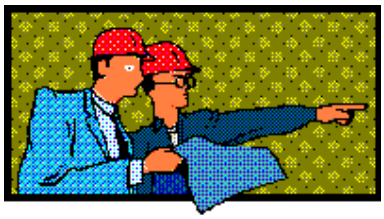
How were new churches managed?

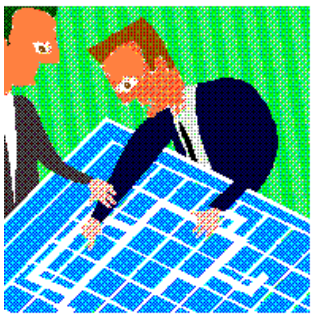
The Founders

Run the Show

Consult with the People

Guide the People





Fade out of the Picture

OVERHEAD 4

Paul’s Qualifications for Church Leaders

1 Tim 3:1-15
3:1 Here is a trustworthy saying: If anyone sets his heart on being an overseer, he desires a noble task. 2 Now the overseer must be above reproach, the husband of but one wife, temperate, self-controlled, respectable, hospitable, able to teach, 3 not given to drunkenness, not violent but gentle, not quarrelsome, not a lover of money. 4 He must manage his own family well and see that his children obey him with proper respect. 5(If anyone does not know how to manage his own family, how can he take care of God's church?) 6 He must not be a recent convert, or he may become conceited and fall under the same judgment as the devil. 7 He must also have a good reputation with outsiders, so that he will not fall into disgrace and into the devil's trap. 8 Deacons, likewise, are to be men worthy of respect, sincere, not indulging in much wine, and not pursuing dishonest gain. 9 They must keep hold of the deep truths of the faith with a clear conscience. 10 They must first be tested; and then if there is nothing against them, let them serve as deacons. 11 In the same way, their wives are to be women worthy of respect, not malicious talkers but temperate and trustworthy in everything. 12 A deacon must be the husband of but one wife and must manage his children and his household well. 13 Those who have served well gain an excellent standing and great assurance in their faith in Christ Jesus. 14 Although I hope to come to you soon, I am writing you these instructions so that, 15 if I am delayed, you will know how people ought to conduct themselves in God's household, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and foundation of the truth (NIV)

Titus 1:5-9
5 The reason I left you in Crete was that you might straighten out what was left unfinished and appoint elders in every town, as I directed you. 6 An elder must be blameless, the husband of but one wife, a man whose children believe and are not open to the charge of being wild and disobedient. 7 Since an overseer is entrusted with God's work, he must be blameless-not overbearing, not quick-tempered, not given to drunkenness, not violent, not pursuing dishonest gain. 8 Rather he must be hospitable, one who loves what is good, who is self-controlled, upright, holy and disciplined. 9 He must hold firmly to the trustworthy message as it has been taught, so that he can encourage others by sound doctrine and refute those who oppose it. (NIV)

Handout B

Paul and the Corinthians (about AD 51 to 56)

- First visit Acts 18:1-18 (about 18 months)

- Various Contacts
  -Members of Chloe's household visit Paul in Ephesus
  1Co 1:11
  -Stephanos, Fortunatus, and Achaicus visit Paul in Ephesus 1Co 16:15-17
  -The Corinthians write Paul 1Co 7:1
  -Paul writes a now lost epistle to the Corinthians 1Co 5:9

- Paul writes 1 Corinthians

- Timothy sent 1Co 4:17-19

- Second visit 1Co 16:5-7

- Paul writes 2 Corinthians in the place of a 3rd visit
  2Co 1:23-2:4, 13:1

- Third visit

OVERHEAD 5

Jesus said:

The worker is worth his keep. Whatever town or village you enter, search for some worthy person there and stay at his house until you leave.

(Matt 10:10-12 New International Version)

What would be the advantage of workers staying in peoples' homes?

OVERHEAD 7

How many places **after Acts 1** can you think of that exhort us to witness?

Most material in the epistles was aimed at solving problems.

Evangelism was NOT a problem!

OVERHEAD 6

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