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The Southern Baptist foreign mission enterprise in western Nigeria: an analysis

Florin, Hans Wilhelm
Boston University

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THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST FOREIGN MISSION ENTERPRISE
IN WESTERN NIGERIA: AN ANALYSIS

by

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(First Theological State Examination, Münster University, 1954, Germany)

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
1960
APPROVED

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. The Choice of the Subject

In the process of re-assessing modern missionary policy and thought in Africa, the question was raised in circles of the International Missionary Council\(^1\) as to whether or not there are any underlying connections between missionary influences and nationalist African political attitudes. Significant changes are taking place in Africa on the political, the cultural, the social, and the economic level. The effects of these changes are being increasingly felt in both Protestant and Catholic missionary work in Africa. At the same time, the missionary enterprise, which for the longest time has provided the most intimate contacts between indigenous Africa and the Western world, has been exposed to increasing criticism from both the African scene and the secular West.

The African criticism has generally followed the line of political interests. It has not only charged that the missions have not made enough effort to understand the full implications of the changes rocking the African continent, but it has also accused the missionaries of a lack of sympathetic understanding for the African personality and the reality of the political hopes of the African peoples for freedom from the colonial overlords. The Western criticism, on the other hand, has

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\(^1\) Hereafter referred to in footnotes as I. M. C.
limited itself for the most part to a smug declaration of the inefficiency of missionary labors owing to the poor training of much of the missionary personnel. Under the impact of these criticisms, the missionary movement has begun to reconsider its position on the African continent. The growing awareness of the political implications of mission work is but one aspect of the renewed and less romantic concern for the foreign mission work.

In order to conduct an inquiry into the relationship between the missionary impact and the political attitude of African Christians, it was necessary to select an area which might serve as a sample. Thus, there was sought an area which in as uncomplicated a fashion as possible could meet the following requirements: a high degree of homogeneity in the social climate, a clearly defined political situation, and an ample representation of divergent Protestant mission bodies. The area which seemed to fit best these needs was Yorubaland in Western Nigeria. One ethnic group, the Yorubas, represent an almost exclusive majority. Their social climate is defined by the structure of an indigenously urban society rather than by the structure of the extended family, the clan, or the tribe. The political scene is dominated by two parties, the Action Group and the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons (N. C. N. C.). On the missionary sector there have been active in this area, for approximately the same length of time, three major Protestant mission agencies, which provide the desirable divergence in theological conception, denominational affiliation, and cultural outlook. The Anglican Church Missionary Society,\textsuperscript{1} the British Methodist Missionary

\textsuperscript{1} Hereafter referred to in footnotes as B. M. M.
Society, and the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention represent the episcopal, the European free-church, and the American evangelical elements with all their different theological and cultural connotations.

Initially a prospectus was prepared under the title "Protestant Missions and Yoruba Political Attitudes." It was proposed to investigate the effect of Western cultural and theological mission influences upon the development of eventually diverging political attitudes among the Yoruba. Inasmuch, however, as this project grew into unmanageable proportions, the subject of this study was re-defined and it will now cover only that portion of the larger project which can be accomplished through research in this country. It is proposed that this dissertation will deal with the theological influence and the cultural impact of the Southern Baptist foreign mission enterprise on the Yoruba Baptist scene in Western Nigeria. Insofar as the Southern Baptist foreign mission work represents a substantial part of the Protestant missionary enterprise in Yorubaland, the subject chosen remains within the framework of the larger project. The study is designed in such a fashion as to present findings which eventually can be integrated into the wider project indicated above.

2. The Objective of the Dissertation

It is the objective of this dissertation to describe the Southern

1. Hereafter referred to in footnotes as M. M. S.

2. Hereafter referred to in footnotes as F. M. B./ S. B. C. These initials are also used separately to designate the Foreign Mission Board and the Southern Baptist Convention, respectively.
Baptist foreign mission enterprise in its various phases, thus giving an example of the wide scope of the impact of Christian missions on an indigenous cultural scene in Africa.

Inasmuch as the interest of this study is focused on the Southern Baptist foreign mission influence as one example of the influences which general Protestant mission operations exert in Africa, the description of the Southern Baptist mission in Nigeria will be of an analytical character rather than a historical one. For this purpose, the dissertation will, firstly, determine the philosophical and cultural identity of the Southern Baptist mission outreach against the background of the Southern Baptist Convention. Secondly, this study will have to consider the specific form of the Southern Baptist foreign mission operation in its institutional setting, its theological content, and its policy of strategy. Thirdly, this description will concern itself with the setting of the Southern Baptist mission work in Yorubaland. It will describe the institutional categories in which the Southern Baptist foreign mission is executed, and will deal especially with the institutional results of this mission work as it is embodied in the Nigerian Baptist Convention. Fourthly, the discussion of the mission strategy will especially emphasize the missionary conducted and supervised education as the foremost area of religious and cultural contact. Fifthly, and preparatory to the subsequent analysis, the effects of the Southern Baptist mission influence on the sentiments and loyalties of the indigenous Baptist constituency in Western Nigeria are to be described.1

1. In the context of this dissertation, these 5 steps are broken down into one chapter for each such step, thus accounting for the content of chapters II through VI.
In the progress of the descriptive discussion of the Southern Baptist foreign mission enterprise in Western Nigeria, it will become evident that its impact on the Yoruba scene is not only religious and Baptist, but also cultural and American in character. Furthermore, it is anticipated that there is not only the influence of un-indigenous Southern Baptist impact factors on the Yoruba Baptist scene, but that there is also detectable an influence of indigenous Nigerian and Yoruba elements shaping the outlook of the Nigerian Baptist Convention. In order to accommodate the diversity of the interaction of these factors, the descriptive account of the Southern Baptist foreign mission enterprise will have to be kept sensitive enough so as to record the specific nature of the individual elements of influence, tracing them to their original theologico-ideological function in the Southern Baptist climate in the American scene, or accounting for them in the setting of the Yoruba scene.

The benefit realized from this type of approach is that it is possible to gain data which are recorded in the proper context of the Southern Baptist mission program in Western Nigeria, so that against the background of this factual context the data can be submitted to a more abstract analysis and evaluation. The analytical portion—for which a special method is to be designed—will be primarily concerned with the abstraction of impact factors from the fore-going situational context of the Southern Baptist mission enterprise, its institutional structure, religious purpose, operational program, and cultural significance.

Furthermore, these impact factors are to be identified as to their structural elements, thus emphasizing the area of the primary influence of the impact factors, be this in the theological, the ideological, the cultural, or the socio-political categories of the Nigerian Baptist scene. The sum total of these abstracted and identified impact factors will be integrated into a graph representing a model of factor distribution according to the categories of the factors' primary impact. A subsequent evaluation of this model will attempt to give some evidence as to the degree of the impact intensity of the various influencing factors in the four above-mentioned categories of the Nigerian Baptist scene. This evaluation will define the Nigerian Baptist Convention as a unit in which indigenously African and Southern Baptist conceptions and ideas are co-existent within the larger context of the modern Africa.

3. Definitions

The main problem of definition within this dissertation is related to the nature of a subject which deals with a theological phenomenon by means of a sociological approach and attempts to do justice to both the theological and the sociological problems involved. In this context, the study accepts as a given datum the theological or religious fact that there exists the Southern Baptist foreign mission outreach. Therefore, it does not challenge this fact in any way as to its validity or theological conception. Rather, this study proposes to describe and to define the Southern Baptist mission outreach to Yorubaland as a phenomenon, the actual presence of which on the Yoruba scene results in a dynamic influence upon the area. It is this influence and the changes that it causes which are of interest to this study, and it is at this point that
the analytical objectives of the social sciences are brought to bear on the religious, ideological, cultural, and socio-political phenomena resulting from the Southern Baptist mission outreach. If, nevertheless, there should appear to be certain critical analyses of the program, the mode of execution, or the theological foundation of this mission enterprise, such criticism will necessarily have to stay within the realm of theological discussion rather than to extend to the area of sociological analysis, which is the area of this discussion.

In particular this study faces the problem of defining the specific Southern Baptist usage of such terms as church, ecclesiastical, institutionalism, faith versus convictions, and the Southern Baptist conception of the authority of the New Testament—to name only the most problematic terms. The definition of the Southern Baptist use of these terms is largely a theological problem, but it also has its repercussions in the conceptualization of the Southern Baptist philosophy and socio-cultural self-understanding. In the perspective of these latter aspects, the primarily theological definition of the Southern Baptist terminology will also contribute to the sociological analysis of the mission outreach.

With regard to the term "church" it might be pointed out that Baptists seldom employ it in the singular form but prefer to speak of their denominational group as a convention of New Testament churches. Wherever Southern Baptists use the singular of the word, they either refer to one particular local congregation or describe Christianity at large. In this case the word is often capitalized. At the same time, however, this term may refer—capitalized or not—to other denomina-
tional units within organized Christendom, in which case the church is often qualified as an ecclesiastical institution. Such a concept of the church is in ill repute with Southern Baptists.

The Southern Baptist faith and its affirmations present a set of problems insofar as it is difficult to separate clearly the one from the other. Not only do they prefer not to have any formal definitions of their faith in confessional formulae, but in addition they constantly qualify both their faith and their convictions by the phrase "as Baptists see it." Adding to this subjective qualification, Southern Baptists secure a seemingly objective tenor for their faith and convictions by attaching the authority of the New Testament in a fully unqualified manner to both of these categories. Inasmuch as the New Testament faith and convictions as Baptists see them are so vital in understanding the main element of the missionary influence, it is of great importance that this term be properly defined. If, therefore, this basic term is repeatedly analyzed and defined throughout the progress of the study, this is to be taken as an analysis and definition within the theological discussion. But, the proper definition of the content of the Southern Baptist faith and convictions will doubtless leave its mark on the sociological analysis of the Southern Baptist missionary impact, for it will be seen that the content of these elements is not only of a theological nature, based solely upon the New Testament. Rather, the subjective qualification through the phrase "as Baptists see it" ultimately qualifies to a great extent the seemingly absolute and objective content of the Baptist faith and convictions, and attaches other than theological values to these elements.
By way of a parenthetical remark it might be here added that wherever reference is made to "Baptists"—and unless it is specifically identified otherwise—this is to be understood as primarily pertaining to the Southern Baptist scene.

In the analytical chapter of this study frequent use is made of such terms as outreach and impact, factors, data elements, quality and value, outlook, attitude and opinion, and nature and characteristics. These terms may best be defined by aligning them in the correlation which they have with one another. Insofar as the analytical portion of this thesis is concerned with culture-mediation which accompanies the Southern Baptist missionary outreach and which, to a certain degree, formulates the general Nigerian Baptist outlook, it is the intensity of this missionary impact which is of particular interest.

In this setting, the terms listed above are used in such a fashion that the Southern Baptist missionary outreach results, after contact with the indigenous Nigerian scene, in a missionary impact which institutionally brings about the Nigerian Baptist Convention, and which intellectually determines partially the outlook of the Convention. This outlook is determined by attitudes and opinions which Nigerian Baptists might have with regard to issues arising within their intellectual environment.

In the degree to which these attitudes and opinions are influenced by Southern Baptist thought patterns, the intensity of the Southern Baptist impact can be envisaged. However, the Nigerian Baptist outlook is not only determined by Southern Baptist ideas, but also by influences which emanate from the indigenous Nigerian environment. In order to
have some means of defining the impact intensity of Southern Baptist influences over against those of Nigerian origin, the outlook of the Nigerian Baptist Convention must be analyzed and dissected as to its contributing factors. These factors may have either elements of a Southern Baptist nature or may have Nigerian characteristics, thus establishing the basic division of impact factors as to their Southern Baptist or Nigerian origins. The elements of these factors, in turn, may be particularly influential in one of four categories, through which the various qualities of the Nigerian Baptist outlook may be formulated. The four categories cover the theologico-religious, the philosophico-ideological, the cultural, and the socio-political qualities of the Nigerian Baptist outlook.

The analysis of the Southern Baptist missionary impact will necessarily concern itself with the impact factors and their elements, which for analytical and statistical purposes may also be called data. These data have analytical values, which are necessarily qualitative values because they pertain to sociological and thus primarily qualitative rather than quantitative phenomena.

The graph on the following page may explain the inner correlation of these terms, which ultimately pertain to the same phenomenon, i. e., the intensity of the Southern Baptist mission impact on the Nigerian Baptist scene and outlook. The wide differentiation is justified only insofar as through each term a different facet of the analytical process is brought into focus.
Southern Baptist Convention
and its mission OUTREACH

F. M. B.

A. E. M.

IMPACT causes:

Nigerian Baptist Convention
and its OUTLOOK

 Constituted by

ATTITUDE
which are determined by

either:
Southern Baptist influences
Nigerian influences

[non-indigenous factors]
[indigenous factors]

OUTLOOK CATEGORIES

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<th>phil.-ideol.</th>
<th>cultural</th>
<th>socio-political</th>
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ELEMENTS

DATA = QUALITATIVE VALUES

PROVIDING THE INFORMATION
WHICH THE ANALYSIS WILL EVALUATE
4. Limitations

Inasmuch as this study is concerned with the description and analysis of the contemporary impact of the Southern Baptist missionary outreach, it is not intended to offer a history of the "American Baptist Mission" in Yorubaland. Such historical accounts have been repeatedly made available by the Southern Baptists themselves, either in the form of monographs, as graded Sunday School series, or as research projects in the form of dissertations and theses.

The topical limitation of this study is defined in two ways. On the one hand, the choice of the subject and the objective of the dissertation circumscribe the scope of the study. On the other hand, the range of the inquiry is limited to such source material as is primarily provided by Southern Baptist monographic publications, conference and convention reports, minutes, and public statements. This self-limitation is deliberate in order to assure maximum objectivity with regard to what Southern Baptists think of their own missionary outreach. Secondary material will frequently be consulted where it is necessary to define Southern Baptist viewpoints, thought patterns, and policy positions, especially when it is felt that these do not explain themselves sufficiently to the non-Baptist reader.

Another deliberate limitation is imposed by the selection of a certain type of primary Southern Baptist source material. Inasmuch as this study proposes to analyze such impact factors as are representative of the Southern Baptist mission outreach in Nigeria, care has been taken to define the organization of the Southern Baptist missionary personnel as known in Nigeria. It is hereafter referred to in footnotes as A. B. M.
taken that the Southern Baptist material selected for the support of
the description is of an equally representative nature. It is for this
reason that the description and subsequent analysis of the Southern
Baptist mission program is based primarily upon published source material
rather than on personal notes and opinionative observations of individual
Southern Baptists. It might be remarked, however, that owing to present
regulations of the Board it was not possible to obtain access to unpub-
lished individual policy statements and random notes such as might be
found in the confidential archives and personnel files of the Foreign
Mission Board at Richmond, Virginia. As much as this restriction might
be deplored in any context other than that of the Southern Baptists, it
must be remembered that the individualistic spirit of Southern Baptists
in general allows for a wider scope of personal and semi-personal com-
ments on Baptist thought and policy than might be found in other denomi-
nations.

5. Methodological Problems

The methodological problems of this dissertation are intricately
linked with its objectives and limitations. In particular there are
two sets of problems related to the two functions—descriptive and
analytical—of this study. The methodology for the analytical chapter
is too involved to be presented in this introduction. This will be dis-
cussed at the beginning of chapter VII.

The methodology of the study at large is related to the task of
offering a description of the Southern Baptist mission enterprise in
Nigeria, a description which must account not only for the factual events
of the mission operation as such, but which has also to deal adequately
with motives, thought patterns, and self-conceptions behind this Southern Baptist missionary activity. Furthermore, it is necessary to relate the Southern Baptist outlook to the wider perspective of Protestant and American thought. Although the primary objective of this study is to describe the contemporary twentieth century Southern Baptist outlook on missions in the context of present-day Southern Baptist thought, it is essential to recount some of the events of the history of the Southern Baptist Convention and its mission endeavor in Nigeria. The particular problem in connection with this approach is that throughout its history Southern Baptist thought itself has undergone changes which are only to a minor degree reflected in empirical accounts of specific historical events. On the one hand the isolated Southern Baptist history suggests a unilateral development into the form and structure of the Convention as it appears today. On the other hand, there are frequent underlying changes of emphasis in thought and theological conceptions which as such are not reflected in the rather monolithic structure of the Convention's history. A definition of the Convention's contemporary position, however, is not possible without some knowledge of the preceding development.

Inasmuch as this study must cope with these and similar problems of underlying changes and trends in Southern Baptist thought, it becomes evident that the methodology of the descriptive portion is in itself confronted with problems of a wide variety. The description of the Southern Baptist mission outreach must do justice not only to the concrete events in Southern Baptist history, but as objectively as possible must also account for a definition of the development of the
theological and philosophical background and the cultural and sociological context of the Convention and its mission operations. Within the confines of each chapter, the Southern Baptist approach toward foreign missions will be treated in its theological and philosophical context and the impact of the Southern Baptist mission outreach on the Nigerian scene will be described as to its cultural, socio-religious and ideological repercussions as they are detected in Nigerian Baptist self-expressions.

6. Sources and Previous Research Concerning the Subject

With regard to the analysis of the Southern Baptist foreign mission impact in Western Nigeria, no specific research has been done. From the socio-anthropological side there have been published some articles concerning the general missionary influences on the Yoruba cultural scene. Perhaps the most thorough work in this specific context has been done by William R. Bascom.1 A larger and more comprehensive monograph by that author is still to be expected.

In his book, Nigeria, Background to Nationalism,2 James S. Coleman discusses the missionary impact on the indigenous cultural scene. However, his main concern is that of the missionary's political role and influence.

A more missiological approach is pursued by Dean Robert T. Parsons

   "Urbanization Among the Yorubas," American Journal of Sociology, 60(1955), 446-454.

of the Kennedy School of Missions. He published an article on "The Missionary and the Culture of Man." ¹ This article, however, deals with the role of the missionary in terms too general to be valued as a direct contribution to the subject of this study.

Except for the relatively large number of Southern Baptist mission monographs which have been published over a period of years either by the Foreign Mission Board or by the Southern Baptist Sunday School Board through Broadman Press, there are only a limited number of actual research papers available on the particular area of this study. Thomas W. Hill prepared an excellent critique of the training of Southern Baptist foreign missionaries. ² Charles W. Knight concerned himself with the history of Evangelical Christianity in Nigeria. ³ This study is of importance insofar as its author presents the historic development of the various Protestant mission agencies in Nigeria within a Southern Baptist perspective. Prior to his graduate studies, Knight was a Southern Baptist missionary in Nigeria and thus he writes his account from the first-hand experience of one who has lived within the Southern Baptist missionary atmosphere.

Further inquiry into the extent of other direct research into the Southern Baptist foreign mission enterprise in Western Nigeria indicated


that there is no other material. The archives and research libraries of the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board and the American Baptist Historical Collection at Rochester, New York, as well as the records of the Africa Committee of the Division of Foreign Missions of the National Council of Churches and the Missionary Research Library, both in New York City, did not disclose any further material which might have been collected with regard to the particular objective of this study.
CHAPTER II

THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

"We hold the immemorial position of Baptists, that all the believers in Christ as their personal Saviour, are saved, having been born again; and this without the intervention of preacher, priest, ordinance, sacrament, or church. Therefore, we profoundly rejoice in our spiritual union with all who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity and truth."

There are few major denominational bodies which present as many difficulties with regard to a proper description or classification of their nature, structure, orders or ecclesiastical institution, as does the Southern Baptist Convention. This difficulty is felt equally by Baptists themselves and by non-Baptists. Southern Baptists, by virtue of their individualistic nurture, cannot conceive, cannot comprehend a theological terminology which provides, within the realm of Christian theology at large, for the identification particularly of such doctrinal loci as describe a doctrine of the Church. Therefore, Southern Baptists feel very strongly that if they were pressed to define their position on such issues as the nature, structure, or order of the church in a terminology commonly employed—for example—by the Commission on Faith and Order of the World Council of Churches, they could not very well

state their case adequately, for they do not employ such "ecclesiastical language."¹ On the other hand, non-Baptists usually meet this barrier from the other side. They cannot express legitimately the Southern Baptist position in a terminology alien to Baptists, for the application of an ecclesiastical thought tradition to Southern Baptist religious thought would explain their beliefs in a perspective unindigenous to the Southern Baptist thought tradition. Not only would such an attempt be objectively unsatisfactory, but it would subjectively evoke among Southern Baptists the justified suspicion of misrepresentation of their case.

The main principle of Southern Baptist beliefs today is the individual soul's complete competency before God. All forms of religious expression beyond the soul's religious attitude are merely voluntary. Thus, Southern Baptists know the Church only as an expedient organization of individual believers within one given local community. The local congregation is a Church. This limited and individualized concept of the church, which as such was not shared by earlier Baptists, is a Southern Baptist development since the latter part of the nineteenth century, and dominates the ecclesiological thought of the Convention in the mid-twentieth century.

The Church as one visible unit is inconceivable for Southern Baptists, and consequently they need no orders, no authoritative hierarchy, no grace-imparting sacraments, all of which they would maintain to be

ecclesiastical institutions and, as such, man-made. Rather, they exercise a pure democracy in their churches, and cherish, consequently, a religious and civil liberty which applies to the individual as well as to the community, the sum of individuals.\(^1\) It is the Southern Baptist conviction that all this is implicitly revealed in the New Testament,\(^2\) which is why Southern Baptist churches consider themselves to be New Testament Churches.

This roughly sketched set of beliefs is today shared in more or less measure by all Southern Baptists. Inasmuch, however, as each Southern Baptist is aware of his supreme individuality before God, it is impossible to define Baptist beliefs in any creedal forms which would contradict the value of the sovereign principle of individualism. Rather, each Southern Baptist, as a "true believer," has the authority to restate his beliefs in accordance with the general heritage of the Baptist faith. Such "statements of faith" exist in abundance and are usually applied to one specific situation or issue in regard to which Southern Baptists seek personal guidance from their beliefs. Thus, Southern Baptist deliberations on issues of faith and order are always implicitly applied statements of faith, and it is mostly from those \textit{ad hoc} deliberations that Southern Baptist faith and beliefs can be

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{1.} Cf. E. Y. Mullins, \textit{The Axioms of Religion} (Philadelphia: American Baptist Pub. Soc., 1908). Mullins shows that the individual soul's competency is the basic Baptist religious principle. His central position (President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.) within the S. B. G. has lent such force to his treatise on the religious principle of the 'individual soul's competency' that today it is cited with almost a doctrinal authority throughout the Convention.
\item \textbf{2.} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 47.
\end{itemize}
Although Baptist history knows several creedal or confessional formulations—ranging from the Amsterdam Confession (1611) and the London Confession (1617), over the Philadelphia and New Hampshire Confessions to the 'Fraternal Addresses' (1919) and the Louisville Statement of Faith (1927), to such an ad hoc statement of faith as in fact is the 'Report on Interdenominational Relations' of 1938, Baptists never attach too much authoritative weight to such creedal statements. It is rather the Southern Baptist principle of the individual soul's competency which even in inner-Baptist discussions would react with suspicion to any explicit, unapplied Credo of Baptist beliefs, simply because in such a statement undue authoritarian motives might be hidden. Since the Southern Baptist as a true believer would know the essentials of his faith anyway, he does not see the need to state this faith outside a given context.

While for the Southern Baptist self-conception, the principle of the individual soul's competency is of utmost importance, it is equally as important for the non-Baptist who attempts to understand Baptists to realize that at the very core of their existence they adhere to a dynamic rather than a static ecclesiastical principle. It is this dynamic interest, this preoccupation with doing rather than being, which prohibits Baptists from stating their faith in any form other than ad hoc deliberations. It is therefore a basic principle of Baptist bodies to be dynamic organizations for action. This principle is the key for the non-Baptist's understanding of Baptists.

Rather than becoming lost in Baptist theology for lack of prepara-

tion, it is suggested that the phenomenon of the Southern Baptist Convention be approached by probing into the "live" relations of the Convention to American Protestantism, to Protestantism at large, and to the Ecumenical Movement. A study of the kinship between Southern Baptists and the American heritage will then introduce the subsequent discussion of Southern Baptist theology.

1. The Southern Baptist Convention and Its Relation to Protestantism

Today there are roughly 20,000,000 Baptists in the world, the vast majority of whom are to be found in the United States. Inasmuch as Baptists count as members only those who have experienced believers' baptism, it can be assumed that the number of adherents to the Baptist beliefs in the world is considerably larger. With the exception of about 1,100,000 European and Russian Baptists, all Baptists in the world are drawn into or connected to Baptists of the United States, be it be cultural ties or by the truly remarkable missionary efforts in which Baptists always have excelled around the world.

Among the four major Baptist bodies in the United States, the Southern Baptist Convention is by far the largest. In the 'deep' southern states of Alabama, Georgia, and Texas, Southern Baptists account for about 40 per cent of the total population and are denomi-


3. Ibid., p. 84.
nationally next to the Methodist church the largest Protestant group in the country. Through its missionary enterprise in now more than forty countries, the Southern Baptist influence is felt around the world.

Unlike the other major Baptist groups in America or abroad, the Southern Baptist Convention has maintained throughout the 114 years of its history a certain cohesiveness, which cannot be explained only by its extraordinary numerical strength, its particular unity of experience, its spirit, or its newly-acquired state of sufficient material wealth; for the Convention was not always as large, nor as rich, nor as united in matters of faith and order as it is today. It was not until the twentieth century that the Convention began to excell in its growth over the other major Protestant denominations in the country. This development may find its explanation in the fact that by this time the Convention had become the symbol for the expression of the growing regional self-consciousness of the South. And insofar as today the sense of "belonging" is strongly developed within the Convention, this phenomenon supports the assumption that there is no other institution which provides for a rallying point for Southerners as Southerners on a spiritual and also cultural level. The only possible alternative would be the Southern Presbyterian Church, but it is not sufficiently popular in its cultural outlook as to serve as a Southern people's church. This function, the Southern Baptist Convention was able to reserve for itself in the southern states. A study of its history, however, reveals that such unity of purpose did not always exist. As a matter of fact, the Convention was threatened on more than one occasion with a split,

1. Ibid., p. 91.
especially with regard to the issue of an individual foreign mission policy in relation to the autonomy of the local churches.¹

Neither is it satisfactory to explain the particular Southern Baptist in-group cohesiveness negatively with sociological observations of the kind Richard Niebuhr offers with regard to this problem.² Although during the Convention's trying years after 1845, the social issue of slave-holding and its moral abolition might have provided a basic cohesive glue within the growing Convention, it is not very likely that the usually poor Baptists of the South were too much concerned with the up-coming cultural and economic clash between the North and the South. Rather, Baptists, whose very lifeblood of freedom and democracy had flown through the American Revolution into the Constitution of the United States, had repeatedly come out, prior to the final split, against slavery. If eventually in 1844 slavery as a moral issue provided an incident upon which Southern Baptists reacted with convening a South-wide convention at Atlanta, Georgia, in May 1845,³ then this moral issue was the outer occasion of a deeper unrest among Southern Baptists.⁴ The prolongation of the slavery issue of a century ago is today the race issue, which again lies on the same moral level as the

¹. A series of such threats occurred in connection with inner-Baptist differences concerning ecclesiastical orders. The Landmarkist movement and its correlated anti-missionary spirit will be treated in chap. II, 4, ii., p. 75.


slavery issue. But, as it cannot be said that the slavery issue was
the only issue which made Southern Baptists secede from the North, so
it cannot be said that it is today the moral problem of the race issue
which continues to keep Southern Baptists apart from their fellow
Baptists of the North.¹

The mystique of this continued tension among Baptists is rather
similar to the one which underlies the relations between Southern
Baptists and practically all other denominations, Protestant or
non-Protestant. The explanation of this mystique must be sought to a
substantial degree in the Southern Baptist self-conception of its
position as a cultural and religious focal point of Southern life.
The intricacy of the interrelation of cultural and religious values
within the Convention is in part to be described and analyzed in this
chapter within the framework of the Convention's relationship to other
denominational bodies on a national and global basis, as well as through
the Convention's optimistic outlook on the American heritage in general.

i. Relation to the Free Churches

In the Southern Baptist perspective, the free churches, especially
the ones in America, are the most akin of all Christian denominations.
With irenic sympathy, Southern Baptists try to stress the common heri-
tage with them. They rejoice in the common evangelical concern, and
hasten at the same time to point out those differences between them

¹. The slavery issue is seen to be of a more central importance with
regard to the Baptist estrangement by Walter B. Posey, "The Baptists
and Slavery in the Lower Mississippi Valley,"Journal of Negro History,
41(1956), 117-130. Posey puts more stress on the slavery issue as a
step toward separation of the Baptist south from the Baptist north.
He fails, however, to present a comprehensive argument.
which keep them from any officially recognizable effort of co-operation.

The following "simplest and most comprehensive statement of Baptist doctrine and practice"¹ may serve as a norm from which Baptists view others on the denominational scale: "Baptists believe in the absolute, undelegated lordship of Christ as revealed in the New Testament and in the greatest possible liberty consistent with that lordship."²

Closest to this statement comes the Church of Christ—the conservative wing of the Disciples—followed by the Disciples, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Methodists.³ Outside of the issue of infant baptism, in which Baptists disagree with all but the Disciple churches, they disagree on matters of faith with the Disciples; on matters of order with the Congregationalists, whom they accuse of denying religious liberty in the past and lacking concern for it at the present; and on matters of faith and order with the Presbyterians and Methodists, whose form of church government, role of ministry, and creedally restricted spiritual liberty is not compatible with Baptist beliefs.⁴

In the past Southern Baptists had in common with all of these denominations the phenomenal tradition of revivalism, of which they remain today the sole representative among the larger denominations.⁵

The survival of revivalism within the Southern Baptist Convention may, on the one hand, serve as one of the cohesive agents within the Conven-

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 16.
tion, while on the other hand it estranges Southern Baptists emotionally from their formerly close denominational neighbors. Through the loss of the revivalist impact within the non-Southern Baptist free churches, an estrangement of their sociologically lower strata of adherents is felt. This is not the case within the Southern Baptist Convention. There the scale of beliefs is still wide enough and the cohesive structure still dense enough so as to integrate all strata of the white Southern culture.

In connection with the survival of revivalism there stands another differentiating feature between Southern Baptists and the rest of the free churches: the liberal-fundamental controversy of the past generation. The Southern Baptists feel justly that liberalism has weakened the evangelical witness of American Protestantism. As keenly as many may feel that the "classical" witness of American Protestantism is the liberal witness,¹ equally convinced are Southern Baptists today that in the presence of this witness they "have been blessed so richly with . . . a unity of spirit that . . . God is calling [them] to a unique ministry."² This unique ministry is understood by Southern Baptists to be the Gospel ministry, witnessing to the God-implanted Baptist tradition: "These New Testament principles out of which flow life-giving streams of religious liberty must be shared. . . . Christianity would suffer an immeasurable loss if these vital principles should be eclipsed."³

3. Ibid.
ii. Relation to the Confessional Churches

With the exception of the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod,¹ Southern Baptists subsume the confessional churches under their original category; i.e., they attack foremostly the state-established character of the confessional churches. Southern Baptists feel strongly that in matters of church polity and order, Anglicans and Roman Catholics, and to a large degree also Lutherans, have corrupted the principle of religious liberty. Holy orders, the hierarchical structure of the church, the authoritative function of the creeds and the "ecclesiastical" confirmation necessitated through infant baptism, are features which contradict such Baptist beliefs as the priesthood of all believers, the "simple New Testament type of congregational government," the competency of the soul, and spiritual conversion.² The widest contrast is finally noted between Baptist spiritual experience and Catholic religious observances.³

Theologically, Southern Baptists are used to taking up their case of religious liberty over against the confessional state churches on the--for Baptists--typically individual issue of infant versus believer's baptism. Infant baptism, the Baptists judge, is doing violence to the individual will of the child, leaving him no personal choice. In be-stowing upon the infant a "spiritual heritage," as though it would be a "national heritage," the state churches treat natural man--very much to

1. Southern Baptists respect the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, for its negative position over against the Ecumenical Movement.
2. Dillard, op. cit., p. 16.
3. Ibid.
the horror of the individualistic spirit of Baptists—as though his natural birthright were also his spiritual birthright, thus very superficially insuring a steady number of recruits for the state churches. From their individualistic perspective, Baptists have never been able to transcend fully their own rather socio-political misconception with regard to infant baptism in confessional churches. Their individualistic, anthropocentric attitude of the personal religious experience will indeed remain the barrier, only outside of which the theology and ecclesiology of the confessional churches can be conceived. As long as Baptists cannot comprehend the Church as ecclesia and Heilsanstalt, Baptists will not be able to focus on the theology of infant baptism, but will remain within the scope of their own misconceptions.

Similarly, Baptists are blocked from a legitimate understanding of the Reformation. Although Southern Baptists do belong within the scope of the historical Reformation, they have conceived of themselves as being the sole consequential executioners of the Reformation principle, which to them is rather the restoration of a long-lost apostolic church pattern with the gospel than the mere reformation of the living tradition of the historic church. The concern for the restoration of a long-lost apostolic church pattern was perpetrated in the days of the historical Reformation by the Anabaptists. In militant, and often violent opposition to Luther, they have found the principle of freedom and of "voluntary association" as the original quality of the New Testa-


Luther's holding on to the historic tradition of the Volkskirche could, in the Anabaptist view, "not vindicate its place in history or be usable in God's scheme." The "illicit union of church and state" preserved the unity of the evangelical movement of the Reformation, but sacrificed the principle of freedom and of voluntary association of the New Testament church, the "regenerate church."

But in the mind of the Southern Baptists, it is just this principle of freedom and voluntary, individual association which manifests the most precious gift of the Reformation. And insofar as the Anabaptists, as the left wing of the Reformation, salvaged this *sumnum bonum* of individual freedom, Southern Baptists today look upon Anabaptists as a substantial part of their spiritual ancestry, and this so much so that they see in the Anabaptist view of the church as the voluntary association in the freedom of regenerated and saved believers, the norm and controls for the "view of the Christian's relationship to society."

Here again, in the wake of an optimistic joy over the newly-found New Testament freedom, Southern Baptists— as did the Anabaptists before them—adjusted so radically to this dubious gift of the Reformation that in their anthropocentric and individualistic attitude they overlooked the grave reality of the human anthropology before God: they accepted Luther's *justus*, but discarded as authoritarian manipulation Luther's *peccator*.

However, not recognizing the deep reality of Luther's parallelism of *simul justus et peccator*, Baptists are limited in their understanding

of the real concerns of the Reformation, and are ultimately barred from comprehending man's salvation as the sole act of Christ. In the defense against an ecclesiastically imparted assurance of salvation, Southern Baptists have liberated and emancipated themselves to such a degree that now the control of man's salvation rests with himself rather than with the ever-present Christ.

In this orientation with regard to the center of the Reformation Southern Baptists are indeed today on the left wing of Protestantism, protesting against an ecclesiastically dominated access to God rather than responding to God's confrontation of man with Himself.¹

1. In the Southern Baptist's personal devotion to Jesus Christ through his individual and spiritual experience, he cannot be surpassed. Nor can he be surpassed in his anthropocentric bargaining position with God, after he is saved once and for all through the act of his spiritual conversion experience. Cf. "Baptists believe that when we become saved children of God by faith in Christ, we are his saved children forever." Dillard, op. cit., p. 17. And: "Baptists believe we should be baptized because we are saved and not in order to be saved." Ibid.
2. The Southern Baptist Convention and Its Relation to the Ecumenical Movement

"A unique aspect of American church life is that the largest family of churches here is one which is elsewhere small and uninfluential, the Baptists. A third of all American Protestants are Baptists or Disciples. In contrast, the Baptists are that major denominational group which is least interested in or influential in the ecumenical movement. Large Baptist groups . . . are opposed on principle. And even those Baptists who are involved tend to consider the kind of federation which the World Council of Churches now constitutes as the maximum degree of church unity desirable."

Within the family of Baptists, the Southern Baptist Convention is the largest and in some respects the most uniform group. The principle of individualistic voluntaryism and of the autonomy of the local churches is here most vividly propagated, almost to the degree of being the unifying and centralizing doctrine within the Convention. Holding this principle, it is then the Southern Baptist Convention which is most opposed to the unity-seeking spirit and program of the Ecumenical Movement.

Although the inner dynamic life of the Convention could hardly be said to rest exclusively upon any one static principle--but is rather determined by the will of the Convention to act out together the propagation of the Gospel and the furtherance of the kingdom--it is nevertheless interesting to note that the relationship to extra-Conventional bodies

is solely determined on the basis of Baptist principles. It is, therefore, "on principle" that the Southern Baptist Convention opposes the Ecumenical Movement. Thus, it is more pertinent for Southern Baptists to discuss the ecumenical concern for unity on the basis of principle of union than on the basis of progress toward union, which latter procedure would be more akin to the spirit of the Ecumenical Movement.

Already around the turn of the century, Southern Baptists were concerned with the problems of greater church unity which they saw developing within pre-ecumenical inter-church contacts. Among the first Southern Baptists to voice warnings against such ecclesiastical church programs was E. Y. Mullins, who had become president of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville, Kentucky. Surveying Lambeth, 1888, Mullins detects a general disfavor toward organic union among Christian denominations. He summarizes the emotions of the "Christian world" around 1900 and states that there seems to be agreement that (a) premature union is fraught with danger, (b) union cannot be ordered, but will grow, and (c) union will come in due time as God's own work.

In particular, Mullins recognizes the danger and violation the Lambeth proposal concerning the historic episcopate would hold for the democratic principle of the Baptists: Episcopalians would not be able

4. Ibid., p. 222f.
to recognize the validity of democratic equality among denominations, while Baptists could not subscribe to a uniformity which does not seem to be in accordance with the New Testament.\(^1\) Mullins, therefore, arrives at the still valid and classical position of Southern Baptists with regard to ecumenical unity. While federation would be the only democratically possible principle of union, upholding the integrity of all ecclesiastical bodies, it would not correspond to the nature of Christ's concept of church unity. This discrepancy, as Mullins and most Southern Baptists after him hasten to point out, must be carried in "humility."\(^2\)

Principally, only two forms of union are possible: the Roman form of absolute and authoritative centralization; or the congregational form, fully democratic and just as self-sustaining as the Roman concept. All union attempts between these poles will sooner or later be reduced to the one or other extreme. Mullins, of course, sees the congregational principle as holding the ultimate victory, so much so that eventually all Christians will become Baptists "by a deeper apprehension of the New Testament."\(^3\)

In terms of polity, Mullins sees the congregational form of Baptist church government as ultimately superior, because institutionally already representing the lowest limit, it does not allow any subtraction, nor does it allow any additions which would unbearably burden the Baptist conscience.\(^4\)

By introducing the absolute of the democratic, individualistic principle of congregational polity, the objective authority of the New

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p. 226.
3. Ibid., p. 228.
4. Ibid.
Testament, and the subjective Baptist conscience—which is the norm of all Baptist New Testament interpretation—Mullins has provided and coordinated the tools which ever since have been employed by Southern Baptists in ecumenical discussions.

It is exactly through the combination of the low-limit congregational polity principle, the objectively-given authority of the New Testament, and the subjective use made of both by the Southern Baptist conscience that in the contemporary setting of the ecumenical discussion concerning church unity Southern Baptists maintain that "in Christ this unity is given. . . . The unity we seek is, therefore, a unity we have; and to reject the quest, is to reject Christ for the spirit of faction."¹

Theologically, T. D. Price deduces through an implicit deliberation on Ephesians 4:4-6 that "as there is but one Lord, one faith, and one baptism, there can be only one Church,"² and being in this Church is being in Christ.³ Thus, Price is not interested in an institutional ecclesia which might exist in any sense outside the identification with Christ. He is not interested at all in any form of a statically existing Church. The identification of Church and Christ is for Price legitimate only insofar as through this identification a dynamic form of men-being-in-Christ can be expressed. Separate from this identification


2. Ibid., p. 82. Incidentally, the exegetical addition of "one church" to Eph. 4:4-6 seems to be a good ecumenical tradition. Cf. W. Visser 't Hooft, "The Ground of Our Unity" (Sermon), The Nature of the Unity We Seek, ed. P. S. Minear (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1958), p. 123.

there exists no church as an ecclesiastical institution with such "proxy" functions as pope, episcopacy, or sacerdotalism and sacramentalism. ¹

Separate from this identification the Church cannot be conceived, for this "Church is represented in the New Testament as the congregation of believers--and the ones who believe are those who both are incorporated into Christ and share the fellowship of the Spirit." ²

Thus, the Church becomes only visible in the local congregation and must otherwise be "happily described as invisible," ³ which, in other words, means that Baptists see the relation of their New Testament churches to the Church to be the same as the relationship of the individual to Christ. The unity, then, which is given in Christ, is the same given among churches, and Southern Baptists desire no greater degree of it.

Practically, Southern Baptists are well aware of the fact that their "churches represent a majority movement in the regions to which they belong," ⁴ so much so that in their every day life they experience the unity of a closely knit family. Furthermore, while they need no further theological evidence of union with Christ--outside that union they already possess--they are, in accordance with their men-being-in-Christ nature of the Church, primarily busy with the job God has given them to do, and they "tend to see no need for co-operation beyond that local level." ⁵ They realize that they "are not today as aware as were [their] forbears that the doctrine of the Church and the unity of the Church are inseparably intertwined." ⁶ Through their preoccupation with

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p. 84.
3. Ibid., p. 85.
4. Ibid., p. 87.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
the practical principle of doing their God-given job, Southern Baptists cannot see that the "visible reduction of the mystical body to any legal corporation would enhance the true unity of the Church."\(^1\) Inasmuch as just this visible reduction of the mystical body into a legal corporation represents for Southern Baptists the "subsidiary aim of the leadership of the World Council of Churches, it would be met with a stubborn resistance" by them.\(^2\) This stubborn resistance, finally, determines the negative attitude of Southern Baptists toward all that is labeled ecumenical. Possessing already all desirable unity, "most of us would probably feel that we can do no more for a divided Christendom (though this is not a divided Church) than to try to understand ourselves and interpret ourselves in love to our fellow believers."\(^3\)

This statement of Southern Baptist attitude toward everything ecumenical is insofar typical as it does not express the need for any attempt to understand the ecumenical position. The Southern Baptists' attitude being in its thought pattern "markedly regional in character,"\(^4\)--i.e., a regional majority movement--they need only to impart Southern Baptist concepts to their ecumenical fellow believers, and need not to correct their own perspective of the Ecumenical Movement. It is therefore neither an inner discrepancy of Southern Baptist thought, nor a statement of positional or even doctrinal uncertainty when Price sums up his Southern Baptist view on church unity with the conclusion that there is nothing "Distinctively Baptist"\(^5\) to prevent the Southern Baptist Convention from participation in the

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
World Council of Churches. There is no Baptist doctrine or polity—not even the ecumenical principle of co-operation—which would justify the Southern Baptists' absence from the Ecumenical Movement. Other Baptist bodies, in fact, have proven that everything Baptist can very well have its place within the Ecumenical Movement. But for various reasons and convictions, as well as prejudices and fears, we have refrained, and probably will continue to refrain from participation. The Southern Baptist Convention feels its position to be strong enough, so strong in fact, that it can afford to have no other reason than 'convictions, prejudice and fears' in order to abstain from the Ecumenical Movement.

While it is Southern Baptist strength which keeps the Convention out of the Ecumenical Movement, it is the same Southern Baptist strength which allows the Convention to enjoy the role of leadership in the inner Baptist ecumenical endeavor, the Baptist World Alliance. Since 1905, when it was founded at London, the Baptist World Alliance has possessed as its chief principle the promotion of religious liberty. Within the larger setting of the Baptist World Alliance, the Southern Baptist Convention was able to unfold to the fullest its rich heritage of the soul's liberty and its Baptist principle of religious liberty on the international scene.

Confirming its love for the Lord Jesus Christ, the Convention, in 1916 through its Foreign Mission Board, advanced a statement which outlines the principles for attaining the highest efficiency for the Con-

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1. Ibid., p. 88.
vention's purpose: the propagation of the Gospel. By observing loyalty to Christ, the Convention commits itself to exercise a "spirit of candor and Christian courtesy toward all who profess to be his disciples."\(^1\) At the same time the Convention proposes a "complete autonomy at home and abroad, unembarrassed by entangling alliances with other bodies holding to different standards of doctrine and different views of church life and church order."\(^2\) Courteously, though distinctly, the Convention develops its non-comity policy for the international scene also, thus preparing its position for the present age of great missionary co-operation.

In loyalty to its Baptist principle of absolute religious liberty, the Convention cannot today officially participate in the ecumenical program of missionary co-operation. Only one line of co-operation is recognized; that is an inner-Baptist comity agreement with regard to Baptist work around the world. The second Congress of the Baptist World Alliance at Philadelphia in 1911 proposed to study the feasibility of such a comity arrangement in order to "forestall needless duplication of Baptist missionary agencies and enterprises on the foreign field."\(^3\) This proposal was eventually taken up at the London Consultation in 1920. An agreement was reached that the strategical comity arrangement would apply to areas still unoccupied or overlapping by any Baptist missionary enterprise.\(^4\) The Southern Baptist Convention is thus bound to a limiting arrangement only within the setting of the Baptist World Alliance, and this only insofar as its foreign mission enterprise is concerned. This arrangement does not apply to the American home scene, where along the

1. *Annual of S. B. C.*, 1916, p. 120.
seams between North and South considerable tension exists between
Baptists of the American (northern) and Southern Conventions.¹

Although the ecumenical bond of the Baptist World Alliance is not
strong enough to eliminate all friction among Baptists, they all rejoice
in this highest platform World Baptist possesses: "The Baptist World
Alliance has proved its worth. The World Council cannot do for Baptists
what the Alliance can do."² Within the Alliance the Southern Baptist
Convention has found a basis—one in which they can exercise leadership—
of inter-Baptist co-operation.

In the past there was a period over which the Convention's Foreign
Mission Board was able to co-ordinate its religious conscience with the
principle of co-operation in the Foreign Mission Conference of North
America. However, when in 1950 the North American Foreign Mission Con-
ference was incorporated as the Division of Foreign Missions into the
National Council of Churches, the period of fifty-seven years of
co-operation (beginning in 1893) came to an end. One of the major
issues in the discontinuation of membership was that "Southern Baptists
by this time objected to the limitations involved in comity agreements

¹ Cf. the scope of the Ph. D. dissertation by R. A. Baker, "Relation
Between Northern and Southern Baptists" (New Haven: Yale.Divinity
School, 1948). From the perspective of American (Northern) Bap-
tists, who naturally feel most sensitively the Southern Baptist
inroads in their territory, the Southern Baptist non-comity policy
is resented. In a communication from Dr. Hudson (March 9, 1960)
it was pointed out that the inner-Baptist non-comity practice on
the American scene is increasingly felt also on the mission field.
This development would to a certain degree neutralize the
inner-Baptist comity agreement reached earlier in the century.

² Lewis, op. cit., p. 69.
on mission fields.\textsuperscript{1} The termination of this period of co-operation was actually more in line with Southern Baptist policy inasmuch as the Convention itself had never co-operated with the former Federal Council, and thus there was no inner obligation or need to join the National Council.

The reasons given by Southern Baptists for not joining the National Council grow out of the consideration to preserve the highest Baptist principles of religious liberty, the individual soul's conscience, and the autonomy of the local churches.\textsuperscript{2}

Since, nevertheless, Southern Baptists participated unofficially in some of the great ecumenical gatherings between 1937 and 1954—or at the All-Africa Church Conference, Ibadan, Nigeria, in January 1958, for that matter\textsuperscript{3}—it might be suggested that some of them would like to seek a closer alignment with the Ecumenical Movement, although officially this is still quite impossible.\textsuperscript{4}

One such evidence of a minority opinion within the Convention with regard to association of Southern Baptists with the World Council of Churches is a statement brought before the Convention in 1940:

\begin{quote}
While we are fundamentally opposed to any step toward organic Church union, we are convinced that the basic spiritual unity of all believers should be a channel through which to give united expression to the mind and message of Christ in a world in which all Christian ideals are challenged.
\end{quote}

In justice to our own conscience, and on behalf of those


\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., p. 95f.


\textsuperscript{4} Torbet, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 96.
who hold with us, we wish to express our conviction that Southern Baptists, along with other Baptist groups, should associate ourselves with our brethren of other denominations in a fellowship of churches which accept our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour.\(^1\)

While this statement was presented to the Convention in connection with the pre-drafted reply to the invitation to join the World Council, it was the pre-drafted reply, declining the invitation, which was dispatched to the World Council. Based upon the Constitution of the Convention, the reply turned down the invitation on grounds of polity and principle. The reply expressed the sentiment of the Southern Baptist churches which "disapprove of any attempted exercise of ecclesiastical authority over them"\(^2\) and it also made clear that Southern Baptists could not "in a world which more and more seeks centralization of power in industry, in civil government, and in religion"\(^3\) endanger their precious principle of religious liberty and autonomy of the local congregation.

Thus, the sentiment, attitude, and relation of the Southern Baptist Convention to the Ecumenical Movement is colored by spiritual sympathy, theological reservation, and a non-co-operative policy.

1. Spiritual Sympathy

As can be observed, all utterances on the Convention level regarding the issue of ecumenical co-operation begin with the assurance that

3. *Ibid.*. For the context of this dissertation it is interesting to note that this official reply was signed also by G. E. Maddry, the then executive secretary of the Foreign Mission Board.
the Southern Baptists cherish the spirit of greater Christian unity and the search for the unity of the body of Christ. Those utterances would even go so far as to assure that Southern Baptists "wish to do nothing that will imperil the growing spirit of co-operation on the part of [their] churches in the work of giving the Gospel of Christ, as we understand it, to all men everywhere."¹

Nevertheless, the period of warmest sympathy between Southern Baptists and the Ecumenical Movement was in the early days of the Faith and Order Movement, prior to Lausanne, 1927.² Then Southern Baptists welcomed the exchange of ideas with the Faith and Order Movement, maintaining that the better understanding between the denominations was "a thing very desirable."³

After Lausanne, however, "when the real purpose of the movement became known,"⁴ Southern Baptists soon lost their interest, and in the following years the ecumenical movement received only little Southern Baptist consideration. The Convention began once more to put forth its own conditions for greater unity rather than to enter ecumenical discussions.⁵

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². W. R. Estep, Jr., Church Union and the Southern Baptists (Fort Worth: By the author, 1955), p. 98.
³. Annual of S. B. C., 1914, p. 78.
⁴. Estep, op. cit., p. 98.
ii. Theological Reservations

Since the time they have actively withdrawn from the ecumenical exchange of thought, the Southern Baptists have become keen and critical observers of the Ecumenical Movement. From their particular Baptist perspective they see a series of discrepancies growing out of the basic shortcoming which—as President I. R. Sampey of the Louisville Seminary expressed it at Edinburgh in 1937—"while affirming belief in the grace of God, and all that implies, then thrusts the church and its sacraments between the individual soul and its Saviour."¹ The basic Baptist principle of the soul's competency before God is so absolute with the Southern Baptists that it, in fact, leaves no room for the ecclesia.

Granting Southern Baptists this theological perspective, there is indeed little left within the theological climate of the ecumenical movement which they could meet without reservation. The ecumenical church² in itself is a horror, the accompanying concept of ecclesiastical authority is a sin against the freedom of the individual soul's competency, the ecumenical principle of comprehension of ecclesiastical traditions is—in Baptist eyes—a logical impossibility,³ and finally, the consequent disregard of the congregational principle of church government⁴ turns Southern Baptists theological reservations into suspicions, into fears.

1. Swain, op. cit., p. 79.
2. Estep, op. cit., p. 117. Incidentally, the term "ecumenical church" seems to be quite popular in Southern Baptist anti-ecumenical polemics.
3. Ibid., p. 128.
4. Ibid., p. 118.
It seems that this combination of reservation, suspicion and fear has blurred the Southern Baptists' theological perspective as to what is the function of the World Council of Churches. Rather than accepting the Council's definition of its function, Southern Baptists imply, on the basis of their conception of the ecumenical literature, a function for the Council which goes well beyond the limit dictated to it by its constitution. Thus, Estep implies that the concept of ecumenical leadership with regard to the Church is: "one visible, universal body of Christ, vested with 'order' and the ministry of the 'sacraments'."\(^1\)

When, finally, the high church principle holds absolute precedence over the congregational order, then the cause of Protestantism at large is endangered by the Ecumenical Movement. The way toward a Catholic tendency is too clearly seen, and added to it is the fact that with this Catholic tendency, the Ecumenical Movement is too dangerously exposed to those Continental churches which are opposed to the principle of religious liberty and the separation of State and Church.\(^2\) That, in addition to all of their suspicions of the ecumenical leadership at large--which leadership is also held "to be dangerously liberal"\(^3\)--does not change the structure of Southern Baptist apprehension against the Ecumenical Movement, but rather adds to fear and suspicion also "distrust."\(^4\)

In the development from deeply-felt Baptist theological reservations to the attitude of fear, suspicion and distrust against the Ecumenical Movement, lies embedded one of the basic barriers between Southern

1. Ibid. 2. Cf. Ibid., p. 120f.
3. Ibid., p. 101. 4. Ibid.
Baptists and those adhering to the ecumenical world. To overcome this barrier is the foremost task of sympathetic and ecumenically-minded men, both within and without the Convention. Once the suspicious attitude of fear and distrust is reduced again to a clear position of theological reservations on the part of Southern Baptists, the ecumenical discussion across the dividing line can be continued with more hope of mutual understanding.

iii. Non-co-operative Policy

The policy as such has already been stated above, and a few reasons behind this policy have been given. A full account of all reasons would be impossible to state. That the un-co-operative policy of the Southern Baptist Convention with regard to membership in the World Council of Churches depends at the moment to a large degree upon the unique interaction of theological reservation and a subjective attitude of fear, suspicion and distrust, has been pointed out.

Nevertheless, three types of reasons suggest themselves with regard to the un-co-operative policy: (a) Southern Baptists dislike the association with churches which "discount the convictions and practices of Baptists,"¹ (b) Southern Baptists cannot afford to associate with churches which actively hinder Baptist growth (through persecution, decrees, manipulation)², (c) Southern Baptists cannot conceive of a fruitful co-operation within ecumenical committees with representatives of influential ecclesi-

2. Ibid., p. 131f.
astical member churches. Evaluating these three types of reasons, the first would fall in the category of theological differences; the second type would be based upon physical incidents; and the third type of reason would be derived from a premature judgment of the actual situation of active co-operation. The combination of the three types of reasons behind the un-co-operative policy of the Convention is not unknown within ecumenical circles, perhaps with the exception of the intensity of the last type. Inasmuch as these types do also exist among the member churches of the World Council, they should not exclusively justify the continued absence of the Southern Baptist Convention.

However, the Convention is not—perhaps better, not yet—prepared to compromise the questionable character of its reasons for keeping aloof from the World Council in the adventure of sharing in ecumenical co-operation. After all, the compromise of these reasons is not the compromise of Baptist principles, and certainly not the compromise of "content and emphasis of the Gospel" or the "essentials of Christianity," as Dr. Robert G. Lee, President of the Convention would make it appear.

iv. The Foreign Mission Board and the Necessity for Its Non-co-operative Policy

While a peculiar combination of theological reservations and a suspicious sentiment determines the general anti-ecumenical attitude of Southern Baptists, the Foreign Mission Board of the Convention came forth with an excellent editorial by its executive secretary, the late

1. Ibid., p. 132.

2. Annual of S. B. C., 1951, p. 61. From the president's address.
Dr. M. Theron Rankin, explaining in humility as well as clarity the Board's position on ecumenical co-operation.\textsuperscript{1} It is perhaps because of the Board's wider co-operative experience and ecumenical contacts that out of its ranks such a well-balanced statement could come.

Facing the crucial question as to why the Board withdrew by unanimous vote in 1950 from the Foreign Mission Conference, and as to why the Convention "voted overwhelmingly against affiliation with the World Council of Churches,"\textsuperscript{2} Dr. Rankin scrutinizes the reasons supporting the decisions of the Board and Convention. Quite soberly he observes that the Ecumenical Movement will leave its impact on the Convention, regardless of whether or not it belongs to the Movement. And this impact can least of all be counteracted by the purely mechanical authority of the Convention's vote. If the Convention were to resort to its vote as an expression of Southern Baptist uniformity of beliefs and practices, it would then muster a type of Baptist ecclesiastical authority, in order to defend itself against the "concept of hierarchical authority of a United Church, which we discern in the ecumenical movement."\textsuperscript{3} The impact of ecumenical thought, however, would not be checked or counterbalanced, and Southern Baptists would only be in "danger of making the churches subject to the authority of the framework which they constructed (i.e. the Convention), and thus of turning conventions into ecclesiastical bodies that pass down authoritative regulations to the churches."\textsuperscript{4}

Instead, Dr. Rankin proposes to meet consciously the challenge of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} M. T. Rankin, "That the World May Know," \textit{The Commission}, 13(1950), 168.
\item \textsuperscript{2} \textit{Ibid.}
\item \textsuperscript{3} \textit{Ibid.}
\item \textsuperscript{4} \textit{Ibid.}
\end{itemize}
the ecumenical spirit, for only in the sobriety of well-grounded theological thought and religious convictions can Southern Baptists secure the heritage which so distinctly has made them. Thus, it is not unreflected aversion or sentiment against the ecumenical spirit which will ultimately redeem Southern Baptists in the ecumenical age, but it is the sober and careful re-examination of the basic Baptist faith. Rankin goes even so far as to suggest that the need for re-examination might be a vital contribution which the Ecumenical Movement has to make to Southern Baptists.1

Rankin suggests that this re-examination ought to be primarily concerned with the two basic features of Baptist belief: "the immediate relationship and responsibility of the individual soul to God" and the study of the New Testament with regard to "the nature and function of churches."2 For it is on these two points that Southern Baptists distinguish themselves most basically from all other non-Baptist theological thought.

Neither Rankin nor the Foreign Mission Board would suggest that the non-co-operative policy of the Convention should necessarily be changed—or reversed—as a result of such re-examination. But Rankin proposes that more is needed toward the explanation of the non-co-operative policy than general anti-ecumenical sentiment and fear of hierarchic domination. And it is no coincidence that this call to sobriety comes from the Foreign Mission Board, for it is the one organization within the Southern Baptist Convention which, in the constant encounter with

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid. Rankin refers here explicitly to a renewed effort to study E. Y. Mullins' The Axioms of Religion (op. cit.).
the world church outside the majority setting of the Convention, is most actively challenged to theological precision and sober clarity of religious thought.

As an organ of the Convention, the Foreign Mission Board cannot and will not change the non-co-operative policy of Southern Baptists in matters of ecumenical co-operation. But as the Convention's outreach into regions of Baptist minority, the Board can and does demand that the Convention's ecumenical policy be soberly—though genuinely Baptistically—explained and stated.

3. Southern Baptists and the American Heritage

The short survey of the Southern Baptist relation to the Protestant and ecumenical scenes has pointed out—in addition to some Baptist similarities to a few selected Protestant free churches—characteristic tensions and feelings of uneasiness between the settings compared. It will therefore seem to be somewhat contradictory that the inquiry into the Southern Baptist setting within the American scene should produce a sense of close affinity between the two. However, rather than being surprised over this positive kinship between the Baptist and American heritage, this alliance might well provide another answer as to why there do exist tensions and feelings of uneasiness between Southern Baptists and Protestantism and ecumenism at large. For in many respects, the American Way of Life is similarly as incongruous with some Protestant and ecumenical concepts as are the basic Southern Baptist principles.

The affinity of Southern Baptist and American principles has its historic roots in the proximity of Anabaptistic theological and humanistic philosophical thought, and its historic expression in the Constitu-
tion of the United States. The emphasis on liberty is as Anabaptist as it is a humanistic ideal and it influenced the Baptist principles of religious liberty and the separation of church and state as well as the American ideal of civil liberty. In fact, "this emphasis on liberty and on the allied subject of the separation of church and state may now be called the common heritage of American churches." 1

Because of the proximity of the Baptist reverence for individual liberty and the American appreciation of human rights, it is no coincidence that it was in North America that the Baptist movement developed its greatest extension. The temporary ideological and spiritual isolation of the North American South, its isolated unity of culture and of destiny throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century, and the genuinely preserved Baptist religious fervor in the twentieth century have allowed for the phenomenal growth of the Southern Baptist Convention in the contemporary American setting. The identification of religion with American civilization—as it was experienced by most of the Protestant free churches in the American scene during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—is today most intrinsically maintained by Southern Baptists. Although jealously separated from the institutional side of the American state, Southern Baptists continue today to rejoice in the close affinity they enjoy with regard to their Baptist religious principles and their American cultural ideals.

Thus, the scope of this inquiry goes beyond the legalistic affinity of religious and civil liberty, and extends into the spiritual interpre-

tation and identification of Christianity and civilization, in which Baptists see their contribution to American civilization:

... an interpretation of Christianity in the highest degree spiritual, with the fewest of the carnal elements present. Thus we hold up to civilization in doctrine and polity the burnished mirror of the New Testament Christianity, in which it may study its own image to advantage and discover the spiritual basis of American institutions.¹

Special attention will be given to the Baptist historical heritage and in how far out of this heritage grew—in association with the American scene—the American cultural optimism. The interwovenness of Baptist thought and the optimistic American Way of Life will be one of the factors which will explain the particularity of the Southern Baptist foreign mission outreach in Yorubaland.

1. The Historical Baptist Heritage

Although many of the modern attitudes of Baptists in America have their roots in the reformed wing of the Reformation, in Calvinism proper, in Arminian Calvinism, and in the British Lollardism,² Southern Baptists today cherish especially the tradition which, through the link of the Dutch Mennonites, connects them with the Anabaptists, the left wing of the Reformation. It was in particular the concept of the absolute individual freedom for which the extremists suffered, and which the sober Mennonites applied to the concept of the church, thus promoting on their part the congregational principle of church government.

In ecclesiological terms, the forbears of the Southern Baptists had occupied the left wing, over against the right wing of hierarchical

¹ Mullins, op. cit., p. 26ff.
² Price, in What Is the Church?, p. 112.
Catholicism, thus bypassing the forceful middle stream of the Reformation which they saw as having maintained an ecclesiological compromise.¹ From this left wing of the Reformation, Southern Baptists inherited their two most precious principles: the freedom of the individual and the autonomy of the local church.² By adopting the principle of the freedom of the individual, they lost the concept of original sin, and by submission to the democratic principle, they lost sight of the ecclesia as Heilsanstalt. Consequently, Southern Baptists came to cherish personal and corporative freedom as the full and "only adequate interpretation of the Reformation" ³ after they were not any more able to comprehend the deeper redemptive aspect of the Reformation which Luther had brought about by holding the personal salvation within the boundaries of the redeemed church.

From Holland the left-wing principles of individual and democratic freedom were transplanted to England in the hope of unfolding them fully in a free civic setting.⁴ However, this hope could only be realized after early Baptists had come to the New World. In pre-Revolutionary America the principle of religious liberty in its civic form of separation of state and church was born, and through the efforts of the Rhode Island and Virginia Baptists it was eventually in-

¹ Mullins, op. cit., p. 258.
² Ibid., p. 259.
³ Ibid., p. 258.
corporated into the American Constitution. ¹

Recalling the efforts of the early North American Baptists who worked hard in order to procure their highest good, religious freedom, Mullins praises the growing United States as the "Empire of Freedom," the "Baptists' Empire," because its freedom is designed mostly in accordance with Baptist ideals. ² The realization of the principle of religious liberty in the complete separation of church and state becomes known, through Mullins, as the "American principle," and points out the "greatest difference between the old and new world."³

The ideal of individual and democratic liberty, conceived by the Anabaptists as the highest spiritual treasure of the Reformation, linked through the Mennonites to the early British Baptists and there first laid down as religious liberty in confessional form (1617), finally found its full expression in America. As the "American principle" it determines the American Way of Life and has brought about a marriage between culture, civilization, and religion, which in modern days in unique.

"This contribution is the glory of the Baptist heritage, more distinctive than any other characteristic of belief or practice. To this militant leadership all sects and faiths are debtors."⁴

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² Mullins, op. cit., p. 255.

³ Ibid., p. 196.

⁴ From address given by Justice Charles E. Hughes (1862-1948), U. S. Supreme Court, on the occasion of laying of the cornerstone of the National Memorial Baptist Church, Washington, D. C., in 1922. A. P. Stokes, op. cit. (III) 487f., quoting R. Weaver, The Road to the Freedom of Religion (n. g.), p. 58.
II. Southern Baptists and American Cultural Optimism

(1) The situation of the American Frontier.

On the secular side, the American cultural optimism can be seen in context with a philosophical optimism which was identified with the "Jeffersonian spirit" and became uniquely intertwined with the egalitarianism of the American frontier.1 Inasmuch as the great American free churches mingled freely with the frontiersmen, keeping in them the simple Gospel truth alive, the churches were exposed to this frontier egalitarianism just as much as they were influenced by their own tradition of newly-found freedom in the wide spaces of the new world.

In the early days of the frontier, the churches—foremost Methodist and Baptist—could not take time out to discriminate carefully between what was genuinely the Gospel truth and what might have entered the climate of their preaching and living by the back door of the then-predominant philosophical milieu. In the effort of keeping up with the rapidly progressing penetration of the continent, the churches combined the egalitarian spirit of the frontier with a then-common provincialism, and were proud to be called "democratic churches."2

When later both government and churches underwent a process of civilization, the Baptists remembered their particular heritage of religious liberty and opposed any centralizing trends by adhering to the localism which they had inherited from former frontier days. Especially the Southern Baptist churches felt strongly on the point of the local congregation, because it was on this level that the individual soul's

1. Osborn, op. cit., pp. 6-10. 2. Ibid., p. 11.
direct access to God became most evident. For it is in the local situation that man witnesses God's grace, transforming individuals into believers, and congregations of believers into regenerated churches which are "the social expression of the spiritual experience common to a number of individuals." However, the regenerate churches were more than a mere organization for administrative expediency. Rather, by the mere fact that Southern Baptist churches were regenerated by the grace of God in the fellowship of the Spirit, they became the "institutional embodiment of the principles of the kingdom of God," and thus an embodiment of progress.

The optimistic assumption that man through his action in churches could prepare the advent of the kingdom on earth, that man could progress toward the kingdom, was shared by all former frontier churches. Its full theological realization experienced this anthropocentric optimism, however, in the Baptist principle of the soul's competency in religion which "may be regarded as the platform of human rights in religion."

Mullins, who was the most prominent interpreter of this basic Southern Baptist principle of the individual religious competency and liberty, developed out of this principle his famous six "axioms of religion," which he not only proposed to be in accordance with the New Testament—a necessary Southern Baptist presupposition—but also to be so self-evident that they would be acceptable also by Methodists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians alike. He accomplished the final climax by

1. Ibid., p. 12.
3. Ibid., p. 37.
4. Ibid., p. 77.
5. Ibid., p. 73.
equating his six religious axioms with six American political axioms, an equation which was directed toward the maintenance of democratic freedom as the prime purpose of the "American principle." Upon the actual realization or consummation of these equations between religious and political axioms, Mullins placed the highest value possible: "When the two shall meet, then heaven and earth will have joined together and the kingdom of God will have come among men. This is the process which runs through the ages."

1. Ibid., p. 273.

2. Ibid., p. 274. A paraphrase of Mullin's scheme of equations between the religious and the political axioms is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Religious Axioms</th>
<th>The Political Axioms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) The theological axiom:</td>
<td>Independence of the Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The sovereignty of God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) The religious axiom:</td>
<td>All men are created free and equal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All souls have an equal right to divine access to God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) The ecclesiastical axiom:</td>
<td>The government of the people, by the people, for the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All believers have a right to equal privileges in the church</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) The moral axiom:</td>
<td>The American franchise in all criminal and legal matters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be responsible, men must be free</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) The religio-civic axiom:</td>
<td>The full acceptance of the principle in the American constitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A free church in a free state</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) The Social axiom</td>
<td>Equal rights to all and special privileges to none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love your neighbor as yourself</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mullins' scheme of the axiomatic equations between the divine and the earthly is in its completeness of structure as optimistic as it is phenomenal. It is based upon the deep concern for the recognition of democracy as a God-given principle, and establishes the democratic form of government as the God-given form of government also for the heavenly kingdom. The phenomenal quality of the scheme equals that of a vision, and is in its content as optimistic as such a vision. "We are approaching the Baptist age of the world, because we are approaching the age of the triumph of democracy."¹

This concept of the democratic kingdom is unique in its utter frankness and, although today such a scheme can hardly be expected to be proposed as explicitly among Southern Baptists as Mullins proposed it previously, it is nevertheless part and parcel of the best and most genuine of Southern Baptist tradition. Its tenor of unsurpassable cultural and civilizatory optimism is a fact which to a very great degree belongs still today to the mental equipment of many honest Southern Baptists.

(2) The philosophical background.

What Southern Baptists held dear as New Testament concepts, i.e., the separation of powers, religious liberty, individual freedom and democracy, they have largely inherited from John Locke, who, in his Second Treatise of Government,² not only developed the epitome of these Southern Baptist ideals, but also pre-formulated them in a terminology

¹. Ibid., p. 275.
which has since become the solid stock of Southern Baptist expressions.\(^1\)

In view of this relationship it can be said that Southern Baptists tend
to think philosophically rather than theologically, and that their
philosophical thought pattern is that of John Locke. However, there is
perhaps this qualification to be inserted: wherever Locke refers to the
"law of nature" as his basic precept,\(^2\) Southern Baptists would claim
the authority of the New Testament. The Southern Baptist term, "the
New Testament faith as Baptists see it," is with regard to its major
philosophical content—that of individualism, freedom, religious and
civil liberty, and democracy—nothing else but crypto-Lockean thought
superimposed on the authority of the New Testament. The assimilation
of these philosophical and theological thought traditions, however, en-
dangers the authority of the New Testament, which authority is of basic
importance to the religious life of Southern Baptists.

It is through this close alliance of philosophy and theology—or
better yet, it is through the close alliance of Lockean philosophy and
a pre-critical tradition of religious fundamentals—that Southern Bap-
tists have cast their lot so expressly with the general ideals of
Americanism and the philosophico-cultural self-conception for which this
Americanism stands. Although Locke himself and his most prominent Ameri-
can disciple, Jefferson, were not Baptists, Roger Williams, Leland, and
Francis Weyland, Jr.—all good Baptists—inaugurated Lockean thought and
applied it, like Jefferson, to the dream of America, the land of the
free, finding in this country and its future the possible consummation

1. Ibid., pp. 128, and xxii.
2. Ibid., chap. V, and p. xiii.
of Lockean ideals\(^1\) and the New Testament promises of the Kingdom.\(^2\) This heritage the Southern Baptists took up, developed it in the Anabaptist tradition, and now view the American scene as that stage upon which God with their help will enact the golden Baptist age.

In the same measure in which Southern Baptist thought—both religious and philosophical—is so closely interwoven with American ideals, Southern Baptists constitute in their self-understanding the often-cited majority movement in the region to which they belong. And it is this unique inter-marriage between American and Southern Baptist ideals which so successfully inspires and satisfies the sentiments of American Southern Baptists; for it is here that an atmosphere is created which provides for a haven of "unquestioning affirmations of the 'old-time religion'."\(^3\)

This Southern Baptist atmosphere is germane to the ever-perpetuating convictions of Protestant fundamentalism, the particular persuasiveness of which attracts many religiously searching Americans. The relatively great success of this fundamentalist persuasion is based upon the high evaluation of culture in religious terms. Not only are the fundamentalist's loyalties equally devoted to both his faith and his culture, but

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1. Cf. ibid., par. 229, p. 128: "The end of government is the good of mankind."

2. Sidney E. Mead, "American Protestantism Since the Civil War," \textit{Journal of Religion}, 36(1956), 12, quoting Francis Weyland, Jr., at Boston, Apr. 7, 1825: "'What nations will be second in the new order of things is yet to be decided; but the providence of God has already announced that if true to ourselves, we shall be inevitably first.'"

3. Osborn, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 216. Here the Southern Baptists are seen together with Missouri Lutherans, members of the Church of Christ, Churches of God, and Holiness Churches.
what is more, "Christ is identified with what men conceive to be their finest ideals, their noblest institutions, and their best philosophy."¹

Fundamentalists rarely realize in what ambiguous company they find themselves with regard to such cultural optimism, for a very similar concern was just as germane to the great liberals of the past century.²

What theologically might be called the fundamentalists' greatest weakness--i.e., that they do not recognize "that man's . . . situation is not one of conflict with nature but with God,"³--is at the same time their greatest asset for self-assurance and persuasion. And Southern Baptists find the greater part of their particular genius in exactly this culturo-theological perspective.

The Southern Baptists' most treasured ideals--religious freedom, state-church separation, and the individualistic stand before God--were in theory prepared by liberal rationalists such as John Locke. And this Southern Baptists, together with other fundamentalists of American persuasion, accepted, "although there was little obvious justification for it in the classical Protestant theology. . . . The prevalence of pietistic sentiments [however] . . . enabled this theoretical ambiguity to go largely unquestioned."⁴

(3) The socio-religious identification.

Southern Baptists belong to that branch of American Protestantism which today makes the greatest inroads among the "unchurched" segment

² Cf. ibid., p. 94.
³ Ibid., p. 101.
⁴ Mead, op. cit., p. 5.
of the American people. This phenomenon may partly be explained by the unique way in which Southern Baptists offer the American ideals in a fundamentalist and, therefore, persuasive religious context to all those who seek a simple religious identification in the newly-sophisticated environment of post-World War II America. Partly, also, this phenomenon may be explained by the fact that they provide an organized rallying point for the ideological sentiments of the South, thus initiating the Convention's growth into the majority movement of that region.

The development of the Southern Baptist Convention into a majority movement of south-wide proportions cannot merely be explained by the spectacular numerical growth of the Convention's membership within the last half century, but must be seen in the context of a structural change in the Southern Baptist theological and philosophical self-conception. Whereas Southern Baptists used to distinguish themselves from other Baptists mostly by the geographical circumstance that they lived in the southern states of North America, today this geographical factor is no longer enough to explain the particular Southern Baptist phenomenon. The genius of Southern Baptists today is unique among Baptists on a world scale. In this connection it must constantly be born in mind that Southern Baptist thought is not necessarily identifiable with Baptist thought in general. Rather, Southern Baptists are just as much to be identified with the sentiments of the American South as they are to be defined by their theologically Baptist convictions.

The fact that the Southern Baptist Convention was able to expand at such an amazing rate in the South--so much so that it became the majority movement of that region--gives evidence to the inner change
of Southern Baptist thought patterns on the basis of the character of its ideological environment. That is to say that in the degree to which the Southern Baptist thought accommodated the ideological expressions of its environment, it prepared itself to become this region's representative medium of expression.

When, therefore, Southern Baptists relatively recently shifted their theologico-philosophical emphasis from a classical Reformed position to the more radical outlook of a regionally limited majority group with a minority conscience, and when they express this new emphasis in Anabaptistic terms, this is not to mean that they necessarily re-discovered the Anabaptist heritage for themselves. Rather, this ought to be understood as a Southern Baptist expression, in Anabaptist terms, of their socio-religious majority position in the South, which conceives of itself as a minority group in the wider setting of the all-American scene.¹

It is in this setting that Southern Baptists today represent a unity between religion and American culture. And this role they perform with an optimism which gives this region—the Southern Bible Belt—its typical religious identity.

¹ The use of Anabaptist concepts by Southern Baptists within their particular socio-religious situation is insofar appropriate as here a historical precedence offers itself within the more or less indigenous Baptist tradition. The Anabaptist movement of the 16th century exhibits some features which are rather similar to those of the modern Southern Baptist movement in the southern states of North America. Cf. Winthrop Hudson, "Who Were the Baptists," Baptist Quarterly, 16(1956), 303-312. The term "majority group with a minority conscience" is taken out of context from Will Herberg, Protestant, Catholic, Jew (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1955), p. 250.
4. Southern Baptist Theology

The introductory remarks to this chapter pointed out that Southern Baptists hesitate to formulate theological statements which are not applied to concrete situations. Some of the reasons for this have been discussed, and, as has been observed, the basic reason for this aversion to unapplied creedal deliberations is the Baptist principle of the individual soul's competency before God. Out of this principle, which determines each Baptist's attitude toward his faith, beliefs, traditions, church and denominational organization alike, grows all the various angles and shades of perspective under which he might relate himself to his beliefs, to his faith, to his theology, and to his Convention and its organizations. Always, however, he will know that his direct access to God is the effective check and balance over against all authoritative claims any one of these aforementioned aspects of his religion might have on him—just because his faith, beliefs, tradition, church or denominational theology and organization have no objective value outside himself. Except for God, the Lord Jesus Christ, the New Testament, and the Baptist's direct access to God through the New Testament faith in Christ, nothing is objective in Baptist theological thought—and if it were not for the objectivity of his direct access to God, the Baptist would be theologically a relativist.

However, wherever Baptists see a possibility of applying their theological thought to a political issue in a particular situation, they will not hesitate to unfold the full richness of their tradition of beliefs and theological convictions. In content, the theological loci of such applied deliberations might not be different from the older
Baptist confessions of Amsterdam, London, Philadelphia, or New Hampshire—
all of which have become ill-reputed because they stated the faith simply
as a faith, without being attached to an issue.¹

One such theological statement may be introduced here: the
"Fraternal Addresses of Southern Baptists, U. S. A."² which were com-
piled by five prominent Southern Baptist leaders in May 1919. E. Y.
Mullins, then president of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at
Louisville, Kentucky, the crown theologian of that period, left his
unmistakable imprint on the Addresses. Designed to introduce young
missionary candidates to the proper belief and to supplement their pre-
vious theological education, the Addresses did not hold anything extra-
ordinarily controversial. As their content they present a short treat-
ment of those theological loci which were held in high respect among all
Southern Baptists: inspiration; the trinity; the virgin birth, deity,
vicarious death, resurrection, and second coming of Christ; natural man
and his salvation "through faith upon the condition of repentance and
faith in Christ"; sanctification; definition of a church; ordinances;
Lord's day; relation of church and state; the resurrection of the body
and the future judgment.

1. A study of Baptist history suggests that these early Baptist creedal
confessions stem from the Calvinistic-congregationalist branch of
the Baptist traditional ancestry, which tradition had no qualms about
stating its faith in quasi-authoritative forms. However, as especially
among Southern Baptists, this line of the Reformation tradition be-
came increasingly overshadowed by the Anabaptist left-wing tradition
of the Reformation, the suspicion against anything authoritarian re-
placed the former unreflecting openness over against the character of
such creedal confessions. Cf. R. G. Torbet, "The Beginnings of Bapt-

2. In: India, the Baptist Mission Review, no vol. no. (June 1920),
197-204.
Although the full scale of theological loci had been enlarged upon in the form of a creedal statement, the concrete situation was clearly stated in the purpose of the Addresses—that they should be a guide for "helpful relation and co-operation" to all those holding the same views.\(^1\) However, inasmuch as the Addresses as a statement of faith were endorsed by the Southern Baptist annual convention at Atlanta, Georgia, in May 1920, and inasmuch as among its authors were J. B. Gambrell, then president of the Convention, and W. Ellyson, then president of the Foreign Mission Board,\(^2\) it was felt by some that the Addresses were in character, origin, and function too authoritative.

In the ardent discussion which followed the publication of the Addresses, the content of the Addresses was not the important issue, though it was suggested that some differences might exist among Baptists—not only between Baptists of the North and South, but also among Baptists of each camp—with regard to the theology of the Addresses. The actual point of difference was the problem of the function which was suspected to be ascribed to the Addresses.

Between Edward B. Pollard and J. F. Love, the corresponding secretary of the Foreign Mission Board, an open correspondence was staged in the Religious Herald, the Southern Baptist state paper of Virginia. Pollard opened the discussion with a question as to the purpose of the Addresses: Were they to be a Baptist Credo, a doctrinal consensus for Baptist creedal unity?\(^3\) "If in this critical junction the devil can get

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1. Ibid., p. 197.  
2. Ibid.  
us to debating with one another over religion in its doctrinal expression instead of manifesting concerted effort in its practical and missionary expression, he will chuckle while the world burns."¹ Pollard attacked the Addresses on exactly that point on which his Baptist conscience most clearly felt an intrusion into the sacred prerogative of his soul's competency in religion. In following up his attack, Pollard pointed out that at a time when Southern Baptists were engaged in an effort to raise a million dollar fund for the propagation of the kingdom,² any doctrinal discussion would be an un-Baptistic waste of energy. After having not received a satisfactory answer from J. F. Love, Pollard repeated his attack and pleaded with Dr. Love to remember that the first objective of Baptists is "to work together,"³ rather than to alienate each other over doctrinal arguments or through the impeachment of the integrity of the soul's competency in religion.

The conversation between Pollard and Love came to a satisfactory conclusion only when the latter in his final reply spelled out in detail the concrete situation of the Addresses. In this final response, Dr. Love referred to the Addresses as the "Statement of Belief by the

1. Ibid. Italics mine.

2. Ibid.

3. E. B. Pollard, "Silent on the Main Point," Religious Herald, 93 (March 18, 1920), 2. Pollard's argument with Love had, aside from the controversy over the basic Baptist principle, undertones of accusations concerning some incidents of the nature of policy and practice of inter-Baptist courtesy. On this point Pollard might have felt too strongly, inasmuch as he, as a former Southern Baptist, was active in the north. In his reply, however, Love puts the controversy again into the proper perspective. Cf. J. F. Love, "Breaking Silence on the Main Point," Religious Herald, 93(Apr. 1, 1920), 5f.
Foreign Mission Board,\textsuperscript{1} which was adopted under that name, for use in the Board only, in June 1919. Its function—in addition to introducing missionary candidates to the right belief, and supplementing their theological training—was to have in this statement of belief a basis for the examination of candidates and a formula which might ensure a homogeneous faith of all missionary personnel in the field, a measure which was proven to be necessary after Southern Baptist missionaries in the field, especially in China, had encountered increasingly contacts with ecumenical influences of mission bodies affiliated with the International Missionary Council.\textsuperscript{2}

However, Dr. Love made sure that no authoritative character would be implied in this statement by ruling that the statement should serve as a study outline, and should not be signed by any missionary personnel.\textsuperscript{3}

As minor as this incident might appear, it nevertheless exemplifies exactly what role theological thought proper plays among Southern Baptists. This example was chosen because, on the one hand, it was an incident in which the Foreign Mission Board was centrally involved, giving evidence of the close-to-center position of the Board within the Convention, and because, on the other hand, the handling of this incident shows that the real theological issue involved was not a discussion of the validity of the theological \textit{loci} stated in the Addresses, but was


\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Ibid.}: The "Statement of Belief" for use within the Board was extended by the "Statement of the Foreign Mission Board, 1916," (Annual of S. B. C., 1916, pp. 120-122), which dealt with the anti-comity principle of the Board.

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Ibid.}
rather the discussion of the theological function of the Addresses in relation to the actual religious existence of living and working Baptists. For it is this relationship of theology to the religious life which pre-occupies and determines Baptist theological thought. Only in the role of theology as application to religious life, and as expression of religious experience, can Baptist theology legitimately and genuinely be conceived as a theology of action rather than of being. And it is in this perspective that the subsequent treatise of Baptist ecclesiology must be seen; for the Baptist theology of action determines the genuine Baptist concept of the Church as the dynamic church of the people of God. Only when in Baptist history the dynamic theology of action slows down to a static theology of being, a static and impotent concept of a "Landmarkist Baptist church" can and has appeared. These Landmarkist churches, though they claim to be ultra-Baptistic, actually have surrendered the very Baptist life principle of propagating the Gospel and furthering the kingdom.

i. Baptist Ecclesiology

Baptists would prefer to speak of the New Testament principle of the church rather than of a doctrine of the church. All of their ecclesiological thought, as they see it, is directed by the dynamic New Testament usage of the term church in the sense of the local congregation of the chosen people, the new Israel. In accordance with this principle of thought, Baptists have (1) a concept of the Church, and (2) a concept of a spiritual unity as experienced in the fellowship of churches, rather than an ecclesiastical concept of categories of the
The nature of the Church.1


Baptist thought concerning the concept of the church begins and ends with the Baptist principle of the individual soul's direct access to God, which—as the sum of all religious axioms—is no doctrinal creed, but the axiomatic summa of the New Testament.2 In the Baptist view, this implicit individualism of the New Testament determined all early Christian thought about the church and was recaptured as the most treasured gift of the Reformation, after it had been covered by the "ecclesiastical imperialism" of the fourth and following centuries.3

In this perspective Baptists see the New Testament church primarily as the local congregation,4 which is—in the extension of the Old Testament assembly—the local and visible manifestation of the people of God in Christ participating in the particularity, mission, and fellowship of the chosen people.5 In the New Testament church, God's purpose "to redeem all the families of the earth by means of a Chosen People"6 is continued toward the goal of Christ's purpose for the church, the kingdom, which—as a concept of action—operates not in a void but in the

3. Ibid., pp. 100, 102
6. Goerner, Thus It Is Written, p. 140.
community over which Christ rules. However, as this "New Testament Church [is] first of all a fellowship of experience," it functions firstly as an evangelizing "society," witnessing to the experience of Pentecost, and is secondly a "school of Christianity," teaching Christian living, the divine will and the resulting norms of social adjustment, and thus functions, thirdly, as an "institution of religion." As this institution of religion, the New Testament church is voluntary and individual, for "only in Christianity among religions are personal experience and voluntary committal of the essence of the faith." The dynamic concept of the New Testament church is deduced from Christ's purpose--the kingdom--and from Paul's objective--to submit the universe to the purpose of Christ. To this end the New Testament church is a community of purpose, a community with a task, in which "the function of the Christian--individual and organization--is to lay hold of every situation for the kingdom of God and to relate it in whatever way and measure ... possible to the whole undertaking."

From this perspective of the New Testament church as a local fellowship of experience and action, Baptists would charge the institutional, ecclesiastical, non-Baptist churches with having isolated Christ from his purpose, and offering Christ and his Cross as a

3. Ibid., p. 67.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 69.
7. Ibid., pp. 61-62.
8. Ibid., p. 63.
word of magic for masses of unthinking men who desire the gift of security for heaven without the experience of ethical achievement in a kingdom in which the will of God must be done on earth. What the church has failed to do on a sufficient scale is to make the Cross a working principle in the lives of its members and a living fact in the midst of the world's self-seeking.

(2) The spiritual unity of the fellowship of experience.

The Southern Baptist concept of the New Testament church distinguishes itself basically from an ecclesiastical concept of the church, which connotes an institution unequal to the churches portrayed in the New Testament, and which, in the Southern Baptist perspective, describes a church man-made in its visible organization. In order to differentiate themselves from a static concept of the church, Southern Baptists emphasize in their ecclesiastical thought the church as "a living organism of the Spirit rather than an organization of ecclesiastical institutionalism." The consciousness of "togetherness" is strongly felt in the fellowship of the Spirit, so much so that Southern Baptists can speak about a spiritual unity which is enjoyed by all who adhere to these New Testament type churches. Inasmuch as this experience of spiritual unity embraces Christ and his Spirit, and inasmuch as this experience assumes contemplation on Christ and his Spirit, who, in fact, assure the unity of all individual experiences, a spiritual unity in Christ is given which needs no further expression in terms of an organic and institutional unity. To Baptists, the unity of the body of Christ is conceived by the individual and corporate possession of the Spirit.

1. Ibid., p. 81.
3. Ibid.
of Christ. The experience of this possession provides for a unity which, in the Southern Baptist perspective, "is difficult to understand in terms of a human institution."¹

In this context, then, size and number of churches which share in the experience of this spiritual unity of the body of Christ do not determine or even affect the uniform character of all the experiences of this unity, because the character of this unity is spiritual and qualitative rather than institutional and quantitative.² Compared to the superior spiritual quality of the unity which is already shared and enjoyed by all Baptists, any search for an organic and institutional unity would only be a second best, and would not even be in accordance with the basic experience of New Testament Christianity.

As Southern Baptists see it, the main experience of New Testament Christianity is the uniform experience of Christ and the uniform gift of the individual soul's direct access to God, free from any ecclesiastical or hierarchical medium. At the same time, Southern Baptists cannot see that the New Testament holds any directives toward institutional or organic church unity which, in the Baptist perspective, is merely an administrative, ecclesiastical, and thus a man-made measure excluding the religious axiom of the soul's freedom and direct access to God. Consequently, the principles of religious liberty and of organic unity are irreconcilable in Southern Baptist ecclesiological thought.³ And

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
it is for this very reason that Southern Baptists do not seek organic
union among themselves--much less with other denominations.¹

Thus, unity is among Southern Baptists a matter of spiritually
belonging to Christ, whose presence is experienced in the fellowship of
New Testament Baptist churches. This experience of the spiritual unity
among Baptists does not, however, depend upon the fellowship of churches,
for these churches, as democratic New Testament churches, are only of
secondary importance with regard to the experience of the spiritual
unity in Christ. It is not by the churches that this unity with Christ
is experienced, but it is by the individual soul who comprehends Christ.
And only through the sum of individual experiences of Christ's unity
is there a fellowship of those experiencing unity. In this sense, then,
Southern Baptist churches participate as New Testament churches in a
unity which is characteristic of Christ, rather than of the Church.
And they determine the New Testament character of their churches by the
uniform experience of Christ, as recorded in the New Testament as well
as by the democratic character of New Testament churches, the principle
of religious liberty for which Southern Baptists find likewise in the
New Testament.²

¹. Cf. Shailer Matthews in Tulga, The Case against the Federal Council
of Churches, p. 43, quoted in Estep, op. cit., p. 100.

Ecumenical Review, 10(1958), 403, quoting Mullins, op. cit., p. 232;
note context in which Mullins is quoted by Hughey.
Excursus: The Landmarkist Movement and the Southern Baptist Convention

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Landmarkist movement under the intellectual leadership of Rev. Pendleton and Rev. Graves gained momentum within the Southern Baptist Convention. Over a number of decades this movement caused considerable turmoil among Baptists with regard to the concept of ecclesiology. With reference to non-pulpit affiliation, valid baptism, and closed communion, Landmarkists exhibited a tendency toward high-church exclusivism, which resulted on the policy level in a temporary schism in the fellowship of the Convention over the issue of the competency of the Foreign Mission Board.¹

While the central issue of the Landmarkist controversy was concerned with the purity of the true Gospel churches and with the problem of their proper recognition in terms of a historical succession of New Testament Gospel churches, the movement inflicted its worst damage by challenging the validity and theological integrity of the Convention's foreign mission operations through its Foreign Mission Board. When the Landmarkist churches could not consent to having open communion with those Baptist churches whose true gospel tradition was doubtful, whose ministry was not the pure gospel ministry, and whose baptism was not the valid baptism of a church patterned after the Jerusalem church,² then Landmarkist churches found that they had to object to the central Foreign Mission Board handling their particular missionary enterprise.


for the Landmarkist churches "alone have the authority to missionize the world." ¹ Over against the other churches within the Convention, Landmarkist churches were not only "the only true churches of Jesus Christ in the world today," ² being "simply New Testament churches living and operating in the present hour," ³ but were also the only churches to "have any claim upon Christ as their author and founder" and only they could "establish historical connection with the New Testament churches." ⁴

This unbroken historical succession of local Baptist churches since New Testament times was one of the main marks of true Christian, true Landmarkist churches. ⁵ From this historic succession the Landmarkist churches derived a full local sovereignty which was felt to be threatened by the centralized boards of the Southern Baptist Convention. The Foreign Mission Board of the Convention in particular suffered under this exclusivistic sentiment of the Landmarkist Movement, especially since in 1905 wide areas of the foreign mission constituency in the south-western states broke away and formed the "Baptist General Association" in Texarkana. ⁶

Although the wounds of the Landmarkist schism of over half a century ago have healed to a large degree, there is today still a deeper


². Ibid. ³. Ibid. ⁴. Ibid.

⁵. Cf. R. G. Torbet, Landmarkism (mimeographed paper, read before the historical conference of the Amer. Baptist Conv., Green Lake, Wisc., summer, 1959; no pp.).

threat the Foreign Mission Board may face as a further result of latent Landmarkist tendencies within the Convention. A recent study in the development of Southern Baptist ecclesiology shows a trend toward a Baptist Universal Church. In a comparison with tendencies within the fourth century church, where the faith mattered not so much as institutional uniformity, Southern Baptists seem to think they, too, should enter into a closer corporate union, which, in W. W. Barnes' view, could imply a lessening of effort in mission and evangelism.

One great lesson that Christian history gives us is that periods given over to perfecting internal organization in theology and ecclesiology are poor in spiritual power and missionary fervor. . . . It may be that the present emphasis upon mechanism and unification is the cause of lessened missionary zeal; it may be that it is the result. But in either case, a Church is resulting.

In order to counteract such a development, Barnes suggests that the Southern Baptist Convention keep to its voluntary principle in policy and in practice, for the Convention always has been a voluntary organization of individuals given to the congregational form of church government rather than to "presbygationalism." It might seem that for the moment such ecclesiastical tendencies are successfully checked within the Convention, and this perhaps even by the spectacular missionary promotion of its Foreign Mission Board during the most recent years. The question remains, however, as to whether the Southern Baptists can continue to overlook the centralizing issue of ecclesiology "while recognizing it in civil life in all its phases."

2. Ibid., p. 79.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 80.
The secular and religious situation in which the Southern Baptist Convention finds itself today is still very much opportune to fostering the traditional aspirations of the Landmarkist Movement. Closed communion and valid baptism, together with the concept of historic Baptist churches, are in many Southern Baptist churches today a fait accompli. ¹ Already the Southern Baptist Convention is described by keen observers as an ecclesiastical organization of Southern Baptist churches rather than a convention of individuals, interested in missionary propagation.² The test of the living principles of Landmarkism today within the Southern Baptist Convention may well be the increasing role which the concept of the "visible church" will play in Southern Baptist ecclesiological thought. As yet the Church as the body of Christ is an invisible unity of experience and local churches are still the only visible manifestation of this mystical body of Christ;³ but already can be discerned a development which soon will identify only true Baptist churches with the visible church and with the kingdom, following Landmarkism's most vocal representative, Graves: "The church and the kingdom of Christ is an institution, and organization; he as God of heaven 'set it up', built it and it must therefore be visible."⁴

². Torbet, Landmarkism, n.p.; cf. also Barnes, Study in the Development of Ecclesiology, pp. 72, 73.
iii. Baptist Theology and Religious Individualism

As the basic Baptist principle, the individual's competency in religion has already been discussed in connection with the Southern Baptist's relation to Protestantism, Ecumenism, and the American heritage. In this context this principle was found either to be the key to tension and uneasiness between Southern Baptists and Protestantism and Ecumenism, or to bring into focus the affinity of the Southern Baptists and the American heritage. Again, in the discussion of Baptist ecclesiology, this principle of religious individualism played the major role, determining the concept of the "Baptist New Testament churches" as an association of individual believers and the spiritual unity of the fellowship of experience as a fellowship, the unity of which is based upon the spiritual experience of individuals comprehending the one Christ.

The Baptist principle of the individual's competency in religion failed at that instance when the Landmarkist controversy began to win influence in the ecclesiological thought of wide sections of the Southern Baptist Convention.

In another train of thought, the connection between the principle of religious individualism and the concept of the theology of action was developed. Here again, individualism as a Baptist principle determined the dynamics of this theology, while the lack of Baptist individualism explained the static theology of being.

In an extension of the discussion of Southern Baptist theological thought, the relationship of the Baptist principle of religious individualism could be established with regard to the concept of the priesthood of all believers via the individualistic exegesis of personal re-
This individualistic principle could be found to underly also the Southern Baptist concept of the ordinances, primarily of the believer's baptism, giving the Baptist concept of baptism its character as a symbol of the believer's formerly experienced salvation through his soul's direct access to God. With regard to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, the principle of the individual's competency is seen to be active again in the major, anthropocentric part of the celebration of the Supper, the soul's discernment and self-examination prior to the memorial act of taking the Supper.

Finally, in the believer's relationship to the Word of God, Southern Baptists see in the individualistic principle the key for the interpretation of the Scriptures, which key they consider themselves to have inherited from the Reformation.

As the believer's relationship to the Word of God is determined by the Southern Baptist religious individualism, so is his relationship to society, where man in society before God is second to man as individual before God. As to man's relationship to society, the Baptist principle of individualism gives way to the order of "pure democracy" which is nothing else but the corporative interpretation of the soul's freedom.

5. Ibid., p. 93.
6. Ibid., p. 132.
to direct access to God, now designed to regulate responsibility and discipline, whereby discipline is to balance freedom, on the one hand— not allowing for anarchy—and responsibility, on the other hand—not allowing for lack of freedom, which would be tyranny. The role of discipline is the same in society and in the churches, for Baptist churches are nothing else but societies of believers.

Inasmuch as Southern Baptist theological thought can only be comprehended with regard to concrete situations, this chapter had to follow (rather lengthily) some of the lines of applied theology in the Southern Baptist thought pattern. Although more angles than have been presented influence Southern Baptist theological positions on certain issues, a careful effort was made to explain the major angles. Through the application of the Baptist principle—the individual religious immediacy before God—to theological loci and to policy issues, a framework of Southern Baptist thought is provided over against which operations, policy, and outreach of the Southern Baptist foreign mission enterprise with regard to Yorubaland, Western Nigeria, will be discussed.

CHAPTER III
THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST FOREIGN MISSION ENTERPRISE

Since the mainland of China has been closed to Western mission operations through the consolidation of Communist rule in the decade following the second World War, Southern Baptists have been deprived of their strongest mission field. Although Africa has been a focal point of Southern Baptist missionary attention during all the time of the Foreign Mission Board's history, it was China which arrested most of the missionary imagination of the whole Convention. The emotions and sympathy of Southern Baptists were with the mission field in China, while the mission outreach to Africa was burdened by a slow start, owing to the West African climate and certain historic events.

However, since the second World War, and after the loss of China, Africa represents today a major, if not the major effort of the Southern Baptist foreign mission enterprise. Of all the African continent, Nigeria represents the most intensively penetrated Southern Baptist mission field. Southern Baptist mission labor has been the longest, the most sacrificial, and the most successful in Nigeria. Within Nigeria it has been the most concentrated in Yorubaland.

1. Cf. Routh, in Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists, I, 459. The newly-founded S. B. C., in the process of dissolving business with the Boston Board on July 7, 1845, chose for its foreign mission operation China "as the greatest challenge" and resolved to establish S. B. C. missions in the 5 free ports of China, and "wherever possible in China." Through the development in Monrovia, Liberia, and the work of Lott Carey there, the S. B. C. turned its attention to Africa, but decided to develop Africa only slowly as a mission field "so as not to jeopardize the work in China."
Compared to the Nigerian mission field, the Southern Baptist mission operation in other areas of Africa is relatively young: Ghana, the Central African Federation, Tanganyika, Kenya—to name only the larger regions—have been opened more recently, most of them after World War II. Extension of the mission operation is scheduled not only within each of these territories and states, but new fields also are being surveyed. It must be expected that at some future time, all of the African continent will be covered more or less densely with Southern Baptist mission stations.

In the context of this study, however, attention will be focused primarily on the Southern Baptist mission operations in Yorubaland. It is in that area that the outreach of the Southern Baptist foreign mission enterprise is best developed and documented, and thus lends itself best to the kind of analysis which is the objective of this dissertation.

The beginnings of Baptist mission activity pre-date the foundation of the Southern Baptist Convention and its Foreign Mission Board. Presumably the first Baptist to reach Africa from America was David George, a Negro, born in 1742 in Essex County, Virginia. Mr. George, after having served on the British side during the Revolutionary War, was taken to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and later, together with others, to Sierra Leone.¹ He was followed by Lott Carey, also a Virginia-born Negro, who was commissioned for Monrovia, Liberia, by the Richmond Africa Mission Society in 1815. Although commissioned by Baptists through the

the Richmond Society, this first organized mission endeavor in Africa was soon taken over by the Baptist Foreign Mission Board, then at Boston. Thus, the first Baptist missionaries were Negroes, who went to Sierra Leone and Liberia in order to serve primarily their freed fellow countrymen. The Boston Board in 1830 appointed as its first white missionary the Rev. Benjamin Skinner. He went also to Liberia, where he died within the first year.¹

After the Baptists of the South had seceded from the Triennial Convention, Philadelphia, 1844--having been provoked to such action by the Boston Board on the slavery issue--the administrative split between North and South became inevitable.² This step led to the calling of a South-wide Baptist convention in Atlanta, Georgia, on May 8, 1845. The Africa Mission Society of Richmond was instrumental in initiating this gathering at which the Southern Baptist Convention was founded.³ The already-existing facilities of the Richmond Society were transformed into the foreign missionary organ of the Convention as the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.

Because of the preference given to the China field, the Board did not appoint a missionary to Africa until 1849. When, however, on February 22, 1849, Georgia-born Thomas J. Bowen was commissioned for

1. Ibid.
2. Cf. Routh, in Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists, I, 457f. Routh reports that Baptists of the North and the South attempted to preserve neutrality on the problem of slavery, the then prevailing political issue. From this it must be assumed that neutrality had been kept during the Philadelphia Convention until the Boston Board had offended Southern Baptist feelings through its declaration that it would not appoint "a slaveholder [as] a missionary."
3. Cf. Ibid.
Africa, the Southern Baptists had delegated a truly outstanding strategist. Making his way southward down the African West Coast from Sierra Leone and Liberia, Bowen became the first Southern Baptist to enter Yorubaland. Between 1850 and 1855 Bowen penetrated Yorubaland and made contacts with the already-established stations of the Anglican Church Missionary Society and the then Primitive Methodist Missionary Society at Abeokuta. From there he surveyed the Yoruba hinterland, made with untiring effort personal contacts with Yoruba nobility, acquired permission for later-to-be established Baptist mission stations, and returned to Richmond equipped with a working knowledge of the Yoruba language.\(^1\) Bowen's own account of these years of missionary travel, prospecting, surveying and adventure belongs to the best, most mature and far-sighted of early missionary literature.\(^2\)

As devoted, as sacrificial, and as brilliant as early Southern Baptist mission work was on the personal level, as problematic was this beginning with regard to the necessary co-operation of the larger Southern Baptist mission constituency. Suitable personal and financial support were hard to come by in those early days because of a certain "anti-missionary spirit" in many southern congregations.\(^3\) Against the growth of mission enthusiasm in the North, the South resisted with an understandable anti-Northern, anti-Boston Board sentiment, attacking the work of its own Foreign Mission Board as attempts to dominate the

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churches of the Convention and their highly cherished independence.\footnote{1}

Although this anti-missionary spirit had grown already since the 1820's, this attitude must be noted in connection with the later developed anti-missionary phase of the Landmarkist movement within the Convention.\footnote{2}

1. The Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention

"It is the purpose of the Convention to provide a general organization for Baptists in the United States and its territories for the promotion of Christian missions at home and abroad, and any other subject such as Christian education, benevolent enterprises, and social services which it may deem proper and advisable for the furtherance of the kingdom of God."\footnote{3}

In these words of the Constitution--essentially unchanged since 1845--the Southern Baptist foreign mission enterprise has its institutional basis. Although there has been an anti-missionary sentiment within the Convention in the past--influenced by the politically humiliating experience of the post-Civil War restitution of the Southland and the inner Baptist trend of thought of the Landmarkist movement--the sense of missionary obligation has been an integral part of the Convention since its beginnings. Inasmuch as now, perhaps more than ever, this anti-missionary spirit has been overcome within the Convention, the whole existence of the Southern Baptist Convention can rightly be conceived

\footnote{1}Ibid., I, 460. Routh reports these sentiments with the words of a contemporary correspondent: "In my opinion every individual who contributes to the missionary operation is ignorantly contributing to the downfall of the American Republic."

\footnote{2}Ibid.

only as an organization designed to promote the gospel and to further the kingdom. As the previous chapter pointed out, the Convention is explicitly not a church, an institutional ecclesia. In fact, Article II of the Constitution may legitimately be conceived only as the institutional formulation of the basic Baptist principle of individual freedom for action in the cause of the kingdom, for which—institutionally—the Convention is an expedient organization. And inasmuch as the Convention represents this expedient organization for Baptists within the "United States and its territories," in that same measure the Foreign Mission Board represents abroad this same purpose of Southern Baptists, that is, the promotion of the gospel and the furtherance of the kingdom. It is therefore the basic principle of the Convention and its Boards to be dynamic organizations of action.

This principle has been time and again described in terms which might be paraphrased as follows: Baptists are organized beyond the local level only in order to work together rather than to demonstrate a unified belief which—as goes without saying—in any case underlies the entire Baptist heritage on the sole basis of the New Testament, as Baptists see it.1

Inasmuch, then, as the Foreign Mission Board is an integral and prominent part of the Southern Baptist Convention, it shares the same principle which underlies the Convention. Parallel to the Convention, the Board is subject to the same principle that rules the Convention.

In order to point up the inter-relation of Convention and Board,

the events surrounding the foundation of the Southern Baptist Convention may be recalled in their functional perspective. It was no coincidence that it was the Richmond Africa Mission Society, operating for Virginia Baptists since 1815, which called a South-wide convention of Baptists to Atlanta, Georgia, after the split in 1844. The Southern Baptist Convention came into being as a body primarily concerned with missions, upon the initiative of a mission society.

1. Commission and Purpose

As the foremost agency of the Convention, the Foreign Mission Board is commissioned to execute abroad the same purpose to which the Convention is committed at home. For this reason the Constitution of the Southern Baptist Convention is, in effect, also the obligatory Constitution of the Foreign Mission Board. The Board is authorized to employ it in each local situation abroad so as to suit the needs of the particular field situation, provided it remains compatible with Baptist principles and organizations. To this end the Board will always strive to establish local "Associations" or "Conventions" on logical national or ethnic bases.\(^1\) Only with the establishment of new Conventions or Associations is any mission work of the Southern Baptist Convention legally taken out of the Southern Baptist context.\(^2\) Through this delegation of authority

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2. Cf. the discussion of the underlying problems which is given by Robert Andrew Baker in his Ph. D. dissertation, "Relation Between Northern and Southern Baptists," pp. 78-86. The Southern Baptist Boards were subordinated under the Convention and as such were not as decentralized as the American (Northern) Baptist "societies" which had been organized solely for the execution of a particular task, such as missions. Baker maintains that through the identification of Convention and Board, the Southern Baptists had intro-
to non-American ethnic or regional groups of Baptists—although they are won through Southern Baptist missionary effort—the interplay of the Southern Baptist Convention and its Foreign Mission Board remains free from non-indigenous, non-Southern Baptist factors, and remains free for the singly important execution of the primary purpose: world evangelism. Thus a unity of purpose within the Convention and its agencies is maintained, a unity which interlaces planning and strategy of the entire Convention.

Our oneness becomes most evident in the one basic purpose which underlies all the plans and actions of the Executive Committee. World Evangelism is the ultimate objective by which all plans and requests are evaluated. Local thinking that is not related to world evangelism cannot command serious attention in the meetings of the Executive Committee.

On yet a deeper level of defining the purpose of the Southern Baptist foreign mission enterprise lies the relation between the purpose and the intended result of the foreign mission effort. World evangelism does not stop with "communicating the gospel of redemption," but calls for great emphasis upon the establishment and development of churches. As Baptist churches, "these churches must [of course] follow the New

duced a concept of greater centralization, which in this form was new to American Baptism, and which relates to non-Baptistic, Congregational and Presbyterian influences, which later—even within the Foreign Mission Board—have been amplified by centralizing Landmarkist tendencies within the Convention. Baker has reason to believe that the centralization of Boards as agencies or branches of the Convention are the result of the Landmarkist influences. However, this account does not consider satisfactorily the basic and unifying purpose of the Convention: world evangelism.

3. Ibid.
Testament pattern, which pattern lies beyond the limitations and boundaries of culture and assures the proper indigeneity of those churches. The purpose of world evangelism is only then completely fulfilled when these indigenous and self-governing New Testament churches themselves become "centers of evangelism."

Thus lies within the scope and definition of the purpose of the Southern Baptist foreign mission enterprise what has been pointed out above: the creation of new Baptist Conventions, free and independent according to the basic Baptist principle; free also from the Southern Baptist Convention. The distinct marks of this independence are self-governing, evangelizing New Testament churches, grouped in independent conventions or associations. Measured against these marks, the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention has reached its objective, fulfilled its purpose to a high degree in Yorubaland. The Nigerian Baptist Convention and its Home and Foreign Mission Board witness to this.

ii. Mission Theology

In the previous chapter the discussion of Baptist theology established a concept of a theology of action which was found to underly all Baptist theological thought. In the same sense as Baptists prefer to state their beliefs with regard to particular situations, they also are geared to applying their theological thought to an active task, to a purpose. Primarily this purpose is the missionary obligation of the New Testament churches.

1. Ibid. 2. Ibid., p. 4. 3. Ibid.
The very concept of mission expresses the dynamic component of the church. In the perspective of an active Baptist ecclesiological thought pattern, the missionary obligation of the church becomes the nature, rather than the function of New Testament churches and of their expedient organization, the Southern Baptist Convention. Consequently, all Baptist theological thought about missions reflects on the active, the dynamic component of the mission concept, and deals with this active component as it relates to the purpose, the task and the nature of the New Testament churches. Inasmuch, however, as these churches themselves are defined as local congregations of baptized believers, Baptist theological thought would ultimately reduce the mission task to the realm of responsibility of the individual believer, thus remaining true to the Baptist principle of the individual's freedom, responsibility and immediacy before God.

The Southern Baptist Convention possessed in W. O. Carver its most significant theoretician with regard to mission theology. Inasmuch as Carver's background was in the field of New Testament studies, it was the biblical foundation of missions which was his main concern. In his *Missions in the Plan of the Ages* Carver develops a concept of the church's mission which leans strongly on Ephesians' concept of the

1. Cf. the definition of the purpose of the Convention in Art. II of the Constitution, cited above, according to which the Convention has no purpose other than to be an organization of Baptists--not of Baptist churches [!]--for the action of promoting Christian missions, etc.


church's world mission, a theme which he more recently has taken up again and ecclesiologically remodeled in his book, *The Glory of God in the Christian Calling*.¹

Today Carver's prominent disciple, H. Cornell Goerner, fills the role of the missionary theologian within the Southern Baptist Convention. Like his teacher, Goerner strives to lay biblical foundations for a theology of missions. Oriented on the Baptist principle of the efficacy of the individual, Goerner begins the development of his mission theological thought with the missionary function of the New Testament APOSTOLOS.² It was the apostles' function to pass on to others their knowledge of Christ's purpose with them; to work in His name in His kingdom. In this role the apostles were only "the necessary point of beginning, . . . so that whatever applied to the apostles applied to every convert and applies to every Christian today."³ Thus Christ's command for world mission rests with the individual, and only insofar as those individuals are organized as baptized believers in local churches can they delegate the responsibility which this command holds, to such a local church, which then becomes the "visible agency of God's redemptive program."⁴

The local church, however, never becomes autonomous in the sense that by its mere virtue of being a church it could commission an individual missionary to carry out the Dominical Command of world evangeli-

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2. Goerner, *Thus It Is Written*, p. 162.
zation. This authority comes to a local Baptist church only insofar as it holds in trust the responsibilities of all its believers to the world mission of Christ. And when the Foreign Mission Board commissions Southern Baptist missionaries, it holds its authority to do so only insofar as it is commissioned by the Convention of the Southern Baptists, who have all channeled their responsibilities as believers in world evangelization through their local churches to the Convention and its Foreign Mission Board.

Thus, strictly speaking, neither the Convention nor the Foreign Mission Board--and the churches only insofar as they stand for the people--have any authority whatsoever to delegate a Southern Baptist missionary to the prime task of Christ's purpose: His world mission.

And it is exactly at this point that a number of Baptists, mostly during the gospel mission controversy (late 1880's to early 1890's)¹ challenged the Convention and its Boards as to the upholding of their individual rights as well as on their suspicion of the ecclesiastical authority of the organizations² which were appointed only by the sum total of individual Baptist believers.

Southern Baptist mission theology, then, is once more only con-

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2. A historically interesting account with regard to policy and structure changes within the Board for over a period of half a century (1852-1902) is preserved in T. B. Crawford, *Evolution in Mission Views; or Growth of Gospel Mission Principles in My Own Mind* (Fulton, Ky.: Ed. Scarsboro, Publ., 1903). This book, a collection of letters, portrays the tension--in view of the China field--between the individual Baptist spirit, based on semi-Landmarkist concepts, and the organizational structure of the Foreign Mission Board, which is charged to maintain some form of "ecclesiastical authority" over its personnel and the field.
ceivable as an individual theology of action expressing in theological terms the co-ordination of the believer's direct relationship to God and an individual responsibility toward world mission, resulting therefrom. The *summa* of such individual responsibilities is carried on behalf of all Southern Baptists by the Convention and its Foreign Mission Board.

Any Southern Baptist thought concerning form and practicability of the execution of this inherent sum of missionary responsibilities, leads—as applied theological thought—to the theologically determined field of mission policy and strategy.

iii. Mission Policy and Strategy

"The basic policy of the Foreign Mission Board is to send forth missionaries who will lead people to Christ and bring them into the fellowship of New Testament churches that project, through their associations and conventions, programs of ministry as led by the Holy Spirit."¹

The dynamic principle of Southern Baptist theology has identified the nature and purpose of New Testament churches with the task of the world mission of Christ. The most indigenous expression of an explicit Southern Baptist mission theology, then, is the determination of a New Testament church as a mission church, and this so exclusively that any further missiological expression is directed toward the execution of the Southern Baptist mission purpose. As such—and in accordance with the Baptist practice of formulating theological convictions only in connection with a specifically given situation—any missiological deliberation beyond the statement that Southern Baptist churches, their Conven-

tion and their Foreign Mission Board are essentially missionary organi-
zations, is implicitly already a statement of mission policy or strategy. Here again the dividing line between what is policy and what is strategy is necessarily and practically non-existent, because, being organized in New Testament churches, Southern Baptists execute their missionary re-
sponsibilities after the example of the New Testament itself. In this sense the Southern Baptists have a theological basis for their mission policy and strategy which determines mode and modification of the exe-
cution of their world mission in accordance with their understanding of the New Testament.

In three examples, given below, there will be exemplified the intri-
cate relation which exists between Southern Baptist missiological thought processes and Southern Baptist mission policy and strategy. These ex-
amples are so selected that in reference to them subsequently a con-
densed survey can be given of the major lines of concerns of mission policy and strategy: (a) Personnel policy, (b) policy and strategy of Southern Baptist missionary advance, and (c) the position of the Southern Baptist political or ideological identification. The policy of Convention and Board with regard to inter-church and ecumenical co-operation has already been discussed in the previous chapter.

(a) The Southern Baptist missionary performing the preaching function of evangelism, follows the example of Christ with regard to a simple language, everyday illustrations, and sympathy toward all social strata, rich and poor. Following this example of Christ, the missionary is impressed with the fact that, if he refrains from his own ideas and conveys faith-

1. Ibid., p. 8.
fully the word of his Lord, his message will come to the hearers with the same note of authority.\textsuperscript{1} Through this imitation of Christ, which as an act of obedience to the Scriptural Christ is a theological application to the given situation of preaching evangelism, Southern Baptists have implicitly made a policy decision with regard to the mode of preaching Christ.

(b) When Dr. Cauthen, the executive secretary of the Foreign Mission Board, looks into the form of Pauline mission operations and decides—in analogy to the example set in Acts—that "a strategy of world evangelism calls for establishing in the cities great centers of influence from which large surrounding areas may be evangelized,"\textsuperscript{2} then this too is a strategy decision on the basis of the New Testament, a strategy decision arrived at through theological application.

(c) The function of the theological substructure in Southern Baptist mission political and mission strategical thought remains even then the same if an outwardly secular policy concern should precede the theological concern. For example, the late Dr. Rankin developed in an editorial of \textit{Commission}, a Southern Baptist view of "Today's Missionary Imperatives."\textsuperscript{3} Inquiring into the motivation of Southern Baptist mission impulses today and attempting to ascertain whether they are based on the desire to be theologically correct or if "the power of Christ's love"\textsuperscript{4} compels and fosters them, Dr. Rankin lists three missionary im-

\begin{itemize}
  \item 1. \textit{Ibid.}
  \item 2. \textit{Ibid.}, p. 12.
  \item 4. \textit{Ibid.}
\end{itemize}
peratives, in this order: mission, because of self-preservation, for "unless this world is won to Christ, we are doomed"; mission, because of sympathy for suffering mankind, for "it is even more imperative that we do all in our power to help win the world for Christ than it is that we win any kind of world war"; and, mission because of the Dominical Command, in order "that the world may know and that the world may believe." The first two imperatives cannot derive their theological substructure from the third imperative, the Dominical Command, but receive their theological weight through the confrontation with "the power of Christ's love," which, in a dynamic theological perspective, typical for Southern Baptists, precedes the theological weight of the Dominical Command. Thus Rankin has linked his three missionary imperatives to "the imperative that caused God to send Jesus into the world [which] was his love."n

Weighing the missionary imperatives of self-preservation and sympathy for suffering mankind against the New Testament imperative of the Dominical Command, it becomes evident that the first imperative particularly—and to a certain degree also the second one—does not measure up to the same theological obligation as that of the immediate New Testament imperative. A motivation for missions on the basis of self-preservation and sympathy for suffering mankind can just as easily be found to satisfy secular interests as it may influence the mission of the Church. And it is only by subordinating these imperatives to God's love that Southern Baptists have invested all three of these

1. Ibid. 2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. 4. Ibid.
imperatives with a theological substructure. Such substructure would not be needed for the Dominical Command, were it alone the motivating missionary imperative.

(1) Personnel policy and strategy.

Together with the world missionary movement, Southern Baptists are aware that the present world-wide mission situation stands in need of bold imagination with regard to mission personnel recruiting, training, and placement.¹ Open-mindedly they share the experiences of mission agencies around the world with regard to the changing requirements and qualifications for foreign missionaries, and subscribe to a number of recent international policy statements concerning the new look of missionary personnel.² In particular, Southern Baptists take notice of the changing role of the missionary in the setting of today's under-developed countries. Realizing that the growing nationalistic unrest in many mission fields makes the role of the missionary a delicate one, the Foreign Mission Board has very sensitively readjusted its policy with regard to this issue. Sympathetic to Baptists in mission churches in under-developed countries who long for self-government and independence.


² A remarkable example in this connection is the rich use H. C. Goerner made of I. M. C. material related to the subject. Cf. Goerner, Let's Listen, pp. 23-26, quoting extensively from the Madras Series, Vol. IV, and from reports of the Whitby Conference of the I. M. C., (1947). Special importance must be given to this inasmuch as it appears in a Southern Baptist Study Book of the 1953 series, i.e. three years after the F. M. B. had discontinued its co-operation with the (former) North American Foreign Mission Conference.
also in church matters, the Board has decided to foster this trend toward national initiative and leadership, which "is the very development that is our objective in all mission fields." 1

Inasmuch, then, as "the role of the missionary today is more challenging than ever before in the history of Christian missions," 2 it is the policy of the Board to be very selective in securing its missionary candidates. Special emphasis is put on the qualification of candidates, who not only have to have a good academic rating from accredited institutions, have to be physically and emotionally stable and of a certain age, but who are also expected to have a "call of God" to missionary work as a lifetime commitment and "a genuine experience of the regenerating grace of God and a clear understanding and acceptance of the Holy Scripture as the Word of God." 3 In addition to all these qualifications, it is the policy of the Personnel Department of the Board to abstain from any "rush-appointments" of candidates, so as to do no injustice to either the Board or the candidate. 4

In order to meet the great challenge which awaits the foreign mission enterprise of the Southern Baptist Convention around the world, the Board continues to follow the objective of the advance program launched by Dr. Rankin in 1948, which envisioned a goal of 1,750 missionaries under appointment by 1964, 5 together with an annual budget of

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2. Ibid.
$10,000,000.00. During 1964, the year of the Baptist Jubilee Advance, the number of missionaries is scheduled to reach 2000.¹

As a reservoir for its candidates, the Foreign Mission Board can draw on a wide circle of missionary volunteers. This circle numbered in 1956 around 3,675.² The fact that the Convention has such an impressive resource of personnel at its disposal underlines only once more the place of major importance which foreign missions occupy among Southern Baptists; and this the more, as "the requirements for missionary appointment are high [and] the demands in training, dedication and service are rigorous."³

Although the largest number of requests from the fields is always for "missionary ministers of the Gospel,"⁴ many specialized missionaries are needed for such services as business, education, and medicine.

Inasmuch as the Foreign Mission Board does not initially train its candidates, it is interesting to mention in passing a study by H. C. Goerner, which traces the origin of mission candidates to Southern Baptist institutions, in particular to the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary and its affiliated Carver School of Missions and Social Work.⁵

Up to January 1, 1959, 39 per cent of the total of the Southern Baptist mission force has been at one time or another trained in this great

³. Ibid.
institution. However, Goerner points out that the five other Southern Baptist seminaries are fast closing in on the number of alumni who are in Southern Baptist foreign mission service. This is especially true for Southwestern Seminary at Fort Worth, Texas, an institution traditionally thought of as conservative.

Thus, the foreign mission enterprise of the Southern Baptists has become increasingly a Convention-wide undertaking, recruiting its personnel from all wings and regions of the Southern Baptist constituency.

(2) Policy and Strategy of the Southern Baptists in Missionary Advance.

Southern Baptists feel an urgent call toward the evangelistic missionary witness on a world scale, a type of witness which they consider to be particularly their prerogative. This global challenge is particularly attested by the missionary advance program of the Southern Baptist Convention, the execution of which demands presently all missionary imagination, resources, and planning.

In this context, Southern Baptist foreign mission policy planning is undergoing a constant re-orientation, not only with regard to geographical expansion of the mission work, but also with regard to new strategical approaches in the method of mission work itself. Constantly Southern Baptists are in the process of developing new approaches to the forms of evangelism. Based on the insight "that every principle of evangelism and church development used at the home base can be applied

1. Ibid., p. 137.
throughout the world, Southern Baptists differentiate and tailor their evangelistic approach to the needs of city, rural area, school and university. This differentiated approach had proven itself to be successful at the home base and on the mission field alike. The Foreign Mission Board is aware of the fact that "details of procedure must be adjusted to local situations, but the principles involved can be used anywhere." Nevertheless, the Board feels that a "balance between American help and national initiative is essential" in this process of adopting well proven Southern Baptist principles of evangelism and church development. And it is this national initiative, based upon its indigenous heritage, which will keep Southern Baptist home base methods from being duplicated too narrowly.

It remains to be noted that this policy of differentiation—in the perspective of Southern Baptist missiological reflection—is not without the legitimizing theological substructure. Focusing on the part of the Dominical Command which demands of any missionary effort to "make disciples" (Matthew 28:19), Southern Baptist missionaries are reminded "so to live, pray and use all means of Christian witness as to help people accept Christ as Saviour and Lord." 

2. Ibid. Cf. also: M. T. Rankin, "Method and Organizations," Commission, 16(1953), 137.
4. Rankin, in Commission, 16(1953), 137.
5. Cf. ibid.
6. Cauthen, in By All Means, p. 10. Italics mine. Note the title of this Study Book which deals in its scope primarily with the explication of the theme of the differentiated approach to the task of missionary evangelism.
Of equal importance as the intensification of the mission work through differentiation is the extension of this work through geographical advance. In the extent to which Southern Baptist mission work is successful—that is, in the extent to which the Foreign Mission Board succeeds in fulfilling its policy of establishing self-supporting, self-propagating, and self-directing Baptist churches and conventions—the missionary force is set free to advance into regions still unoccupied by Southern Baptists.¹

Together with the world missionary movement, Southern Baptists are concerned about the wide areas in Africa which have not yet been reached or are only insufficiently occupied by evangelistic mission agencies. Southern Baptists accept the challenge of 50,000,000 "potential Christians" in Africa alone, as their own challenge, and this the more as they see themselves in Africa in competition with Islam and Communism: "Thus it is evident, the unfinished task is staggering. In the meantime three outstanding Moslem political and religious leaders met in their most sacred city, Mecca, and declared that the peoples of Africa must be saved from Communism and Christianity."²

In the process of missionary advance, Southern Baptist stations have been opened in Ghana, the Federation, Kenya, and Tanganyika. The advance is contemplated to include also Uganda and French speaking West Africa, in which latter area the Foreign Mission Board is at present


preparing to establish a missionary bridgehead. This newly-to-be opened mission field in French speaking West Africa exemplifies some Southern Baptist policy considerations and strategical planning.

After this part of West Africa had been under consideration as a prospective field for over two years, the Executive Secretary, Dr. Cauthen, and the Africa Secretary, Dr. Goerner, undertook a survey trip during the summer of 1959. As a result of this survey, it was recommended by the Area Committee that one Southern Baptist missionary couple be placed at Conakry, the capital of Guinea, with the assignment to study "the French language and at the same time to offer their services in the teaching of English." Strategically, it is hoped that this work might expand into a "small private school, which in turn might develop into a Baptist secondary school," which development would justify the sending of further educational and, eventually, medical personnel to the area.

Of particular interest in this context are the policy considerations behind the choice of Conakry as a first contact point. On the one hand, the choice of Conakry is in line with the Board's policy of establishing strong missionary centers in metropolitan areas, thus preparing a spread of the missionary outreach into the adjacent hinterland.

1. Cf. Cauthen and West, in Commission, 20(1957), 173f. Note that the advance into French speaking West Africa was under consideration from at least 1957.

2. The impression of this journey and the subsequent considerations were presented to the Foreign Mission Board by Dr. Goerner: Cf. H. C. Goerner, "Report to the Board" (Richmond: unpublished memorandum, Sept. 10, 1959).

3. Ibid., p. 7.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.
On the other hand, however, Conakry, as the capital of Guinea—now fully independent from France—certainly offers advantages over against the other capital cities in this area. The main advantage in the Southern Baptist perspective is, no doubt, that the Fédération Évangélique des Sociétés Missionaires Protestantes (Dakar), the co-operative council of all Protestant agencies in French African territories, cannot influence Southern Baptist approaches in independent Guinea through visa restrictions, via Paris. Under the leadership of the French Reformed Paris Mission Society, all Protestant agencies co-operating in the Fédération Évangélique adhere to comity agreements. Although the secretaries of the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board feel "that there is much room for the type of ministry which Southern Baptists could offer in this part of Africa,"¹ this would mean in the case of the Board's advance in areas other than Guinea that Southern Baptists would have to be "sponsored" by one of the member societies of the Fédération Évangélique. Sponsorship, however, "would involve the agreement on our [Southern Baptist] part to the principle of comity and the limitation of our work to certain assigned areas. At present [therefore] we do not feel inclined to recommend entrance into these republics under conditions that would be prescribed by the Evangelical Federation."² Inasmuch as Guinea is independent from France, such alliance with the Federation is unnecessary and "might actually prove to be a handicap, since its alignments in the past have been so largely with the colonial regime."³

The report suggests that an approach based upon similar considerations can be contemplated for Togo, a French territory which receives

1. Ibid., p. 6. 2. Ibid. 3. Ibid., p. 7.
its independence in 1960.\footnote{Ibid.}

(3) Southern Baptist political and ideological identification.

In the above attempt to bring into focus the relation between policy and underlying theological thought, three missionary imperatives were discussed, of which two were seemingly of a more or less secular character. Theologically these imperatives of "self-preservation" and "sympathy with suffering mankind" were invested with the "power of Christ's love," through which these imperatives were to be transformed into missionary impulses. Politically or ideologically, however, these missionary imperatives identify the resulting missionary action as being anti-Communistic in character.

Within the Southern Baptist thought pattern it is presumedly quite illegitimate to separate these secular imperatives from the ultimate and third imperative, Christ's command, especially inasmuch as through such separation these imperatives would lose their religious, their Christian identification. At the same time, however, these secular impulses for missionary action, when linked to the Dominical Command, force upon Christ's missionary command a perspective which is at least theologically uncomfortable, if not non-theological. And yet this close relationship between ideological anti-Communism and theological imitatio Christi, embedded in a religious response to the power of Christ's love, marks a genuine feature of the Southern Baptist foreign mission enterprise.

Thus it is always an underlying objective of Southern Baptist mis-
sion advance to stem the tide of Communist progress, although this missionary outreach is also seen to be the obedient response to "what our Lord has laid upon us."\(^2\)

The underlying anti-Communist character of the mission impulses as political imperative becomes more clear when the Southern Baptist mission expansion is seen as a quantitative attempt to block Communist advance in countries of rapid social change, and even more so when it is recognized as a qualitative attempt to counteract Communism ideologically.

In the first aspect—the encounter of Southern Baptists with Communism—the Southern Baptists are able to point out that in addition to blocking the Communist advance they also follow the Dominical Command. In the second aspect—that of ideological involvement with Communism—they show that they conceive of Christ's call to evangelism as a call to anti-Communist evangelism, thus binding Christ too simply, too exclusively to the political camp of the West.

This ideological identification with anti-Communist interests becomes evident in the re-appointment of the "Committee on World Peace" by the 1958 Annual Convention, and the implications which this anti-Communist identification hold for the ideological character of the Southern Baptist foreign mission objective. The "Committee on World Peace" previously existed for the period 1943 to 1946.\(^3\) Although its

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3. The "Committee on World Peace" was first appointed upon the initiative of the Foreign Mission Board on Dec. 15, 1943; cf. *Annual of S. B. C. 1959*, p. 450.
report to the 1959 Annual Convention is not explicitly anti-Communist in its recommendation for the pursuit of world peace, other than to exert a Christian influence upon the message which America proclaims to the world, its implicitly anti-Communist interests are spelled out by B. J. Cauthen, one of its nine members, in an editorial titled "World Peace and Missions." Feeling the Communist threat upon the avowed Baptist ideal of religious and individual liberty, Dr. Cauthen stresses, as one aspect of the Southern Baptist missionary objective, the Christian concept of peace over against that of Communism. In a peace under Communist control, "human liberties, moral and spiritual values, and life itself must be held expendable in order to attain this purpose." However, inasmuch as exactly these human liberties, moral and spiritual values, and individual life determine the highest Baptist good, Southern Baptists find themselves opposed to a concept of peace which--as they see it--would operate without their highest axioms. And consequently, Southern Baptists find themselves, in principle, opposed to Communism. Against Communist promises for peace "the missionary enterprise is the real hope for world peace," alone creating the condition in which it can last: "The gospel of Christ provides the motive for peace." In this perspective, the Southern Baptist missionary abroad is called to counteract Communist advances and infiltration, by evangelizing, by promoting international understanding and good will, and by correcting mis-

1. Ibid., p. 451.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
conceptions about the United States. ¹ "The appointment of the Committee on World Peace is a fresh call to advance in world evangelization." ²

By thus equating Christ's missionary command for world evangelization with primarily American anti-Communist interests, and by determining such anti-Communist evangelism as a missionary imperative, the Southern Baptist foreign mission enterprise is politically and ideologically identified as anti-Communist in character. And it is this ideologically anti-Communist identification, together with the intrinsically intertwined substructure of indigenous Baptist theological thought concepts, which influence Southern Baptist policy and strategy decisions with regard to the mode of missionary action.

2. The Foreign Mission Board, Its Position and Role Within the Southern Baptist Convention

The links that connect the Foreign Mission Board with the Convention are manifold and of various natures. Not only is the Board constitutionally an integral part of the Convention, but it is also the goal, incentive and initiator of a number of Convention-wide activities and programs.

Thus, the Women's Missionary Union and the Baptist Brotherhood have made it their responsibly to further all mission interests—both home and foreign—within the Convention on the local and state level. As an annual Convention-wide event, the Lottie Moon Christmas Offering provides for a period of prayer, consecration, and meditation, which culminates

2. Ibid.
in the actual offering of a spontaneous foreign mission fund. This special offering has increased to $7,000,000 annually.\(^1\)

This sum is about matched by a pledged drive, the Co-operative Program, which--after having been created in 1925--had increased to an amount of $7,608,187 in 1958.\(^2\) Both the Lottie Moon Christmas offering and the Co-operative Program are carried by the mission-minded constituency within the Convention. This Southern Baptist mission constituency is considered to be more liberal and open-minded than Southern Baptists in general. As a reason for this more liberal attitude has been suggested the close relation between the race question and the foreign mission work.\(^3\)

i. Institutional Position

The Foreign Mission Board is one of the "general boards of the Convention,"\(^4\) and, together with the Home Mission Board, was established at the foundation of the Convention in 1845. The purpose of the Foreign Mission Board is parallel to that of the Convention, that is "to provide a general organization for Baptists . . . for the promotion of Christian missions . . . abroad."\(^5\) As an agency of the Convention, the Foreign

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1. From an interview with Dr. E. S. West, Secretary of Personnel of the F. M. B., Sept. 11, 1959.


3. From the interview with Dr. E. S. West, cited above.


5. Art. II, ibid.
Mission Board has no constitution outside the Constitution of the Convention, and it is thus an integral part of the Southern Baptist Convention.

The Convention-wide representation on the board of the Foreign Mission Board is assured by Article VI of the Constitution, according to which each co-operating state is to delegate one member to the board, in addition to the eighteen board members of the city of Richmond and state of Virginia. Furthermore, additional members are chosen, one from each state "having 500,000 members, and another additional member for each additional 250,000 members in such state."¹ This board is the governing body of the Foreign Mission Board. To it all officers—that is, secretaries—of the Board are responsible.²

The relationship between Convention and Board is reciprocal inasmuch as "all officers and members of all boards and all missionaries of the Convention appointed by its board shall be members of regular Baptist churches co-operating with this Convention."³

In order to assure a truly democratic executive body, acting "for the Convention ad interim in all matters not otherwise provided for,"⁴ no member of the board or salaried officer or secretary shall be a member of the Executive Committee of the Convention.⁵

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1. Art. VI, ibid.
3. Art. VIII, ibid.
4. By-law 9, section (5), subsection (a), ibid.
5. Cf. By-law 9, section (1), ibid., p. 31.
ii. Strategic Role

As an agency of the Convention, the Foreign Mission Board commands a prominent position within the life of the Convention. Drawing its personnel from all strata and areas of the Southern Baptist constituency, the Board represents a fair cross-section of the Convention. Its missionaries come from Southern Baptist institutions of higher learning and from Southern Baptist Seminaries, thus giving the Board an academically well-qualified working force, both at home and abroad. The popularity of the foreign mission enterprise among Southern Baptists has steadily increased the reservoir of mission volunteers. Ministers with years of practical experience offer themselves for missionary service, and all are asked "to hold open in prayer the question of going personally to the mission field until they are well beyond the normal appointment age of 32 or have been disqualified by ill health."  

Against the background of such an atmosphere of potential and actual good will within the Convention, the Board is now mustering its full imagination and impact to achieve the high strategical goal set for the "Baptist Jubilee Advance" in 1964. Two thousand missionaries are scheduled to be under appointment by the end of that year, of whom two hundred will be commissioned in 1964 alone.  

As it is planned to create one unbroken field of Southern Baptist

4. Ibid.
mission operations from East Pakistan to the Near East, so it is hoped to penetrate the whole continent of Africa with strategically placed stations.¹ That this goal is realistic has repeatedly been confirmed. The necessary leadership is at hand in the Board. The climate within the Convention is favorable. And the role which the Foreign Mission Board plays within the Convention will make the realization of the goal possible.

¹ Ibid.
CHAPTER IV

THE SOUTHERN BAPTISTS IN YORUBALAND,

WESTERN NIGERIA

Nigeria, like all of Africa, has in the years since World War II left its impression more on the political than on the religious imagination of the world.

Up to the early 1940's, Christians around the world had seen Africa mostly through missionary eyes. Today, Africa itself speaks directly to the whole world through its political aspirations, its nationalistic hopes for the future, and its process of social change and economic development, thus overshadowing the traditional picture which had been painted by the Christian missionaries. And the missionaries especially, by virtue of their long and intimate contact with Africa and the Africans, are today among those who most vividly hear the new voice of this great continent, although these same missionaries are not always the ones to understand best the change of pace of the new Africa.

Like all others, so also Southern Baptist missionaries hear and feel the new, the hectic African pulse-beat; and they are enabled to detect it best in Western Nigeria where they have been now for 110 years. They too, like other missionaries, are divided into those who do and those who do not fully comprehend that the Nigerians, that their Yoruba people, together with the rest of the continent, have emerged as a political people.

In their personal policy, Southern Baptist missionaries have tried
"to stay aloof from the country's politics,"\(^1\) but they also realize
"that the continent's strong tides of nationalism are the backwash of
the Christian message."\(^2\) As Baptists, and thus with an indigenous sense
and sympathy for freedom, they are perhaps particularly predisposed to
see a direct connection between their Baptist message and the African
desire for political freedom and independence. And perhaps it was more
than a noble gesture when Sir Ademola II, the venerable king of Abeokuta,
declared on the occasion of the December, 1944 commencement exercises of
the Baptist Boys' High School, "Pointing to a group of [Southern Baptist]
missionaries, . . . 'My people talk much of self-government today, but
these are the people who will make it possible.'"\(^3\)

Southern Baptist missionaries conceive of their role of responsibility
in Nigeria not only as Baptist Christians, but also as American Christians.
Although they are justified in pointing out that as Americans they have
had no part in the political adventure of colonialism, they feel that
through the annually increasing United States trade, wealth is taken out
of Nigeria, which "lays upon [them] an increased obligation to give in
return the best . . . which is the religion of Jesus Christ."\(^4\)

Thus Southern Baptist missionaries in Nigeria, having been there a
long time and being now one of the strongest missionary forces in the
country, possess a sensitivity to their task, their obligation, and their
role, which goes beyond that of a simple gospel mission.

1. I. N. Patterson, Continent in Commotion (Nashville: Convention Press,
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 30.
1. The American Baptist Mission in Yorubaland

"A mission consists of all regularly appointed missionaries who are in active service within specified territorial limits defined and agreed upon by the Mission and the Foreign Mission Board. ... The Mission is the agency through which the Foreign Mission Board functions on the field, and through which the members of the Mission conduct a co-operative program of work. ... It must have powers of self-government and freedom of action on the field in harmony with the Board's responsibility to the Southern Baptist Convention. ... Provision should be made, just as rapidly as possible, for the national Baptist constituency to assume full financial and administrative responsibility in this work."¹

Since the time of Thomas J. Bowen's initial travels, it has been the goal of Southern Baptists to reach the interior Sudan and to expand their missionary enterprise in this area which was believed to be "one of the most largely populated unevangelized sections of the world."² But as Bowen himself could not traverse the coastal regions, so the Southern Baptist missionaries after him were not able to reach this goal. And even today, the "American Baptist Mission"³ has not crossed the northern borders of Nigeria, due mostly to the official policy adopted by Lord Lugard, which excluded missionaries from the predominantly


³ "American Baptist Mission" is the designation under which the Southern Baptist mission work in Nigeria is officially known, and it is not to be confused with any mission effort of the "American Baptist Convention," which does not operate in Nigeria at all.
Islamic Northern Region.\textsuperscript{1}

After Bowen's vain attempt to reach the Sudan through the Yoruba region of Western Nigeria, no immediate further advances were made in that direction. However, Southern Baptist missionaries tried to penetrate the interior, first out of Sierra Leone, and then out of Liberia, to which in the pre-Convention period Baptists had sent some of their missionaries. In 1871 it was finally decided that any further advances into the Sudan had better be launched out of Yorubaland where in the meantime Southern Baptist work was comparatively better consolidated. The Sierra Leone mission had already been given up and the Liberia mission was abandoned at that time.\textsuperscript{2}

Limited possibilities at home and the political impact of the American Civil War, which—simultaneously with Yoruba inter-tribal wars\textsuperscript{3}—made impossible any planned and co-ordinated mission effort, kept even the Yoruba mission work on a small scale. It was not until after about 1875 that a more concentrated effort in missionary advance could be made.

At the 1915 Association Conference, A. Scott Patterson summed up the first 65 years of sacrificial Southern Baptist missionary service in Yorubaland:

> During these 65 years Southern Baptists, in obedience to Christ's command, have sent about 60 missionaries to the African field at a cost of about $250,000. . . . Of the 60

\begin{enumerate}
\item J. S. Coleman, \textit{Nigeria, Background to Nationalism} (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1958), p. 94.
\item Cf. S. Johnson, \textit{The History of the Yorubas}, ed. O. Johnson (Lagos: C. M. S. Bookshops, 1921).
\end{enumerate}
missionaries some 24 have died on the field or after leaving the field from the effects of the climate; 22 have had to leave the field on account of ill health due to the climate, and today [1915] we have about the same number of missionaries on the field as in 1855.\textsuperscript{1}

By the time the first World War broke out, the Southern Baptist mission work had been basically organized. Out of the annual mission conference the beginnings of the institutional form of the American Baptist Mission had emerged.\textsuperscript{2} At the same time, Yoruba Baptists began to organize themselves in the Yoruba Baptist Association (1913-1914), which eventually became the Nigerian Baptist Convention. In 1876, Southern Baptists began their educational work, added to it in 1907 a medical service under the direction of Dr. George Green.\textsuperscript{3}

Out of these organizational and institutional nuclei grew, after World War I, a major Southern Baptist mission field in Yorubaland, which in the middle 1930's was "highly regarded as the most strategic area of civilized Africa, since it is a gateway to the northern part of Nigeria, and more, to all central Africa."\textsuperscript{4} The dream of Bowen and

\textsuperscript{1} Pinnock, op. cit., p. 149. Here it is interesting to note that by 1914 out of the 12 Southern Baptist missionaries, 8 were British nationals, Pinnock being one of them; cf. Sadler, in Annual of S. B. C., 1958, p. 134. Cf. also C. W. Knight, "A History of the Expansion of Evangelical Christianity in Nigeria" (unpublished Th. D. thesis, So. Bapt. Theo. Seminary, Louisville, Ky., 1951). Outside of a vast number of minor treatises of the Southern Baptist mission history in Nigeria, this represents the best, most compact and co-ordinated discussion of the subject.

\textsuperscript{2} In 1910 the Mission adopted its Constitution and By-laws; cf. Duval, op. cit., p. 157.

\textsuperscript{3} Routh, in Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists, I, 467f.

and the early Southern Baptist missionary strategists was not yet buried. It was still hoped that the old goal might be reached--the Sudan, via Nigeria.

During their history in Yorubaland, the Southern Baptists from the beginning were continuously accompanied in their missionary endeavors by the Anglican and British Methodist mission societies, sharing with them the years of hardship, retreat and advance. Immediately before and after the first World War, however, new mission enterprises began to establish themselves in Yorubaland. The Seventh Day Adventists entered Yorubaland in 1913; in 1920 the Salvation Army took up work among delinquent boys at Lagos; after 1931 the Apostolic Church Missionary Movement spread quickly throughout the Western Region in response to a literature campaign launched out of Lagos; and 1934 added the Swedenborgians to the scene, winning support from Anglican secessionists and ex-Methodists.¹

The second World War brought this period of growth to an end, but it did not, in effect, disturb Southern Baptist mission operations in Nigeria to such a degree as did World War I--an experience shared by the world missionary movement. In number of church members, the Southern Baptists closed this period of growth (1942) ranking third after the Anglicans and the Methodists.²

Following the Second World War and the consolidation of intercontinental communications--and with the closing of China, the traditional Southern Baptist mission field--the most spectacular advance was yet to

¹. Figures from Knight, (thesis), op. cit., p. 189.
come. What had been prepared during long years of Southern Baptist missionary labor would now bear fruit. Church, educational, and medical institutions, organizations, and agencies were to expand at a rate unprecedented in Nigerian missionary history—so much so that today the program of the Southern Baptist mission enterprise in Yorubaland and all over Nigeria equals that of a highly-developed and complicated big-time corporation.

2. The Nigerian Baptist Convention

The beginnings of the Nigerian Baptist Convention reach back into the late nineteenth century. The Southern Baptist missionaries in Yorubaland made it a practice to meet regularly, if possible, for co-ordinated planning of further work. When, by 1897, a number of "native workers" had joined the ranks of the Southern Baptist mission work, it was suggested that they too should assemble every other year for a "conference of prayer and counsel." After this initial conference for Yoruba Baptists had been repeated only once, 1899, it was not until 1907 that the idea was again taken up. Then, however, it met with such success that it was repeated annually. When in 1910 the Southern Baptists consolidated their Mission, adopting its constitution and by-laws, "provision was made for the Annual Conference of the Native Workers at the same time and place as the Annual Mission meeting."1

In the meantime a number of Baptist mission churches had become in-

1. Duval, op. cit., p. 156.
2. Ibid., p. 157.
dependent and in 1912 the "representatives"\(^1\) of these churches were also invited to join the Annual Mission Conference. The next year, however, brought the discontinuance of this practice of a joint conference. The Annual Mission Conference convened in 1913 at Oyo, while the same year a preliminary constitutive Yoruba conference met at Ibadan. At the latter conference it was proposed that the Yoruba Baptist interests be fully institutionalized the following year at Lagos. The resulting conference, March 10-14, 1914, was called and presided over by Majola Agbebi, D. D., a Yoruba Baptist, and the "Yoruba Baptist Association" was adopted with its constitution and by-laws.\(^2\) At the time of its founding, the Yoruba Baptist Association embraced thirty-one churches with 2,880 members, 1,646 of whom belonged to fourteen already independent Baptist churches\(^3\) which had become somewhat estranged from the churches of the American Baptist Mission in the preceding period.

This estrangement had already led to a fatal split in the faculty of the Baptist Academy at Lagos (1888) and to the foundation of Ebenezer Church as a "Native Baptist Church."\(^4\) Through the organization of the Yoruba Baptist Association, however, the cleavage between the independent and the mission churches was bridged.\(^5\)

The practical co-ordination of the Yoruba Baptist interests in the

1. Ibid. It is interesting to note that Duval, who initiated the invitation of the "representatives" of the independent churches, should employ the term "representative" rather than "messenger." The use of this term might suggest that Duval's ecclesiological thinking was that of a Landmarkist.

2. Ibid., p. 185. 3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p. 118; cf. also p. 148.

Association proved to be so effective that after the expansion of the Southern Baptist mission outreach into areas other than Yoruba, non-Yoruba Baptists also wished to join the organization. Thus the Nigerian Baptist Convention came into being.¹

Through a period of vigorous growth the Nigerian Baptist Convention maintained most of the program and branches of activities of the Southern Baptist Convention, after which it was largely modeled.²

1. The Constitution and By-Laws of the Nigerian Baptist Convention

The following account of the Constitution and By-laws is based upon the revision made at the Nigerian Baptist Convention's Thirty-eighth Annual Session, held at Ibadan, April 14-20, 1951.³

The Constitution deals in eight Articles with name, constituency, declaration of principles, objectives or purpose, operation, membership, officers and boards of the Nigerian Baptist Convention. In eight Articles, the By-laws determine the mode of execution and operation of the Convention's institutions, offices, and agencies, as well as the "custody and use of the common seal" and the procedure pertaining to "change of Constitution and By-laws" (VII and VIII).

The three sections of Article II determine the constituency, which

1. Ibid., p. 160.

2. Cf. the range of the Nigerian Baptist Convention activities in Annual of S. B. C., 1956, p. 117f. Nigerian Baptist Convention hereafter referred to in footnotes as N. B. C.

3. The text of this Constitution is presumably printed by the Baptist Press, Ibadan, 1951 (?), 12 pp. No publication data are given. All references to and quotations from the Constitution are based on this text. No individual references are identified in footnotes.
is to consist of those Baptist churches in or near Nigeria which are approved by, co-operate with, and support the Convention. The Southern Baptist missionaries in the area are included and "shall be ex-officio members of the annual conference" (VI, 2). In eight sections, Article IV deals with the purpose or objectives of the Convention. Like the Southern Baptist Convention, the Nigerian Baptist Convention declares its primary purpose to be "to take the whole gospel of Jesus Christ to all who do not know and receive it, wherever opportunity may be found." Thus, this Convention is in a genuine Baptist sense also a missionary organization, which, through the facilities of its Mission Board (Home and Foreign), is "to make adequate plans for propagating the gospel throughout the bounds of the Convention," and, among other objectives, "to promote in every possible way the development of Christian education throughout the Convention territory" (By-laws VI, 1, (2) a, g). Subsection 5, Article IV, admonishes the Convention to take particular care of its responsibility for the education of young men and women "for Christian service as teachers, as preachers, and as workers among those who need help in body, mind, and soul." This subsection is of particular interest in connection with the role and character of the Baptists' educational work at large, especially inasmuch as the Convention schools are subsidized by government grants-in-aid, and thus have a tendency to neglect not so much the Christian character of their education but rather


2. Although it is the foremost missionary objective of the N. B. C. to evangelize within its own territory, it is known that the N. B. C. Mission Board would like to send its missionaries to Bumbuna, Sierra Leone; cf. Annual of S. B. C., 1958, p. 137.
the explicit training of men and women dedicated and geared to specific church-related jobs. It is for this very reason that the American Baptist Mission maintains—indeed independent of the Nigerian Baptist Convention—a number of educational institutions for the sole purpose of recruiting an appropriate cadre of distinctly Baptist Christian workers.

Perhaps the most interesting paragraph of the Constitution is subsection 8 of Article IV, according to which one of the objects of the Convention is "to confer with and to co-operate with other Christian churches and their societies, as occasion may arise." Under this inconspicuous wording is hidden nothing less than the ecumenical component of the Nigerian Baptist Convention. And it is by this section that this constitution distinguishes itself most pointedly from that of the Southern Baptist Convention. 1

Article V limits the ultimate executive authority of the Convention to the annual conference, to which the Convention's executive committee and its officers are subject.

The delegation to the annual conference is patterned after the corresponding procedure in the Southern Baptist Convention. Churches send their "messengers" in proportion to size (Article VI, 1).

The officers of the Convention are determined by Article VII. Duties, role and function of the officers, as well as their influence throughout the Convention through their positions on boards, in institutions and agencies, are regulated by Article IV of the By-laws. Officers may be either Africans or American missionaries. The ratio of job di-

1. Cf. below, the discussion of the role of the N. B. C. within the Christian Council of Nigeria (C. C. N.), chap. IV, 2, iv.
visions among Africans and Americans determines in some measure the role and degree of the interdependence between the Nigerian Baptist Convention and the American Baptist Mission.

Number and role of the Boards of the Convention are similar to those of the Southern Baptist Convention, except that the governing boards of these agencies are so designed as to assure a parity as close as necessary and desirable between Africans and American missionaries. The latter are thought of as being in advisory positions (Article VIII, and By-laws, Article VI, which lists a total of five Boards of the Nigerian Baptist Convention).

ii. Institutional Links with the American Baptist Mission

Although being in a very real sense a spiritual daughter of the Southern Baptist Convention, the Nigerian Baptist Convention is a full-fledged, autonomous Baptist body within world Baptism, and, as such, is a member organization of the Baptist World Alliance. Partially it has grown out of early African aspirations for independence—at that time co-ordinated with an awakening native racial consciousness—which concentrated on a spiritual and church-institutional independence that was within the realm of the possible. One of the early such signs was the fact that Yoruba Baptists no longer chose European surnames but preferred their own traditional names, taking up the old names and continuing them with their children. As Baptists they had also learned to

1. These 5 boards are: Mission Board, Ministerial Board, Printing and Publishing Board, Relief and Annuity Board, and Advisory Boards for institutions of higher education within the Convention.

2. Duval, op. cit., p. 117.
appreciate the principle of the soul's freedom, which belief they translated, at an early stage, into the creation of independent Baptist churches. The creation of these early independent Baptist churches around the turn of the century was, however, not a specific feature restricted to Yoruba Baptists. Rather it was one aspect of an early stage of African nationalism, sweeping that area and hitting other denominations with less loosely knit ecclesiastical structures even harder than it did the Southern Baptists at that time.\(^1\) The fact that Southern Baptists were able to gather together, some years later, these independent churches—representing roughly 50 percent of the Yoruba Baptist constituency at that time—and lead them into the newly-established Yoruba Baptist Association (1913/1914), is primarily an accomplishment for which thanks maybe given to the Baptist genius of individual freedom, both church-political and religious. While the other mission agencies, both Anglican and Methodist, were not yet prepared to have their episcopal churches subjected to African leadership only,\(^2\) Southern Baptists promoted the African desires for ecclesiastical self-determination instead of supressing them. By giving way to nationalistic self-expression at this early stage, the Foreign Mission Board was able to maintain in the

\(^1\) Ibid., p. 118.

\(^2\) Particularly the C. M. S. was recuperating at that time from some difficult experiences it had in connection with its first African Bishop, Samuel Crowther, whose work and tragic difficulties almost brought the downfall of the Anglican Niger mission project—although this was at least partially self-inflicted by belated C. M. S. policy decisions and vainly-planned mission strategy, and lack of tact on the part of the British missionaries on the spot. Cf. especially E. Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society (London: C. M. S., 1899-1916), II, 464; and P. Beyerhaus, Die Selbständigkeit der jungen Kirchen als missionarisches Problem (Wuppertal: Verlag der Rheinischen Missions Gesellschaft, 1956), pp. 151-163.
long run a greater degree of, if not control, then, at least interlocking relations with the Nigerian Baptist Convention, even until today. When the Church Missionary Society finally stepped down from the Anglican controls in 1951—thus giving way to an institutionally and hierarchically fully autonomous "Ecclesiastical Province of West Africa"—it had to give up more in terms of co-determination than did the Southern Baptists in 1914. At least in their institutional policy, Southern Baptists in Nigeria could not be identified with those mission agencies about which Coleman writes: "They readily accommodated themselves to the changed political situation once nationalism had 'caught on' and was clearly the 'wave of the future.'"\(^1\) Instead of being "opportunists,"\(^2\) the Foreign Mission Board and its Yoruba constituency as early as 1910 "continued true to the doctrine of the Baptists,"\(^3\) and lived and practiced the Baptist principle of religious liberty.

Though nominally the Yoruba Baptists had been given an independent organization in 1914, it was still the American Baptist Mission which had to carry most of the practical burden of the young Convention. Administration, education, finance, and much of the theological training and ministerial personnel had to be provided over long years to come. Consequently, Southern Baptist missionaries held key positions as officers of the Nigerian Baptist Convention. As late as 1958 the executive secretaries of the Convention and of the Convention's chief agencies were American missionaries who held the executive positions in such areas as education, promotion, evangelism, Sunday School work, Training

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2. Ibid.  
Union, Women's Missionary Union, and the editorship of the *Nigerian Baptist*, the official Convention publication. ¹ Although this very close institutional link—which in fact it is—between African Convention and American Mission might suggest that the independence which the Convention enjoys cannot be very much more than nominal, it must be pointed out that the Convention enjoys a degree of freedom, of policy-independence which has markedly proved itself in connection with ecumenical co-operation and educational grants-in-aid, neither of which issues the American Baptist Mission, the Foreign Mission Board, or the Southern Baptist Convention would have approved if they had had a decisive voice in the matter.

Thus it might be said that those Southern Baptist missionaries who hold Nigerian Baptist Convention offices do not primarily represent interests of control and dominance on the part of the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board, but represent rather the positive concern which Southern Baptists have for the African Convention, which has come into being as the result of their missionary labors. In what measure this positive concern might nevertheless provide a vehicle for American (as over against African) cultural, ideological, or theological trends of influence upon the respective Yoruba Baptist value scale is the problem with which this study has yet to deal in its analytical portion.

In the meantime, Southern Baptist missionaries have witnessed the people's pressure for the Africanization of government posts, which pressure was an outcome of the campaign of the Eastern Region for

¹ *Annual of S. B. C.*, 1958, p. 135. Note that the Executive Secretary of the N. B. C., Dr. I. N. Patterson, is also the Senior officer of the American Baptist Mission in Nigeria!
self-government,¹ and they are aware of the parallels which suggest themselves in this context. Although Yoruba Baptists are free in their New Testament churches and in their Convention, the presence of American missionaries in positions of influence within the African organization are still reminders of an unfinished task. Therefore, and in accordance with the chartered definition of a Mission,² the American Baptist Mission has maintained an "Africanization [or] Transition Committee,"³ the function of which is to direct and to promote the indigenous structure of the Nigerian Baptist Convention to that point at which the work of the Mission and its standing committees "might properly be taken over by Convention Committees."³ In its 1958 meeting, the Transition Committee laid out its working policy for the immediate future, according to which it is "to make a special study of Mission-Convention relationships with a view to proposing plans whereby the Convention may be afforded more participation in making all decisions affecting Baptist work in Nigeria."⁴

This being only an intermediary goal, the Committee added this Statement of Principles, giving the ultimate objective of its work:

We accept the principle of missionary endeavor that the ultimate responsibility for all phases of the work should be assumed by the indigenous people as quickly and as completely as possible. Therefore, we as a missionary organization and as individual missionaries make known our desire that the


4. Ibid.
Nigerian Baptist Convention assume an increasing role in all Baptist work in Nigeria, including the meeting of financial and personnel needs. We accept it as our intention that all Baptist work in Nigeria come to be done in the name of the Convention at as rapid a rate as feasible.\(^1\)

Over against the positions held by some American missionaries simultaneously in the Convention and in the Mission—thus establishing and maintaining close institutional links between both organizations—the Transition Committee represents a mutual and reciprocal interest which aims at the ultimate institutional disengagement of Convention and Mission. As a spiritual daughter, the Convention is still linked to the Southern Baptist foreign mission enterprise. As a maturing Baptist body, the Convention will become more and more a witnessing mirror and counterpart of the Southern Baptist Convention and its agent in Nigeria, the Foreign Mission Board.

iii. Climate and Character of the Relations between the Nigerian Baptist Convention and the American Baptist Mission

"It should be understood that the Southern Baptist missionary enterprise is not a movement whereby we go into foreign countries to establish ourselves and direct people to do according to our bidding.\(^2\)

In a situation where two structurally different organizations work together for the same interest, the problem of the climate, character, or role of such co-operation immediately arises.

In the beginning, the missionaries of the Foreign Mission Board

1. Ibid.

2. Cauthen, in By All Means, p. 17.
were—in the specific Baptist context—the only ones who acted by executing the foremost prerogative of their mission: evangelism. To this the Yorubas re-acted. After Southern Baptist missionaries and Yoruba Baptists had become organized in their respective agencies, both the Mission and Convention co-acted, co-operated in the missionary task of evangelism. When the Yoruba Baptists gained organizational momentum, a shift began to appear in the emphasis of the co-operation: the Convention began to dominate the practical evangelization, while the Mission began to see its major objective in providing and undergirding the means with and by which the Convention could more effectively execute its tasks. Today the roles seem to be switched, and it is the Nigerian Baptist Convention which acts and the American Baptist Mission which re-acts to this action with advice and counsel. The avowed and consequent next and final stage of the development is planned to be the freeing of the American missionary force for pioneer projects in a new area, leaving behind them a fully matured Nigerian Baptist Convention.

Presently the Southern Baptist mission work in Nigeria is in the next-to-the-last stage of co-operation. Consequently, the atmosphere and character of the co-operation between Mission and Convention at this stage is determined by a certain set of factors which either have been developing over the whole period of contact or which come to the fore as the result of the missionary contact at this particular point. As organizations both the Mission and the Convention have functionally different objectives, though their interest is the same. At the same time, each agency is of a different institutional competence, the Con-
vention being inclusive and the Mission, exclusive. Furthermore, a particular policy of conduct and operation has been established for this stage of the development, which not only attempts to integrate the specific needs of the transitional situation but also tries to satisfy the socio-racial, cultural, and nationalist-ideological points of possible tension between the two groups.

On the first count—that of the common history—Mission and Convention "have worked in such increasingly close harmony that it is difficult today to tell where one begins and the other ends." Through the common history of over one century and the development of the mission program toward a matured organization of Baptist New Testament churches, the next to the last stage has been reached where "at present, Nigerians occupy places of leadership on important committees, as heads of schools, formulating with equal official capacity the projects to further the cause of Christ."

Secondly, the functionally different objectives of Mission and Convention are self-explanatory. The Mission will ultimately leave Nigeria, while the Convention is built to stay, in order to found Baptist churches in Christ's name.

Thirdly, with regard to the different institutional competence of each, the problem of the climate of co-operation is put to its initial test at this stage. Although the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board

1. I.e., missionaries are automatically members of the Convention, but no Nigerians are members of the Mission.


3. Ibid.
plans eventually--upon completion of its job--to dissolve its Mission in Western Nigeria, and although the Board is aware of the changing role of the missionary at this particular point in the history of its Yoruba Mission, it has reserved to itself the exclusive control over planning and operation of the Mission in the field of the established Convention. Thus, it excludes the indigenous leadership from its Mission,\(^1\) while its missionaries are automatically members of the indigenous Convention.\(^2\)

While the policy development in the world missionary movement since World War II moves more and more in the direction of integration of the foreign missionaries into the institutional structure of the indigenous mission churches--thus subjecting the missionary personnel to the jurisdiction of these churches\(^3\)--the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention does not follow this plan.

Rather, the Board reserves the right to appoint, locate, and recall missionaries on the advice, not of the national Baptist body, but of the 'mission' in that particular area. The mission is made up of the missionaries assigned to the area, and national leaders have no vote in mission matters, although they are consulted and their opinions are respected.\(^4\)

This policy, expressing clearly the exclusive character of the Mission, is--on the part of the Board--oriented on implicit problems which the Board foresees in the above-paraphrased Whitby policy. At the same time, however, this policy may also strain the relations between co-operating Mission and Convention, which, in fact, it has on a few

\(^1\) Goerner, Let's Listen, p. 34.

\(^2\) Constitution of N. B. C., Art. VI, 2.


\(^4\) Goerner, Let's Listen, p. 34.
occasions in countries with nationalistic sensitivities. Nigeria is among them. 

"A conviction that in the future the national organization should have more to say was expressed by Rev. Isaac Adekunde Adejunmobi of Nigeria."

Fourthly, inasmuch as a different institutional competence, dictated on behalf of the Mission by the Foreign Mission Board, puts in fact a strain on the atmosphere of the relationships between the co-operating organizations of Mission and Convention, it becomes necessary to introduce a policy of conduct and operation for missionaries working in such a transitional situation as is Western Nigeria.

From the New Testament, which Southern Baptists through the life work of W. O. Carver have come "to read ... as essentially and in-escapably a missionary book," missionaries learn to "wisely consider themselves to be the servants of the churches that have been established. They are teachers and leaders but are not rulers." For, "churches ... are not held in tutelage by missionaries nor controlled by the Foreign Mission Board." Such control would impair the sovereign character given to them as Baptist New Testament churches. It is furthermore the Board's policy in this transitional state not to "design what should be done by Baptists in other lands, but rather [to await] the moving of God's Spirit upon these New Testament churches as they work together in their associations and conventions." In this stand-by

1. Ibid., p. 36.
3. Cauthen, in By All Means, p. 15.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 17.
position, missionaries working in the transitional situation are best defined as "co-laborers"\(^1\) and advisors,\(^2\) respecting the independence of the churches and the autonomy of the Nigerian Baptist Convention.\(^3\)

This is not to say, however, that the role and influence of missionaries at this stage is by any means unimportant, for it is the missionary as servant and steward, setting a personal example of the life in Christ, who "will accomplish far more than he ever could simply through his own personal preaching and work of church development."\(^4\)

But in the measure that this stage requires a great personal humility and tactfulness on the part of the missionary, in equal measure is the indigenous Convention under obligation to make this co-operation possible. In the Yoruba scene, the Transition Committee of the American Baptist Mission is probably best equipped to create and to maintain an atmosphere of trusted co-operation. When in 1950, upon suggestion of this Committee,\(^5\) the Nigerian Baptist Convention received in Dr. Ayorinde its first African President—who succeeded I. N. Patterson, the later secretary of the Convention—a primary signal was given for the advent of a period of co-operation on an equal basis. And Dr. Ayorinde and

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1. \textit{Ibid.}

2. Cf. J. T. Ayorinde, president of N. B. C., from president's message, in \textit{Proceedings of 38th Annual Session of the N. B. C.} (Ibadan: Baptist Press, 1951), p. 2: "Our missionaries are now known as and called advisors and not superintendents or masters. Perhaps this new term suggested by the Africanization Committee is the best term yet: for missionaries are here to advise and exhort, and not to be overlords."


4. W. Crawley, in \textit{By All Means}, p. 57.

5. It was then known as the "Africanization Committee of the American Baptist Mission."
other presidents of the Convention after him have strived to provide for and to uphold as dignified a climate of co-operation as possible. Thus president S. A. Lawoyin stated in 1956 that Nigeria will remain a mission for many years to come, and asked: "Are we growing in a way to justify the years of our existence as a Convention and the labours of our missionary benefactors?" But together with this statement of submissive and grateful attitude, he points out that it is "time for [Nigerian Baptists] too, to send missionaries to Europe, to Japan, to China, to the United States, as witnesses to the transforming power of the Cross." Never, however, does he fail to express the genuine gratitude of Yoruba Baptists for the origin of all Nigerian Baptist Convention work, thus exhibiting on behalf of the Convention the same tact which is asked of the American missionaries. Being conscious of the increasing competence of the Convention, Lawoyin expresses his thanks "for the skill and wisdom expended to lay the foundations upon which the superstructure of our work will be built through the coming years."

The delicacy of this co-operation becomes even more evident when it is noted that the partners in the co-operative venture are not only linked together through the common religious concern, but are divided as to their racial and socio-cultural backgrounds and present political interests. As Nigerians, the Yoruba Baptists naturally harbor a differ-


2. Ibid.

ent set of political sentiments and loyalties than do their partners, the Southern Baptist missionaries; and as Africans, Yoruba Baptists naturally carry a different cultural tradition than do their partners. But the links which have connected them as Baptists in a teacher-student relationship have also left their marks on the socio-cultural and political self-understanding of the Yoruba Baptists.

Among the factors of common religious concern and different racial, cultural, and political background and interests, only the factor of racial difference is a stable one, one which cannot be influenced by the co-operative inter-relation of Southern Baptist missionaries and Yoruba Baptist Christians. And it is this racial factor which--on the part of the Southern Baptist missionaries--is ruled by an explicit policy of the Foreign Mission Board, according to which no missionary shall have any attitude of racial superiority. This positive racial policy of the Foreign Mission Board is in line with some of the best of Southern Baptist theologico-ethical thinking for which T. B. Maston is probably the most prominent exponent, and for which the Foreign Mission Board is the most outstanding representative within the Southern Baptist Convention.

1. It is along this line that the analytical chapter of this study proposes to define more explicitly the Southern Baptist and the Nigerian influences upon the outlook of the Yoruba Baptists with regard to their religious and ideological expressions, cultural self-understanding, and socio-political identifications.

2. From interview with Dr. West, Secretary of missionary personnel of the F. M. B.

3. The Role of the Nigerian Baptist Convention within the Christian Council of Nigeria

In densely populated Nigeria, the missionary role in education has long been a major concern. Since 1876, Southern Baptists have maintained schools in Yorubaland, and have been equally as concerned with this issue as were others. In order to find a common platform for discussing these concerns, there was founded in the 1920's the United Missionary Council for Education, which forum represented the first united expression of missionary co-operation in the history of Christian missions in Nigeria. On December 16, 1920, this Council met for the first time at Lagos, under the tutelage of the Anglican Church Missionary Society.¹

During the following year this co-operation grew into the more comprehensive form of a Christian Council for the whole of Nigeria. To this to-be-founded "Christian Council of Nigeria" all mission societies and agencies were invited. It was to meet regularly at intervals of two years. Although all were invited, "the main leadership . . . was taken by the Methodist, Anglicans, American Baptists, the Qua Ibo Mission, the Church of Scotland Mission, and the Niger Delta Pastorate."² Thus the American Baptist Mission became one of the charter members of the Christian Council of Nigeria, at a time when the Mission's home board, the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, was still a member of the North American Foreign Mission Conference. Through its link with the American Baptist Mission, the Nigerian Baptist Convention is also a loyal member of the Council, the function of which is

2. Ibid., p. 192.
stated in Article II, 2, a, of the Council's revised Constitution as being "to foster and express the fellowship and unity of the Christian Church in Nigeria, to further the realization of its oneness with the Church throughout the world, and to keep in touch with the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches.\(^1\) In connection with the Baptist co-operation in the Council, Section 2, b, of Article II of the Constitution is of particular interest, expressing another feature of the Council's function: "To preserve comity among the churches and missions."

Because of the alleged ecumenical character of the Council and its adherence to the principle of comity, the American Baptist Mission's role in the Council has officially decreased in recent years, and this the more since in 1950 the Foreign Mission Board at home severed its relations with the North American Foreign Mission Conference and its successor, the Department of Foreign Missions of the National Council of Churches. However, Board and Mission encourage the Nigerian Baptist Convention to continue membership in the Christian Council of Nigeria,\(^2\) and the Convention is thus one of "those Protestant Evangelical bodies working in Nigeria which have expressed their adherence to the Constitution of the Council." (Article III, 1.) Nigerian Baptists even participate in a church union movement, under Presbyterian leadership,

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1. Art. II, 2, a) of the Constitution of the Christian Council of Nigeria, revision of 1949 (Port Harcourt, Nig.: C. M. S. Niger Press [-7241-], 1949). Further references to the Constitution pertain to this edition of the 1949 revision and are identified in the text by Article plus numbers.

2. From an interview with Dr. H. C. Goerner, Secretary of Africa, Europe, and the Near East of the F. M. B., Sept. 11, 1959.
in the Calabar region of Nigeria. Thus Nigerian Baptists have participated in co-operative conferences and programs. Their names—and those of Southern Baptist missionaries who hold offices within the Convention—have appeared in membership lists of these and other Africa-related ecumenical conferences, and their Baptist faith will continue to seek out ways and means of further ecumenical encounters:

At this time [when] the companies seek strength and effective Christian witnessing through unity and congregation we as a Convention cannot afford to indulge in watertight segregation which might weaken our co-operation and impair our fellowship with other Christian bodies. However, it is necessary, I agree, that we re-affirm our deep and abiding joy in the spiritual unity and brotherhood which bind together all believers in Jesus Christ.

4. Theological Outlook and Position of the Nigerian Baptist Convention

It would be about as complex a task to determine the theological position and outlook of the Nigerian Baptist Convention as that of the Southern Baptist Convention, if it were not for two seemingly minor reasons. One is given in Article III of the Constitution, the "Declaration of Principles." The other derives from the Convention's positive participation in the ecumenical discussion. Both reasons represent unique and indigenous features of the Nigerian Baptist Convention. As 

1. Ibid. Note that the ecumenically more positive Baptists of the American (northern) Baptist Convention in India have undertaken similar union discussions with the Church of South India with regard to their Telugu Mission and Telugu Baptist Convention, but have so far not been able to find a common platform. Cf.: Swain, in The Chronicle, p. 82f.


3. Lawoyin, president's message, Proceedings of N. B. C., 1959, p. 5A.
a Convention of Baptist churches which are not majority churches in their region, the Nigerian Baptist Convention saw the need to declare its principles of beliefs in its Constitution, while for the same reason it felt it could not afford a watertight segregation from the other church bodies in its region. The resulting ecumenical discussion forced Nigerian Baptists to a formulation of their beliefs and theological convictions, which had to be more disciplined than those of the Southern Baptists who conceive of themselves as a majority movement in their American setting.

In the six sections of Article III, a theological position is stated which in every way is genuinely Baptist in character: Christ, Son of God and Saviour is head of His church; the New Testament provides the sole norm in all matters of faith and practice; and "each Church under the guidance of the Holy Spirit has the liberty to interpret its teachings and administer its laws." Furthermore, Nigerian Baptist churches, being at liberty to form their own regional associations, practice baptism of believers by immersion as a prerequisite to church membership and to participation in the Lord's Supper, which "is a sacred memorial." Baptistic also is the personal responsibility of every believer to witness "to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and to take part in the evangelization of the world." As to its moral obligation, the Convention goes on record to say that "monogamy [is] the ideal state of family life according to the New Testament." The issue of polygamy is a sore point in missionary policy throughout Africa, and one about which Southern Baptist missionaries believed themselves to have reason to complain as late as 1957 when T. O. High reported that the Convention
"for the first time" came out in strong support of this section of its Constitution.¹

It is, however, interesting to note that nowhere in the Declaration of Principles are there any explicit Nigerian Baptist references to the principle which was found to be so basic within American Southern Baptist beliefs: the principle of religious and civil liberty. Yet, at the same Annual Session, in 1951, at which the Constitution was revised to the form which underlies the above report, a Yoruba Baptist, G. A. Ogunsola, read a paper titled "Baptists and Human Rights,"² which conveys in an interesting fashion the Nigerian Baptist use of the concept of religious and civil liberty.

Ogunsola begins his account: "The Baptist people claim to be the offspring of the apostolic or primitive church in Jerusalem."³ However, after the charisma of the Holy Spirit had vanished, and the churches of the second century had been exposed to such "antagonistic influences" as the "instincts of the natural heart, the perverted teachings of Judaism [and] the prevailing Greek philosophies, . . . certain vital teachings were affected."⁴ Over against the background of a rather general theological concept which Ogunsola might have identified to be of Anglo-Catholic and thus non-Baptistic nature, he traces salvation as the gift of God to the Catholic concept of salvation as the gift of the Church. This change, a loss of perspective of the immediacy between

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3. Ibid., p. 7.

4. Ibid.
God and believer, led to a concept of baptism as the saving medium, led to a change in the form of baptism and concept of the Lord's Supper, and, finally, led to the ultimate loss of democracy in the church. ¹

Against this development, the results of which surround Yoruba Baptists in the form of a strong Anglican community, Baptists "for about fifteen centuries"² laboured under prosecution "to maintain their identity."³ Interestingly enough, Ogunsola lists only English names of the early British Baptist period as witnesses for this fifteen century long struggle, names which all belong to post-Reformation Baptists. ⁴ The struggle for religious and civil liberties was finally won in the United States, a Baptist victory.⁵ From the United States, through the labors of Southern Baptists, it has gone to Nigeria where Nigerian Baptists now apply this Baptist principle of civil and religious liberty as the principle of "human rights" to their own situation.

Thus the Baptist call for "human rights" in Nigeria is for "Christian homes" and for the full emancipation of women in society. It places "the right emphasis on work," demands orderly principles of church organization and democracy in the churches, and asks for teaching of the Bible truth and the "right kind of education."⁶ In this form the concept of "human rights" as the Baptist principle of religious and civil liberty has undergone a slight change in its function, inasmuch as it

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¹ Cf. Ibid.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid., p. 8.
⁶ Ibid., p. 8f.
is applied with a socio-religious emphasis rather than as a theologico-religious principle. And it is this slight shift of emphasis in the use of the Baptist principle which illustrates the difference in the role of the Nigerian Baptist Convention as a minority group over against the Southern Baptist Convention as a majority group in their respective regions. Inasmuch as Nigerian Baptists, being a minority in their region, need to be more practical and militant, their theological outlook distinguishes itself to a certain degree from that of Southern Baptists, although in kind, their theological position is the same because it shares the Baptist position.\(^1\)

The second differentiating factor is a certain discipline resulting from an active ecumenical discussion which—in turn— influenced the theological outlook of the Nigerian Baptist Convention. This may best be exemplified with reference to Nigerian Baptist theological thought concerning the nature and unity of the church.

E. A. Dahunsi, a Yoruba, and probably the most prominent African on the faculty of the Baptist Theological Seminary, Ogbomosho, delivered before the 1958 Annual Session of the Nigerian Baptist Convention an instructive address on "The Doctrine of the Church."\(^2\) Characterizing this subject as a central issue of the ecumenical discussion, Dr. Dahunsi emphasized within the larger context of his paper that "we appreciate the opportunity of participation in the discussions at this forty-fifth

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1. This difference in outlook will be discussed below in connection with the application of the Baptist principle of separation of church and state to the issue of government grants-in-aid for education, chap. V, 3.

annual session of the Nigerian Baptist Convention.\(^1\) Thus it is made clear that the highest platform of the Convention, its Annual Session, deals with this ecumenical subject publically and officially, and inasmuch as the tenor of this treatise is genuinely Baptistic, it represents a most valuable contribution to the ecumenical discussion from a Baptist viewpoint.

The concept of the church portrayed here is based upon a careful New Testament exegesis, from which Dahunsi derives the traditional Baptist view of the church but qualifies this view of the local, autonomous church not so much by emphasizing the individual's role in that local church as by linking the individual to the community of the local church, and this community to the fellowship of the church universal, the body of Christ.\(^2\) Dahunsi thus gains, in addition to the traditional Baptistic and vertical aspect of the church, also the ecumenical and horizontal,\(^3\) which, in such explicitness, is rather rare in Southern Baptist thought. However, he remains a Baptist theologian by denying that the horizontal fellowship is in any other way visibly institutionalized than through its vertical component: Christ, the head, and the community and priesthood of all believers.\(^4\) Although the mystery of the fellowship remains, it is stated that "the church is not the kingdom of God,"\(^5\) thus leaving to the church the militant designation.

In order to be the kingdom of God, the church would have to be the

1. Ibid., p. 1.

2. Ibid., p. 9; Dahunsi accentuates strongly the ecclesia concept of Ephesians.

3. Ibid. 4. Ibid., p. 10. 5. Ibid.
triumphant church; but this "final consumation is yet future." Here, again, Dahunsi has excelled with an eschatological co-ordination of church and kingdom, which is seldom to be found in Southern Baptist ecclesiological thought. And it is little wonder that, equipped with such a concept, he can stress positively the Nigerian Baptist desire for ecumenical co-operation also on theological grounds:

Many people in our Convention have expressed themselves on the question of Church union. Let me make this very brief statement. The efforts of this Convention to co-operate in every way possible with other Christians in Nigeria and elsewhere deserve high commendation. Let us continue realizing that we belong to one body, the body of Christ, with other Christians.  

Unfortunately, the discussion of theological expressions which are particularly germane to Nigerian Baptists must be discontinued here because other such expressions are not yet available. The lack of such theological originality might be explained by the fact that, on the one hand, the majority of influential theological teachers at the Ogbomosho Seminary are Southern Baptist missionaries, and, that on the other hand, Dr. Dahunsi—who is the only Yoruba teaching in a strictly theological field at the present time—is only at the beginning of his academic career. Not until more theological publications of Dr. Dahunsi and other Yoruba theologians are made available can there be a deeper and more satisfactory analysis and evaluation of explicitly Nigerian Baptist theological thought.

In the meantime, however, Nigerian Baptist theology is primarily that of Southern Baptists, and it is only on rare occasions that Nigerian Baptist theological expressions differ in style and content from those

1. Ibid.  2. Ibid.
of the Southern Baptist missionaries. Yet, wherever signs of such
differences of style and content in Nigerian Baptist theological ex-
pressions are to be found, it may be assumed that also the underlying
experiences and theological concepts are influenced by opinions which
are different from those which presuppose the forms of Southern Baptist
theological expressions.

Although Nigerian Baptist theological concepts are by far not yet
developed, there are already detectable signs that such development
might shortly be initiated. It is part of the analytical interest of
this study to deduce signs from the general Nigerian Baptist outlook
which express such attitudes toward and opinions about theological and
religious issues which can be traced to a Nigerian rather than a
Southern Baptist thought tradition.
CHAPTER V

THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST MISSION PROGRAM AS A SITUATION
FOR EVANGELISTIC CONTACT AND CULTURE CHANGE

"The same people who yesterday complained that the missionary 'teaches us things which nobody can use' will accuse him today of trying to keep them down if he does not offer Greek in his curriculum and will accuse him tomorrow of destroying their culture and of being their enemy if he himself does not 'go native' in certain respects."1

Up to now the Foreign Mission Board has been reviewed with regard to its position within the Southern Baptist Convention, its institutional expression in Western Nigeria, the American Baptist Mission, and with regard to the institutional result of its operations, the Nigerian Baptist Convention. The Board's theological and philosophical position has been described within the larger context of Southern Baptist thought, and its policy and strategy has been explained within the setting of Southern Baptist theological and politico-ideological convictions. Against this background there will be described, in subsequent chapters, the Board's active missionary program in Yorubaland. Special attention will be given to the phenomenon of culture mediation and culture clash between Southern Baptist missionary action on the one hand and the Yoruba cultural scene on the other. In a final chapter an attempt will be made to identify and analyze those factors which underly the Southern

Baptist mission outreach and which are instrumental in changing the cultural outlook of Yoruba Baptists.

In the process of promoting the kingdom and winning disciples, Southern Baptists are aware of certain changes which accompany the Christianization of non-Christian, indigenous peoples, changes which necessarily result in a different cultural outlook and self-identification of the peoples concerned. Partially these changes are deliberate; partially they are registered with curiosity. Whatever the attitude toward them, such changes are mostly attributed to the new life under the gospel of Christ, although they might have no direct relation to theological or religious issues but may be of a cultural, ideological, or sociological nature. In any case, however, these changes have resulted in "something new,"¹ as, for instance, the adjustment and consolidation of the use of the dowry in Nigeria, which—after being long misunderstood by missionaries—is now appreciated as a stabilizing social factor and has been set by legislation at a fixed amount. "It is quite certain that these changes have been brought about by Christian influence of missions working in these areas."²

On a yet deeper level, such changes resulting from missionary activity have affected the cultural self-understanding of indigenous peoples and touch on problems related to the differences of generations: differences between the old and the new "civilization," and differences surrounding the changing role of the traditional authority of the old chieftancy as over against the newly educated Native-Administration-type

² Ibid., p. 42.
chiefs. In the extent to which missionaries have spread a Western type education among the younger generations, Western civilization has become the goal of many of this age group. At the same time, their parent generations doubt the wisdom of such innovations and changes, and they express such doubts by resistance toward the new, a resistance which extends primarily into an aversion against the imported "White Man's Religion."¹

This process of constant change involves the missionary, not only causally, in that to a very large degree he has consciously or unconsciously initiated this process, but it continues to involve him also instrumentally to the degree in which his work goes on. And at the same time, the missionary's role undergoes similar changes, changes which are closely related to the nature and tempo of the process which alters the structure and outlook of the peoples he serves. Thus the missionary is constantly asked to analyze his task and his role in the light of his missionary objective, which is evangelism. Furthermore, he is to gauge this analysis according to the religious, cultural, political, and social state of the process of change in which he and the people to whom he ministers are involved, both actively and passively.

On the one hand this double duty demands of the missionary the sociological appraisal of the proper form of his primary task, evangelism, and its proper communication according to the customs and etiquette of the people, and the consequent overcoming of his own ethno-centrism.²

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2. Cf. Parsons, op. cit., p. 164. In this article, Parsons reports the findings of a Conference at the Hartford Seminary Foundation, Kennedy
And inasmuch as the missionary, in the execution of his job, is also an agent of culture change, he is, on the other hand, asked to study the kinship systems and the role and function of in-law relationships of the peoples he serves. At the same time he ought to acquire a knowledge of the basic forms and the underlying cohesion between rites, orders, and systems of the indigenous religions which he encounters, and their religious ramifications with regard to the peoples' life, thought, and existence. This extra duty of the missionary is all the more important inasmuch as "cultural change is dynamite, [and] nobody should be permitted to handle dynamite who does not know something about it."^2

It is under this double perspective of the missionary's primary task, evangelism, and the mode of its execution, that the following chapters V and VI are to be seen in the specific case of the Southern Baptist foreign mission work in Yorubaland.

School of Missions, in which mission board secretaries, sociologists, anthropologists, and active missionaries participated. This conference was called by the Division of Foreign Missions of the National Council of Churches of Christ in April, 1955.

1. Ibid., pp. 164-167.

2. Ibid., p. 164.
1. The Board's Program in Yorubaland

"Despite the fact that Africa is a continent in ferment, an experienced missionary stated recently that less tension is to be found there than at any other point during his career. One explanation of the happy relations between missionaries and nationals is the spirit of give and take. The missionaries are willing to decrease while the Africans increase."\(^1\)

After a century of missionary operations in Nigeria, the Foreign Mission Board's work is still most heavily concentrated in Yorubaland. In this area Southern Baptist missionary expansion and consolidation has led to a dense system of mission stations, educational institutions, and medical facilities, among which some modern equipped hospitals belong to the best in the country. An impressive number of churches, chapels, out-stations, and primary schools, most of which are under Yoruba supervision, witness to the width and depth of the Southern Baptist mission activity emanating from their sixteen mission centers in Yorubaland. Ibadan, which is considered to be the "most strategic spot in West Africa,"\(^2\) has become headquarters for most of the Southern Baptist mission work in Nigeria, thus taking precedence over former centers such as Lagos and Ogbomosho.\(^3\) The increased allocation of government offices and the newly-constructed Ibadan University College were major considerations in the choice of this largest all-African city for Baptist headquarters.

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2. Eaglesfield, in Annual of S. B. C., 1951, p. 103.

3. Annual of S. B. C., 1947, p. 90. This move of Southern Baptist headquarters to Ibadan is here seen to be in conjunction with the growing importance of Ibadan as a government center.
Today the modern three-story Baptist Building at Ibadan houses the departmental offices of the American Baptist Mission, the Baptist Press, the Baptist Bookstore, a library with reading room and lounge, and the dental offices of the Mission. From this administrative center the program of evangelism, education, and promotion is directed throughout all of Nigeria.

Although such an impressive record of achievements might suggest that the Southern Baptist mission work "should be reaching the saturation point in Nigeria so far as missionaries are concerned," the Mission is constantly requesting new personnel. "One explanation is that the British government now requires one person with a degree for every ninety pupils who are taught in our secondary schools." As of 1959, 208 missionaries were under appointment in Nigeria alone, as over against 58 in 1941 when the pre-World War II period of expansion came to a preliminary halt. Of these missionaries, the greater portion are selected for specialized assignments in the educational, medical, and administrative fields, a feature which results from the advanced state of the mission work in the area and which is at the same time congruent with the policy of establishing trained national leadership wherever possible in the Nigerian Mission. Although the number of Nigerians employed in

3. Ibid.
vocational professions, mostly teachers, reached an imposing high of 3,228 in 1959, there is still a long way to go toward filling the ranks of ordained leadership with Nigerians. For this position, up to 1959, only sixty-three had qualified.

1. Evangelism

Any mission work, be it educational, medical, advisory, or administrative, is basically evangelistic work, for evangelism is the very heart of all mission endeavor. Only for the purpose of expediency will the mission program of the Foreign Mission Board in Yorubaland be described under the differentiating headings of evangelism, education, and medical mission. Preaching, educational, and medical mission distinguish themselves from one another only functionally, not essentially, as far as their missiological purpose is concerned. This section, then, is primarily concerned with the different features of the preaching program of the Southern Baptist mission enterprise in Western Nigeria.

As over against missionaries with special vocational qualifications, the "field missionary" carries the program of preaching evangelism in all its different facets. Through "pioneer evangelism" and "church development" the missionary lays the foundations upon which rest the other forms of evangelism, such as "revival meetings," radio work and gospel records, tract publications and newspapers, and "special group

1. Cf. statistical tables, Appendix A.
2. Crawley, in By All Means, p. 33.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 37.
5. Ibid., p. 47.
6. Ibid., p. 45f.
approaches,^1 directed toward small rural groups or otherwise naturally selected groups, as for instance would suggest itself in student, hospital, or prison work.

In Western Nigeria the Foreign Mission Board has made use of all these different approaches to evangelism, and over long years has developed a program of highly diversified operations. The concerted result of all this work is today to be found in a Nigerian Baptist constituency numbering 44,205 church members in 340 organized Baptist churches, 319 of which are self-supporting, ministered to by 352 Nigerian (mostly Yoruba) pastors.2

The Baptist Press at Ibadan provides ample facilities for the preparation of tract evangelism. Since the 1940's, Southern Baptists have pioneered in radio evangelization, which soon found interest also among other denominations. The response to religious broadcasts is reported from all over the country to be good. The Nigerian Broadcasting Service, over which facilities this program is transmitted, reported in 1954 "that religious broadcasts rank near the top in popularity."3

All this missionary progress, however, would not have been possible

1. Ibid., p. 48.


3. Reported in Annual of S. B. C., 1954, p. 111. Cf. also: Federation of Nigeria, Annual Report of the Department of Broadcasting for the Year 1956 (Lagos: Fed. Govt. Printer, 1957), pp. 10, 14, pars. 52, 88. Although the 1954 Report is not available, the 1956 Report supports the above statement substantially when it states: "both the Christian and Muslim Religious Broadcasting Sections have maintained a steady output during the year. In the Christian Section the advent addresses were innovations which seem to have been particularly successful."
had not the Board at an early stage diversified its program of evangelism in Yorubaland. The two most important, and at the same time oldest branches of specialized evangelistic approach are education—since 1876—and medical missions—since 1907. The progress made in these fields of missionary outreach is in many respects even more remarkable than that resulting directly from the program of preaching evangelism in all its facets. This is particularly true for the highly-developed program of mission schools in Nigeria, without which intermediate Yoruba leadership could not have been trained in such numbers as has been accomplished at a comparatively early stage.

ii. Educational Mission

"Schools conducted on the mission field, have a vital bearing upon church development. ... Some of the most effective evangelistic efforts I have ever seen were projected in mission schools." 1

One of the basic difficulties of mission work in Africa is the confrontation of the literate Christian religion with the score of illiterate African religions. Consequently, missionaries in these illiterate areas have recognized at a very early stage the need for education as a necessary means of implanting with any lasting effect the message of Christ, which in its essential sources depends upon the written word of the Bible.

This concern has led, in Nigeria as elsewhere in Africa, to an emphasis on education which for a long time has been carried almost exclusively by missionary agencies, and is still today about 80-85 per cent

the sole responsibility of Christian missions in Africa south of the Sahara. Together with Anglicans and Methodists, the Southern Baptists share the great responsibility for schooling in Western Nigeria, and this the more since the government was not able to handle the rising demand for education which swept through Nigeria after the first World War. At that time the government agreed to leave particularly the elementary education in the hands of the mission agencies, provided they met government standards. During this period in Western Nigeria it was the Church Missionary Society—often in close cooperation with the Methodist Mission Society—which built up an excellent and far-flung school system, stretching from primary and secondary schools to some good colleges, among which the United College, Lagos, and the Women's College at Ibadan were joint Anglican-Methodist ventures. The Anglican St. Andrews College at Oyo was considered to be an outstanding institution. The Anglican predominance in education during that period is exemplified by the fact that almost all school material up to 1942 had been prepared in the Church Missionary Society Bookshop at Lagos and was in use also in Southern Baptist mission schools.

When, however, after the second World War the European mission agencies were left without financial reservoirs and the Central government was likewise only in the first stage of securing urgently needed funds, the Southern Baptists felt that this shortage should be bridged

3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
by Americans. Thus it was in the immediate post-World War II period that Southern Baptists carried the heaviest burden as far as the educational mission work in Yorubaland was concerned.\(^1\) Not only did Southern Baptists, together with the Nigerian Baptist Convention, expand considerably their network of primary schools during this period, but they also consolidated their already-existing institutions of secondary and higher education, increased their standards, and added a number of new secondary schools throughout their constituency.\(^2\) By 1959, there were 4,747 primary schools, 24 secondary schools, 7 colleges, and 1 seminary under Baptist supervision, with a student body totalling 82,242,\(^3\) or roughly twice the total of the Baptist constituency in all of Nigeria.

Considering this large number of students enrolled in Baptist schools in Nigeria, it is easily understood what equally high opportunities for evangelistic contacts there are in the educational branch of the mission enterprise, opportunities which are matched only by the responsibilities implicitly burdened upon all Baptist teachers, Nigerian and American alike. Of all the Southern Baptist mission operations in Yorubaland, it is perhaps this educational branch which in the long run will leave the deepest impressions on the Yoruba scene, culturally, sociologically, ideologically, and—as is hoped—also religiously. It is for this reason that this study will deal so extensively with the mode, form, and character of the execution, and with the objective factors of cultural, social,

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2. Jester, op. cit., p. 68.

religious, and ideological impact of the Southern Baptist mission school enterprise.

The fact that the parties involved—Southern Baptists, Yoruba Baptists, the government, and the Yorubas at large—see in the educational facilities the most important key to a brighter future—a future about which each group might have its own thoughts—does not diminish the problems around Southern Baptist mission schools. Thus Southern Baptist missionaries would maintain that their mission schools are essential and instrumental in "winning people to Christ and growing New Testament churches,"¹ as well as building a new civilization.² Yoruba Baptists would emphasize that their schools prepare their children primarily for a new Nigeria and secondarily for a Christian life which follows from an adequate Western type education.³ Non-Baptist and non-Christian Yorubas, together with their Baptist fellow men, would seek to satisfy their ever-growing hunger for education, and would maintain, together with the government, the importance of continuing mission school work "in this emerging land that is education-conscious," where schools take the very "primal, central, fundamental place in our history."⁴

¹ Cauthen, "The Main Emphasis," Commission, 22(1959), 211.
² Green, op. cit., p. 113.
³ Ibid., p. 112.
⁴ Proceedings of N. B. C., 1951, p. 5.
iii. Medical Mission

"This ministry of health and healing belongs to the essence of the Gospel and is, therefore, an integral part of the mission to which Christ has called and is calling His Church."¹

As evangelism and educational mission, so also medical mission is one of the distinctive features of Christ's ministry of preaching, teaching, and healing,² and, as such, medical mission belongs indeed "to the essence of the Gospel." Within the framework of long-established churches, the function of the healing ministry has lost its immediate importance, a loss which only today has begun to be felt among many serious Christians. Missions, however, on their part and for their use re-discovered the healing ministry some time ago, and today modern mission operations could not be conceived of as being without it.

Medical mission belongs to the very essence of the missionary enterprise. It is a means of evangelism; a way of witnessing to the love of God as revealed in Jesus Christ; a method of confronting men with God's mighty acts, and with his supreme act of self-revelation in the living Christ.³

Not only is medical mission, under the concept of the healing ministry, essential to the mission of the church itself, but in itself it is also one more angle of approach to the ultimate objective of missions: the proclamation of the gospel. In function similar to the approach of the educational mission--although in its nature quite different--medical mission holds a great potential for evangelistic oppor

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². Goerner, in By All Means, p. 91f.

³. Ibid., p. 94.
tunities. Of this Southern Baptists are very much aware. As has been proven in the Near East, so it has been confirmed in Yorubaland, that Southern Baptists see the especially great strategic value of the medical missions in their approach toward Islam. "If there were only church work, without the benefit of the medical ministry, it would be very difficult to get a hearing for the gospel."¹

If, then, medical mission is also an approach to evangelism, this approach may be broken down into three steps: contact, experience of Christian compassion, and eventual conversion. In this function, medical mission has become "medical evangelism."²

Wherever Baptist hospital facilities exist, people will come for treatment. Often they assemble well before the time of scheduled hospital hours and wait patiently in assigned areas. Already at that point evangelistic contacts can be made.³ The registration process which follows provides for a more individual contact opportunity, and "many excellent prospects for evangelism are found among hospital record cards."⁴ In addition, most Baptist hospitals offer a formal period of worship and preaching each day, thus reaching in-patients and out-patients and their accompanying relatives alike.⁵

Especially among the in-patients, the second step will often follow the first contact situation. The in-patients experience in a special way

¹ Cauthen, "The Main Emphasis," Commission, 22(1959), 211.
² Goerner, in By All Means, p. 99.
³ Ibid., p. 100.
⁴ Ibid., p. 101.
the sacrificial service which doctors, nurses, and missionaries perform for them, and in the moment which the patient begins to ask, Why? Why do the mission doctors and nurses do this?, he has already experienced the Christian compassion and dedication which has helped him to repair his health.¹

The third and final step, conversion, is then a very individual matter with each patient, depending on how he may answer and interpret the Why? he had previously asked. "Having come face to face with the serious issues of life and death, he is psychologically prepared to face his need for a Saviour and to make a grateful response to the grace of God as it is made known to him."²

"Medical work exists to provide means of winning people who would not be reached in any other way."³ So, or similarly each Southern Baptist missionary doctor or nurse would see the role of the medical mission work as a function of the mission's primary task: evangelization. And for this task, Southern Baptists are well equipped in Nigeria. Realizing their particular responsibility after the second World War, they took it upon themselves to meet the need which the war had created among the other mission agencies in the area. As was the case with financial problems at the end of the war in regard to mission schools, Southern Baptists began also in the mission medical field to carry a heavier burden, arguing that "unto whom much is given, of him shall

2. Ibid.
3. J. E. Low, making this statement with regard to the Baptist Hospital at Ogbomosho, in *Annual of S. B. C.*, 1956, p. 113.
much be required.¹

As with their educational work, the Southern Baptist post-World War II effort resulted in a spectacular advance also in the medical operation of the American Baptist Mission in Nigeria. As of 1959, Southern Baptists maintained six hospitals and twenty-seven clinics and dispensaries throughout Nigeria, with a staff of nineteen American and one Nigerian physician, twenty-eight American and forty-three African nurses, and a capacity of 302 beds.² Through these facilities, Southern Baptists in 1959 alone, had contact with 61,164 patients,³ not counting all those who might have accompanied their ill kinfolk. Thus the evangelistic opportunity through medical mission has grown into large proportions, similar to those experienced in education.

However, there are certain differences as to character and situation of these contacts. Educational mission addresses itself to the limited age group on the student-teacher basis over a pre-arranged period of time. At the same time, the evangelistic interests of the Southern Baptist educational mission program are represented by a sizable staff of sixty-seven missionary-teachers of the American Mission, and 2,938 African teachers--mostly Yoruba--of the Nigerian Baptist Convention.⁴ Over against this potential intensity of evangelistic impact of the educational missionary enterprise, the medical mission is limited in its evangelistic

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¹ Cf. in context: Sadler, "Light for the Dark Continent," p. 57f.; cf. also Cauthen, in By All Means, p. 28.


³ Ibid.

task to a staff of 141 doctors, nurses, and orderlies, and chaplains, plus an undetermined but limited number of local pastors. Also, the period during which evangelistic contacts can be made is very different from that of the mission school situation. Except for a few cases which might extend over several weeks, contact is more often limited to not more than mere minutes or hours. However, the psychological situation in the medical mission, a certain inner preparedness on the part of the patient to receive and to listen, balances to some extent the time element so richly available in the evangelistic program of the educational mission.

With regard to the geographical allocation of hospitals, the American Baptist Mission co-operates with the provincial government of the Western Region, the policy of which it is to place at least one hospital, either government or mission maintained, in each provincial division. Furthermore, there is a government provision which allows for a "grant-in-aid for medical services," designed for contribution to mission and local authorities for free treatment to children under 18 years of age. Wherever the American Baptist Mission is sole owner and operator of a hospital or dispensary, a policy applies with regard to the use of such government grants-in-aid similar to the one in effect for American Baptist Mission operated and maintained schools. The policy

1. This figure corresponds with the sum total of all full-time medical personnel, as given in the 1959 statistics, cf. ibid., p. 198. Of the total staff of 141, 52 are Americans.


3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.
makes the acceptance of government grants-in-aid impossible because of the strong Baptist convictions centering around the principle of church-state separation.

2. Educational Mission as Culture Mediation

The program of the educational enterprise of the Southern Baptist Mission in Nigeria has been discussed in its formal, historic context. It has been pointed out that Southern Baptists, like the Methodists and Anglicans, have been engaged in all branches of educational work for roughly the same length of time and with proportionately the same intensity. Perhaps this modification ought to be made: while Methodists and Anglicans are reported to have operated educational institutions as early as 1846 (Methodists at Badagri) and 1849 (Anglicans at Abeokuta), Southern Baptists have put quantitatively their greatest emphasis on education since the Second World War.

Out of an academy at Ogbomosho, opened in 1912 and designed for teacher and pastoral training, have grown two Baptist institutions of higher education: the Iwo Baptist College, and the Baptist Theological Seminary at Ogbomosho. This latter institution, because of its special theological concern and character, will not be dealt with at this point. It only may be mentioned that today this seminary enjoys a commonly recognized high standard of academic training and that it is linked closely to Southern Baptist interest both in Nigeria and America.


2. Jester, op. cit., p. 66.

The particular interest of Southern Baptists in maintaining their far-flung secular educational system in Nigeria must, of course, be explained by the special missionary concern which underlies as motive all missionary activity and of which the educational mission is one angle of approach. In the missiological perspective, educational mission is one possible approach to the ultimate missionary objective: evangelization. In the educational perspective, however, the educational mission enterprise intends to balance the secular process of intellectual learning with the spiritual concern for "the emotions, sentiments and ideals which never have been studied to any adequate extent." In this context, then, the mission school addresses itself to the whole man, to his soul, his intellect, his ideals, and his religion, a context which in its intellectual content is Western, and in its religious orientation is necessarily Christian.

Out of this perspective grows a certain set of problems, which on the one hand result from the underlying process of culture mediation in the missionary situation, and which on the other hand are based upon the diverging interests of the partners who are actively involved in the formal execution of the educational mission program. Furthermore, these problems become highly complicated by the fact that simultaneous impulses feed into them from both bases—that of culture differentiation, and that of the diverging interests of the partners in the mission educational program. These impulses are by background of different natures, and yet they color and determine the problems and thus become responsible

for the particular intricacy of the problems.

In particular, therefore, it is proposed to describe in the following section, the function and origin of these impulses. As to their function, these impulses will be seen as developing from the objectives behind the educational program as far as the American Baptist Mission and its superior agency, the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board, are concerned (section i). The objectives of this originating sponsor may be classified as (1) church development, (2) indigenous Baptist leadership training, and (3) civilizatory interests in various trends.

The origin of these impulses is to be found in the interests which come from the Nigerian Baptist Convention, on the one hand, (section ii), and from the secular authorities of both Central and Regional government on the other hand (section iii).

Insofar as these objectives and interests with regard to the Baptist educational enterprise are not quite congruent, a special policy consideration introduces an operational compromise (section iv), thus reconciling any eventual differences between educational objectives and educational interests for operative purposes.¹

After an analytical description of the impulses, the problems themselves will be noted and will be subsumed under the contrast of the religious versus the cultural (section v), however, this only to such a degree as the mission itself may be aware of such problems.

A preliminary identification of these problems as factors of change will conclude this section (vi). This identification of the factors of change, however, can be preliminary only, because they emanate from that

¹. See graph on following page.
Diagram showing the conflict situation in the Southern Baptist Mission Educational Program in Western Nigeria

**Missiological objectives:**
- Evangelism

**Culturo-political interests:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>American Baptist Mission</th>
<th>Church Development</th>
<th>Baptist leadership training</th>
<th>Civilizational interests</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Nigerian Baptist Convention</td>
<td>Baptist training and Baptist schools</td>
<td>Preparation for citizenship turn over in a new Nigeria</td>
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<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td></td>
<td>Universal Primary education</td>
<td>Higher academic standards in secondary education</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Government Grants-in-aid**

- Baptist School systems in operation

**Area of conflict between missiological objectives and culturo-political interests**

Note that this is the solution of the conflict between Southern Baptist principle of state-church separation and Nigerian Baptist acceptance of Government grants-in-aid.
limited sector of mission operations: educational mission. Only after the following chapter has also probed into Baptist life in Western Nigeria with regard to both the climate and loyalties of the institutional sphere of the American Baptist Mission, and the climate, interests and loyalties of the institutional sphere of the Nigerian Baptist Convention, can follow a more complete identification of factors of change and their subsequent analysis.

i. The Objectives of the American Baptist Mission with Regard to the Educational Mission Enterprise

"It need hardly be said that sound Christian education is the goal of Southern Baptist missionaries everywhere."¹

(1) Church development.

Since 1915 there has been in effect a Board policy² that the educational program of Southern Baptists in Western Nigeria should expand to such a degree that there would be a Baptist school in each Yoruba town or village in which there is already a Baptist church, and a high school at the location of each of the Southern Baptist main mission stations. In adopting this policy the Board was saying implicitly that proper church development cannot be expected to be of lasting success if such development is not supported by schooling facilities, which not only will provide for a basic and primary secular education of the local Baptist constituency, but also will participate in the laying of a more

² Cf. Duval, op. cit., p. 174f.
solid and indigenously Baptist foundation for the local church. It is therefore in direct fulfillment of this policy when an annual report of the Baptist Women's Training School at Abeokuta states: "All of our girls passed on every subject, but we are more grateful for their growth spiritually and for the splendid results we have had in our village evangelism."  

Similar reports could be repeated for other stations and schools throughout the years, reports which all stress the importance of the schools as instrumental tools in church development and church consolidation. Such is the report of J. B. Adair, a Nigerian pastor, with regard to the Regan Memorial School, Lagos: "Our schools offer one of the most challenging opportunities for evangelism. We have tried to make them instruments not only in dispelling ignorance but in making Christ known to our pupils."  

(2) Indigenous Baptist leadership, both religious and political. That Baptist schools are to provide for adequate leadership in Baptist churches is implicitly evident from the function of these schools in regard to church development. At the same time, however, Baptist schools will provide for a stabilizing factor in view of such dynamic concerns as currently sweep Nigeria: nationalism and the hunger for mass education. As to the issue of mass education, which is rightly recognized as being only a feature of the greater embracing issue of nationalism, a definitely stabilizing function of the Baptist school--of any mission school for that matter--is seen in that "if the educational  

2. Ibid., p. 88.  
3. Ibid.
process could be spiritualized, it is probable that Nationalism would not get out of control."¹ Thus, Southern Baptists are aware of the far-reaching political implications their educational mission enterprise can and should have in the setting of a rapidly developing Nigeria. In extending the schools beyond the local level, the challenge and opportunities of the whole educational program have grown into such proportions that "despite the fact that the size of our African personnel is greater than ever before, it is totally inadequate to the needs..."²

This insight of potential need and potential lack to meet it results in a call for "missionaries of the highest order,"³ thereby opening a possibility for mission schools in Nigeria, which in the highest sense would answer the objective of training an indigenous leadership.

(3) Civilizatory interests of various types.

Wherever Southern Baptist mission schools are located it will be one of their foremost functions to proclaim "the New Testament faith as Baptists see it."⁴ The higher these schools rank with regard to the type of education, or the more explicitly these schools are commissioned for this particular Baptist purpose, the more Southern Baptist missionaries will be on the faculties. And inasmuch as many Nigerian teachers hold qualifying certificates from those higher institutions, it is even the more pertinent to attempt an inquiry into what all is included in the "New Testament faith as Baptists see it."

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1. Ibid.; Dr. Sadler, secretary for Africa, reporting.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Cf. Annual of S. B. C., 1954, p. 109f. Here this statement of "purpose" is made with regard to the newly-opened Iwo Baptist College in Western Nigeria.
From the foregoing description of the Southern Baptist theological climate\(^1\) it must be assumed that in addition to genuinely theological Baptist beliefs there are also those features of Baptist belief which center in the high evaluation of democracy and civil and religious liberty, features which in the Baptist perspective are found to underly as New Testament features most of the genuinely theological Baptist beliefs. In the perspective of this chapter, however, the Baptist concepts of democracy and liberty must be seen as civilizational values.

That ultimately in the Baptist perspective there is no philosophical or theological breach between the concept of democracy and individual liberty as values pertaining to religion or civilization, may be shown by the development which Mullins, the Southern Baptist crown-theologian of the last century, proposed in this context.\(^2\) In equating the propagation of world progress, i.e., civilization, with his religious axioms, Mullins measured these latter against the principles of education, philosophy, and sociology as positive elements which are congruent and compatible with the positive values of his religious axioms. At the same time he compared these axioms to the principles of socialism, feudalism, and materialism, and found the latter principles incompatible with world progress under God. They do not offer a key to the principle of progress toward the kingdom of God on earth because neither socialism, feudalism, nor materialism can be linked to the only responsible force, that is God's creative force as the regenerating force in Jesus Christ,

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the Saviour. Inasmuch as the principle inherent in education, philosophy, and sociology, in the perspective of the axioms, does promote world progress and civilization toward the kingdom, it answers to both aspects—religion and civilization—for in the perspective of the kingdom there cannot exist a breach between the realms of religion and the domain of civilization. And insofar as democracy and individual civil and religious liberty are only expressions of the principles of education, philosophy, and sociology, as well as forms of the spirit of the Baptist axioms, the concepts of democracy and liberty cannot—in the Baptist perspective—legitimately be secularized.

Although Mullins propagated these thought patterns some fifty years ago, they are still exactly the ones which underly today's Southern Baptist zeal for a religious world civilization, which—when transformed into the mission perspective—promised in 1959:

The future is the golden day of Baptist life. If we can wisely lay hold upon a world task, and give to it the reinforcement that should come from every New Testament church, we shall see an era of progress on a world scale.¹

However, returning to the original inquiry into the content of the "New Testament faith as Baptists see it," and to the suggestion that the concepts of democracy and religious and civil liberty are part and parcel of this New Testament faith—and in the Southern Baptist perspective quite legitimately so—it still must be maintained within the context of this study that such values pertain in a secular fashion to civilization rather than to theology or the religious realm. And this the more as they have as factors and agents of culture change their

¹. Cauthen, in By All Means, p. 28. Note that Dr. Cauthen is Exec. Sec. of the F. M. B.
sphere of influence not primarily in the religious realm, but rather in the political and ideological district.

To how great a degree this "New Testament faith as Baptists see it" is burdened with an ideological weight unindigenous to African culture, may also be exemplified by the following statement. This statement--in its context--deals with the function of the Southern Baptist mission school program from an angle not so immediately and explicitly related to the core of the Baptist belief, although in its literal implication it proves itself to belong to the same center of beliefs. Referring to the illiterate people of the world in general, Frank K. Means, secretary for Latin America of the Foreign Mission Board, says:

Think of how much they miss that is of real worth! The world's literature is closed to them. The Bible is a closed book to them. The blessing of reading and understanding such basic documents as the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights is denied them.1

Judging from the place this statement has in his chapter on "Evangelism Through Teaching," it must be assumed that the subject schedule of a teaching program of a Southern Baptist mission school would include these witnesses of Western civilization, which in their content and history of origin hold at least partially much of the cultural values which Southern Baptists point out with pride to be of the best of their very own Baptist heritage. As such, then, implicitly the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States--and the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights to the degree that it breathes some of the air of the former documents--are also expressions of the

1. F. K. Means, in By All Means, p. 63.
original New Testament faith as Baptists see it, an illuminating feature which has analytically to be dealt with below.\textsuperscript{1}

Inasmuch, then, as it is one of the foremost functions of Southern Baptist mission schools to impart the New Testament faith as Baptists see it, and inasmuch as this instruction in the Baptist faith is part of a formal educational program as over against the doctrinal part of teaching the faith in Sunday School programs, it will be correct to see in this implicit act of conscious—or unconscious—culture mediation in the process of expounding Baptist beliefs, one of the primary objectives of the Southern Baptist educational mission program. This is not to say that Southern Baptists would not teach Christ, or would underplay their role as general educators, for this they most certainly do not. But this is to say that Southern Baptists distinguish themselves in exactly this basic feature of their instruction from all other educational agencies, missions, or Native Administrative schools. Together with all other educational agencies, Southern Baptists are committed to teach according to the standard set by the government. Together with all other denominational schools they teach Christ. But unlike all others, they promote among their students the New Testament faith as they see it with all its cultural and civilizatory implications. In this, Southern Baptists teach something genuinely Baptist, and it is for this reason that this aspect has been enlarged upon here so extensively.

\textsuperscript{1} Gf. chap. VII, 2, iii.
ii. The Interests and Problems of the Nigerian Baptist Convention with Regard to the Educational Mission Enterprise

In the pursuit of establishing self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating Baptist churches and organizations, the Foreign Mission Board has to an increasing degree delegated also the educational branch of its work to the Nigerian Baptist Convention, and this so much so that for a number of years the Convention has been the sole proprietor of all Baptist schools. In its role as proprietor of Baptist schools the Convention is responsible to the government. "The Christian Worker's Board of the Convention, made up of Nigerians and missionaries, deals with the opening of new schools, problems, teacher placements, and discipline, and the setting up of general . . . procedure."¹

The operation of elementary schools is delegated to the local churches, which conduct and sponsor these schools for the Convention.² In connection with the Regional Government's policy of "universal free primary education,"³ Baptist elementary school enrollment reached an all-time high of 84,320 students in 1958.⁴ This large number of students is being taught almost exclusively by Nigerian teachers (2,735 in 1958, 2,938 in 1959).⁵ Over against 340 organized Baptist churches in 1959, there are 474 elementary schools, a number which more than balances the

number of Baptist churches and thus more than fulfills the original 1915 policy of the Foreign Mission Board that there be a primary school at each location where there is an organized Baptist church. However, this favorable balance was not reached until 1954 when for the first time the number of Baptist primary schools surpassed the number of organized Baptist churches. The latter number, according to a newly introduced marginal standard, had dropped slightly over against the previous years.\textsuperscript{1} At the same time, the governmental policy of universal primary education began to have its effect in the form of increased educational grants.

On the level of secondary education, the Convention has likewise made considerable progress. While in 1941 the American Baptist Mission conducted three high schools in Nigeria, there were in 1959 a total of twenty-four Baptist high schools in the country, most of which are operated by the Convention.\textsuperscript{2} All educational missionaries on the staff of the Convention directed high schools serve under Nigerian administrators.\textsuperscript{3} Progressively more high schools will be opened as the number of primary school graduates increases under the universal free primary education program.\textsuperscript{4}

Inasmuch as the Nigerian Baptist Convention has in the past become so heavily involved in the task of education, it thus gives witness to the interests it administers for and shares with its particular Nigerian Baptist constituency and which it bears in loyalty with the whole country.\textsuperscript{5}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Cf. Appendix A.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Annual of S. B. C., 1958, p. 136.
\item \textsuperscript{4} Jester, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 76.
\end{itemize}
However, as much as the Convention strives to satisfy on its part the great hunger for education—which is so typical for Nigeria as well as for Africa at large—the Convention is also confronted with some problems which to a certain degree grow out of its Nigerian rather than its Baptist loyalties.

When Southern Baptist missionaries began to build up Baptist schools in Western Nigeria, their main concern was to create through this program of educational mission a new approach to their primary task of evangelism. Over a period of half a century, Southern Baptist missionaries expanded their educational work and saw it necessary to have the Nigerian Baptist Convention participate in this effort to an increasing degree. As more schools were needed and the Mission was not able to furnish these schools in such a rate as seemed advisable, the Convention began to receive government grants-in-aid in order to reach the goal of more schools for more education. Although there was no doubt that this education was to be a Baptist education, the Convention, it must be assumed, approached this subject under a slightly different emphasis. Being Nigerian and thus sharing in the common desire for learning and knowledge, the Convention emphasized the objective of education at least as much as the objective of evangelism, and this the more as it had to rely on an increasing number of indigenous African teachers for the execution of its educational program.

On the one hand, the Convention found itself in the precarious position which—resulting out of its Baptist character—made it ideologically or theologically difficult to utilize government grants-in-aid because as a Baptist Convention it was committed to the Baptist principle
of state-church separation. On the other hand, however, the Convention shared, together with the government and all Nigerian people, the desire for more education, a desire which could only be met through this specific government aid. The tension which arose between Convention and Mission out of the fact that the Convention has received grants-in-aid since 1924 will be discussed in section iv of this chapter.

At the same time, the Convention was faced with a teacher force which, although it was and is Christian, regarded school teaching "as a profession rather than an avenue of Christian and missionary service." Through this attitude on the part of the Nigerian teachers, not only has the emphasis drifted slightly away from the evangelistic accent to the professional-educational stress in the Convention's educational enterprise, but also the teacher force itself was put under a strain which resulted ultimately from the character of its own self-understanding. As missionaries express it, the Nigerian teachers do not conceive of themselves primarily as evangelizing missionaries but as professional men, who, in times of financial difficulties such as the war years of the early 1940's when the educational program expanded and the grants-in-aid could not be adjusted proportionally, turned away from the teaching profession--especially when the salaries were not raised or even only partially paid--in order to seek employment in a governmental or commercial environment. The situation became particularly critical after a special salary adjustment of mission school teachers

during that period could not fully balance the salaries of these teachers and their salaries still compared unfavorably with those of government teachers and of holders of Government and Commercial clerical posts.¹

In a special sense this situation resulted in a constant change of the teaching staffs in Convention schools, thus providing for a teacher "wastage" with which Mission and Convention had extreme difficulties coping.² Although the financial aspect of the mission school teacher has much improved over the years of rapid educational expansion since the second World War, "it is often [still] difficult to secure from among the nationals Christian teachers who share the same idealism and motivation as the missionaries."³

However, it must be pointed out that with regard to the teacher problem in mission schools, the Nigerian Baptist Convention and the American Baptist Mission are not alone; rather, they share this problem with all other mission or "voluntary"⁴ agencies in Nigeria. The set of problems which the Convention faced—and continues to face—in connection with the acceptance of government grants-in-aid and the Baptist principle of state-church separation, are unique to the Nigerian Baptist Convention. Also unique is the tension between Convention and Mission, a tension which is based upon these genuinely Baptist problems—a tension which also exists because of their different interest in or emphasis on the function of educational mission.

² Ibid., p. 3, par. 15, and p. 4, par. 18.
³ Means, in By All Means, p. 66.
⁴ "Voluntary Agency" is the official term used in all government publications referring to mission agencies in general.
iii. The Government and its
Interests in the Educational Mission Program

It was not until 1903 that the Colonial government for Nigeria instituted a Department of Education,\(^1\) restricted in its authority to Lagos Colony. In 1914, upon the declaration of the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria, further separate educational departments were installed for the Northern and Southern Provinces. These departments became unified in 1929.\(^2\) As far back as 1916 a directive was issued regulating the co-operation between government and missions in matters of public education. In the form of educational grants-in-aid to mission schools the government helped to carry the financial burden of the educational mission programs, a financial assistance which at this early stage was based upon the results of the annual examinations.\(^3\) When the expansion of the mission educational enterprise during the 1920's continued to multiply the number of schools at such a rapid rate that the missions could not provide an adequate "supply of properly trained and qualified teachers,"\(^4\) the policy behind the issuing of grants-in-aid was changed and government grants were given on the basis of the general efficiency of a school rather than on the more automatic basis of examination results.\(^5\) A second wave of mission school expansion during the critical years of the early 1940's made necessary another adjustment in the grants-in-aid policy, according to which the government committed itself

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2. Jester, op. cit., p. 66.
3. Ibid.
5. Jester, op. cit., p. 66.
to pay a substantial contribution toward all teachers' salaries.¹

Eventually the government agreed to add to its salary subsistence a "cost-of-living allowance,"² and thereby became increasingly involved in all of the Nigerian educational enterprise. In 1948, as a result of the Educational Ordinance No. 39 of the same year, a Central Control Board was created, on which the missions were amply represented, holding six out of twenty-six positions. Similar boards were instituted in the three regions of Nigeria.³ Thus a "closer government control over the expansion of voluntary agency schools [was] secured."⁴ The missions were required to register all their teachers and to meet the conditions which were laid down for the opening of new schools. Furthermore, the Regional Boards reserved to themselves the power to close schools "owing to the non-residence or unfitness for management of the proprietor, or to the unsatisfactory nature of the buildings, equipment or staff."⁵

Through this measure, the mission schools in Nigeria were brought under the control of the government in more than only one way. They had not only to comply with the academic standards set by the government according to the British pattern, but they also had to meet the academic requirements for the teaching staff and the physical norms for the school plants. (It almost goes without mention that this government control left untouched the particular denominational interests of religious education in mission schools.) Inasmuch as the Nigerian Baptist

¹ This new policy concerning the use of grants-in-aid is laid down in Sessional Paper No. 29, 1947, Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria, by Davidson, C. M. G.

² Colonial Annual Report, Nigeria, 1948, p. 120.

³ Ibid., p. 120f. ⁴ Ibid., p. 121. ⁵ Ibid.
Convention, as proprietor of most Baptist schools in the country, is also a recipient of these grants-in-aid, it found itself in this same dependence, together with other mission agencies, a dependence which academically has been appreciated.

The schools in Nigeria must conform to the British standards. We receive letters from a number of Nigerian native students whose penmanship and English excel the penmanship and English of the average college student in this country.¹

As much, however, as this government control over the mission schools has been appreciated academically, equally as much has it created some ideological resentment on the part of Southern Baptists because of the Baptist principle of state-church separation. This resentment—which the Nigerian Baptist Convention found possible to reconcile for the greater good of mass education in a progressing Nigeria—has led the American Baptist Mission to maintain a certain number of schools, mostly of the secondary and higher educational level, independent of grants-in-aid and government control, for the purpose of securing from such institutions a cadre of Baptist leadership for Nigeria and West Africa.²

Through its control over the mission educational enterprise, the government has put itself in a position to pursue its own interests, a free primary education for all children. By 1954, this program had been started successfully in the Western Region, and it is expected that "by 1960 all eligible children will be attending school."³ Thus, "the govern-

¹. Routh, The Word Overcoming the World, p. 82.
ment has introduced a six-year primary course which will not only improve existing standards but also ensure that the entry to secondary institutions is of the highest quality.\textsuperscript{1} It is furthermore estimated that by 1960 "the primary school population [of the Western Region] will settle down to a figure of 1,020,000,\textsuperscript{2} which number of pupils will require 34,000 classes and a total teacher force of 40,000.\textsuperscript{3}

While one government interest in the educational field is universal free primary education, another interest is to achieve in this mass educational program the highest standards possible. The first objective is well underway; the second will be the center of attention for some time to come. Especially in connection with secondary education the government has reason to believe that "the standard of teaching is still, generally speaking, much too low," owing probably to the shortage of graduate teachers.\textsuperscript{4} The Annual Report continues to point out that, although the percentage of passes rose slightly in 1954 over the previous year, the standard of those passes was distinctly lower.\textsuperscript{5} In how far the mission agencies in general, and the Baptists in particular measure up to these government observations would be of certain interest, but would not contribute to the direct inquiry into the interests of the government with regard to the mission educational program.\textsuperscript{6}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Ibid.}
\item \textit{Ibid.}, p. 32.
\item \textit{Ibid.}
\item \textit{Ibid.}, the passes here discussed refer to the Cambridge School Certificate.
\item Remark: A Nigerian has pointed out that the government at the moment is in no position to criticize too harshly any of the mission agencies engaged in the educational enterprise because the government depends
\end{enumerate}
mary level, the government is interested in universal education, and on the secondary level it aspires to as high and adequate a standard as possible, so as to ensure a successful preparation of the country's youth for higher education on the university level at home and abroad.

Through a liberal grants-in-aid policy, the government has sought to enlist the co-operation of all educational agencies in the country; and the Nigerian Baptist Convention has met the call of its government for more and better education with a sound measure of Nigerian loyalty.

iv. A Policy Matter Between the Foreign Mission Board and the Nigerian Baptist Convention

"Mission schools are not free from problems. As a matter of fact, the problems occasionally seem to outweigh the advantages. Current operating expenses and capital needs amount to a great deal. Unless a school's administration is constantly vigilant the secular aspects of education may be allowed to over-balance the evangelistic purpose."

Repeatedly attention has been brought to the tension which exists between the Foreign Mission Board and the Nigerian Baptist Convention with regard to the justification of accepting educational grants-in-aid from the government. This tension grew out of the ideological consideration that, according to the Baptist principles of religious and civil liberty and their application in the idea of state-church separation,

to at least as large a degree upon the co-operation of the missions as the mission schools depend upon the government grants-in-aid. This may explain why the official government reports are so bare of any direct and applied criticism of voluntary agency schools.

1. Means, in By All Means, p. 65f.
Baptist schools in Nigeria should not be limited in their objective (i.e., to be contact centers for evangelism) by any form of government control resulting from the acceptance of grants-in-aid.

In order to study the background and the implications of this particular tension, the Foreign Mission Board appointed a commission, prior to the scheduling of the most recent and most spectacular growth of the Baptist educational enterprise in Nigeria. The findings of this "Commission to Nigeria" were placed before the board of the Foreign Mission Board in October 1951.1

Schools conducted under the proprietorship of the Nigerian Baptist Convention have been receiving grants-in-aid from the Nigerian government for 24 years. During these years a system of schools related to the Convention has been developed which includes approximately 400 schools, 30,000 pupils and grants-in-aid from the government amount to some $300,000 annually.2

The Commission had to consider, firstly, the circumstances in Nigeria out of which this system developed; secondly, the scope of the Commission's and the Board's jurisdiction in relation to the Nigerian Baptist Convention; thirdly, the effects of the grants-in-aid on the future of Baptist work in Nigeria. Out of these considerations the Commission had to formulate a recommendation as to the character of the policy the Board and the American Baptist Mission should follow in the future.3

At the time the Convention began to receive grants-in-aid from the government, there did not exist in Nigeria a system of public schools. The only schools available were those of mission agencies, which were

2. Ibid., #1. 3. Ibid., #2.
partially reimbursed for this educational effort under the condition that they meet the standards required by the government. The situation with regard to education in Nigeria, then, was of such nature that "if Baptists did not conduct these schools, Mohammedan, Roman Catholic, and pagan agencies would qualify for the grants and operate them [i.e., the schools]."\(^1\) It was for this reason that the Foreign Mission Board (under Dr. Love) in 1926 had approved the "receiving of the grants-in-aid for Baptist Schools in Nigeria."\(^2\) The Board's resolution at that time makes perfectly clear, however, "that vigilance shall be exercised in guarding the principles which Southern Baptists hold dear, and that if at any time there should be an impingement of these, the necessary steps to protect them shall be taken. . . ."\(^3\)

Thus the legalistic precedence was already in favor of the procedure observed by the Convention up to the point of the inquiry. The Commission related further that the Nigerian Baptists referred to the grants as "our money," and "they claim that to use such aid is not a violation of the principle of separation of Church and State, and that it is much more in keeping with the principle of self-support for them to accept these grants than to depend on subsidies from the Foreign Mission Board."\(^4\) Furthermore, the Commission points out the institutional independence of the Convention over against the Board and its Mission.

With regard to future development—especially in view of an inde-

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1. Ibid. 
2. Ibid. 
3. Ibid., quoting from the Board's resolution ad loco of July 15, 1926. 
4. Ibid.
ependent Nigeria which might eventually be under a Mohammedan-dominated
government—the Commission saw certain dangers implicit in the continua-
tion of government grants-in-aid for the operation of Baptist schools.
Although the Commission would have preferred—true to the Baptist prin-
ciple of state-church separation—that the acceptance of all grants-in-aid
be discontinued, it nevertheless realized that this step was legally and
practically impossible. Instead, the Commission proposed some recom-
mendations which today—as a second line of defense and as an operational
compromise—underly the policy of Board and Mission with regard to the
specific issue of Baptist mission schools in Nigeria.

It was recommended to the Board and agreed upon by the Convention
and the Mission "that the Nigerian Baptist Mission and Convention set up
a limited system of schools which will be supported, controlled and oper-
ated entirely by Baptists, primarily for the purpose of training Nigerian
Baptist workers." Any schools already existing and receiving
grants-in-aid, and which are to be involved in this system, are to be
disengaged from the system of schools receiving grants under the Con-
vention's proprietorship. Instead, the Foreign Mission Board is to pro-
vide funds for the support of these schools "insofar as its budget will
allow." It was furthermore recommended that Board and Convention give
priority to these schools in the allocation of funds and personnel.

In order to emphasize the general autonomy of the Convention which
in this compromising policy had become (only) the co-operator of this
special Baptist school system in Nigeria, the Board assured the Conven-
tion of no further intervention in matters of government grants, but

1. Ibid., #4. 2. Ibid.
confirmed rather that it is prepared to "recognize the responsibility of the Nigerian Baptist Convention to make their own decisions with reference to schools that receive grants-in-aid from the government." Nevertheless, "the Commission would fraternally urge upon the Nigerian Baptist Convention and all its churches the vital importance of guarding the principle of separation of Church and State."  

The Board also hastened to assure the Nigerian Baptists that this policy decision would in no way imply any form of disengagement from the general program of the Convention on the part of the Board, but that this step was taken solely in the interest of safeguarding a few Baptist institutions "for [the] training of Baptist leaders and for the work of the churches in evangelism."  

In principle this policy does not represent any solution to the basic tension between Board and Convention. In practice, however, a compromise is found on the basis of which a further co-operation between the Baptist partners in Nigeria is possible. The Board can look forward to a period in which its mission educational objectives are satisfactorily safeguarded, a period in which Baptist workers, pastors, and leaders will graduate from genuinely Baptistic institutions for service in the Baptist mission cause. And the Convention on its part can look forward to a period in which it will continue to share in the building of a new Nigeria. That the Convention is positively prepared to make the Baptist future in Nigeria work in co-operation with the Southern

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., as explanation to the recommendation of #4.
3. Ibid.
Baptists may be illustrated by the fact that on the occasion of its Annual Session in 1952 its president, J. T. Ayorinde, in his address, enlarged upon the "Unfinished Business: Separation of Church and State": 1 "It was in 1950 that the matter of grants-in-aid was discussed seriously in our own group and finally last year, 1951, at the Ibadan Convention, we took a definite stand by an overwhelming majority vote not to receive Government grants for the support of our training institutions." 2

v. The Educational Mission Program in the Perspective of the Religious versus the Cultural

This section set out to focus upon the Baptist educational mission program in Western Nigeria under the perspective of culture mediation. A certain set of problems were presupposed to underly this educational program, problems which were traced as to the origin of their constituting impulses to the divergent objectives, interests, and intrinsic problems germane to the partners of the Baptist mission school program. And although these impulses were all found to be related to the one and the same institutional fact, the Baptist mission school enterprise, they were nevertheless analyzed as being different from each other with reference to their character, thus emphasizing either more the religious character of the Baptist educational program or its secular, its cultural character. In their contrasting poles, these impulses were analyzed as being either religious—as is the case with Southern Baptist

2. Ibid., italics mine.
mission objectives in education—or were determined as being cultural—as is the case with the interest of the Nigerian government in the same educational program. It was only with reference to the particular character of interests, objectives and problems of the Nigerian Baptist Convention concerning the Baptist educational program in Nigeria that the converging character of these impulses could be focused upon as being in the transgressus from the religious to the cultural.

In this perspective of the religious versus the cultural, the objective of the American Baptist Mission in educational mission is purely religious. "The fundamental purpose of non-theological education on the mission field is to lead people to a saving knowledge of Jesus Christ and to develop Christian character."1 The interest of the government in educational mission is purely cultural, in that it aims to assure a universal basis in primary education and a reliably high standard in secondary education, for the good of the country. The interests and objectives of the Nigerian Baptist Convention, however, are both religious and cultural, inasmuch as the Convention as a Baptist Convention shares the objective of the American Baptist Mission, and as a Nigerian Convention shares the interests of the government.

At the same time, however, these interests and objectives, be they religious or cultural, are perpetrated through the medium of a Western type educational program, through which all three partners, the Mission, the Convention, and the government, expedite their particular interests and objectives to the indigenous culture scene in Western Nigeria. Thus, instrumentally the educational mission program is already a tool of

1. Means, in By All Means, p. 65; italics mine.
culture mediation, no matter whether it be dominated by the religious objectives of Mission and Convention, or by the cultural, the secular interests of government and Convention.

Inasmuch, then, as the Baptist educational enterprise in Western Nigeria is already instrumentally an agent of culture mediation--by virtue of its Western character and scope--it is also in content such a mediative agent to that degree to which its religious objective or function can be reduced to a cultural or civilizational interest.

In subsection i, (3), above, the most basic feature of the subjectively religious function of the Southern Baptist educational mission program, the teaching of the "New Testament faith as Baptists see it," was pointed out to be--in its character as the Baptist principle of individual civil and religious liberty and its application in the ideological concept of state-church separation--already reduced to a civilizational, a cultural value. And inasmuch as this Baptist principle, the New Testament faith and all its Baptistic implications, was shown to represent the most genuine reason for the existence of Baptist schools in the mission field, it must therefore be concluded in the context of this study that behind the most indigenously Baptistic objective for the educational mission program in Nigeria is not so much a religious but rather a cultural value or interest with a genuinely Southern Baptist and American coloration.

Within the Baptist framework this primary Baptist function--to teach the New Testament faith as Baptists see it--is of course a genuinely

1. Cf. ibid., the discussion of the "Fundamental purpose of non-theological education" is beyond this general Christian purpose into a particularly Baptist necessity for and contribution of Baptist schools for the specific Baptistic cause of Baptist missions.
theological objective, and this so much so that Southern Baptists in the context of this primary Baptist mission would not at all conceive of their educational work as a process of culture mediation. Rather, Southern Baptists make the point that since the second wave of expansion of their mission school enterprise in the 1940's, the traditional missionary custom of breaking down the tribal culture in Yorubaland no longer applies, especially since the authority over Baptist educational activities has been increasingly transferred to Nigerian leaders.\(^1\) That, however, the Nigerian Baptist leaders have already been "acculturated," and particularly acculturated to the Baptist faith, is not yet mentioned in the perspective of the cultural mediation.

vi. Predetermination of Factors of Culture Mediation

Out of this limited sector of the educational mission program, a preliminary identification of factors of cultural mediation may be attempted at this point. This attempt seems to be justified only the more as the sector of the mission school program represents an aspect of the total Southern Baptist mission enterprise in Western Nigeria, in which probably the lines of interest of Mission, Convention, and government are most intrinsically interwoven, and, at the same time, are most closely related to the underlying phenomenon of cultural change.

The most uncomplicated set of factors relating to culture change stems from the government's interests in the mission school enterprise. It sees in the mission schools facilities from and through which the country and its government can draw its future employees and leaders,\(^1\)

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\(^1\) From interview with Dr. Goerner.
people who must have a liberal Western education of the highest order possible in order that the country may take its place among the nations. In order that the government can be assured that its interests are realized, it supports the existing mission school systems with grants-in-aid. For this service, the government can dictate the terms and standards of education suited for its purposes: high standards, a syllabus more suited to fit the specific Nigerian demands, and a truly educated standard upon graduation which is designed to meet the constantly rising demands of government and commercial firms.¹

An identification of these government interests in mission schools in terms of the direction of cultural influence or mediation would have to describe them as factors aiming at a cultural mediation, a political consolidation, and a social influence rather than change.

Next in line in terms of complexity would be the identification of factors of general cultural mediation which are related to the part which the American Baptist Mission plays in the Baptist educational enterprise. According to its main concern in education—which is to give a Christian and specifically a Baptist witness and to teach and implant Baptist beliefs through its influence in Baptist schools in Nigeria—the Mission sets forth factors of culture mediation which have primarily a theological, and more yet, philosophical and ideological character. With reference to the specific Baptist principles of the individualistic freedom of the soul before God and the subsequent principles of civil and religious liberty and state-church separation, the Mission provides for its influencing factors a strongly cultural color that carries with it,

under its religious objective, American ideals which have repercussions in the political and ideological outlook of the Nigerian Baptist constituency. As far as the individualistic character of the Baptist message is concerned, it has its influence also on the social structure of the Nigerian Baptist constituency in the form of the "Christian home."

The intensity of the effect of these various factors of the Southern Baptist influence is checked by the fact that the Southern Baptist missionaries are of a different race and of a different culture. The intensity is further checked through the history of their enterprise in the country. Although their white skin and their Western culture were once an asset, furthering "reverence" and "culture hunger"¹ among the people, these assets may now easily become a "liability."² However, through the mission's policy of transfer of authority to the Nigerian Baptist Convention, much of the potential effect of the culturally multi-layered Southern Baptist missionary outreach in Western Nigeria has been preserved.

A differentiated account of the effect of the influencing factors accompanying the Southern Baptist mission outreach, can, however, be given accurately only by confronting these factors with similar factors and their intensity within the Nigerian Baptist Convention. This is to say that at this point only the variety of influencing factors can be identified, a variety which emanates out of the total Southern Baptist

² Ibid.
mission outreach in Nigeria. This variety has been described. The intensity remains to be checked in the analytical chapter.
CHAPTER VI
THE INTERACTION OF SOUTHERN BAPTIST SENTIMENTS
AND NIGERIAN BAPTIST LOYALTIES WITHIN THE
NIGERIAN BAPTIST CONVENTION

The proud result of long and sacrificial Southern Baptist missionary labor is the Nigerian Baptist Convention, largely an indigenous Nigerian organization, in which the Baptist and the Nigerian elements have found an institutional expression. According to the nature of its origin, the Convention is therefore an institution in which two hybrid elements are incorporated. Diverse though they are, these elements do not exclude one another, but rather complement one another in a way which has brought about this phenomenal unit: the Nigerian Baptist Convention.

The Baptist element, Southern Baptist and American in origin, has been discussed lengthily as to its underlying theological, philosophical, and ideological content. The Nigerian element, thought to be mostly a geographical and thus functional identification of the Baptist reality in Nigeria, has been seen to be responsible for some problems which mark the Nigerian Baptist Convention over against its spiritual and partially intellectual parent body, the Southern Baptist Convention. These differences have come to the fore most obviously in the comparison of the Constitutions of the two Conventions. Attention has been focused on the objectives and interests in the Baptist mission school program in Western Nigeria, and on the different roles of the American Baptist Mission as an agent of the Southern Baptist Convention and its Foreign
Mission Board, on the one hand, and of the Nigerian Baptist Convention, on the other.

As has been pointed out, the presence of Southern Baptist missionaries in Nigeria underlines the objective which the Southern Baptist Convention pursues through its Board and the American Baptist Mission: evangelization through the development of New Testament churches and the teaching of the New Testament faith. Through the operation of the far-flung Baptist mission school system, these objectives are genuinely implanted in the Nigerian Baptist Convention, thus securely establishing the Baptist element within the Convention. A certain set of factors which influence the cultural, political and ideological outlook of the Convention have been identified, factors which accompany the process of the Baptist educational mission.

However, the educational mission enterprise is only one aspect of the whole Southern Baptist mission outreach. It is therefore necessary to verify these factors in the larger setting of this outreach, beyond the sector of the primary and secondary Baptist educational work in Nigeria. The whole mission impact of Southern Baptists is constituted in the sum total of secular and theological education, and in the spiritual and cultural impact outside of education in such expressions as are based upon the Southern Baptist moral code, Baptist loyalties, and Baptist ecclesiological thought.

1. Southern Baptist Theological Training in Western Nigeria

In order to provide a sufficiently trained indigenous ministry for the growing number of Baptist churches in Nigeria, Southern Baptists, in
1912, began to create facilities for higher education. Under A. Scott Patterson, an "academy" was opened at Ogbomosho in order "to afford an opportunity for Baptist youths to obtain a higher secular education . . . and more especially to educationally prepare . . . prospective mission workers for entrance into the Theological Seminary."¹ This Seminary, instituted at about the same time as the academy, received its commission from the Foreign Mission Board on January 5, 1915, together with the directive that it be located in its preliminary stage of growth "to suit the convenience of the missionary in charge."² Although it was expected that its ultimate location would be Ogbomosho, it was first opened at Shaki, where in 1914 all graduates of the Ogbomosho academy entered to become seminarians.³

In 1937, Dr. J. C. Pool was appointed principal of the Seminary (previously known as the "School of the Prophets"⁴). After 1938, when Ogbomosho was confirmed as its permanent location,⁵ the Seminary grew rapidly to its present stature both in academic standards and in reputation. "It was decided . . . to raise the standard of the Seminary and to give degrees for advanced work in theology."⁶ At this early stage the Seminary's future became linked to the leading Southern Baptist Seminary at Louisville, Kentucky, in that it was ruled that its teachers were to hold degrees from the Louisville institution, "and the

¹. Sadler, Century in Nigeria, p. 130.
². Ibid.
³. Ibid.
⁵. Ibid.
⁶. Ibid.
courses offered . . . [were to] be outlined and formulated by the Louisville Faculty.\textsuperscript{1}

Behind this raising of standards stood the idea of securing for Nigerian Baptists a theological training equal to that offered by other mission seminaries and institutions in the country.\textsuperscript{2} When in 1948—after a survey by Dr. Goerner who was then on the faculty of Louisville Seminary—the Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary became an affiliate of the Louisville school, its growth was completed as far as the academic standards were concerned.\textsuperscript{3}

Even prior to the actual affiliation, the academic standards of the Nigerian Baptist Seminary had reached an admirable level. The curriculum included the regular seminary course of three years for degree candidates; a theological training course of six months, particularly for older pastors and evangelists who had not received a Standard Six education; and courses for student wives, geared to their educational levels.\textsuperscript{4} In addition to the basic theological disciplines, the three year Seminary course incorporated sociology and required courses in Hebrew and Greek.\textsuperscript{5}

Since 1950, the Seminary at Ogbomosho graduates Nigerian Baptists\textsuperscript{6} whose degree, the Th. B., is fully equivalent to that of Louisville, and whose diplomas are signed by the presidents of both Ogbomosho and

\begin{itemize}
\item 1. Ibid., p. 207.
\item 2. Ibid., p. 206.
\item 3. Sadler, Century in Nigeria, p. 136.
\item 5. Ibid., p. 136.
\item 6. Annual of S. B. C., 1951, p. 121.
\end{itemize}
Louisville. It is evident that through affiliation with the Louisville Seminary—which has played the role of the leading theological institution throughout Southern Baptist history—the Nigerian Baptist Seminary is especially closely linked to Southern Baptist thought, interests, and influence. Through this institutionally-established link, Southern Baptists train the Nigerian Baptist elite on the highest possible level by confronting that elite with a predominantly Southern Baptist missionary staff of the highest caliber.

As a training institution, and through its affiliation with the Louisville Seminary, the Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary is, per se, included in the educational system of the American Baptist Mission, and as such is not under the proprietorship of the Nigerian Baptist Convention.

Because of its institutional relationship with Louisville, and because of its Louisville-trained faculty, the Seminary holds one of the strategic positions from which Southern Baptist thought is directly mediated to the Nigerian Baptist ministerial elite. Its influence cannot be under-estimated; and it is therefore with a certain justification that Southern Baptists point with pride to this great institution which, as far as the quality and quantity are concerned, is the strongest


2. Note that the most prominent African faculty member, Dr. Dahunsi, has also been—prior to his appointment to the Seminary—connected with the Louisville faculty. Dr. Dahunsi has been with the Ogbomosho Seminary since 1957/58. Cf. Annual of S. B. C., 1958, p. 136.
theological institution on the African continent.\textsuperscript{1}

The strong Southern Baptist influence upon the Ogbomosho Seminary is evidenced also by the observation Bishop Stephen Neill made on occasion of a visit there. Surveying mission institutions of higher theological training in Africa with the idea that through consolidation their academic standards might be raised and their effectiveness increased, Bishop Neill found that Southern Baptists do "not find it easy, for theological reasons, to enter into co-operative work," and concluded that "it is unlikely that the Theological Seminary at Ogbomosho can be worked into any scheme of co-operative theological training in Western Nigeria.\textsuperscript{2} Thus the un-co-operative policy of the Foreign Mission Board--in contrast to the generally ecumenical and co-operative attitude of the Nigerian Baptist Convention--dominates the strategic role of the Seminary among Baptists in Nigeria, and underlines in one more instance the central position and influence Southern Baptist missionaries still hold within the Nigerian Convention. This particular influence to non-co-operation is uniquely Southern Baptist, for the American Baptist Mission represents the only major mission force in that area which for policy reasons cannot support its otherwise often friendly feelings toward a greater Christian fellowship within the institutional framework of the Ecumenical Movement.


2. Neill, op. cit., p. 45. This statement of Bishop Neill was confirmed in an interview with Dr. Goerner of the F. M. B.
Southern Baptists share with other denominational training institutions the unindigenous, cultural influences which help to mold the Nigerian elite through the character of their theological leadership training. For not only do Nigerian Baptist theological students obtain "their training along rigidly denominational [i.e., Baptist] lines, and in the idioms of [this] particular confessional tradition,"¹ but also their theological curriculum is "planned as nearly as possible to resemble that which the missionaries had undergone in their own country, that is to say, it [is] American in conception, and not . . . African."²

It is perhaps this character of Baptist theological education which most intensely impregnates a Southern Baptist philosophy upon the limited circle of the Nigerian Baptist elite. Inasmuch, however, as this elite is Nigerian, the particular Southern Baptist influence might be checked in those areas which are the furthest distant from the actual religious and theological core of the Baptist message.

2. The Impact of the Southern Baptist New Testament Faith on the Nigerian Baptist Outlook

In order to counterbalance the impression that Southern Baptist Mission operations in Western Nigeria are broken up and atomized into a deliberate number of independent missionary activities, it is here necessary to bring into focus the central Southern Baptist missionary objective, evangelism, as it relates to the Nigerian Baptist scene out-


2. Ibid., p. 207; cf. also the admirably high theological, but nevertheless typically Western standard of the curriculum at Ogbomosho Seminary.
side particular institutional boundaries and limitations. As evangelism is the ultimate undergirding objective of education, medical missions, and even administration, it influences in an even more direct sense the ethical, personal, and group-related ties and identifications of the Nigerian Baptist scene. The degree of influence of the basic evangelistic message on the Yoruba scene depends upon the degree in which the Baptist concepts of the New Testament teaching, faith, and discipleship are made "appreciable to the African mind and heart and [are] interpreted from the African point of view."¹

Within this perspective, it is proposed as a first step to probe the degree to which Southern Baptist missionaries have succeeded—from the African point of view—in interpreting their message in relation to the ethical or moral norm, with regard to the realm of the personal Baptist loyalty, and with reference to the group ties in Baptist New Testament churches. A second step will be to inquire into similar characteristics pertaining to the Nigerian Baptist Convention.

1. The Baptist Moral Concept

Much of the ethical teaching of Southern Baptist missionaries has concentrated on the issue of polygamy. It is at this point that they have allowed no compromise, despite the fact that the missionaries have come to see this genuinely African institution in its indigenously social and economic implications.² Southern Baptist firmness with regard to this issue led to the secession of a number of churches, singly and in

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¹ Green, op. cit., p. 122.
² Cf. Maddry, op. cit., p. 22.
groups, in the early Baptist history in Nigeria. Despite such events the Mission remained adamant. Polygamy has been officially condemned and "monogamy as the ideal state of family life according to the New Testament" has been recognized as the official policy of the Nigerian Baptist Convention since 1936. To what degree, however, this concession on the part of the Nigerian Convention was the result of rigorous and uncompromising Southern Baptist pressure may be estimated from the fact that, on the one hand, Southern Baptist missionaries have been committed to require such a "Christian education that will break down superstition and African customs, of which polygamy is the curse," and, on the other hand, that it was not until 1957 that the Convention "for the first time" came out in strong support of Article III, 6, of its Constitution.

It has been suggested that Southern Baptists could mark higher membership figures among the Yorubas if it were not for their determined opposition to the African custom of polygamy. However, because of their high standards of membership, they are prepared "in extreme cases that the missionaries . . . will have to take to the extreme and un-Baptistic position of disbanding a Baptist church and organizing a new and pure New Testament church." It was hoped that this measure would lead to

3. Green, op. cit., p. 126. (This attitude reflects the attitude of S. B. C. missionaries around 1936.)
the elimination of men "practicing polygamy and other irregularities."\(^1\)

In their determination to stamp out "this serious social evil," Southern Baptists are not alone, although they certainly belong to its most fierce opponents. To them polygamy is an issue which is contrary to the New Testament faith. And because this issue is theologically--or ideologically--preconceived, it is only with extreme difficulty that Southern Baptists could ever come so far as to see the issue of polygamy through sophisticated and theologically well-trained African eyes, according to which view "monogamy is merely a European convention."\(^3\) And consequently Southern Baptists are the more hard pressed to answer that critical question as to "wherein consists . . . [the] anti-Christian nature"\(^4\) of polygamy.

As the general discussion among missionaries and African Christians around the issue of polygamy is far from being closed, neither is the issue permanently solved for the Southern Baptists in Western Nigeria,\(^5\) although it might seem that their particularly rigid position at the moment has forcefully terminated this discussion. Inasmuch as it is quite clear that polygamy cannot be an alternative for Nigerian Baptists, neither is there yet any degree to which Southern Baptists have inter-

5. S. A. Lawoyin, in Proceedings of N. B. C., 1958, p. 11; Lawoyin notes that "there have come to the attention of the Workers Board during the year cases of pastors and teachers living in sin of adultery."
preted the ethical implication of their Baptist New Testament faith from the African point of view in the matter of this central point of ethics.

ii. Baptist Loyalties

Inasmuch as representation and propagation of the Baptist faith are the main tasks of the Southern Baptist missionary in Nigeria, it is self-evident that he should be filled with loyalty toward this Baptist New Testament faith. The missionary addresses himself to the indigenous religious scene, which--predisposed by his prior loyalty or partiality--he can see and understand only insofar as this indigenous religion is different and largely inferior to his faith. For the purpose of his evangelistic approach, the missionary acquires a working knowledge of the indigenous religious faith which is so colored as to allow him to see his own religious convictions to be unquestionably superior to those of the people he has set out to win for his cause.

In particular this is true of the Southern Baptist missionary who brings to his profession a deep conviction of the Baptist faith which he possesses with the unchallengable assurance of a fundamentalist. Not only does his missionary assignment depend on the certainty of his calling and his beliefs,¹ but also his method of evangelistic approach is largely determined by the unreflected and typically fundamentalist method of presenting his faith² in narrowly limited Southern Baptist thought patterns. He will follow the policy of Southern Baptist

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missionary wisdom and will convey "faithfully the words of his Lord" through selected New Testament idioms rather than through his own reflections which might have grown out of the experience of his Baptist and Christian existence. And inasmuch as it is his Baptist faith, demanding his full loyalty, which he is to present, he will in unconscious loyalty to this faith have selected that which supports the Baptist principles: the individual soul's direct access to God, religious and civil liberty, and the sacredness of democracy.

It is in this perspective and with this pre-conceived loyalty that the Southern Baptist missionary approaches the indigenous Yoruba religion. Over the years most of the Southern Baptist missionary writers have given more or less comprehensive accounts of the Yoruba religion.

1. Cauthen, in By All Means, p. 8. 2. Ibid.
3. Cf. a brief listing of some of the Southern Baptist mission literature describing the Yoruba religion in the Southern Baptist perspective:

S. Anderson, So This Is Africa (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1939), chap. 2.
W. T. Clark, Outriders for the King (Richmond: Educ. Dept., F. M. B./ S. B. C., 1931) chap. 2.
I. G. Coleman, For This Cause (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1938).
T. J. Bowen, Central Africa, chap. 25.
Yoruba Life (Richmond: F. M. B./ S. B. C., 1928).
C. S. Green, New Nigeria, chap. 2.
C. E. Maddry, Day Dawn in Yorubaland, chap. 1.
G. W. Sadler, A Century in Nigeria, chaps. 1, 4-6.
Witnessing at Home and Around the World, a symposium (Nashville: S. B. C. Sunday School Board, 1937), chaps. 1, 2, 4.
In these writings the missionaries relate some basic facts about the Yoruba religion and attempt to give an interpretation, which on the one hand, correlates more or less correctly the religious functions attached to the reported facts, and which, on the other hand, seeks out those points in the indigenous religion which are contrary to the often only stereotyped Baptist beliefs of the missionary himself.

As an example: In a scanning survey of Samuel Johnson's account of the Yoruba religion in his History of the Yorubas, Susan Anderson confronts her reported account of the Yoruba religion with the avowed values of her Baptist faith. "In a study of the 13 gods given by Mr. Johnson, we find no word of love and no suggestion of anything that would be likely to inspire a follower to a higher standard of life; but . . . fear, superstition, cruelty, vengeance and death we find in abundance."¹

Such evaluation of the Yoruba religion results in finding no Southern Baptist concept of Christian love and no desire for a "higher standard of life," both of which are central Baptist values. Instead, a deliberate selection of negative features of the Yoruba religion is reported, which only reveals that basically the Yoruba religion has not been understood. This fate most of the African religions suffer from missionary interpretations.²

However, it is exactly this Baptist loyalty of the Southern Bap-

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2. Cf. Asamoah, op. cit., p. 300: "European missionaries should, in the first place, acknowledge that there is a section of the African 'mind' which they have not yet been able to penetrate—or rather, that there is a sphere of the African soul-world which they have not yet been able to enter."
tist missionary that causes him to miss a vital understanding of the indigenous Yoruba religion, a fact which actually may deprive him of a vital angle of approach. It is the fundamentalist character of his Baptist loyalty that stops him short of interpreting his basic message from the African viewpoint.

Not until a satisfactory standard work on the Yoruba religion is available can a missiological approach be suggested which distinguishes itself from the traditional missionary approach. In any case, however, such an approach would have to take into account a profound comprehension of the Yoruba religion, which shares with other African religions the knowledge of a reality of communication of God with man through various stages of subordinated emanations. Only by taking the Yoruba religion seriously as a religion can the missionary hope to penetrate the religious Yoruba soul.

1. Among the following contributions to the Yoruba religion, J. O. Lucas' book is perhaps the most extensive account. However, this study leaves too many questions unanswered for it to be valued as a satisfactory account of the Yoruba religion.

Selected bibliography of the Yoruba religion:


iii. The Baptist New Testament Churches

Perhaps the greatest freedom to adapt his message to the African mind is given to the Southern Baptist missionary with regard to the task of developing New Testament churches. In this he is not bound to any hierarchical structure or institutional concepts of the church which would force him to duplicate an institutional church structure according to a tradition which is not akin to African institutional concepts.

That Southern Baptists have this freedom is not accidental, but rather is related to the role which the organized church plays in their own theological and ecclesiological thought. Wherever the church is understood as an institution or organization, or is subject to authoritative creeds, or obligated to rituals and prescribed liturgical forms, or wherever the church's sacramental function is set over the individual church member's access to God, there is no Baptist church. For a Baptist church lives only by the immediate action of the Holy Spirit and the immediate and individual response of all Baptist church members.\(^1\)

Such a loosely knit concept of the church makes it much easier to plant churches in various settings of cultural differences, and it is at this point that Southern Baptists have the advantage over other denominations which are bound to more rigid concepts of the church in its unalterable structure and function.

As Southern Baptists see it, "the church is not a Western institution. It does not depend upon Western culture and thought patterns for

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its power of operation." Rather, "a New Testament church is just as effective in . . . Nigeria . . . as it is in America."¹ Structurally and ecclesiologically Southern Baptists can conceive of any form of New Testament churches, just as long as such churches are comprised of companies of believers who hold the New Testament faith as Baptists see it. Because at the level of individual church membership, Southern Baptists have rigorous, culturally-burdened ethical and ideological demands, they can be generous on the wider group or community level where (in each case) the decisions have been made on the individual basis prior to this level.

This explains why Southern Baptists are in no hurry to accept large numbers into their New Testament churches in Nigeria, for they receive by baptism only those who are already matured in the Baptist faith. Southern Baptists state that "baptisms could be reported by thousands annually if all who ask for baptism were accepted, as the idea of salvation through baptism is prevalent in the minds of many people turning from paganism."² But Southern Baptists are more interested in a qualitative than in a quantitative gain, thus coming in their perspective closer to a "truer type of church member."³ Again the decisive barrier which lies before the celebrated Baptist freedom is on the individual level, on that level where the missionary and evangelist prepare individual Nigerians for proper church membership. By the time a Nigerian Baptist becomes a member of a genuine New Testament church, he has already to a large degree undergone a Southern Baptist conditioning with

3. Ibid.
an American culture coloring.\footnote{Cf. S. A. Lawoyin, in Proceedings of N. B. C., 1958, p. 11. In this context Lawoyin complains that there are a few churches within the Convention which use the name "American Baptist Church." In the interest of full autonomy of the N. B. C., he asks that those churches change their names, "since this may weaken our witness in regard to self-government and democracy in Baptist churches or the autonomy of a local Baptist church." A similar case exists with regard to an "American Baptist College." The N. B. C. would like to see its name changed: "In the interest of our work, let us try to bring such institutions into line with other Baptist schools."}

After this pre-conditioning, whatever is left of indigenously Nigerian Baptist incentives--be it in thought, form or structure--will be developed in the Baptist freedom of the Nigerian Baptist churches.

After Nigerian Baptist Christians have associated themselves into "particular societies or churches," according to Christ's commandment,\footnote{D. Moody, "The Nature of the Church," What Is the Church?, p. 17.} these churches unfold the full richness of the New Testament example with a lay activity which often excels that of the American Southern Baptist churches in its closeness to the spirit of the New Testament.\footnote{Crawley, in By All Means, p. 60.}

If this inquiry were limited only to the application of the Baptist faith with regard to African expression in Baptist New Testament churches, then it must here be concluded that Southern Baptist missionary practice gives all potential freedom in this direction. If, however, the background of the Baptist church development is also taken into consideration, then again the uncompromising Southern Baptist missionary policy comes to the fore with regard to those Nigerian self-expressions which are not directly congruent with the Southern Baptist New Testament faith.
Southern Baptist loyalties find their full expression on the individual level. It is on that level that the values of the Baptist faith are most important, and are, therefore, most uncompromisingly maintained. Not only have the values of the Baptist faith not been interpreted for the individual African from an African point of view, but also only a very few Southern Baptist missionaries have found it possible to identify themselves with the Nigerian Baptists by transfer of their church membership to Nigerian Baptist churches. Rather, the majority of the missionaries prefer to maintain "their membership in their home churches" even after having "spent 10, 15, and even 20 years in the country."\(^1\) Nigerian Baptists definitely feel the edge which is implicit in this missionary attitude, especially when they "try to answer those who say, maybe that the missionaries have brought us an inferior type of Christianity since they, after many years of missionary activities in the country are not interested in becoming members of churches they helped us to organize."\(^2\) And it is in the perspective of this experience that Nigerian Baptists suggest "maybe it is time for us to rethink our philosophy of missions in the light of a changing world,"\(^3\) thereby implying that it is now time to identify the Baptist mission cause, message, and climate more with the Nigerian scene.

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2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
3. Nigerian Characteristics of the Nigerian Baptist Convention

Compared to the foregoing short analysis of some characteristics of the Baptist New Testament faith and its underlying Baptist principles pertaining to the moral, the individual, and the group-related realm of Nigerian Baptist church life from the perspective of the American Baptist Mission, it is intended to describe in this parallel section those characteristics which, in the Nigerian Baptist perspective, pertain to the outlook of the Nigerian Baptist Convention. As such, this section is concerned with the self-conception of the Convention in relation to the Baptist nature of its institutional life (section i), to the African accent of its Christian loyalties (section ii), and to the Nigerian Baptist self-identification within the wider community of an ecumenical Christianity (section iii). Inasmuch as the Convention is the institutional result of long Southern Baptist missionary labor, and, as such, is in its Baptist character the Nigerian reflection of the American Baptist Mission and ultimately of the Southern Baptist Convention, this section relates an important parallelism; for it is over against the particular character of the Nigerian Baptist self-conception in its wider context that the intensity of the Southern Baptist missionary outreach in Western Nigerian can be gauged.

Within the overall structure of this study, this section delineates the final functional step prior to the analysis of the nature of Southern Baptist mission operations in Western Nigeria.
i. Nigerian Baptist Expressions

In a sense, Yorubas have a natural comprehension of the basic Baptist characteristics of individual freedom and democratic civil liberties. In their traditional social structure they possessed a great amount of independence from their chiefs in most civil matters, although they accepted "the leadership of the Yoruba chiefs (Obas) ... well ... both in ritual matters and in time of war."\(^1\) These chiefs, however, "did not as a class possess the measure of personal command which the Fulani rulers had acquired."\(^2\) Thus the Yorubas enjoyed "a large measure of autonomy under the leadership of local aristocratic families,"\(^3\) an autonomy which was even heightened when they pursued their trading interests in places far away from their homeland. Especially the Yorubas from Ogbomosho—which had become the largest Southern Baptist mission station in Nigeria\(^4\)—spread over wide areas in West Africa. Famed as traders, the Ogbomosho Yorubas maintained their autonomous identity wherever they went, often living as a minority Yoruba community, and planting—so far as they were Baptists—their own Baptist churches.\(^5\)

Within Yorubaland the concept of autonomous local Baptist churches did not at any point collide seriously with traditional Yoruba social patterns. And when after 1953 the Native Administration system under the dominance of the Obas was transformed into a more democratic form

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2. Ibid.  
3. Ibid.  
5. Cf. ibid., Jester attributes the foundation of some 100 autonomous Baptist churches all over West Africa to this activity of the Ogbomosho traders.
of local government, Yoruba Baptists were well prepared for this development by their indigenous tradition as well as by their new Baptist faith.

It is on the basis of these two blending elements that Yoruba Baptists are today so competent in dealing with the problems of co-operation and inter-dependence within the structure of their Convention. Although as Baptists they cherish freedom and democracy, as Yorubas they parallel these features with a sense for leadership and discipline, the understanding of which they derive from their traditional social structure.

The ideal programme of organized co-operation is one in which will be kept a fine balance between freedom and authority. Without freedom, authority becomes oppressive and destructive; without authority, freedom becomes confused and subversive.

In the context of the ecclesiological organization of the Nigerian Baptist Convention, this "fine balance" between freedom and authority is, of course, related to the balance of freedom and authority in Christ. But to the extent that it is realized and understood by Yorubas, it is to be attributed to their particular social structure. As Yoruba Baptists, they have conceived of this balance, and the necessity for it, at a point where Southern Baptists were still primarily concerned with upholding the unqualified Baptist appeal for individual freedom. And it is only now that Southern Baptists begin to realize that it is not enough to safeguard their principle of liberty with an automatic righteousness of the believer, a righteousness which is assured somewhat

3. Ibid., p. 20. Italics mine.
4. Ibid.
anonymously by the Holy Spirit. In a new concern about a Southern Baptist ecclesiology, it is suggested that the church's position is between the poles of anarchical, individualistic freedom and hierarchical or tyrannical authority.¹

However enlightened theoretically the Southern Baptist insight may be with regard to the need for a balance between freedom and authority, practically the Southern Baptist community will have comparatively more inner difficulties to overcome in order to make this balance ideologically work than will their Yoruba sister community; for the Yoruba community brings to this goal of disciplined co-operation its indigenous heritage of a balanced social structure.

Yoruba Baptists are true and loyal Baptists, witnessing to and holding dear all those principles which they have received from their Southern Baptist missionaries. If asked what distinguishes them as Baptists from other Nigerian Christians, they would most likely answer in Southern Baptist idioms similar to those used by the president of the Nigerian Baptist Convention at its 1951 Annual Session.² Thus they believe in the scriptural basis of their Baptist faith, they consider their churches to consist of a "regenerated membership," they see Baptist churches as the only ones to have Christ as their spiritual head, and they accept the form of baptism which Christ "accepted and requested . . . at the hand of John the Baptist preacher."³ Furthermore, they share

3. Ibid.
with Southern Baptists the esteem for the rights of the individual before God, the "belief in the democracy of the church," and all that that implies, and they conceive of the Christ-instituted ordinances as symbols, remembering His death, burial, and resurrection. Considering the rigid individual membership requirements which Southern Baptist missionaries bring to bear on their Yoruba converts on the personal level, acceptance of all of these Baptist beliefs is to be expected. The rigid standards of admission to baptism and the massive Baptist instruction at the Ogbomosho Seminary assure this form of Nigerian Baptist expression.

In the light of these strongly Baptistic expressions, it is no surprise that the Nigerian Baptist leadership, which is most directly influenced by the Southern Baptist outreach, gives preference to its Baptist loyalties over against those "national characteristics" which might "affect adversely the fundamental principles and teachings of the Christian Church." This leadership maintains that Christianity—over against certain national characteristics—is not "a foreign religion. Christianity is [rather] a seed that will grow on any soil where people see God's truth as revealed in Jesus Christ." However, wherever those national characteristics, such as Nigerian dress, Nigerian tunes, Nigerian art forms, and "Nigerian airs in . . . worship, if reverently and orderly conducted," do not interfere with the fundamental Baptist principles and teachings, there they have their place in the expression of the Nigerian Baptist churches. However, "in our effort to identify

1. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
the church with our culture and customs, we must be very careful lest we suffer a loss of basic Christian motives, definiteness, and dynamic that characterize the early Christian Church. 1

Through these genuinely Baptist expressions, Nigerian Baptists display a Baptist loyalty which extends also into the field of one particularly indigenous phenomenon, the local secret society, of which the Reformed Obgoni Fraternity is the most prominent. Any membership in the Reformed Obgoni Fraternity is considered to be incompatible with membership in Nigerian Baptist churches, for "it is both unbaptistic and unfair." 2

In particular, the Reformed Obgoni Fraternity is seen to be related to such impenetrable organizations as the Freemason Lodges in Western culture, where many of the symbols and rites are mysterious, where names of pagan deities are pronounced in worship-like services while the name of Jesus Christ is omitted. It was especially on this latter count that Nigerian Baptists, together with Southern Baptist missionaries and Anglican authorities, took a strong stand against the Fraternity and maintained that wherever there is worship in the name of any other than Jesus Christ it is pagan worship and that consequently Nigerian Baptists have no right to participate in such. 3 In condemning the participation of its members in the Fraternity, the Convention parallels

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1. Ibid.
3. Cf. Ayorinde, in Proceedings of N. B. C., 1951, p. 31. Free use is made of an Anglican study which, under the auspices of C. F. Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury, inquired as to "whether the theological implications of freemasonry are compatible with the Christian faith as held by the Church of England."
the position of the Southern Baptist Convention with regard to American freemasonry. However, the case of the Nigerian Baptist Convention against the Reformed Ogboni Fraternity and the issue of Baptist membership therein is much more intricate than the Southern Baptists' position on freemasonry. The great temptation for Nigerian Baptists to participate in the Fraternity lies in its nationalistic character: the "... Reformed Ogboni Fraternity more than any other society or organization unifies Nigeria. In the Fraternity there is no tribalism, class prejudice or religious distinction..." The Convention sees the need to appeal to the Foreign Mission Board for help and advice in this matter, for despite Convention demands that all Nigerian Baptists withdraw from the Fraternity, even a number of its pastors and teachers continue their membership with the Fraternity.

Although the issue of the Nigerian Baptist membership in the Fraternity has nationalistic undertones, and although it is very much an indigenous, internal matter, the appeal of the Convention to the Foreign Mission Board for help is an example of a particular Baptist loyalty on the part of the Convention, and is somewhat unexpected since on other occasions the Convention pursues a line of interests different from that of the Foreign Mission Board.

1. Ibid., quoting from M. N. Ojiki, article in *West African Pilot*, of March 3, 1951.

Together with their fellow-countrymen and together with all Africans, Nigerian Baptists look forward to a new and brighter future in dignity and in independence. As Nigerians they feel it to be their responsibility to participate in the great task of building a united Nigeria, and they are prepared to contribute their particular share to this venture in co-operation with all progressive forces in Nigeria. Inasmuch as they are Baptist Christians, they offer what is Baptist and akin to their Baptist genius, thus passing on all that they have received from their Southern Baptist "missionary benefactors." Nigerian Baptists believe they are able to contribute most genuinely to the common cause through a Nigerian Baptist mission program and Christian education.

Through its Home and Foreign Mission Board, the Convention is promoting its particular Baptist witness within and beyond the national boundaries of Nigeria. It is especially concerned with the Moslem areas on the western and northern frontiers of Yorubaland and in Dahomey.

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In the newly-independent Nigeria, an educated leadership which is needed in every phase of development will be at a premium. The new Nigeria will want Christian educational institutions as arsenals for her leadership programs. It is at this point that Nigerian Baptists are fully aware of the important role they can play in building the future and helping assure that this future is Christian in character. And it is in the interest of this greater Christian future that Nigerian Baptists eagerly heed the call for Christian unity, loyalty, and "tenacity of purpose," and subordinate such divisive features as "racial, tribal and national boundaries" to the greater ideal.

As Baptist Christians in a nationalist and color-conscious country, they attempt to do their part to overcome all racial tensions which might lie in the way toward the future. Particularly in relation to their Southern Baptist missionaries, Nigerian Baptists have exhibited a sense of Christian maturity concerning the racial issue which has found the humble admiration of Southern Baptist missionary leaders.

Of naturally high interest to Nigerian Baptists is their position in the Nigerian political scene, for it is in the realm of the political that the young independence of the country will have its most visible expressions. Although their Nigerian loyalty aspires to political independence for their country, Nigerian Baptists, as Baptists, are keenly

2. Ibid.
aware of some of the problems which are involved in their country's growing independence. 'To them it is not so much a question of whether their people are or are not "ready" to take up the political responsibility for their country, for as Nigerians they want full political autonomy. Rather, their question is what might happen to their Baptist principles of civil and religious liberty should an autonomous Nigerian government under Moslem and eventually Roman Catholic control take over the reins.\(^1\)

Considering their minority position as some 43,000 in this most populous African country of over thirty-three million, Nigerian Baptists feel that it is in a particular sense their responsibility to "plan and pray" and to act wisely in political matters, "if Nigeria is to be a free nation in Christ as it comes to political independence."\(^2\)

In order to safeguard the freedom of belief for the future, the Nigerian Baptist Convention, together with other religious bodies, co-signed a statement urging Chief Awolowo, Premier of the Western Region, to secure the principle of religious freedom before the 1957 Constitutional Conference at London:

'We earnestly and humbly implore you to use your good offices at the Nigerian Constitutional Conference holding in London, to see that the new Nigerian Constitution contain provisions ensuring to every individual in Nigeria the unhindered right to exercise full freedom of religion, according to the dictates of his own conscience, and that full freedom be extended to all religious bodies to teach the tenets of their faith without restrictions and to worship anywhere in Nigeria, in private or in public, according to the dictates of their conscience.\(^3\)

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Thus Nigerian Baptists eschew a "hands off" attitude toward politics and government in order to prevent the possibility that they might "one day find the governmental machinery of the country in the hands of dishonest people."¹

This attitude, however, is "not in the least degree advocating a breakdown in [the] agelong Baptist belief concerning church and state,"² but is rather to serve to secure a good government by placing it "in the hands of men of personal integrity."³ In the practical application of this attitude, Nigerian Baptists come out strongly in support of such efforts as are designed to bring to an end the often bemoaned public and private bribery and corruption.

Rather than admonishing its constituency to abstain directly or indirectly from political activities, the Convention advises its people to use their democratic influence wisely at the election polls. "All over the Western Region, Baptist pastors and missionary advisers encouraged the people to pray for guidance concerning the election and then to go to the polls with the idea of voting for the good of all and the future of the Country, rather than according to selfish political prejudices."⁴

The Nigerian Baptists in the Western Region have the alternative of casting their vote for either the Action Group or the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons (N. C. N. C.). The Action Group, with its origin in the cultural organization Egbe Omo Oduduwa, which was formed

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¹ From president's message, Proceedings of N. B. C., 1956, p. 2.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Jester, op. cit., p. 35.
by intellectuals, has contested since 1950 for the political leadership of the Western Region. Under the direction of Chief O. Awolowo, "a most industrious man of the highest integrity to whom mass popularity has little appeal,"¹ the Action Group attracts successful lawyers, teachers, and wealthy business men,² of whom there are quite a number among the trading Yorubas. The N. C. N. C., on the other hand, being firmly planted in the Eastern Region, attracts the "most radical elements" from among the Yorubas,³ "those who were 'misfits' in their own societies and rebelled against tribal elders or British administrators, and, at the higher level, those who had been to England and returned with left-wing political ideologies."⁴

Although it is nowhere officially mentioned, nor is any party political partiality expressed among Nigerian Baptist leaders, it is safe to assume that Nigerian Baptists on the whole do not quite fit into the sociological and ideological makeup of the N. C. N. C. in the Western Region. On the one hand, thorough Southern Baptist training and influences have pre-conditioned Nigerian Baptists against any eventually left-wing political affiliation, which must be assumed to be the position of the N. C. N. C.⁵ On the other hand, the leader of the Action Group,  

². Ibid.  
³. Ibid., p. 695.  
⁴. Ibid.  
⁵. With regard to the political affiliation of the N. C. N. C., see "Nigerian Election," The West African Press Survey, No. 351 (Nov. 3, 1959), 2: "In a statement, published on October 27th it was declared on behalf of the N. C. N. C. that although it prides itself as a Fabian Socialist party stoutly opposed to Communism as a way of life, yet it does not believe that anti-communism, in and of itself, is a sufficient basis for a foreign policy."
Chief Awolowo, represents precisely those characteristics which were lauded by the Convention's Yoruba president in 1952.1

On the whole, however, Nigerian Baptists as Baptists might well share the general apathy common among Yorubas with regard to local politicians2 in whom they see the attempt of a "few ambitious men to get themselves well paid government posts, . . . an aim with which [Yorubas have] little sympathy."3 The evidence of such an attitude of political apathy among Nigerian Baptists might well be the reason for the repeated urgings by several Convention presidents to make use of their democratic right and privilege.

Nevertheless, the general political expectations of Nigerian Baptists, loyal both to their country and to their faith, might be expressed in the words of Chief Awolowo before the Constitutional Conference at London on May 23, 1957:

... there is one beacon of light which we should keep constantly within our view: that a Nigeria set free . . . in friendship with Britain will be a rich, powerful and influential nation of 32,000,000 people--one nation under God; undivided, and pledged to work for the good of all our people within the British Commonwealth of Nations, and in harmony with the rest of the world.4

1. According to a note in the West African Pilot, Sept. 12, 1959, reported in "The Nigerian Election," The West African Press Survey, No. 348 (Sept. 22, 1959), 3, it must be assumed that Chief Awolowo and some of the leaders of the Action Group are Christians: "Moreover, the announcement that he [Chief Awolowo] and other Christian leaders of the Action Group intended to say prayers in the mosque had aroused colossal opposition from well-meaning Moslems in Lagos and the Province." Italics mine.

2. Lloyd, _op. cit._, p. 698.

3. _Ibid._

iii. The Character of Nigerian Baptist Ecumenical Co-operation

By virtue of its membership in the Christian Council of Nigeria, the Nigerian Baptist Convention maintains a relationship which in its trend and climate is somewhat different from the sentiment which officially characterizes the Southern Baptist Convention and its Foreign Mission Board in ecumenical matters.¹ The character of the relationship of the Nigerian Baptist Convention to the Ecumenical Movement and its position on ecumenical co-operation is thus similar to those Baptist bodies which--under certain Baptist qualifications--find it possible to co-operate with other churches within the framework of the Ecumenical Movement. These specific Baptist qualifications follow the traditional line of Baptist thought, according to which Nigerian Baptists feel that they "must . . . segregate well enough, be courageous enough to declare [their] definitive denominational convictions, beliefs and doctrines in order to help [their] people become intelligent in recognizing their position and the right of others to hold different beliefs."²

In particular, Nigerian Baptists, together with all other Baptists,

1. Officially, however, there will not be too many enthusiastic ecumenical statements within the Nigerian and Southern Baptist realm, statements which might strongly support this observation, because the S. B. C. does not, and cannot, propagate too much the N. B. C. membership in the Christian Council of Nigeria before its home constituency. It is, however, the rule that the F. M. B. of the S. B. C., if asked directly will state the fact that the N. B. C. indeed is closer to the ecumenical climate than is the S. B. C. It is furthermore interesting to note that the F. M. B. encourages the N. B. C. to continue its membership in the Christian Council of Nigeria, and gives a certain amount of financial contribution to the International Missionary Council annually. (From interview with Dr. Goerner.)

2. Lawoyin, in Proceedings of the N. B. C., 1959, p. 6A.
are primarily concerned about their genuine Baptist heritage: the freedom of the individual before God and the independence of local churches "according to the pattern set by New Testament churches." In order to maintain this heritage, Nigerian Baptists find the uniting bond of ecumenical co-operation which they presently enjoy fully satisfactory, and prefer this type of unity over against any attempts toward organic union on a larger scale. A typical Baptist interjection in this context is that other issues are much more pressing, as, for instance, "effective Christian witnessing and a concerted effort toward rapid Christianization of the country," and that compared to this, the issue of organic church union has assumed "a position of prominence that is out of proportion to its religious importance." The unity which already exists as the basis of ecumenical co-operation cannot be underscored over against the visible dis-unity which, in the Baptist view, "has [only] to do with superstructure." Furthermore, where there is religious liberty there cannot be unity in uniformity, and where there is "interdenominational co-operation, tolerance and fellowship, there can be unity in diversity." This is exactly as far as Nigerian Baptists will go in the ecumenical endeavor. Unity in diversity is a genuinely Baptist position, and from this position Nigerian Baptists are most willingly prepared to co-operate. This position Nigerian Baptists bring to ecumenical con-

1. Ibid.
2. Lawoyin, "I Will Build My Church... Extending the Church's Faith," presidential address, Proceedings of N. B. C., 1958, p. 10.
3. Ibid., p. 11.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid. Italics mine.
ferences where they appreciate the uniting fellowship with other churches, and where they co-operate to the best of their ability in order that the answers may be found "to the multifarious and unavoidable problems confronting all churches in Africa."¹

Over against the previous chapter, this chapter widened the scope of the intricate interdependence of the American Baptist Mission and the Nigerian Baptist Convention. In connection with the Baptist educational mission enterprise in Western Nigeria, there came into focus a large measure of Baptist congruity and a certain measure of Nigerian Baptist independence. This chapter brought out on the wider scope of theological orientation the Nigerian Baptist expressions, the African Christian loyalties, and the Nigerian Baptist character of ecumenical co-operation.

The intensity of the Southern Baptist influence upon the Nigerian Baptist scene has been recognized as being related to the impact of the Foreign Mission Board on the Nigerian Baptist Convention. According to the degree in which Baptist values were uncompromisingly maintained, and Nigerian interests and loyalties were allowed a more or less free expression, the missionary outreach of the Southern Baptists in Western Nigeria will be analyzed.

Roughly this analysis will show that wherever basic Baptist values are involved, the impact is the strongest, the most genuine and uncompromising; and that wherever marginal Baptist convictions are involved, the impact has lost its vigor. The exception is perhaps the issue of

¹ Ibid., p. 10. This comment was made by S. A. Lawoyin in connection with his acknowledging the great event of the All-Africa Church Conference, held at Ibadan from January 10 to 20, 1959.
grants-in-aid for the school system of the Nigerian Baptist Convention. Here the particular Nigerian interests have won out over the Baptistic ideological concept of civil liberties and its application in the issue of state-church separation.
CHAPTER VII
ANALYSIS OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST FOREIGN MISSION ENTERPRISE

The previous chapters of this study were designed to provide data for an analysis of the Southern Baptist mission enterprise. Accordingly, the program, mode, and issues of the Southern Baptist mission operations in Western Nigeria were aligned in their dynamic, i.e., situational context. The theological and religious content of the missionary message has been described in the context of the Southern Baptist Convention. The missionary activity of the Foreign Mission Board in Western Nigeria has been reported. The result of the Southern Baptist mission work has been identified with a body of Nigerian Baptist believers, who are institutionally represented in the Nigerian Baptist Convention, who theologically share the Baptist faith and beliefs as they have been imparted to them by the American Southern Baptist missionaries, and who, to a certain degree, culturally and ideologically participate in Southern Baptist convictions unindigenous to the Nigerian cultural scene.

If, then, the Southern Baptist foreign mission outreach is to be analyzed as the force which formed this body of Baptist believers in Nigeria, this analysis will have to address itself primarily to this body, the Nigerian Baptist Convention. For it is the objective of this analysis to gain some insight into the intensity of the Southern Baptist mission outreach to the indigenous Nigerian scene, as well as to define a roster of factors which—with regard to this outreach—might give in-
formation as to the gradation of the impact intensity in certain categories, be they theological or religious, philosophical, ideological, cultural, or sociological and political. In order to accomplish this analytical objective, a tool has to be devised which will substitute in the best way possible for the direct method of sociological field research, which would no doubt be the most satisfactory approach to this study. Inasmuch, however, as such approach has not been possible, the more theoretical approach must be designed so as to parallel the actual field-research situation as closely as possible. Thus, the first section of this chapter has to deal with the development of efficient methodological tools for this analysis. A second section will deal with a graded inquiry into Nigerian Baptist attitudes and opinions concerning a carefully selected roster of issues. And the third section will evaluate the findings of section two, thereby setting these findings into correlation with the concrete impact of the Southern Baptist foreign mission outreach.

1. Methodology of the Analysis

"... there is no general agreement in the behavioral sciences on a conceptual system for studying conflict and even less on terminology."1

It is here the task to design a methodology for the analysis of the Southern Baptist mission work in Western Nigeria. Such methodology must do justice to both the theological interests and the socio-cultural impact of the mission enterprise on the Yoruba scene. Furthermore, this

1. St. Clair Drake, "Interethnic Conflict as One Type of Intergroup Conflict," The Journal of Conflict Resolutions, I(1957), 159.
methodology must be designed in such a way as to provide for analytical tools which also do justice to the character of the available data. These data have been collected from Southern Baptist sources as they are available in this country. It was possible to compare only a few of the more factual data with parallel information of non-Southern Baptist origin.

The content and character of the Southern Baptist mission outreach has been described in terms of the Board's program and its operation and objectives. The impact has been recorded institutionally, i.e., in terms of reactions and corresponding interests of the Nigerian Baptist Convention with regard to this causative Southern Baptist missionary outreach. The description of the over-all Southern Baptist mission operations in Western Nigeria has resulted in pointing out facts of underlying culture mediation and culture contact, as well as in recording conflicting interests between the partners of this contact. It was furthermore reported that, on behalf of the greater common religious interests, the partners of this missiological and cultural contact—the American Baptist Mission and the Nigerian Baptist Convention—had found formulae of compromise suited to bridging the emanating conflicting interests. As such, the Southern Baptist foreign mission outreach has been discussed in its situational context of operation.

1. Cf. chap. V, 1; V, 2, i.
2. Cf. chaps. IV, 2; VI, 3, i.
Over against this discussion, the outreach is now to be analyzed and evaluated. The data which are to be analyzed are presented. The method by which these data are to be analyzed is now sought.

1. The Problem with Regard to the Analytical Method

Throughout the foregoing chapters, mention was made repeatedly of the culture-mediating character of the Southern Baptist mission outreach. Although this feature has been seen to come to the fore especially in connection with the mission educational enterprise, it must be remembered that all such culture mediation is a by-product of the original and primary missionary purpose: to promote the gospel of Jesus Christ and to establish Baptist churches on the basis of the New Testament faith as Baptists see it. In this perspective the purpose and objective of the Southern Baptist mission outreach is primarily theological and religious, and only secondarily cultural and sociological.

Inasmuch, however, as it is the task to analyze this outreach, there is the problem as to what type of method shall be employed for the analysis. Because of the intricate character of the outreach with regard to its theological objectives and cultural influences—as well as with regard to the subjective quality of the available data describing the outreach—no commonly-used technique or system of sociological analysis can be applied directly.¹

¹ The technique which might come closest to filling the methodological need for this analysis is available in a sociological research tool known as the "constructed type" [cf. H. Becker, Through Values to Sociological Interpretation (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, Soc. Series, 1950), chap. II, pp. 93-127]. However, insofar as the "constructed type" is developed from Max Weber's "ideal type" for rational analysis only, [cf. ibid., p. 165f.] it cannot legitimately
ii. Definition of the Analytical Task

As a theological act of obedient discipleship, Southern Baptists pursue their mission enterprise in Nigeria primarily among the Yoruba. This theological or religious action is paralleled in a very intricate way by an act of culture mediation which results from the mode of execution of the theological objective. The execution of this theological task creates the situation of culture contact which in turn constitutes

be used for an analysis which is to do justice to both the religious and the cultural aspect of the missionary enterprise. Furthermore, the data available are not of such character that they could be successfully integrated into the presuppositional mechanics of the "constructed type," for the creation of the "type" requires data which--as phenomena--have "to be abstracted out of the context and compared with individual empirical occurrences" [J. C. McKinney, "The Role of Constructive Typology in Scientific Sociological Analysis," Social Forces, 28(1950), 237], which procedure cannot be performed legitimately with the data underlying this study. Finally, the "constructive typology" is designed to assist at best in the analysis of the process of social change within one given society [cf. A. Boskoff, "Social Change: Major Problems in the Emergence of Theoretical and Research Foci," in Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change, eds. H. Becker and A. Boskoff (New York: The Dryden Press, 1957), p. 284f.]. And even data resulting from purely anthropological studies on acculturation--thus involving two or more societies--would have to be transposed into data pertaining to social change before they might be successfully abstracted for use in a "constructed typology" [cf. ibid., p. 280f.]. Wherever the attempt has been made to employ the "constructed type" with regard to an analysis in the field of sociology of religion--as it has been undertaken by M. Weber, E. Troeltsch, and H. Becker--the genuine theological or religious aspects underlying and determining the situation have been focused upon in too short a perspective. [Cf. P. Honigsheim, "Sociology of Religion: Complementary Analyses of Religious Institutions," in Modern Sociological Theory . . ., p. 470f., and H. Becker, Through Values to Social Interpretation, chap. V, pp. 248-280.] On the basis of these limitations, the method of the "constructed type" must be rejected, especially as it is the methodological task of this study to devise a tool which will identify and analyze not only the factors which accompany the outreach and constitute the impact of the Southern Baptist mission enterprise as to their theological or cultural nature, but also will determine the intensity of the impact relative to the outreach as it corresponds to the interests of the American Baptist Mission and the N. B. C. respectively.
situations of potential culture conflict embedded in the process of operating the mission enterprise.

The partners in this mission enterprise—the Southern Baptist missionary force and the Nigerian Baptist community—are partners in this culture contact by virtue of their unrelated, heterogeneous origins: America and Nigeria. As partners in the mission enterprise, both are institutionally identified by the mutual Baptist classification. The function of their participation, however, distinguishes the one partner from the other. The Southern Baptist missionary belongs to the active mission force, institutionally identified as the American Baptist Mission. The Yoruba Baptists belong to the primarily receiving Nigerian Baptist community, institutionally identified as the Nigerian Baptist Convention.

Although outwardly and institutionally linked together, the partners—by virtue of their different functions of participation in the same enterprise—attach to this enterprise a slightly different perspective of interests, because of their different cultural backgrounds. Thus the situation of culture contact and culture conflict, which exists outside of the mutual concern for the common cause, has its bearings also on the character of co-operation in this enterprise.1

The implications which result out of the heterogeneous situation of culture contact and culture conflict will be partially the object of

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1. Cf. Dale W. Kietzman, "Conversion and Culture Change," Practical Anthropology, 5(1958), 205: "The first such interaction is between the missionary, a representative of one culture but with a standard of obedience that is not entirely bound by that culture, and individuals of another culture whose standard of obedience is culturally determined."
the analysis. This is to say that the analysis must also consider those cultural features which—in the form of Southern Baptist concepts of Americanisms—are mediated to the Nigerian Baptist scene. However, care must be taken that the culturally heterogeneous situation is not over-emphasized in this analysis over against the common theological objective of the mission project. For, wherever cultural norms outrank theological objectives there the ultimate question of "the relation of the revelation in Christ to the reason which prevails in culture" is already answered in favor of the realm of culture, and the theological action toward the mission objective does not any more move as genuine Christian action "between the poles of Christ and Culture." In order to maintain the vitally important balance between the theological and the cultural poles with regard to the co-operation of the two partners in the mission endeavor, the analysis itself has to be carefully balanced regarding its method so as to justify both the theological and the cultural aspects of the missionary action.

iii. The Development of the Method

From the evidence presented in the descriptive chapters it was seen that there exists a certain difference between Southern Baptist and Nigerian Baptist ideas and interests. On the one hand this difference has already been ascribed to the different functions of the two Baptist partners in the missionary enterprise. This difference has been partially explained by the dynamic and static nature of these functions.

2. Ibid.
and partially it has been linked to the role which both partners fill in their respective home setting: the Southern Baptists as the majority group and the Nigerian Baptists as a minority group.

On the other hand, there is in connection with this difference still the question concerning the characteristic factor which is to be held responsible for the nature of the Nigerian Baptist interests which are different from those of the Southern Baptist missionaries. In other words, there is still the need to define the characteristic factor that might be held responsible for the Nigerian Baptist attitudes and opinions, which, as such, underly the Nigerian Baptist interests.

The definition of this characteristic factor is important for the analysis of the Southern Baptist mission work because it will give evidence concerning the nature and origin of the transformation of Southern Baptist ideas into Nigerian Baptist ideas. If this key-factor -- responsible for this transformation-- can be singled out and can be defined, then a formula is found with which the intensity of the Southern Baptist mission outreach to the Nigerian scene can be measured. By virtue of its operational function as a transformation formula, it is expected that this key-factor will be of a dynamic nature, and in its origin will not have been in contact with Southern Baptist ideals and thought patterns.

(1) Abstract definition of the key-factor as the transformation formula.

As an agency of the Foreign Mission Board, the American Baptist Mission is the representative of Southern Baptists who are "a majority movement in the regions to which they belong."1 Through its missionary

work in Nigeria the American Baptist Mission instituted the Nigerian Baptist Convention, which historically and with regard to its nature depends in its existence directly upon the Southern Baptist missionary activity. However, the Nigerian Baptist Convention does not share the majority position of the Southern Baptist Convention. Rather, the Nigerian Baptist Convention is a minority group within a region culturally different from that in which the Southern Baptist Convention is located.

In the contact provided by the Southern Baptist mission outreach, the American Baptist Mission and the Nigerian Baptist Convention are linked together as parties of a situation of culture conflict. For purposes of the abstract definition of the key-factor in this conflict situation, the American Baptist Mission is identified as the ABM party and the Nigerian Baptist Convention as the NBC party. The initial B in both parties denotes the common theological interest in the Baptist venture. The initials A and N define the different cultural environments of the parties. The initials M and C refer to the dynamic and static functions of the parties.

Through their common interest (B), the ABM party and the NBC party are partners in the B enterprise. The function of partnership in this enterprise is determined by M and C, thus giving evidence that the ABM party instituted the NBC party. If the NBC party had been created in a culture vacuum, the NBC party would upon completion of the B enterprise become identical to the ABM party. However, the N factor of the NBC party defines, over against the A factor of the ABM party, a different cultural environment than that represented by A.
Inasmuch as the A factor of the ABM party is thought by this party to be coinciding with its B factor--because the B factor is conceived to be representing the majority position in the cultural A environment of the region from which the ABM party originates--the ABM party is comprised in the unity of its A and B components. In the degree to which A and B are equal within the ABM party, N and B must be unequal within the NBC party. Thus, N and B stand in tension or conflict to each other within the NBC party; and this to the degree in which the B factor of the NBC party does not represent a majority position within the cultural N region to which the NBC party belongs.

The B factor of the NBC party, which was received from the ABM party--in which A and B were conceived to be co-extensive--has consequent-ly a-quality and is, as such, not purely B, but rather Ba. Inasmuch as the a-quality of the B factor of the NBC party is a cultural quality, it conflicts with the n-quality of the cultural N environment of the NBC party. This conflict does not exist between A and B of the ABM party because both were conceived to be co-extensive. As cultural factors, A and N represent conflicting forces which exert their dynamic influence in a situation where they are joint, as is the case with the NBC party.

However, the NBC party, as party, represents a social organization, which means that the conflict within the NBC party exists in a social context and as such embodies a power component, which constitutes the dynamic key-factor of influence. Because the social context of the NBC

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1. R. W. Mack and R. C. Snyder, "The Analysis of Social Conflict," Conflict Resolutions, 1(1957), 238. This article has provided a general frame of reference with regard to method and scope of this type of abstract definition of the decisive and underlying key-factor in a conflict situation.
party exerts its N-cultural influence also upon the B partnership activity, the Bα factor of the NBC party must be expanded into the Bα-n factor, whereby the n-quality is to be held responsible for all transformed expressions as far as the NBα-nC party's contribution to the B enterprise is concerned. The B-A quality of the ABM party has not changed because it was not instituted by the NBC party and, therefore, never had been exposed to the N quality. Rather, the ABM party instituted the NBC party as a partner in the B enterprise, thus bringing the dynamic N quality to exert its influence upon the B-project, so that increasingly the N-quality will change the role of the NBC party's partnership in the B venture. However, it must not be assumed that this process of changing roles will ultimately lead to the elimination of the a-quality in the NBC party's Bα-n factor, because the a-quality represents one intricate feature of the B factor which--by virtue of the equation of A and B in the ABM setting--has been planted by the ABM party in the NBC setting. Therefore, as long as there is the B factor in the NBC setting, there will be incorporated an implicit a-quality, and this the more as the B factor is centrally and instrumentally related to the B enterprise in which both parties participate. In this context it must be borne in mind constantly that--although the a- and n-qualities in the B factors of the ABM and NBC parties respectively denote cultural elements--the B factors' primary quality is theological, for it is this theological concern, rather than the accompanying cultural elements, which links the two parties together in the organizational co-operation of the B enterprise.

In the meantime, however, B is influenced by certain characteristics
which emanate from the social or cultural environment into which B is set, and, in this context, it is the Nigerian influence which is responsible for the different interests which the NBC party presents over against the ABM party in the setting of the partnership in the B enterprise.

The abstract development of the transforming key-factor "n" has shown that it is the general Nigerian environment which is responsible for the changing outlook of the Nigerian Baptist Convention over against that of the American Baptist Mission. Consequently, the application of this key-factor to the empirical scene of the contact situation given in the Southern Baptist mission program in Western Nigeria, has to explain this Nigerian component of the Convention's share of interaction in this Baptist venture. And the working formulation of the key-factor as the transformation formula can only be found in the confrontation of Nigerian Baptist attitudes and opinions with such issues as are in the general orbit of the Baptist mission work in Nigeria.¹

(2) Procedural Remark:

The confrontation of the Nigerian Baptist Convention with a selective list of issues has to be seen against the background of the previous chapters, in which the interests and outlook of the Convention have been descriptively developed in relation to the Southern Baptist mission undertaking. Whereas in these chapters the Convention was viewed as having grown out of Southern Baptist missionary operations, and as such was comprehended as a Baptist body which carried the nomenclature

¹. See diagram on following page.
1. Diagram showing the deduction of the transforming key-factor through the neutralization of operationally equal qualities.

Operationally equal qualities:

\[ A \leftrightarrow N \]

\[ B \]

\[ M \rightarrow C \]

\[ = a^* \]

*The equal mark (\(=\)) stands for the a-quality in \(B_a-n\) and results from the given equation of \(A B\).

Neutralization of qualities:

\[
\frac{A \cdot B \cdot M}{N \cdot B_a-n \cdot C} \rightarrow n
\]
"Nigerian" more or less accidentally because of its geographical location in Nigeria, it is now the goal of this confrontation to inquire into the Nigerian character of this Baptist body. As the development of the transformational key-factor has shown, it is to be expected that the Nigerian character of the Nigerian Baptist Convention is not an accidental and geographical identification, but rather that it is responsible for those Nigerian Baptist expressions which differ in content, angle of emphasis, and underlying ideological or philosophical orientation from similar Southern Baptist expressions.

The data for this confrontation will be largely drawn from the material present above. Inasmuch as in scope and structure this confrontation carries a model-character, it is expected that with regard to some issues no definite reactions out of the Nigerian Baptist thought pattern can be quoted. In such cases it is proposed to construct a Nigerian Baptist reaction on the basis of an analogical use of the material available. The reactions to each issue will then be defined in abstract symbols, which will note whether or not the mode and kind of these reactions is rooted in the Nigerian nature of the Convention. Sub-symbols will further qualify the information deduced from this modeled confrontation.

A subsequent evaluation will compute these symbols, thus determining through the technique of quantification, the respective participation of the Nigerian and the Baptist qualities in the process of the formation of a Nigerian Baptist opinion. A comparison of the role and intensity of the Nigerian and Baptist elements with regard to the opinionative reaction of the Convention to this roster of issues will give some
evidence as to the intensity of the Southern Baptist mission impact on the Nigerian Baptist scene.

2. The Analytical Model: Application of the Transforming Key-Factor

The foregoing abstract definition of the transformation formula has identified its underlying key-factor as being of a general Nigerian ("n") quality. As such, this key-factor represents the complex indigenous environment of the Nigerian Baptist scene and is held responsible for the transformation of Southern Baptist concepts into Nigerian Baptist concepts. These diverging Nigerian Baptist concepts find their expression in attitudes and opinions of Nigerian Baptists and constitute as such the outlook of the Nigerian Baptist Convention. Insofar as this transformation has been defined only in abstract terms, a conceptualization is still required. This conceptualization has to unfold the complexity of the various components which are hidden behind the abstract n-quality of the transforming key-factor.

In order to cover the potential dimensions of the key-factor components which form the Nigerian Baptist outlook, it is proposed that a model be constructed which provides for a wide enough scale over against which the Nigerian Baptist outlook can be tested as to its various integral parts. The integral parts of this Nigerian Baptist outlook are expected to embrace such inter-disciplinary values and characteristics as pertain to religion and theology, or as are related to the philosophical, ideological, cultural, or socio-political orientation of this outlook. Therefore, the Nigerian Baptist outlook is to be confronted with issues which in their nature are predominantly related to one of the
disciplines, and which in their origin and situational locale are identified with the Nigerian scene. At the same time these issues must reflect a relationship to the general orbit of the Baptist missionary endeavor so as to assure a legitimate perspective only under which the Convention's outlook can be conceptualized and subsequently analyzed.

Below is listed a selection of issues with which to confront the Nigerian Baptist attitudes and opinions and so to establish the Convention's outlook, which, in turn, is to be analyzed in order to gain insights into the impact intensities of the Southern Baptist mission outreach and the Nigerian environment respectively.

Category I, related to issues predominantly theological and religious by nature:

(1) The Baptist Faith.
(2) Protestant Christianity and the Ecumenical Spirit.
(3) Catholic Christianity.
(4) Islam.
(5) Indigenous Religions and Cult Societies.

Category II, related to issues predominantly philosophical and ideological in character:

(1) Freedom and Authority.
(2) Nationalism and Baptist Convictions.
(3) African and Baptist loyalties.

Category III, related to issues predominantly cultural in character:

(1) Indigenous and Modern Culture.
(2) Indigenous Art.
(3) Indigenous Customs and the Baptist Moral Code.
Category IV, related to issues predominantly socio-political in character:

(1) The Yoruba Social Structure with regard to Lineage, Family, and Indigenous Urbanization.

(2) Nigerian Political Scene.

i. Confrontation of the Nigerian Baptist Convention with Issues being Predominantly Theological and Religious in Nature

In view of the purpose of this modeled confrontation of Nigerian Baptist conceptions with issues related to the general Nigerian context, it is impossible to present this model in a form of historical or situational cohesiveness. Rather, there is one inner coherence pertaining to the structure of this model which is dominated by the idea of offering for confrontation such issues as in their nature relate to values and characteristics rather than to events. This procedure seems to be the more justified inasmuch as the historical and situational description of the Nigerian Baptist outlook has already been presented in the context of the previous chapters. The more than usual use of footnotes may perhaps be justified by the exigency of preserving the model-character of this analytical section.

(1) The Baptist Faith.

The confrontation of Nigerian Baptist thought and opinion with the Baptist faith is perhaps the most obvious of all, for not only is the presence of this Baptist faith in Nigeria a theological and religious issue par excellence, but also it is obvious that the Nigerian Baptist conception of this faith is fully and exclusively inherited from the Southern Baptist missionaries. The use and application of this faith follows the Southern Baptist pattern in all lines, even down to the level
of the verbal stereotypes which Southern Baptists employ in expressing
their Baptist faith.¹ In the light of this dependence upon Southern
Baptist thought patterns and terminology, as far as the Nigerian Baptist
expressions of the Baptist faith are concerned, the nature of the Nigerian
Baptist faith is to be valued with the symbol "Ba".²

(2) Protestant Christianity and
Ecumenical Spirit.

The role and position of the Nigerian Baptist Convention within
the Nigerian ecumenical movement has been discussed in context.³ As has

1. Cf. J. T. Ayorinde's statements of his Baptist faith in the precast
form of Southern Baptist expressions, in Proceedings of N. B. C.,
1951, p. 3; cf. in context: chap. VI, 3, i; also cf. S. A. Lawoyin,
in Proceedings of N. B. C., 1959, p. 6A: he uses genuine Southern
Baptist terminology with regard to the central Baptist feature of
"the freedom of the individual before God and . . . . the independence
of the local church according to the pattern set by New Testament
churches . . . . "; cf. also: J. T. Ayorinde, in Proceedings of N. B. C.,
1952, p. 2, stating the Baptist conviction of state-church separation
as a Christian policy "widespread in the U. S. A."

2. For the purpose of this model the following system of symbols and
sub-symbols is used:

B = Baptist
N = Nigerian
b = Baptist value limited by Nigerian influences.
n = Nigerian value limited by Southern Baptist and/or American
influences.
a = American Southern Baptist values and characteristics.
e = General British influences.
ec = British Christian influences, other than Baptist.
c/w = Integrated Christian and/or Western thought.
m = Modern Nationalist characteristics.
r = African qualities other than Nationalist.
y = Indigenous Yoruba values pertaining to Yoruba religion, culture
and customs.
s = Pertaining to the sociological situation of Nigerian Baptists
relative to their environment.
p = Pertaining to the political situation of Nigerian Baptists
relative to their environment.
( )= Values qualified by basic qualities of heterogenous character.

3. Cf. chaps. IV, 3, and VI, 3, iii.
been pointed out, the ecumenical movement from the beginning enjoyed
the co-operation of the Baptists in Nigeria, \(^1\) a fact to which the Con-
vention's Constitution gives witness in a paragraph of its central
statement of purpose. \(^2\) Thus it remains in the context of this analytical
model to ask why the Convention engages in the ecumenical encounter, and
this the more inasmuch as by virtue of its strongly Southern Baptist--
and thus ecumenically un-co-operative--theological heritage it could be
expected that the Convention would follow the Southern Baptist leading
in this issue. However, a sociological observation may provide the
answer. Because of its Baptist character, the Convention is a socio-
logical--and religious--minority group in the region to which it belongs, \(^3\)
a situation which favors general Christian co-operation in a larger
non-Christian environment. \(^4\) Inasmuch as this sociological phenomenon
is dependent upon the particular situation of the Nigerian scene, the
function of the ecumenical co-operation of the Convention must be marked
with the symbol "N_s".

However, concerning the nature of the Nigerian Baptist ecumenical
co-operation, the Baptist theological element comes to the fore again,

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2. Constitution of N. B. C., op. cit., Art. IV, 8: "... to confer
    with and to co-operate with other Christian churches as occasion
    may arise." Cf. in context: chap. IV, 2, i.

3. Cf. the function assigned to this phenomenon in the abstract defi-
    nition of the transforming key-factor, this chap. 1, iii, (1).

4. S. A. Lawoyin, in Proceedings of N. B. C., 1959, p. 6A: "At this
time [when] the companies seek strength and effective Christian wit-
nessing through unity and congregation we as a Convention cannot
afford to indulge in watertight segregation which might weaken our
co-operation and impair our fellowship with other Christian bodies."
for Nigerian Baptist churches cherish their independence and seek ecumenical "interdependence" only for co-operation in work, prayer, and thought, rather than in institutionally manifested forms of ecclesiastical unity. Nigerian Baptists, together with all other Baptists, recognize Christian dis-unity only with regard to ecclesiastical "superstructure,"\(^1\) in which they are not interested in any case. They rejoice in the spiritual unity which is already practiced. If, nevertheless, there should be disagreements, then these are to be eliminated by democratic majority rule,\(^3\) within which the individual rights of the minority ought to be respected. Such a position is in good Baptist tradition. Although this position on ecumenical life is theologically congruent with Southern Baptist thought, the Nigerian Baptist policy diverges ideologically from that of the Southern Baptist Convention in this point so that the nature of the Nigerian Baptist ecumenical co-operation cannot be defined by \(B_s\). Rather, it is necessary to identify this nature as \(B_n\) because of the \(N_s\) function of Nigerian Baptist ecumenical endeavors, to which might fairly be added an underlying British Christian influence. This would result in the following symbol combination: 

\[B_n(ec)\]

The \(N\) Factor moves into the fore again in connection with the Nigerian Baptist participation in ecumenical conferences on a national or continental All-African level.\(^4\) On the basis of this evidence, the

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active participation of the Convention may be defined as $N_r(m)$."

(3) Catholic Christianity.

With regard to Roman Catholicism the Nigerian Baptist Convention shares the same sentiments as Southern Baptists. As evangelical Christians, Nigerian Baptists sense in Catholicism an autocratic force which threatens—beyond the religious realm also in the political scene in Nigeria, especially in the Eastern Region—to impair the individual soul's freedom before God and the principles of democracy.¹ Inasmuch as these anti-Catholic sentiments depend directly upon similar sentiments of the Southern Baptists it is justifiable to identify the nature of the Nigerian Baptist attitude toward Catholic Christianity with the undiluted Southern Baptist symbol "Ba."

(4) Islam.

Little different is the position of the Convention with regard to Islam as a religion. As a matter of fact, Islam and Catholicism are often referred to as major forces in the hinderance of Christian and evangelical progress in Nigeria.² Inasmuch, however, as Nigerian Bap-

1. J. T. Ayorinde, in Proceedings of N. B. C., 1952, p. 2: "Here in Nigeria, we are experiencing a Roman Catholic expansion or shall I say invasion. Every where we turn . . . we find Roman Catholics. . . . They find that Nigeria is now clamoring for education, and so that is the greatest agency they are using to win Nigerians. And many Baptists are forced to seek admission to their schools. Think of certain effects of such!"

2. Although the approximate wording of this phrase comes from a limited and therefore unquotable source, it does reflect a certain segment of the Southern Baptist and Nigerian Baptist thought pattern.
tists conceive of Islam as a semi-indigenous religion, and because the
Yoruba Moslem constituency is to a certain degree the target of the
Nigerian Baptist home and foreign mission endeavors, the attitude of
the Convention with regard to Islam may be given as "Bn(a)."
(5) Indigenous Religion and Cult Societies.

As far as the Baptist outlook of the Convention is concerned, theo-
logical or religious values can only to a limited degree be attached to
the indigenous religion. As a Christian body, the Convention concerns
itself only with those theological or religious aspects which are re-
lated to its Christian character and all that that may imply for the
Nigerian Baptist people. Thus, for its purposes it eliminates the theo-
logical or religious relevance of the indigenous religion. By virtue of
this disregard for indigenous religious and theological values, the Con-
vention recognizes primarily only the cultural aspect of the indigenous
religion, acknowledging religious implications only when the indigenous
religion interferes in some form with the religious value system of the
Convention. Potentially there are two areas where such interference
from the indigenous religion has its bearings on the religious value
system of the Convention. One is the membership of Nigerian Baptists
in the Reformed Ogboni Fraternity and other cult societies. The other
is the issue of polygamy among Baptist church members. On the latter
issue, utterances of the Convention have traditionally been infrequent--
a fact which has been repeatedly bemoaned by the American Baptist
Mission--and where the Convention has taken stands concerning this issue,
their implications have been more of a cultural than a religious nature.

In the case of the secret cult societies, the Convention feels it is challenged on a purely religious and theological basis. Parallel to the position of the Southern Baptist Convention concerning Freemasonry, the Convention condemns participation of Nigerian Baptists in the Reformed Ogboni Fraternity.\(^1\) Since 1950 this has been repeatedly an issue of concern\(^2\) with which the Convention has tried to deal through disciplinary measures. In this context it is interesting to note that the Convention's position on indigenous secret societies is based upon Anglican studies concerning this matter.\(^3\) When the Nigerian Baptist Convention feels that membership in secret societies is incompatible with Christianity,\(^4\) this is to mean that the Convention follows the Southern Baptist example, expressing, at the same time, its stand against secret cult societies of indigenous origin in terms of the pietistic viewpoint of the Anglican Church Missionary Society. The attitude of the Convention in this particular matter, therefore, is

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2. Proceedings of N. B. C., 1951, p. 3.

3. Ibid.

4. In this context, William Bascom observes that missions are partially to be blamed for this situation, for while they have "attacked the best of African religion"—including the Yoruba religion—they could have destroyed the worst, i.e., magic, witchery, sorcery, etc. But this is still heavily employed by most—pagan, Christian, Moslem, and Secularist elite alike—and finds it expressions in even these secret societies. W. R. Bascom, "African Culture and the Missionary," Civilizations, 3(1953), 494.
determined more by Southern Baptist and pietistic Anglican conceptions than by Nigerian Christian ideas in general. On the basis of this evidence, the result of this case analysis should be represented by the symbol "Ba-ec."

ii. Confrontation of the Nigerian Baptist Convention with Issues Being Predominantly Philosophical and Ideological in Nature

Socio-political issues, which in their abstraction are of a philosophical nature, take on an ideological character which—in the concrete setting of conscious group attitudes—is based upon a choice. It corresponds to the nature of a true choice that there are two or more alternatives from which to choose. And it is for this reason that here the Nigerian Baptist Convention will be tested with regard to its choice concerning some central issues. Again, the underlying factors responsible for the choice are of interest and will aid in the definition of the Convention's place in relation to its environment and to the Southern Baptist Mission.

(1) Freedom and authority.

In the context of chapter VI it was pointed out that Nigerian Baptists, on the basis of their particular social structure, are predisposed to understand the fine balance between freedom and authority. As Yorubas, the Nigerian Baptists are geared to an indigenous conception of authority which they inherit from their own ethnic tradition, an

1. T. A. Adejumobi, in Proceedings of N. B. C., 1950, p. 19f: "The ideal programme of organized co-operation is one in which will be kept a fine balance between freedom and authority. Without freedom, authority becomes oppressive and destructive; without authority, freedom becomes confused and subversive."
authority which was both political and religious. As Nigerians, they have experienced British Colonial authority which was exclusively political, and from which they will step into freedom in 1960. This new freedom will be the political freedom which the Nigerian Nationalists longed for, and in the realization of which Nigerian Baptists, as Nationalists, will rejoice.

Insofar as they are Baptists they share the unqualified appreciation for religious as well as civil freedom which is germane to Baptist thought and which has been held in the highest esteem especially by the Southern Baptists in America. However, as Nigerian Baptists they have paralleled—on the basis of their indigenous experience and appreciation of authority—the primarily individual freedom of the Southern Baptists with a concept of corporate freedom, and have thus earlier than Southern Baptists expressed the disciplinary necessity for equilibrium between freedom and authority. The analytical mark attached to the Nigerian Baptist attitude concerning the issue of freedom and authority should emphasize the indigenous Nigerian contribution to the mature position on this issue and should take into consideration its Baptist and nationalistic components: "NymB."

(2) Nationalism and Baptist Convictions.

Certain problems are involved in the differentiation between issues

1. Cf. S. A. Lawoyin's reference to the progress of negotiations toward political independence. This reference was made at a prominent place in the presidential address before the Annual Session of the N. B. C., 1959, in Proceedings of N. B. C., 1959, p. 5A.

2. This corporate freedom might be described in the formula: "personal development and every member participation in spiritual democracy." Adajummo, in Proceedings of N. B. C., 1950, p. 19.
pertaining to African nationalist and Baptist convictions, on the one hand, and African and Baptist loyalties, on the other. Nevertheless, when this distinction between convictions and loyalties is maintained for purposes of this analysis, this may be justified by the following assumption. Those issues which are related to "Nationalism and Baptist Convictions" concern themselves with ideas rather than with concrete situations, and, as such, are of a more philosophical nature. Those issues, however, which emanate from actual situations are tinted with an ideological character insofar as they have transcended the realm of philosophical thought and convictions and materialize themselves as attitudinal action in expressions of loyalty of either an African or a Baptist nature. On the basis of this definition it seems in order to proceed with this scheme, separating philosophical from ideological issues.

In 1951, J. T. Ayorinde lauded the suggestion of the Mission's Africanization Committee that in the future the Southern Baptist Mission personnel be called "advisors." It is interesting to note that Ayorinde is not per se opposed to the traditional term, "Missionary." Rather, he views the traditional role of the missionary and interprets it from an outspokenly nationalistic angle, and this so much so that in his perspective the missionary's traditional role becomes almost identical to that of the colonial administrator: superintendent, master, overlord. The use of these terms—which in themselves fit genuinely into the

1. Ayorinde, in Proceedings of N. B. C., 1951; p. 2: "Our missionaries are now known as and called advisors and not superintendents or masters. Perhaps this new term suggested by the Africanization Committee is the best term yet: for missionaries are here to advise and exhort, and not to be overlords."
modern nationalist sentiment of Africa—in connection with missionaries, and the occasion on which they appear (in an annual address of the president of the Nigerian Baptist Convention) leave no doubt as to the genuine nationalist milieu which is alive within the Convention to a considerable degree. Therefore, the symbol representing this facet of the Nigerian Baptist sentiment ought to be "Nm."

To the measure in which on this philosophical level the Nigerian component is a vivid issue, the Baptist factor corresponds, giving evidence to the inter-heterodox character of the Nigerian Baptist Convention. With regard to "Baptists and Human Rights," Nigerian Baptists gave witness to their Southern Baptist heritage in the same year, 1951. However, while the nationalist philosophy was seen to provide the basis upon which in nationalistic terms the former role of the missionary was described—a fact which makes this nationalist thought pattern a possession shared and understood by all Nigerian Baptists—it is the Southern Baptist philosophy in the form of its central issue of human rights which still is to be integrated into Nigerian Baptist conceptions.2

No doubt the leadership of the Convention is committed to this specific Southern Baptist outlook, but nevertheless it feels the need for a more solidly integrated position of the Baptist philosophy within the wider context of the Convention. Inasmuch, then, as this Southern Baptist philosophy is potentially established but in fact not yet fully compre-


2. Ibid.: "Let us bring the question of human rights home to ourselves as Baptists of Nigeria. The Baptists of England and America have blazed the trail for us. What will be our contribution to the great heritage which has come to us?"
hended on a Convention-wide level, only a qualified Southern Baptist identifica-
tion can here be assigned to the Nigerian Baptist outlook as far as its Baptist philosophy is concerned. As it seems, African nationalist thought overshadows the Nigerian Baptist comprehension of Southern Baptist philosophical thought. Consequently the symbol proposed is ")\(B_a\)\(m\)."

(3) African and Baptist loyalties.

A similar relationship between Nigerian and Baptist elements exists with regard to the ideological outlook of the Convention. By definition, ideological issues were said to be those issues to which the Nigerian Baptist attitude and opinion can be attached in a situational context. Perhaps the most obvious and controversial such situation where Southern Baptist and Nigerian interests came into conflict is the matter of grants-in-aid for the Baptist mission school enterprise.\(^1\) The manner in which this controversy was finally resolved and the structure of the resulting compromise allow an analysis of this situation with regard to the inner-Conventional conflict of Nigerian versus Baptist loyalties.

In the ideological context in which this situation is to be analyzed, the conflict may be described as having existed between the Nigerian and Baptist elements of the Nigerian Baptist conscience. As Nigerians, the Nigerian Baptists wanted to have as efficient a school system as possible in order to train a maximal number of Nigerian children for a better future in a new Nigeria.\(^2\) As Baptists they

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2. "Nigeria needs educated Christian leaders in every phase of her development now, even more than in the past. The new Nigeria will want Christian educational institutions as arsenals for her leadership programs." Lawoyin, in *Proceedings of N. B. C., 1956*, p. 2; although this quote is not in the situational context of the grants-in-aid issue, it expresses the Nigerian Baptist sentiment in the wider ideological context.
aspire to a Christian and especially Baptistic school system in order to promote and to entrench the Baptist ideals among their young constituency, thus blocking non-Baptist and non-Christian agencies from executing an educational program in which Baptist thought would not be represented. The means through which they would be most likely to succeed are the government grants-in-aid, which Nigerian Baptists, consequently, have received for a number of years.

Although their religious interest is identical to that of the American Baptist Mission, their national zeal allowed them to adopt a policy which collided with the Southern Baptist principle of religious liberty and state-church separation. The acceptance of these grants meant an obvious violation of this policy. Nevertheless, when it again came to negotiations in that matter between Southern Baptist missionaries and Nigerian Baptists in the early 1950's, Nigerian Baptists argued that the use of such aid, instead of being un-Baptistic, was "much more in keeping with the principle of self-support." In doing so they gave preference to the general missionary principle of the "three selves" rather than to the specific Baptist principle of religious liberty, thus identifying themselves with the missionary situation in areas of colonial dependence. Their closer identity, Nigerian Baptists felt, was not with the Baptist ideals but with the general mission milieu from which they hope to

2. The development of the formula of the "three selves" as a missionary policy is described by P. Beyerhaus, op. cit., pp. 36ff. The formula itself is attributed to Henry Venn, first secretary of the C. M. S., 1841-1871. The training in "self-support, self-government, and self-extension" (or self-propagation) describes the way in which H. Venn proposed to reach the goal of the foreign mission endeavor; cf. H. Venn, in "Circulars and Other Papers," I, no. 110; p. 5; (unpublished correspondence in the C. M. S. archives).
escape as much as from the era of colonial domination.

Being predisposed by such sentiments, Nigerian Baptists almost naturally cannot have any actual conception of a state from which their churches are to be kept separate, for they have never experienced in their history a state authority which persecuted them because of their faith. As Nigerians, however, they have daily experienced the humiliation of living under the domination of both the colonial government and the American Baptist Mission, although the degree of dominance has certainly not been the same.

Against this background it is understandable that Nigerian Baptists were not prepared to give an all-out preference to the Baptist principle of state-church separation, the need for which principle they had not themselves experienced. When the compromise in matters of the grants was finally agreed upon, it was definitely the Nigerian element which kept the vast majority of Baptist schools in Nigeria in a position in which they could continue to benefit from the government grants. And it was Southern Baptist tenacity which separated a selected number of vital Baptist training institutions from governmental aid.

The Nigerian Baptist contribution to this compromise, i.e., the decision to continue the acceptance of government grants for most of the Baptist schools in Nigeria, resulted more from the Nigerian than from the Baptist sentiment of the Convention. As such it represents an attitude in which the Nigerian identity wins out over the Baptist ideology: the symbol, therefore, is to be "N_Ba."?

This development, however, is not to say that there is no Baptist loyalty among Nigerian Baptists. On various occasions, S. A. Lawoyin
took the opportunity to thank Southern Baptists and their Mission for all of their sacrificial labor, skill, and wisdom.\footnote{Proceedings of N. B. C., 1956, p. 1; and Proceedings of N. B. C., 1959, p. 7A.} Such genuine Baptist loyalty comes more to the fore as the Convention begins to develop its own Baptist identity.

The more this Nigerian Baptist identity grows into a unity, the more it will become distinguishable from the Southern Baptist thought pattern, and this to the point at which it will be decisively different in the mode and form of its Baptistic expressions. Some first signs in this direction may be found in the statements of the Convention's president with regard to expressions of Southern Baptist versus Nigerian Baptist loyalties. Observing that there are still churches and institutions within the Convention which are known as American Baptist churches or the American Baptist College, Lawoyin questions quite pointedly the wisdom behind such names. Are Nigerians to think that such churches or institutions are dependent on foreign interests?\footnote{Proceedings of N. B. C., 1958, p. 11.} Although this question may very definitely have its political and nationalistic undertones, it gives primary evidence to the fact that there has grown a Nigerian Baptist identity which intends to be Nigerian rather than American and Southern Baptist. When Lawoyin urges that this practice be discontinued, he reasons that those names "may weaken [the Nigerian Baptist] witness in regard to self-government and democracy in Baptist churches."\footnote{Ibid.} If Lawoyin had stopped his explanation with the need for "witness in regard to self-government and democracy"—without adding,
"in Baptist churches"—his argument would have been on a purely Nigerian nationalist basis. However, the important addition, "in Baptist churches," gives evidence of a concept of Nigerian Baptist identity in statu nascendi.

This may be supported by the observation that in the same address Lawoyin criticizes the attitude of Southern Baptist missionaries with regard to their personal church membership. Over against the few who have transferred membership to Nigerian Baptist churches, most Southern Baptist missionaries continue their membership with their American home church, a fact—so Lawoyin contends—which might be looked upon by Nigerian Baptists as one last expression of a superior attitude on the part of the missionary.1 Implied in such judgment is the growing awareness of Nigerian Baptists that they have matured to become a fully responsible Baptist body, holding their own now over against their spiritual mother, the Southern Baptist Convention.

The development of the Nigerian Baptist Convention into a matured Baptist body is to be seen in the perspective of the larger political context of Nigeria. On the national and political level a parallel movement toward greater recognition of an indigenous Nigerian identity can be observed. The factor behind this striving toward Nigerian self-expression is the same in the Baptist, the religious field as it is in the national and political area, only that with regard to the Baptist Convention, the Baptist element plays the dominant role, a

1. Ibid.: "... maybe that the missionaries have brought to us an inferior type of Christianity since they, after many years of missionary activity in the country are not interested in becoming members of churches they helped us to organize."
role which in this context will not any longer be identified by Southern Baptist and American concepts, but is expected to be filled with a Nigerian content. Thus the symbol for this transient epoch of the Convention should be "B(a)Nm."

A glance--prior to the final comparative analysis--at the symbols of this section of philosophical and ideological issues,¹ gives an interesting insight. With regard to the choice which was said to be implicit in the issues of this section, it is interesting to note that in the recent past the Nigerian Baptist opinion and attitude have been mostly determined by the Nigerian ("N") factor. Only in testing the Convention's present outlook is a genuine Baptist factor seen to take the lead, and this to that degree in which the Southern Baptist and American element ("a") is arrested by the growing influence of the nationalist Nigerian element ("Nm") within the development of Nigerian Baptist self-expressions.

iii. Confrontation of the Nigerian Baptist Convention with Issues Being Predominantly Cultural in Character

Perhaps the most difficult analytical problems arise in connection

1. The synopsis of the analytical symbols of section ii:

(1) NymB
(2) Nm
     (Ba)*
(3) Nm(ba)
     B(a)Nm

*This symbol referred to the Human Rights issue and it was seen that it was a programmatic issue rather than an already accepted one. And again, the reason that this issue still remains a programmatic one was seen to be the historical situation of Nigerian nationalism which does not parallel historically the situation in which the Baptist concept of human rights was conceived.
with the confrontation of the Nigerian Baptist Convention with cultural issues. In the transient situation of present Nigeria, it is impossible to select one particular culture or culture element to which a normative character may be ascribed in relation to which the Nigerian Baptist cultural self-consciousness could be tested. On the one hand, there is the indigenous Yoruba culture which as such is an objective reality but about which no comprehensive or objective accounts are available. On the other hand, there is in modern Nigeria a movement under way which--without being specifically organized--is in the process of developing a culture based on Western and indigenous elements. In this all-Nigerian movement the Nigerian Baptist Convention also participates, both consciously and unconsciously. To the degree in which in the previous analytical sections the nationalist Nigerian and Baptist elements of the Convention were seen to have determined Nigerian Baptist attitudes, the Convention partakes in essence in the process of shaping a new Nigerian culture. It is therefore difficult to analyze the Nigerian Baptist attitude toward a culture which does not any more--and does not

1. With regard to the Yoruba culture, there exist three groups of sources:
(a) Perhaps the most numerous group of writings is a body of missionary literature. These writings are biased by the missionary interests of the authors and are generally not on such a level of comprehensive and systematic insight as to warrant their exclusive and primary use. (b) A second group of writings is that of Yoruba authors themselves. These authors attach a pro domo interest to the subject in that they try to relate the Yoruba culture to a more glamorous and--in their Western inflicted perspective--more "respectable" past. The theory of the Egyptian origin of the Yoruba culture limits these accounts. (c) The third source-group is that of Western anthropological and historical writers. These writers either propose some similarly dubious theories of origin as those set forth by the second group, or write preliminary essays which are concerned with a number of single facets of the culture. A modern and comprehensive study is not yet available, although W. R. Bascom is said to be preparing such a book.
yet again--exist in one homogenous unity.

The first block of inquiries must therefore be more an analysis of degrees than of issues and the Nigerian Baptist attitudes thereto. Such an analysis of degrees can only determine to what extent modern Nigerian, Western, and Baptist elements shape the future culture in relation to traditional and indigenous elements. Such degrees will only give evidence to the limited sector of the Nigerian Baptist Convention and its contribution to this process of cultural development. Furthermore, the exact determination of this contribution will be limited in that there is not enough Nigerian Baptist material available so as to assure a satisfactory degree of accuracy.

(1) Indigenous cultural tradition and modern cultural future.

The cultural outlook of the Nigerian Baptist Convention is dependent upon the missionary past, and is in particular shaped by the Southern Baptist missionary impact. Throughout the early history of their work, Southern Baptist missionaries--like the others--exhibited little, if any, respect for the indigenous culture,¹ thus imparting to their Nigerian converts a sense of reserved inferiority concerning their own cultural tradition. It is this sense of inferiority which has developed among Nigerian Baptists into a negative attitude toward their culture and which today determines much of their cultural outlook.

When William R. Bascom--who is today probably the most outstanding anthropological authority on Yoruba life and culture--reports that

Yorubas are ashamed of their traditional art, are suspicious of all inquiries into their past, suppress their respect for the old ways and are today cut off from their tradition,¹ this corresponds directly to a sentiment which causes J. T. Ayorinde, at the 1951 Annual Session, to talk so exclusively of their Baptist heritage only, thereby disregarding completely any other than a Baptist past and tradition.² It is especially informative to point out that Ayorinde goes explicitly so far as to say that people without a cultural heritage are no longer people, and that the cultural heritage which Nigerian Baptists are asked to hold in high esteem is a heritage which is "diffused from one continent to another," a heritage which is possessed by mankind in general and which is Baptist in particular. In taking this position, Ayorinde not only expresses a preference for the non-indigenous Baptist heritage

1. Bascom, op. cit., p. 500: Bascom relates the Yorubas' general lack of respect for their own culture directly to the attitude of both the colonial administrator and the missionary toward the Yoruba culture. For not only are the Yorubas ashamed of their art, much of which is of religious content reminding them of their heathen ancestry, but also they are suspicious of all inquiry into their past because they know from experience that their 'uncivilized' past could be used against their desire for self-government. In the same vein, Bascom sees Yorubas suppressing respect for the old customs, for they feel that it would do them harm politically if the white man saw them continue in their old ways.

2. Proceedings of N. B. C., 1951, p. 31: "Man possesses a cultural heritage which is passed from one generation to another and diffused from one continent to another. This heritage is enriched whenever and wherever religion takes an important place in the affairs of men. If any group of people allow their heritage to be lost, they will have a status much lower than that of the animals." That was a position of my discussion of 'Our Baptist Heritage' during the 34th Annual Session of the N. B. C. held in Ogbomosho in 1947. I was convinced then as I am convinced now that we should not trifle with our heritage—yea, our Baptist principles and beliefs. It is only by taking our Baptist heritage seriously that we really and conscientiously glorify the Master."
over against the Yoruba tradition, but he also puts this Baptist heritage on the same high pedestal as do Southern Baptists, who like to conceive of it as being the principle of the all-embracing Baptist age.¹

Excursus: The Psychological Situation of the Educated Yoruba with Regard to His Cultural Heritage.

In order to understand fully Ayorinde's position on the issue of the Nigerian Baptist heritage, it is necessary to branch out briefly into a more detailed discussion of the modern Nigerian attitude concerning the indigenous tradition. This is the more advisable because this phenomenon is peculiar not only to Nigerian Baptists but is shared especially by educated Nigerians in general, be they Baptist, Christian, or non-Christian.

It was said that because of the strong European aversion toward the indigenous Yoruba culture, Yorubas have today divorced themselves largely from their indigenous tradition, especially because they have been made conscious that this tradition was nothing of which they could be proud. Around the first World War this denial of the Yoruba tradition was so complete among educated or semi-educated Yoruba Christians and non-Christians alike that in their outer appearance there was not much left which reminded the outside observer of any indigenous background. Yoruba churches were equipped with all-European liturgical insignia, the clergy wore European clergymen's vestments, and the educated Yorubas were dressed in some form of British fashion.²

² It is reported that even Nigerian Baptist churches in that period were equipped with such things as altars, crucifix, candles, lectern
A decisive change took place during the late 1930's and early 1940's when Nigerian Nationalism began to stress for its anti-British purposes the patriotic value of the indigenous culture. Out of Baptist churches disappeared all Anglican features insofar as they had no functional value in the Baptist worship service; the mode of dress approached some form of re-indigenization, and a new interest in the Yoruba past and origin began to become popular. Yorubas themselves became interested in their past and a search into their history and origin began, a search which was perhaps motivated by the need to find a historical identity which was more respectable than historically accurate.

Some time prior to this development, travelers and historians from Britain and Germany had advanced some theories of the origin of the Yoruba culture. Of these attempts, especially those which linked the Yoruba origin to the Near Eastern region gained great appreciation among and chancel, which were obviously of Anglican origin and as such actually un-Baptistic. At the same time, the Baptist clergy, as far as they were Yoruba, were dressed like Anglican priests, and used similar vestments during worship services. From interview with Dr. Goerner.

1. Among these writings two theories are especially predominant. The German culture historian, Frobenius, related the Yoruba culture to the ancient Etruscan culture, with which it was to have been linked through the lost culture area of Atlantis (in Frobenius, Voice of Africa, vol. I). A more widely circulated theory, to which British writers in particular adhered, was based upon Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney, Narratives of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa, 1822-24. In this early travelog, Clapperton reports about a document from Sultan Bello's archives, according to which the Yoruba originated from the remnants of the children of Canaan. This very popular theory linked the Yoruba to the impressive area of the Near East and ancient Egypt, a theory which already around 1850 lead the great Yoruba, Bishop S. Crowther, to assume that the Yorubas were one of the ten lost tribes of Israel. In how far all later theories depend upon the influence of these early sources must remain the subject of a special study.
the Yorubas. In the search for this origin, S. Johnson's *History of the Yorubas* was perhaps the first. However, Johnson was not much interested in the ideological exploitation of his historical findings, and he merely reported in 1921 what to him seemed to be the fact, i.e., that the Yorubas had at an early time migrated from Egypt to their present location.¹ The actual nationalistically interested research into history and origin of the Yoruba did not begin until J. Olumide Lucas in 1958 published his dissertation on *The Religion of the Yorubas*.² He was followed by Chief Samuel Ojo³ and by S. O. Biobaku's *Origin of the Yoruba*, which in the form of the first Lugard Lectures had gained much attention since 1955.⁴ All these latter treatments of the Yoruba history agree in some form or another on a Yoruba origin in the Near East. Perhaps the most unpresumptuous account is that of Chief Ojo, although he too is interested in contributing to the current ideologically colored discussion about the Yoruba origin.⁵ In Luca's study one can clearly detect the special interest he has in finding a respectable sounding-board for the Yoruba religion as over against other African religions.⁶


⁵. Somehow Ojo reverses the account of Sultan Bello's document just as he is not so clear in other respects; cf. Ojo, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-21.

⁶. Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 264: "There is no doubt that the advanced conception by the Yorubas in regard to the nature of man is due to
Although Biobaku disagrees with all earlier treatments of the subject with regard to their particular development of the issue, and detects in the case of Crowther’s report even a biased interest, he nevertheless arrives in his conclusions at a somewhat similar theory for the Egyptian origin of the Yoruba people. However, it must be said that Biobaku’s account is the most appealing and sober work.

If Bascom’s original contention is assumed to be correct, i.e., that the European disrespect for the pagan tradition of the Yoruba culture has resulted in an ashamed denial of their own past on the part of the Yorubas, then Yorubas seem to have devised a tool with which they have begun to develop a concept of their past of which they can be proud. But it is not this that concerns Bascom the most. Rather it is that the Yorubas were in the first place so humiliated by Europeans that they accepted the European opinion concerning their own culture. 

contact with the lofty religion of Ancient Egypt. Lofty ideas of immortality, heaven, and judgment after death are not often found among primitive people, and their presence in Yorubaland can only find solution in a theory of contact between the Yoruba civilization and a higher civilization. That civilization is the Ancient Egyptian civilization. . . ."

2. Ibid., p. 23f.
3. Bascom, op. cit., p. 500: “Undoubtedly it is because of this that educated Africans have grasped at British theories of Egyptian origins of African culture as a past contact of which they can be proud. Yet how pitiful to find a people embracing unproved and sometimes far-fetched hypotheses that anything admirable in their tradition was the invention of another group.”
4. Ibid.: “How abject to find them accepting European attitudes to the point where they deny to their own past everything worthwhile, and have to cling to tenuous theories which will give them a link to an area which Europeans accept as respectable.”
The affects of this European\textsuperscript{1} ethnocentrism have led Yorubas to seek new cultural identities. Some have found them in dubious theories of their historical origin, others have found them in the identification with an un-indigenous heritage. In the early 1950's, the Yoruba Baptists did the latter, for it is exactly in this context that J. T. Ayorinde's statement must be seen.

Inasmuch as Southern Baptist missionaries cannot be held exclusively responsible for this Nigerian Baptist attitude toward their indigenous tradition and culture, the analysis cannot very well result in only a Baptist factor of impact, although in a sense Southern Baptist missionaries have been the ones who have most intimately exerted this particular Baptist influence on the Nigerian Baptist cultural outlook. The following symbol, therefore, will define this particular phenomenon: 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understood outside Nigeria.\footnote{\textit{Bascom, op. cit.}, p. 498.}

The Nigerian Baptists' lack of appreciation for their indigenous art is based upon the same process which was seen to be underlying their denial of their traditional culture. As Nigerian Baptists adopted the Baptist heritage as their own, so they aspire for their art forms a more Europeanized and streamlined realism.\footnote{\textit{Ibid. Cf. also, Hailey, op. cit.}, p. 77: "Insofar as it is ancillary to pagan religious practice, African art is inevitably vulnerable to the spread of Christianity and Islam, and even where, as in the country of the Yoruba, there is a tradition of secular art, it is often undermined by the influence of Western culture."} This becomes especially evident with regard to liturgical art forms in Baptist churches.

In connection with a purposefully re-invigorated nationalist concern for the Indigenous heritage, Nigerian Baptists began in the mid-1950's to contemplate ways of integrating national characteristics into their churches. Colorful Yoruba gowns had already returned and Baptist pastors now wear them instead of the former clerical vestments. Liturgical furnishings begin to take forms dictated by conceptions of indigenous art; music, rhythm and Yoruba forms of poetry are proposed to take their place in the Nigerian Baptist worship service. It is at this stage that Nigerian Baptists begin to see the hidden competition arising between their chosen Baptist cultural identity and their traditional culture. As nationalists they favor all these changes because they give expression to a non-European, African identity, an identity by which this African nationalism lives. As Baptists they are interested in closely guarding the Baptist faith as a treasured possession in the proper setting. The result of this inner dichotomy of interests and...
sentiments is the real question: Are national characteristics compatible with the Baptist principles? ¹

Over against the complete surrender to Baptist cultural identity in the period up to the early 1950's, this question could not have been asked by Nigerian Baptists until the late 1950's by which time the inner nationalist ideas had grown. The fact that the problem involved is still so formulated that it is asked whether national characteristics are compatible with Baptist principles, and not yet vice versa, puts this question in the historical context which is directly subsequent to the prior historical period of complete cultural surrender. For the Baptist heritage still provides the norm over against which the compatibility of the growing national ideals is compared. The form in which the question is put at this juncture still presupposes its answer: "In our effort to identify the church with our culture and customs, we must be very careful lest we suffer a loss of basic Christian motives, definiteness, and dynamic that characterise the early Christian Church."²

However, this answer is already considerably different in style and conception from what it might have been had it been asked only a decade earlier, for in 1958 Nigerian Baptists had reached a position from which it was possible to talk about "our culture and customs."³

1. Proceedings of N. B. C., 1958, p. 10: "Yes, if such national characteristics will not affect adversely the fundamental principles and teachings of the Christian Church."

2. Ibid.

3. Projecting this development into the future, it would be interesting to know what the answer to a similar question might be in 1968. Perhaps then it might be that the compatibility of the non-indigenous Baptist heritage in relation to a neo-indigenous Nigerian culture is challenged, in which case Nigerianized concepts of "Negritude"
The analytical symbol attached to this development at this stage will have to bear out the still dominant influence of Southern Baptist thought patterns, and will have to consider the Western-influenced attitude of Nigerian Baptists with regard to their own art expressions:

"B_{aw}(N_{m})."

(3) Indigenous Customs and the Baptist Moral Code.

Since this issue has already been dealt with,¹ and inasmuch as the application of this issue belongs as much in the social as in the cultural category, there is here only the need for a brief observation with regard to the Nigerian Baptist attitude toward the Baptist moral concepts and related indigenous customs. It is interesting to note that Nigerian Baptists react differently to the moral implications of their Baptist heritage. On the one hand, they submit in theory to the rigid moral demands of the Baptist principles concerning a Christian way of life, and on the other hand they tend to practice a moral life which is more akin to their traditional customs. This dichotomy might partially be due to the marginal character of this issue with regard to the more abstract cultural heritage of the Yorubas, as it is also related to the

might provide the norm according to which the answer would be formulated. There are already indications among the Yoruba elite that such a Nigerian type of Negritude might be developed by that time. Cf. The West African Press Survey, no. 352 (Nov. 7, 1959), p. 3, from a policy paper of the Action Group: "In the French-speaking parts of Africa we hear of "Negritude,"--as yet not clearly defined--which is an unresistable desire to express the culture of Old Africa in the new mould of French thought and civilization. Here in Nigeria we have the opportunity to weave together the different strands of ancient cultures into a modern pattern which will at once reconcile the values of the old order with the sanctions of the new and will command for us a proud place in the world."

¹ Chap. VI, 2, i.
mode in which the missionaries have dealt, primarily with the indigenous custom of polygamy.¹

If then the Nigerian Baptist attitude toward this issue of polygamy is to be evaluated, a symbol must be devised which is just to the theoretical recognition of the Southern Baptist claim for monogamy as the only true form of Christian life and which, at the same time, takes into account the continued practice of polygamy on all levels of the Nigerian Baptist constituency.² The symbol selected is "Ba-Ny."

iv. Confrontation of the Nigerian Baptist Convention with Issues Being Predominantly Sociological or Political in Character

The inquiry into the Nigerian Baptist attitudes concerning sociological or political issues is limited in so far as this is an area where there is hardly any information available, and where such information normally would result from special ad hoc case studies. Nevertheless, Nigerian Baptists do have an attitude regarding issues in this area, and it is proposed here to indicate merely the direction from which this attitude might be expected to originate.

(1) Issues relating to the Yoruba social structure.

Inasmuch as the majority of Nigerian Baptists are Yorubas, it is sufficient to glance shortly into the Yoruba lineage structure. The

1. Bascom, op. cit., p. 499: "It is again ironical that missionary attacks on polygamy, bride wealth, and infant betrothal in the name of morality and the sanctity of the family, have been partly responsible for the increasing immorality and the weakening of the family institution."

2. Lawoyin had occasion to reject as "disgraceful" cases of polygamy even among pastors and teachers as late as 1958, thus giving evidence that by no means has the issue of polygamy versus monogamy been decided in favor of the latter. Proceedings of N. B. C., 1958, p. 11.
predominant feature of Yoruba social institutions is not the lineage or clan, but is rather the indigenous urban society which as such is unique among the peoples of Africa. These urban societies distinguish themselves through political complexity and social stratification rather than by extended ties of kinship. Consequently, "the Yoruba lineage structure is simple, consisting of patrilineal descent-groups living in a common residence." Inasmuch as the common residence of a Yoruba lineage seems to define most basically the extent of a family, and inasmuch as Yorubas like to move about as traders and craftsmen—thus frequently establishing new residences and breaking the ties with the old location—the Yoruba families are not as extended as those of many other African ethnic groups. In this setting the Yorubas approach in a peculiarly indigenous way the mode of the social structure of the Western urban society, sharing even in the feature of the high social mobility of the Western society. However, within this larger structure, Yorubas have within their boundaries and within their cities remained ethnically homogeneous, and tend to maintain their ethnic identity also outside the boundaries of Yorubaland.

Comparing Yoruba Baptists against the background of this setting with some sociological issues which they may encounter especially as Baptists, it is easily seen that without a specific study of this situation it is difficult to make any generalizations with regard to the


elements which might determine their attitude concerning certain issues. Without a more detailed knowledge of the actual situation it is too difficult to distinguish between Nigerian and Yoruba factors or Baptist elements which from case to case might determine one particular attitude of Nigerian Baptists concerning a distinct issue.

When, for instance, S. A. Lawoyin pleads that the Convention's outlook is not determined by tribalism, and when he appeals to those who intimate this to abstain from such charges, it is not clear which element may have prompted him to react the way he did. On the one hand, the Baptist faith certainly is not ethnically limited, and, on the other hand, not all Yorubas are Baptists to the exclusion of all other ethnic groups or Christian denominations and African religions. Thus, this attitude can be based on either Baptist or Yoruba convictions. If a symbol shall be selected then it is to reflect the qualified character of this evaluation: "(B\u208N\u208y)."

Or to bring another example: In 1951 G. O. Ogunsola urged that there is a "need for Christian homes. Until our women are free and given their rights, our country will still be backward socially, culturally and religiously." Again, the Yoruba concept of a family defined by a common residence is not functionally opposed to a concept of the Christian home as Baptists might see it. This is also the case with regard to the issue of political rights for women, although here it is not the Yoruba cultural concept which might be indistinguishable from

1. Proceedings of N. B. C., 1958, p. 11: "I therefore humbly appeal to those who by words or action are trying to read tribalism into the working of the Convention to please desist from doing so."

the Baptist principle of democratic liberty for all, but it is rather a modern Nigerian and nationalist concern which would like to see that women are invested with equal rights. And only insofar as these modern nationalist concepts might have been influenced by Western democratic ideals—of which Baptists are among the strongest supporters—can there be given a greater weight to the Baptist element than to the Nigerian nationalist factor. The symbol is again to be defined within parentheses because neither element is in competition with the other: ("B_a - n_m").

Because of the unique Yoruba social structure it might be difficult to find in this sociological area any controversial issues of such character that an analysis could bring forth a combination of Nigerian and Baptist factors which are in competition with each other as far as the Nigerian Baptist attitude and opinion are concerned. As it is, Baptist churches and congregations do not seem to upset the largely urbanized social structure of the Yoruba people; and insofar as Yoruba institutions in the urban setting are mostly either professional, industrial, or religious in character, Baptist churches seem to fit into this scheme without causing any disturbances.

(2) Nigerian Baptists and the Nigerian political scene.

With regard to the attitude of Nigerian Baptists toward political issues, the situation is similar to that of Nigerian Baptists and sociological questions. Basically there is no conflict for the Yorubas. Politically they are able to be just as good Nigerians as they are good Baptists, provided the Nigerian political aspirations remain in the direction of political independence under a democratic government which
assures the Baptist principle of state-church separation. And for the
time being, Nigerian Baptists have no cause to assume that this would
not be the political aim of the country's policy.

As Baptists they will vote in favor of that party which promises
to pursue this goal most directly,¹ but it cannot be said that Nigerian
Baptists are solely determined by their Baptist character to vote on
the basis of this particular sentiment, for this could equally as well
be attributed to a sentiment of good Nigerian citizenship. Furthermore,
Nigerian Baptists are not restricted to only a passive political partici-
pation but would take active part in the government wherever they have
an opportunity to do so individually.²

If, then, a symbol should describe this Nigerian Baptist attitude
concerning the Nigerian political scene, it will have to be selected
so that it represents equally the Nigerian and the Baptist interests,
which in this case again do not compete with each other: "(Bₐ = Nₘ)." ²

v. Summary of the Analytical Model

Below is given a summary list of the symbols which resulted from
the analysis of Nigerian Baptist attitudes concerning issues within the
categories related to theological, philosophical, cultural, and
socio-political values. The afore defined symbols are briefly explained,
particularly in terms of the qualifying character of the lower case

¹. Cf. chap. VI, 3, ii.

2. Sadler, Century in Nigeria, p. 146: Sadler reports that Dr. Oyerinde,
one of the most brilliant Nigerian Baptist leaders, had been elected
to the Legislative Council at Lagos after a career as professor at
the Baptist Academy and Seminary, and that after his term in the
LEGCO Dr. Oyerinde was the political advisor of the Yoruba ruler of
Ogbomosho.
letters with regard to the dominant capital letters. After the addition of these symbols according to their categories and the summation of the symbols as to their grand total, two graphs will show the correlation of Nigerian and non-Nigerian influence-factors regarding the structure of attitude and opinion of Nigerian Baptists.

(1) Summary of the symbols.

**Category One: Theological and Religious Issues**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) The Baptist Faith</td>
<td>$B_a$</td>
<td>The Baptist faith is the avowed spiritual heritage of Nigerian Baptists.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| (b) Protestant Christianity and Ecumenical Spirit | $N_s$, $B_n(\text{ec})$, $N_r(\text{m})$ | - Pertains to the minority position of the N. B. C.  
- Pertains to the nature of the ecumenical spirit of the N. B. C.  
- Pertains to the nationalist interest of the N. B. C. in the Ecumenical Movement. |
| (c) Catholic Christianity | $B_a$ | The intensity of anti-Catholic sentiments is determined by the Southern Baptist example. |
| (d) Islam | $B_n(\text{a})$ | Attitude is influenced by Southern Baptist sentiment and an indigenous Yoruba predisposition against Islam's predominance in Northern Provinces. |
| (e) Indigenous Religion and cult societies | $B_a-\text{ec}$ | This attitude is influenced by Southern Baptist and traditional European predisposition concerning the issue. |

**Category Two: Philosophical and Ideological Issues**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Freedom and Authority</td>
<td>$N_{\text{ymb}}$</td>
<td>The Nigerian element dominates the attitude of the N. B. C.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| (b) Nationalism and Baptist Convictions | $N_m$, $(B_a)_m$ | - Pertains to the dominant nationalist milieu within the N. B. C.  
- Nationalist thought qualifies and outranks the Southern Baptist philosophy. |
(c) African and Baptist Loyalties

$N_m(ba)$ - Nationalist predominance in the grants-in-aid compromise is an expression of African loyalty over Baptist loyalty.

$B(b)N_m$ - Indicates a genuine Baptist loyalty; however, the Southern Baptist aspect of this Baptist loyalty is arrested by the Nigerian nationalist loyalty.

**Category Three: Cultural Issues**

(a) Indigenous and Modern Culture

$wB_{a-ec-p}$ - Notes the whole weight of the un-indigenous impact on the indigenous culture tradition, resulting in the Nigerian Baptist denial of the indigenous tradition.

(b) Indigenous Art

$B_{aw}(N_m)$ - Notes the Western and Southern Baptist impact on indigenous art, which in its weight still dominates eventual cultural self-expressions through art, as such self-expressions might result from the nationalist interest in re-indigenization.

(c) Indigenous Customs and Baptist Moral Code

$B_{a-N_y}$ - Notes the parallel existence of theoretical acceptance of Baptist moral code and practical adherence to indigenous customs by a large portion of the N.B.C. constituency.

**Category Four: Socio-political Issues**

(a) Yoruba Social Structure

$(B=N_y)$ - Describes the fact that there is no competition between Baptist life and the Yoruba social structure, especially since the issue of polygamy has been excluded from this category.

$(B_{a=nm})$ - Describes the fact that there is no competition between Baptist principles and modern Nigerian social desires, although there is still a dominance of Southern Baptist ideals.
(b) Nigerian Political Scene (B_a=N_m) - Politically there is no competition and no dominance on either side.

(2) Quantification.

As a technique of sociological research, quantification has found wide acceptance within the last three decades.¹ The technique of quantification was developed in a desire to make use of a quantitative treatment of data resulting from sociological research, and so to approximate the success of natural science, which success "may be attributed to the objective character of its data and the quantitative treatment of its results."² Thus sociology sought to find ways of obtaining such data as may be "suitable for quantitative treatment by statistical means."³ However, sociology is aware of the danger which is involved in attempting to produce statistically reliable data which result from a study of human behavior. And inasmuch as sociology itself is a behavioral science, its research results will always be predominantly of a qualitative rather than quantitative character.

If, then, sociology makes use of statistical techniques, it does so in the knowledge that this procedure can only measure "the qualities that are theoretically significant,"⁴ and that it cannot produce an objective formula of the correlation of quantitative social values. In the perspective of this accepted limitation, the technique of quantifi-


2. Ibid., p. 201.  
3. Ibid.  
4. Ibid., p. 203.
cation provides a tool which only suggests an explanation of a certain sociological phenomenon described by behavioral data. Without such data, the process of quantification cannot be executed. Consequently, the technique of quantification can be used only in conjunction with such a theory as determines what is to be measured by the quantitative and statistical process. In the context of this study, this method is observed, inasmuch as the foregoing analytical model provided for the data which now are to be statistically correlated.

The summary of the analytical model resulted in a list containing sixty-two items which can be generally identified by their character as either pertaining to Nigerian or to non-Nigerian (i.e., Western) elements of the Nigerian Baptist outlook. With regard to the phenomenon of African Nationalism, one can argue as to whether or not it is of Western nature. It is certainly true that without Western, particularly Western missionary influences, there would not be a Nationalism in Africa of the kind as is known today. However, inasmuch as the present-day African Nationalism is so primarily characteristic of the modern Africa, it was decided for the purposes of this study to subsume the nationalist elements under those of the Nigerian division.

Among the data of this summary there are two items (s and p), each of which appears once: "s" noting a sociological element indigenous to the Nigerian scene; "p", a political element intricately linked to the British administrative influence in Nigeria. Being of different origins, the items "s" and "p" appear in antithetic divisions ("s" in the Nigerian, "p" in the non-Nigerian division) and thus neutralize each other as far

as this quantification is concerned. Both items are of interest only insofar as they appear in different categories.¹

All other data are--by virtue of their nature--divided according to Baptist and American qualities. These, together with Christian and Western characteristics and parallel influences of a British nature, constitute the non-Nigerian division. The Nigerian division is represented by data which are either of general Nigerian quality or pertain to Nigerian nationalist ideals, all-African loyalties, or specific Yoruba tradition. Consequently the data marked by the letters b, a, e, c, w, and p, belong to the non-Nigerian division, and the data represented by the letters n, m, r, y, and s are germane to the Nigerian division. The capital letters B and N give evidence of the relative intensity of the over-all Baptist or Nigerian quality in each combination of symbols. As determining qualities, the sum of B's and N's is assigned a dominant value in each of the four categories--theological, ideological, cultural, and socio-political.²

As a result of the separation, pre-selected correlation, and summation of the available data, two charts are devised which give evidence to the distribution and general co-ordination of qualities which underly the outlook of the Nigerian Baptist Convention. In the charts, this outlook is defined in the concrete terms of the Nigerian Baptist attitude and opinion, for it was in the perspective of these two angles that the data have been deduced from the general Nigerian Baptist outlook concerning the four categories of issues.

¹. Cf. chart I, following page.

². This dominance is graphically expressed in charts I and II by placing the B and N qualities in the first portion of each category and by a heavier emphasis of the frame around the B and N blocs.
Graph I: Graded distribution of values concerning the degree of Nigerian and non-Nigerian influences upon Nigerian Baptist attitudes and opinions.

Degree of American Baptist and general Western influences on the Nigerian Baptist outlook.

Degree of Nigerian Nationalist and indigenous Yoruba and African influences on the Nigerian Baptist outlook.

Explanation of Symbols:

- B-Baptist
- b-limited
- Baptist
- a-American
- c/w-Christian
- r-African
- e-British
- p-political
- social structure

( )-notes that a value is qualified by other values of the antithetic division

Order of influence resulting from the intensity of impact values according to their role in the four functional categories:

Order of Southern Baptist influence intensity:
1. Theological and Religious
2. Cultural
3. Philosophico-ideological
4. Socio-political

Order of Nigerian influence intensity:
1. Philosophico-ideological
2. Theological and Religious
3. Socio-political
4. Cultural
Graph II: Summary of the general Southern Baptist mission impact on the Nigerian Baptist scene.

General Impact Ratio:

\[
\frac{34 + 1}{26 + 1}
\]
in favor of American Southern Baptist and general Western influences on the Nigerian Baptist outlook.
3. Evaluation and Correlation

"As long as the missionary remains in any respect a foreign element, it is not within his power to demonstrate by his life how the practices of a native culture are to be 'transvalued'." ¹

Throughout this study of the Southern Baptist mission enterprise, a certain discrepancy of interests and opinions has come into focus with regard to the mode of interaction and co-operation between the Mission and the Convention. It was established that there exists a difference between the two Baptist agencies with regard to the mission educational program, concerning the attitude toward the Ecumenical Movement, and in the degree to which some concepts of the basic Baptist faith are comprehended and integrated into the actual self-understanding of the Nigerian Baptist Convention as compared with that of the Southern Baptist Convention. In each instance where such difference of opinion or attitude became apparent, an explanation was given in that particular context. However, it was never quite possible to correlate all supporting factors which must be held responsible for this particular combination of general agreement and specific disagreement with regard to the American and Nigerian co-operation in the Baptist mission enterprise.

It was, however, repeatedly pointed out that a combination of factors influenced the actual process of co-operation, although these factors have not yet been discussed in the sum total of their interaction. Only in connection with single phases of actual programs of co-operation was it supposed that a series of factors influenced the particular mode

¹ Keitzman, op. cit., p. 209.
of this co-operation. These factors were seen to be either of a general Baptist and non-Nigerian origin, or as belonging to the indigenous Nigerian context. This is logical to assume inasmuch as two groups of elements which are to each other foreign in origin and character are fused into one co-operative endeavor. The character of these factors, however, has not yet come into a clear perspective.

Inasmuch as the objective of this study is to analyze in more specific terms the particular mode of the Southern Baptist foreign mission outreach to, and its intensity of influence or impact upon, the Western Nigerian scene through the presence of the Baptist foreign mission operations in this area, it was not enough to analyze this operation in its inter-acting phase in a descriptive sense only. Rather, there was always the search for a more detailed and a more reliable method of reaching a level of abstraction from the wide scope of involved cases of inter-action which in summa constitute the co-operative venture of the Southern Baptist foreign mission enterprise in Western Nigeria. This method was developed in this chapter, was applied to the Nigerian Baptist scene, and resulted finally in the abstract formulation of the foregoing charts I and II.

As the result of the process of quantification, these charts can at best measure only qualities of factors which constitute as elements the Nigerian Baptist outlook in general. In particular, these charts are designed so as to give evidence of the degree in which these qualities compose the outlook of the Nigerian Baptist Convention. Inasmuch as these charts are useful only in conjunction with the previously deducted qualitative symbols, there is the continued need for consulting the context
from which these symbols as data were collected. The data which are integrated into these charts represent in themselves the basic process of analysis, inasmuch as they delineate those qualitative elements which compose the attitude and opinion of the Nigerian Baptist Convention with regard to thirteen issues related to four categories. This is to say that a selective analysis of the Southern Baptist foreign mission enterprise in Western Nigeria has already taken place, and that it is now the task to produce a correlating evaluation of the findings of this analysis which in itself was executed in the form of a model.

So far the analysis has produced a reliable degree of certainty with regard to the two basically different groups of influential factors which underly the expressions of the Nigerian Baptist opinion. Furthermore, the qualities of these factors have been established in their different contexts. As far as these factors and their qualities have been integrated into the charts, the corresponding character of the factor-qualities have been correlated with each other within the order of their basic division in Nigerian and non-Nigerian factor groups. However, no statement has yet been made as to the degrees of intensity of influence, in general or in particular, with regard to certain categories. It is therefore the task at this point to substantiate through the correlating evaluation of these charts—which in themselves are intricately related to the analytical objective of this study—the general hypothesis that the Southern Baptist foreign mission enterprise has left its imprint beyond its primary religious and evangelistic objective on the Nigerian Baptist scene. And it is furthermore to be defined to what degree Southern Baptist concepts and thought patterns have penetrated
the Nigerian Baptist scene in other than the theological categories.\footnote{1}

i. Discussion of Chart I.

A primary survey of this chart reveals that with the exception of category two, which pertains to the philosophical and ideological issues, the Baptist and American elements exert a major influence in the formulation of the Nigerian Baptist outlook. The degree of this influence is relatively equal in categories one and three, except that in the third category the American element is equalled in intensity by the combination of general Western, Christian, and British factors.

Whereas it is to be expected that the influence factors of the Nigerian denomination are relatively less strong in the theological and religious category, it comes as a surprise that they are almost completely outranked by the strong representation of non-Nigerian factors in the cultural category. As to category one, the predominant influence of the massive and unqualified bloc of Baptist factors in conjunction with the American element is to be explained by the religious and Baptistic

\footnote{1. Procedural remark: Underlying this evaluation is the assumption that these charts reproduce in the form of a graphic summary the analytical confrontation of the Nigerian Baptist attitudes and opinions with issues of either theologico-religious and philosophico-ideological nature or cultural and socio-political character. The qualitative values resulting out of this analytical confrontation are integrated into the charts, thus appearing as quantitative values. This is solely for the purpose of graphic quantification, which, nevertheless, remains the quantification of qualitative values. If it is understood that a unilateral rating in quantitative terms only is not permissible, then the correlating evaluation of these charts can fulfill its task, which is to point out the peculiar inter-relation of Nigerian and non-Nigerian factors with regard to formation and structure of the Nigerian Baptist outlook as it is expressed through statements based upon Nigerian Baptist attitudes and opinions. With this qualification in mind the correlating evaluation may be undertaken.}
character of the analyzed object, the outlook of the Nigerian Baptist Convention. This explanation cannot hold in the case of the non-Nigerian factor predominance in category three. Here it is rather the heavily Westernized cultural self-conception of the Convention which may explain why the Nigerian contribution in this category is not more substantial.

Over against this evidence, the impressive influence of Nigerian and nationalist elements in the philosophic-ideological category seems to suggest that here an irreconcilable contradiction has found its expression. However, a look at the issues of this category may open an explanation. The issues listed are "Freedom and Authority," Nationalist and Baptist Convictions," and "African and Baptist Loyalties."

Within the Southern Baptist setting, these issues would not exist in this particular polarity, the exception being the issue of "Freedom and Authority." It was pointed out that the Southern Baptist sentiment, traditionally preoccupied more with freedom than with authority, is in its attitude toward this issue now determined by the majority position which the Southern Baptist Convention enjoys in the region to which it belongs. This has its consequence also in the way in which Southern Baptist missionaries would represent this particular facet of Southern Baptist beliefs in an area with which they would not culturally identify themselves. This is to say that Nigerian Baptists have not existentially participated in the early Baptist experience, when religious and civil freedom was to Baptists in America an issue of survival as a religious group—an experience in which today's Southern Baptist missionaries have just as little share as have Nigerian Baptists. In other words, Southern Baptist missionaries can and do represent the belief in religious and
civil freedom without being able to furnish the same historical situation in which this belief took its dramatic shape. At the same time, however, Nigerian Baptists are existentially participating in a quest for freedom which does not primarily involve the freedom of their Baptist religion. Rather, it is related to a political freedom of such a basic kind that religious issues, in the Nigerian perspective, are of only tertiary importance. Therefore, when Nigerian Baptists have an attitude toward the issue of freedom and authority, they have it as Nigerians. As Baptists they have only a solid catechistic knowledge of the Baptist belief in religious and civil liberty.

If the Nigerian Baptist outlook in this ideological category is predominantly determined by Nigerian and nationalist influence factors, then this phenomenon is to be explained by the fact that for the time being the Nigerian Baptist conception of freedom and authority is shaped by the predominantly political interest in this issue. Only if well after the establishment of political independence in Nigeria the religious freedom of the particular Nigerian Baptist minority group should be challenged, is it likely that the Baptist element, together with the American factors, may assume a dominant role over against the Nigerian influence.¹

The factor distribution in the fourth category is such that this

¹. As long as this discussion has already touched on trends and predictions, it might be added that by such a time as the Baptist element should become predominant in the ideological category, the Nigerian elements might have shifted in the other categories the role of influence upon the Nigerian Baptist outlook in their favor over against the non-Nigerian elements. Such trends begin to become evident with regard to the cultural category, and—to a more limited degree—also with regard to the theological category.
evaluation cannot bring forth much more by way of emphasis than what is already expressed in the analysis and the subsequent graph. The fact that all values appear in the qualified form was explained by the lack of any absolute predominance of one particular element, and was further based upon the findings of the analysis that the skeleton Yoruba social structure\(^1\) and the Nigerian political desires do not stand in competition with Baptist ideals and convictions. The quantification of the qualitative values of this socio-political category results in the most nearly balanced ratio of Nigerian and non-Nigerian elements of any of the categories, so that it might almost be concluded that Nigerian and Baptist elements would quantitatively neutralize each other. However, only because the analysis indicated that Baptist convictions and Nigerian interests in the socio-political field—as it was defined for the purpose of this category—do not compete with each other, and consequently cannot neutralize each other in a competition which does not exist, was it felt that the elements influencing the Nigerian Baptist outlook in the scope of category four ought to be shown as values qualified by an uncompetitive co-existence. This co-existence in the political realm is perhaps the most remarkable phenomenon of category four, inasmuch as all other categories very definitely display the dominance of one factor division over the other, thus indicating that there exists a competition between these influencing factor divisions with regard to the formation

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1. This skeleton Yoruba social structure refers to the highly urbanized Yoruba society as an indigenous phenomenon which overshadows the role played by the Yoruba lineage and family structure in this indigenous urban setting. Other features of the Yoruba social order, such as polygamy and indigenous cult societies, have been omitted from consideration here because they were dealt with already in categories one and three respectively.
of the Nigerian Baptist opinion about the related issues.

This divisional competition becomes most evident in the first three categories with regard to the ratio between the Nigerian nationalist element and the American element of the Southern Baptist impact factors. In no case do these two elements meet in an unqualified form, nor do they even approach an equilibrium. In categories one and three the American element in each case outweighs one qualified Nigerian nationalist element, while in category two this ratio is exactly the opposite. Only in the setting of category four do these otherwise competitive elements exactly balance one another.

The remarkable difference between charts I and II is that the predominant influence of the non-Nigerian on the Nigerian factors, as it is suggested from graph II, cannot be substantiated for all categories in graph I. Rather, in the philosophical and ideological category, the Nigerian factors have the lead over the non-Nigerian factors and are favorably balanced in category four.

Perhaps the most valuable information which can be gained from chart I is a comparison between the order of influence of the Baptist and the Nigerian elements with regard to the four categories. The Baptist division of elements may be lined up in the following graded intensity of influence: it is strongest in the theological category, next influential in the cultural category, still weaker in influence in the philosophical area, and is relatively the weakest in the socio-political realm. The Nigerian influence, correspondingly, ranges from its most prominent intensity in the philosophic-ideological category, and diminishes in the theological and socio-political to the cultural category.
Through this differentiation of influential elements according to their intensity in the functional categories, a support is given for the determination of the general relation between the Southern Baptist impact upon the Nigerian Baptist outlook and the indigenous Nigerian expression of this outlook. If, then, the Southern Baptist foreign mission outreach is to be defined in terms of the intensity of its impact on the Nigerian Baptist scene, the following order can be established parallel to the one given above: The intensity of the Southern Baptist impact diminishes from the theological area, to the cultural field, to the philosophical province, to the socio-political position of the Nigerian Baptist Convention's attitude and opinions.

A comparison with the corresponding order of influence intensity of Nigerian elements shows that the Southern Baptist impact is definitely dominant in the theological and cultural areas, whereas these fields are only second and fourth respectively in the order of Nigerian elements and their influence intensity. In the philosophico-ideological province, the Nigerian influence is considerably more intense than the Southern Baptist impact. This fact is the more surprising in that the Southern Baptist convictions have a strong philosophical and ideological importance in the American Southern Baptist scene. This phenomenon, however, was explained by the particular ideological situation of the Nigerian scene at the present time.

ii. Discussion of Chart II.

As a summary of chart I, chart II gives evidence to the ratio of influencing elements. Discounting "p" and "s", which were seen to neutralize one another as far as the quantitative evaluation is con-
cerned, there remain sixty items which have been integrated into chart II according to their nature and character. The basic division into Nigerian and non-Nigerian elements of influence has been maintained. Accordingly, the over-all relation of the data results in the ratio of thirty-four to twenty-six in favor of the non-Nigerian elements of influence. As chart I has shown, this dominance of non-Nigerian elements does not necessarily postulate a similar non-Nigerian dominance in each category. Rather, it was seen that in two out of four categories, the Nigerian elements either dominated or favorably balanced the non-Nigerian elements.

Nevertheless, it is important to reflect on the meaning of the dominant ratio of non-Nigerian over Nigerian elements. Inasmuch as it is the concern of this study to gain information on the intensity of the Southern Baptist and Western impact on the formulation of Nigerian Baptist conceptions, it is necessary to utilize the evidence of chart II in a similar manner as in chart I, with regard to the degree of the total impact-intensity. When out of sixty items, thirty-four are of non-Nigerian character, this indicates the dominance of these elements over against the Nigerian values. However, this does not mean that the degree of influence intensity is equal to the quantitative ratio of thirty-four to twenty-six, because these figures represent merely the quantitative sum of qualitative values. It is not possible to state a quantitative measure or norm of the particular degree of intensity of each single qualitative value. And this is especially so inasmuch as it is impossible to relate in a quantitative scale the degree of the impact of the various characteristics of the non-Nigerian elements which
are far less homogeneous than the Nigerian elements of influence. 1

The intensity of the Southern Baptist impact can, therefore, only be defined in a relative term, which is to say that this intensity is approximately related to the quantitative ratio, which defined the tested data. Thus the degree of the intensity of the Southern Baptist mission impact on the Nigerian Baptist scene is—for the present time—still greater than the intensity of the Nigerian influences, although the comparative dominance is only very small. In fact, it is so marginal that if the Christian and Western and the British elements of influence, totaling together only seven units—of which two are of a qualified function—were to be subtracted from the non-Nigerian division of influencing elements, the Southern Baptist influence ratio would be less than 50 percent, and, as such, would be smaller than the influence of the more homogeneous bloc of Nigerian influences. However, when the heterogeneous elements in the non-Nigerian factor group are eliminated by subtraction, there remains the body of Southern Baptist and American elements which represent a measure of homogeneity which is greater than that of the Nigerian factor group. This high degree of homogeneity of

1. With regard to the Nigerian group of influencing values, a certain correlation in the direction of homogeneous unity of their degrees of influence is conceivable, inasmuch as indigenous, nationalist, African and Yoruba ideas directly mold that conceptual bloc which is representative of the Nigerian influence. This cannot be said with regard to the non-Nigerian group of influencing values, for here such homogeneous unity does not exist. Although there is a close relationship between Southern Baptist and American values, it was seen that Southern Baptist convictions do not homogeneously conform to general Western and Christian concepts, and much less so to British elements of influence, which latter ones were also listed under the non-Nigerian group of influences. The fact that the Southern Baptist influence was named generally under the wider scope of the "non-Nigerian" influences, gives evidence to the relative heterogeneity of values in this division.
the Southern Baptist impact proper has repeatedly come into focus throughout this study. It is based upon the Southern Baptist self-conception of being a majority movement in the region to which it belongs. In how far this homogeneous character of the Southern Baptist impact upon the Nigerian Baptist scene also intensifies the thrust of this impact can not be expressed in terms of quantitative degrees inasmuch as a scale of reference for such measurement is not available. This much, however, should be concluded from this observation: the effect of the unified and homogeneous thrust of the Southern Baptist impact would tend to diminish the marginal dominance which the Nigerian impact division has over the Southern Baptist impact.

In summary: the Southern Baptist mission outreach in Western Nigeria, in conjunction with other non-Nigerian elements of Christian, Western, and British nature, shapes the Nigerian Baptist outlook to a degree which, at the present time, is only slightly higher than that of the influencing elements of a generally Nigerian nature. The Southern Baptist mission impact proper is slightly less than the Nigerian influence, but is nevertheless decisively strong in the theologico-religious and cultural categories of Nigerian Baptist expressions.

Thus, the analysis is completed. An analytical model has been designed, the Nigerian Baptist outlook was tested by this model and the findings were evaluated. In the final chapter there remains to be presented the conclusions which may be legitimately drawn from this study.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

In this concluding chapter such results will be reviewed as may legitimately be deduced from the study. These results are of a twofold nature. On the one hand, there is the methodology which was designed for an analytical inquiry into the Southern Baptist mission operations in Western Nigeria. On the other hand, the application of this methodology resulted in the analysis of the theological and cultural impact of this Southern Baptist mission enterprise on the Yoruba scene. The institutional result of the Southern Baptist mission endeavor was identified as the Nigerian Baptist Convention.

1. Methodological Results

It was the stated objective of this dissertation to probe into the range and intensity of missionary influences which have become identified with the Southern Baptist foreign mission endeavor in a portion of Western Nigerian life: the life and outlook of the Nigerian Baptist Convention. As such, the dissertation dealt with the general phenomenon known as culture-change through Christianization. This phenomenon has long been a concern of that branch of the social sciences which focuses its attention on the process of culture change on the African continent. However, no explicit case study had been conducted so far with reference to the particular problem of mission-induced acculturation. Consequently, there was no methodology which could be adapted for use in this inquiry. It
was, therefore, necessary to design such a methodology as would serve as a tool for the description and analysis of the culture-changing influences of the Southern Baptist mission enterprise on the indigenous Yoruba scene in Western Nigeria. At the same time it was hoped that this methodology would be developed comprehensively enough so as to recommend its use for other case studies of Western missionary culture impact. In the degree to which the methodology--designed for and applied to the study of the Southern Baptist missionary impact in Western Nigeria--can also be applied to other studies of such missionary impact, certain results can be reported.

Inasmuch as these results pertain to methodology, they will be presented in a form divorced from the context of the Southern Baptist mission operation. Furthermore, the methodology underlying this study is divided into two sections which are subsequent to one another. These two sections may justify the presentation of the methodology in two steps: first, the method of approach, and secondly, the method of analysis.

1. The Method of Approach

The primary change with which the Western missionary enterprise concerns itself is the establishment of a Christian body, a Church, in an area where there was none before. The secondary change--secondary only insofar as the mission is not primarily interested in it--is brought about by the mediation of culture values and standards un-indigenous to the area which is undergoing this change. For the purpose of studying this change, both in its religious and cultural dimensions, the denotation "primary" and "secondary" ought to be omitted. It is, however, of vital importance that the importance of the "primary change--"primary" in the
missiological perspective--is not underemphasized over against the wide range of cultural change. Rather, the phenomenon of change resulting from a missionary impact should constantly be viewed as a unit with basically two aspects, the religious and the cultural, which condition and interpret one another.

In order to be able to define precisely the active factors which establish the force behind the missionary impact, a knowledge must be gained of the components which contribute to the outreach of the missionary body, for it is this outreach with all its different components which determines to a great degree the intensity and the range of the missionary impact. Thus the sending organization must be identified as to its institutional position within the church of which it is an agency in one sense or another. This church must be defined as to its theological beliefs, doctrine, and ethical convictions. An investigation into the philosophical self-understanding of this church may give evidence to its subjective self-evaluation with regard to other churches and may help to define the place in which the church sees itself with regard to the wider setting of its cultural and ideological home environment. Equipped with this information, the religious and ideological climate of the missionary organization may be determined within the context of the sending church.

After the organization and the theological and ideologico-cultural climate of the missionary outlet has been identified, the operation of this mission outreach must be given attention. In this context such questions must be answered as seek to understand the organization and the missionary program of the mission's enterprise in the area under
investigation. Information regarding the history, policy, missionary effort and success of the mission agency must be gathered. All such information may be presented in a topically organized description of the particular mission enterprise in the perspective of those components which might eventually feed into the change-imparting influence of the missionary impact.

Insofar as an inquiry into the phenomenon of acculturation owing to a missionary impact will usually take place well after the time that the actual process of change has begun, it is necessary to focus attention on that group which represents the missiological result of the missionary endeavor, and which, as such, witnesses to the success of the mission operation. In many—if not all—cases the inquirer will find himself confronted with a more or less closely organized church body of indigenous Christians. If possible, such information about this group ought to be collected as would parallel that material gathered with regard to the home church behind the founding mission agency. Again, theological beliefs, doctrine and its formulation, constitutional texts, ethical convictions, and philosophical self-understanding of the group should be reported.

Special attention must be given to the sociological, and more yet, to the anthropological identification of that group. A survey of the available information concerning the group's wider ethnic identities, tradition, customs, and religion prior to its conversion is indicated. The group's sociological relationship to its contemporary philosophico-ideological environment must be defined. The material resulting from this inquiry should then be integrated into the account of the group's
Christian self-conception. Insofar as certain statements of faith, doctrine, or policy may differ from those of the mission agency, an attempt ought to be made to explain these differences on the basis of the knowledge gained from the inquiry into the indigenous environment of the group.

Taking into account the fact that the interrelationship between mission agency and mission church is regulated in almost all cases through constitutional and policy statements, it may now be assumed that in a certain way the mission and the mission church are partners in the same mission enterprise. As partners, the mission and the mission church may be confronted in a discussion concerning certain controversial issues which have come into focus during the foregoing research. These issues may either be related to the mutual interest in the mission enterprise, thus pertaining to different conceptions of program and policy, or they may deal with concepts outside the immediate confines of the mission endeavor, such as politics, secular education, or national ideology.

Such a confrontation must constantly strive to explain the diverging viewpoints of the partners on the basis of the information previously collected. If the researcher is willing to be led by his sources, rather than to force the discussion according to his own notion, he will gain data which he can then submit to the analysis.

ii. The Method of the Analysis:
The Model and Its Evaluation

This method of approach adopted for a study of the range and intensity of the Western missionary impact on an indigenous scene results
in the information that at the time of the inquiry a discussion is taking place between the missionary group and the converted group. The range of this discussion extends from a narrow dictate of doctrine and policy to a wide area of issues related to the mission program and the mode of its operation or to problems of the secular concern of the converted group, concerns which may have repercussions in the form of the religious life of the group. The range of this discussion would in any case depend upon the degree to which the partners have become compatible. That is to say, the range would depend upon the degree to which the convert group has progressed toward being an independent church body.

From this approach the range of the missionary impact can roughly be envisaged on the basis of the range of the discussion. However, the qualitative intensity of this impact cannot yet be defined. The intensity of the impact can be assumed only insofar as it caused a change in an area which was originally one indigenous unit in its cultural and religious outlook. The fact that this impact is not absolutely dominant over all self-expressions of the convert group must be assumed from the different outlook which underlies the tensions and differences of the convert group's discussion with the missionary agency. It is therefore necessary to establish at first the transforming key-factor which can be held to be responsible for the different outlook of the convert group as over against the missionary group, groups which theologically share the same set of beliefs. This key-factor may be found through neutralization of operationally or functionally equal values within an equation, both sides of which are to be so coordinated as to represent the mission-
ary group and the convert group with regard to their characteristic features and cultural, religious, ideological, and political identities. Insofar as the missionary group, being an elite minority and subject to frequent re-inforcements from the home-base, is not subject to the process of passive acculturation, it mediates to—rather than receives from—the indigenous scene its own values and identities. These identities neutralize one another in the proposed equation. Also neutralized are those features which are of like or similar operational function. Those elements which remain—and it is suggested that only in the indigenous side of the equation will elements be left—constitute the transforming key-factor.

The knowledge of this key-factor may then determine the use of the analytical model. This model is divided into as many categories as there have been with regard to the issues of the foregoing projected discussion. Almost always four categories should be deducible from the discussion. The four categories deal with issues pertaining to the theologico-religious, the philosophico-ideological, the cultural, and the socio-political fields. In each category any discussion topic for which the attitude and opinion of the convert group is sought may be integrated as an issue. Symbols similar to those adopted for the deduction of the key-factor may be used in order to record the nature and characteristic elements of the outlook of the convert group regarding each issue. Through the process of quantification these symbols may be added, both according to categories and as to their sum total. Only symbols of like identity can be added together. Finally, the graphic illustration of the results of this quantitative process gives some evidence as to the intensity of the missionary impact
on the indigenous scene through the convert group. It must, however, be borne in mind that this evidence is strictly qualitative, and that a quantitative measurement cannot be made available because sociological research does not deal in quantitative values.

The evaluation of the intensity of the missionary impact must be executed in conjunction with all heretofore collected information regarding the history and environmental situation of the mission enterprise. Through a comparison of the impact intensity within the categories, some revealing conclusions may be drawn as to the qualitative order of the missionary impact in the areas relative to the categories. The definition of this order may lead to a prediction as to trends in further development of a particular mission field. As hazardous as such a prediction might otherwise be, against the background of the foregoing analytical model and its findings, it is relatively more reliable than a merely predictive guess.

2. The Results of the Analysis

Through the application of this analytical method to the case of the Southern Baptist foreign mission endeavor in Western Nigerian, insights have been gained with regard to the range and intensity of the Southern Baptist missionary impact on one sector of the indigenous Yoruba life. Institutionally this portion of the Yoruba scene has become closely identified with the Southern Baptist mission and is known as the Nigerian Baptist Convention. Insofar as this body is distinctly Baptist, it represents the direct result of the Southern Baptist missionary effort. The intensity of the Baptist character of the Convention, however, is perhaps equally as much determined by Nigerian
qualities as it is representative of Southern Baptist ideas. The degree to which the Baptist character of the Convention is influenced by the Convention's indigenously and nationally Nigeria environment comes as a surprise. And this the more as the inquiry into the philosophico-sociological position of the mission's home setting, the Southern Baptist Convention, found the Southern Baptist position to be so vigorously and uncompromisingly strong in terms of convictions, faith, and practice, and unco-operative in its policy concerning interdenominational fellowship.

Features which were found to belong to the basic stock of Southern Baptist life and convictions in America did not play as predominant a role in the life and outlook of the Nigerian Baptist Convention. In some instances such features were completely missing.

At the outset of this study it was expected to find in the Nigerian Baptist Convention a Baptist body which in its outlook would narrowly mirror the uniform outlook of the Southern Baptist Convention. It was expected that the denotation "Nigerian" in the Convention's name was merely giving evidence to the geographical location of the Convention, and that the Convention as such would duplicate the Southern Baptist Convention not only in its institutional organization but also in its beliefs, convictions, policy and philosophico-ideological climate.

To the degree in which this expectation did not materialize, some questions arose with regard to the basic validity of the assumption that Western mission forces in Africa dominate culture change among their converts. At least for the Nigerian Baptists it must be said that as African Christians they do not seem to be entirely deserting their
traditional and indigenous context. Rather, they have integrated many of the mission-imparted patterns of Southern Baptist church life into their own thought world and are involved in a process of creating an indigenous Christian body which—in its beliefs and doctrinal expressions—is genuinely Baptist, but which is also genuinely Nigerian and African. In how far this development is symptomatic of other African mission churches cannot here be discerned without a detailed knowledge of such bodies.

For the Nigerian Baptist Convention, however, it can be said, on the basis of this study, that its outlook is more than only slightly different from that of its mother-body, the Southern Baptist Convention. The fact that such difference exists gives evidence to the less than total influence of the Southern Baptist mission impact on the outlook of the Nigerian Baptist Convention. The factors which are to be held responsible for those expressions of the Nigerian Baptist attitudes and opinions which differ from the Southern Baptist outlook were associated with the Nigerian environment of the Nigerian Baptist Convention.

The following set of conclusions may project the argument of the dissertation and may give evidence to the range and degree of intensity of the Southern Baptist mission impact on the Yoruba scene through the institution of the Nigerian Baptist Convention.

1. The Southern Baptist foreign mission agency in Western Nigeria—the American Baptist Mission—has had a fortunate history in that area in that it led its Nigerian Baptist constituency to institutional autonomy at a relatively early stage. This positive development can be credited to the Baptist principle of the autonomy of Baptist churches.

The large financial expenditure of the Southern Baptist Convention after the Second World War has resulted in a far-flung program of Baptist mission operations.
Owing to this effort of the American Baptist Mission, the Southern Baptists are able to continue considerable missionary leadership within the Nigerian Baptist Convention without becoming subject to Nigerian Baptist criticism along nationalist lines of thought. The transfer of power, planned by the Africanization Committee of the American Baptist Mission, tends to keep any such eventual criticism at an appreciable minimum.

2. Institutionally the Nigerian Baptist Convention is patterned after the Southern Baptist Convention. Its constitution resembles in part that of the Southern Baptist Convention. It expresses the Baptist principle of the autonomy of Baptist New Testament churches and the individual’s access to God.

3. The participation of the Nigerian Baptist Convention in the Southern Baptist missionary endeavor expresses a certain wisdom on the part of Southern Baptist missionary policy and strategy. The unqualified co-operation of the Nigerian Baptist Convention in this endeavor expresses to some extent the degree in which it is filled with the Southern Baptist spirit.

4. The theologico-religious outlook of the Nigerian Baptist Convention is predominantly determined by Southern Baptist concepts. A genuine Baptist loyalty binds the Convention to American Southern Baptists. The Nigerian Baptist faith is formulated and expressed in Southern Baptist terms. The Southern Baptist moral and ethical convictions are shared by the Convention, although the individual application of the Southern Baptist code of ethics is only to a limited degree enforced. Examples in case are the continued practice of polygamy and of the membership in secret cult societies of some prominent members of the Convention.

With reference to the basic Southern Baptist principle of the individual soul's competency before God, the Nigerian Baptist Convention is developing a concept of the community before God. This concept is based upon the communal experience of the Nigerian Baptists' environmental Yoruba social structure.

The Convention’s positive policy on ecumenical cooperation is related to its position as a sociological minority group in its wider cultural and religious environment.

5. The philosophico-ideological outlook of the Nigerian Baptist Convention is dominated in an unexpectedly strong manner by Nigerian and indigenous influence factors. This phenomenon is partly due to the Convention's sociological minority position, and is partly based upon the modern nationalist and political preoccupation of Nigerians.
in general and of Nigerian Baptists in particular. The divergent opinion of the Convention on the issue of government grants-in-aid and the related Baptist principle of state-church separation is an example.

6. The cultural outlook of the Nigerian Baptist Convention is strongly influenced by general Western and Southern Baptist ideas and conceptions. However, this is not a phenomenon germane to the Nigerian Baptist Convention only. Rather—owing to the disregard into which the indigenous Yoruba tradition has been brought in the past by representatives of Western civilization—it is common to the Western Nigerian scene in general. The continuation of this cultural orientation of the Nigerian Baptist Convention in Western and Baptistic terms rather than in indigenous Yoruba terms is due mostly to the fact that the politically interested Nigerian and African nationalism has until recently preoccupied itself with ideological and political concepts rather than with a culture identity based upon an indigenous tradition.

Attempts which are being made on the Nigerian scene to reinstate a respect for the indigenous culture have their preliminary implications within the Nigerian Baptist Convention only in liturgical expressions of their religious life. Philosophical integration of the indigenous tradition into the religious and theological outlook of the Convention has not yet begun but is to be expected in the future.

7. The socio-political outlook of the Nigerian Baptist Convention is difficult to discern in that at the present time there seems to be no distinguishable difference between Southern Baptist principles of freedom and democracy and the general Nigerian political aspirations. Inasmuch as ethical and politico-philosophical issues have been excluded from this category, no actual competition between Southern Baptist and Nigerian Baptist opinions could be detected.

8. The Nigerian Baptist Convention—in many aspects an active partner in the Nigerian Christian life—may be identified with the conservative, middle class elements of the population, owing mostly to the theologically conservative and Baptistic conceptions which it has inherited from the Southern Baptist Convention through its missionary enterprise in Nigeria.
3. Summary

This dissertation attempts to determine the range and the intensity of the Western missionary impact on the African scene. The Southern Baptist mission field in Western Nigeria serves as an example in case.

The phenomenon of the missionary impact is of a twofold nature: religious and cultural. The cultural impact of Christian missionaries on the African scene has been of interest for some time, especially to students of the social sciences. As such, it has repeatedly been mentioned in sociological studies concerning certain aspects of social and cultural change. However, rarely has the missionary-induced culture change been studied per se, and never has such change been studied in a context which does justice to Christian missionary motivation as a primary source of action. It is, therefore, the objective of this study to describe this impact both as to its theological cause and its cultural implications. For this purpose a methodology has had to be designed which would do justice to both the theological concern for and the sociological interest in the culture-mediating activity of the missionary work.

The methodology can be broken down into the following two steps. First, the Southern Baptist mission enterprise is described in terms of the theological, philosophical, and cultural forces which contribute to the Southern Baptist mission outreach to the Western Nigerian scene. Against the background of this knowledge, the program of the Southern Baptist mission operations is observed in its interaction with Nigerian Baptist institutions. Secondly, any Nigerian Baptist reactions resulting from this interaction are submitted as data to an analytical model.
For the detection of genuine Nigerian Baptist reactions, there was derived a key-factor which serves as a catalyst in determining the analytical values of those data submitted to the model. The resulting values are co-ordinated through the process of quantification and are then integrated into a graph which gives evidence of the qualitative distribution of impact factors as they contribute to the formulation of the Nigerian Baptist outlook. The evaluation of this evidence makes possible a determination of the range and the degree of intensity of the Southern Baptist mission impact on that portion of the Western Nigerian scene which has become identified with this mission work: the Nigerian Baptist Convention.

The mission outreach of the Southern Baptists is based upon their response to the Dominical Command. Within the Constitution of the Southern Baptist Convention, the call to world missions occupies a prominent place. In fact, the Convention conceives of itself as "a general organization for Baptists . . . for the promotion of Christian missions" (Article II, Purpose). The Southern Baptist approach to foreign missions is determined by the theological outlook of the Convention. In particular this outlook is characterized by a religious individualism which culminates in the concept of the individual soul's competency before God. In the politico-ethical field this individualistic theology expresses itself most fully in the concepts of state-church separation and religious and civil liberties. In the cultural dimension it supports an anthropocentric optimism which in the setting of the American frontier has become identified with the American philosophy of life. In Southern Baptist ecclesiology, individualistic theology has
developed the concept of autonomous New Testament churches which are democratically ruled through the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

The individualistic and anthropocentric persuasiveness of this theology has allowed for the development of a situation in which Southern Baptists conceive of themselves as the majority movement in the region to which they belong. Repercussions in three areas can be listed as the result of this Southern Baptist majority position.

First, culturally, the Southern Baptists provide a south-wide rallying point for the Southern identity in spiritual and intellectual terms. Secondly, theologically, the Southern Baptist majority position determines the Convention's policy on interdenominational relations and ecumenical co-operation. As a majority movement the Southern Baptists have no practical need to co-operate, and the theological convictions of the Convention are such that their recognition on an ecumenical level would not be assured. This situation makes spiritual co-operation beyond general sympathies undesirable in the Southern Baptists' current perspective. Thirdly, sociologically, the Southern Baptist majority position has its repercussions in the mission field, where the Southern Baptist majority movement is not paralleled, and where, consequently, thought patterns other than Southern Baptist and American influence the outlook of Southern Baptist mission churches. This is particularly the case with the Nigerian Baptist Convention.

As an agency of the Southern Baptist Convention, the Foreign Mission Board represents the Convention's missionary concern outside the boundaries of the United States. The Board's policy, strategy, and theological outlook are closely related to those of the Convention. On the missionary
scene, the Southern Baptist policy of ecumenical non-co-operation finds its expression in the Board's policy of non-comity.

In Western Nigeria, the Southern Baptist mission outreach is represented by the American Baptist Mission. Southern Baptist missionaries have been in that area since 1850. The American Baptist Mission has operated in its present structure since the early part of this century when it became necessary to separate the missionary organization from the growing Nigerian Baptist constituency. This constituency, known as the Nigerian Baptist Convention, has been autonomous to some extent since 1913. Its constitution is patterned after the constitution of the Southern Baptist Convention. Although ecclesiologically autonomous at a relatively early stage, the Nigerian Baptist Convention has been closely connected with the American Baptist Mission through constitutional links. Southern Baptist missionaries hold influential positions of leadership in the administrative hierarchy of the Nigerian Baptist Convention. However, since the early 1950's, the Africanization Committee of the American Baptist Mission has worked toward a gradual transfer of these administrative responsibilities.

In contrast to the Southern Baptist Convention, the Nigerian Baptist Convention—with the encouragement of Southern Baptist missionaries—plays a positive role in the Ecumenical Movement on the national Nigerian scene. As a charter member, the Convention has been active in the Christian Council of Nigeria since 1924. The fact that the Nigerian Baptist Convention is not a majority movement in its region may account for this phenomenon. As to its theological outlook, the Nigerian Baptist Convention is definitely a spiritual daughter of the Southern Baptist
Convention. Its mode of theological expression resembles closely that of Southern Baptists in America. Southern Baptist theological convictions are highly treasured by Nigerian Baptists, and the individualistic trend in their theology is cherished as the great spiritual heritage germane to Baptists everywhere. However, this individualistic note is paralleled in Nigerian Baptist theological thought by a growing conviction that also the community before God is to be included in the reality of Christ's redemption. Consequently, Nigerian Baptists realize the interdependence of freedom and authority in the perspective of a discipline dictated by communal norms. This theological recognition is based upon the experience of Nigerian Baptists as people living in the discipline of an indigenous social structure.

The missiological purpose and cultural impact of the Southern Baptist mission endeavor in Western Nigeria is best described in the context of the American Baptist Mission program. The missiological purpose is most directly expressed through the Mission's effort in evangelism. In order to create a wider range of contact situations, Southern Baptist missionaries participate in the generally accepted mission strategy of providing education and medical care. While the educational mission project attempts to reach primarily that sector of the local population which is of school age, the medical mission program is made available to all sections of the population. The basic missiological difference between these two types of approach consists of the type of contact situation. The educational approach influences young people all during their schooling. The medical approach addresses itself to people who are ill, thus utilizing the psychological preparedness of the patient
and offering him spiritual guidance in addition to the physical help which he expects.

The cultural impact of the Southern Baptist mission program is necessarily the strongest in the field of the educational mission. This is particularly true in Western Nigeria, where—as everywhere in Africa—the hunger for Western education is great. Nigerians, regardless of whether or not they are Baptists, seek a higher standard of knowledge for a brighter future in an independent Nigeria. The Nigerian government, preparing for this independence, needs a large reservoir of skilled and educated citizens. Thus, three different interests focus on the existing educational system, a system which has been largely developed by missionaries.

The government heavily subsidizes the educational system through grants-in-aid. Because its interest is to a large degree similar to that of the government, the Nigerian Baptist Convention, proprietor of most of the Baptist schools in Nigeria, has accepted such subsidy since the mid-1920's. The American Baptist Mission, however, felt itself threatened in its concern to create a contact situation for evangelistic advance and to train a cadre of Baptist leadership. The resulting conflict, the theological implactions of which dealt with the upholding of the Baptist principle of state-church separation, was resolved in a compromise. The Nigerian Baptist Convention continued to accept grants for its schools, and the American Baptist Mission opened and subsidizes an elite-Baptist school system for Baptist leadership training.

Through the Southern Baptist missionary impact in all phases of the missionary program, Southern Baptist sentiments and Nigerian Baptist
loyalties have been brought into contact and subsequent conflicts similar to those which arose concerning the Baptist school system. In the theological, the philosophical, the cultural, and the socio-political fields, such differences of attitude and opinion can be traced. In these categories, Southern Baptist theological loyalties and ethical concepts compete with Nigerian Baptist and African Christian loyalties and indigenous moral concepts.

Wherever evidence of such competitive divergence of opinions was detectable, it was submitted to the analytical model. Thirteen selected issues were integrated into the frame of the four categories indicated above. Nigerian Baptist attitudes and opinions were confronted with the issues within their respective categories. Thus, the theological category dealt with such issues as the Baptist faith, Ecumenical Christianity, Roman Catholicism, Islam, and indigenous religion. In the philosophical category, Nigerian Baptist opinion was confronted with such contrasting issues as freedom and authority, and nationalist and Baptist convictions and loyalties. Cultural and socio-political issues of a similar nature were listed in categories three and four.

Through the previously outlined analytical process it was found that qualitatively the Southern Baptist impact rated highest in the theological and cultural categories but was vastly outweighed in the philosophical category. The latter was unexpected inasmuch as the Southern Baptists in their American home setting represent a rigorous majority, both theologically and philosophico-ideologically. In the socio-political category it was found that a real competition between Southern Baptist and Nigerian Baptist values has not yet taken place.
**APPENDIX A.**

Statistical Survey of growth in church development and educational missions, American Baptist Mission and Nigerian Baptist Convention, for the years 1941-1959. Compiled from Southern Baptist Convention annuals.

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<td>280*</td>
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<td>(275)</td>
<td>(250)</td>
<td>(250)</td>
<td>(305)</td>
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<td>309</td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionary Pastors</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionary Teachers</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigerian Pastors</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigerian Teachers</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>1,250</td>
<td>1,444</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>2,735</td>
<td>2,938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Membership</td>
<td>21,985</td>
<td>25,343</td>
<td>34,156</td>
<td>41,410</td>
<td>43,633</td>
<td>44,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total School Enrollment**</td>
<td>5,522</td>
<td>27,648</td>
<td>33,904</td>
<td>72,088</td>
<td>87,616</td>
<td>82,242</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Decrease in number due to a newly-introduced standard definition of an organized Baptist church.

** Includes the number of students in one kindergarten and one theological seminary

*** No figures given
1. Books and Articles


Dillard, J. E. "Baptists and Other Denominations," Arkansas Baptist, 58(Sept. 3, 1959), 16-17.


------. The Witness of a Revolutionary Church; statements issued by the Committee, Whitby, Ont., 1947. New York: I. M. C., 1948 [?].


Nigerian Baptist Convention. Constitution and By-Laws, revised 1951; no publication data. Ibadan: Baptist Press, 1951 [?].


2. Public Reports, Government Material, and Newspapers


3. Unpublished Material:
Dissertations, Reports, Papers, Interviews


Personal Interviews with Dr. H. Cornell Goerner, Secretary for Africa, Europe and the Near East, and Dr. Elmer S. West, Jr., Secretary for Missionary Personnel. Richmond, Virginia: September 11, 1959.


THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST FOREIGN MISSION ENTERPRISE
IN WESTERN NIGERIA--AN ANALYSIS

Abstract of a Dissertation

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Boston University Graduate School, 1960

By

Hans Wilhelm Florin

This dissertation attempts to determine the range and the intensity
of the Western missionary impact on the African scene. The Southern
Baptist mission field in Western Nigeria serves as an example in case.

The phenomenon of the missionary impact is of a twofold nature:
religious and cultural. The cultural impact of Christian missionaries
on the African scene has been of interest for some time, especially to
students of the social sciences. As such, it has repeatedly been men-
tioned in sociological studies concerning certain aspects of social and
cultural change. However, rarely has the missionary-induced culture
change been studied per se, and never has such change been studied in a
context which does justice to Christian missionary motivation as a pri-
mary source of action. It is, therefore, the objective of this study to
describe this impact both as to its theological cause and its cultural
implications. For this purpose, a methodology has had to be designed
which would do justice to both the theological concern for and the socio-
logical interest in the culture-mediating activity of the missionary work.
The methodology can be broken down into the following two steps. First, the Southern Baptist mission enterprise is described in terms of the theological, philosophical, and cultural forces which contribute to the Southern Baptist mission outreach to the Western Nigerian scene. Against the background of this knowledge, the program of the Southern Baptist mission operations is observed in its interaction with Nigerian Baptist institutions. Secondly, any Nigerian Baptist reactions resulting from this interaction are submitted as data to an analytical model. For the detection of genuine Nigerian Baptist reactions, there was derived a key-factor which serves as a catalyst in determining the analytical values of those data submitted to the model. The resulting values are co-ordinated through the process of quantification and are then integrated into a graph which gives evidence of the qualitative distribution of impact factors, as they contribute to the formulation of the Nigerian Baptist outlook. The evaluation of this evidence makes possible a determination of the range and the degree of intensity of the Southern Baptist mission impact on that portion of the Western Nigerian scene which has become identified with this mission work: the Nigerian Baptist Convention.

This methodology represents one portion of the results of this dissertation. The other set of results is provided by the evaluation of the information which was extracted from this analytical process.

This evaluation gives some insight into the range and the intensity of the Southern Baptist cultural and theological impact on the Nigerian Baptist scene:

1. Through early autonomy and timely transfer of power to their
Nigerian Baptist constituency, Southern Baptists have succeeded in keeping the traditional tensions between overlords and dependents at a minimum.

2. Because of this minimum of tensions, the Southern Baptist mission impact may have prolonged effects on the Nigerian Baptist outlook.

3. The Southern Baptist domination of the theological outlook of the Nigerian Baptist Convention may serve as an example of this prolonged effect. Exceptions are the Nigerian Baptist theological and ethical expressions which have their origin in the experience of the traditional Yoruba social structure and customs.

4. Nigerian Baptists' preoccupation with the national future of Nigeria, together with the fact that they are a religious minority group, explains their adherence to a Nigerian rather than a Southern Baptist philosophical identity. The positive ecumenical spirit of the Nigerian Baptists is based upon the same phenomenon.

5. Nigerian Baptists—along with most other Nigerians—only now begin to respond to an indigenous cultural identity over against the previously accepted Western cultural identity.

6. Baptist principles of freedom and democracy and Nigerian Baptist political aspirations have not yet come into competition with one another.
Hans Wilhelm Florin, the eldest of three children, was born to The Reverend and Mrs. Wilhelm Kurt Florin on September 26, 1928, at Schwerte (Ruhr), Germany. He attended primary and secondary schools at Wuppertal and Gütersloh, Germany. From 1944 to the end of World War II he was in military service. In 1949, upon graduation from the Evangelisch-stiftisches Gymnasium at Gütersloh, he studied theology at the Theologische Schule, Bethel, and at Heidelberg, Göttingen, and Münster Universities. Since passing his first theological state examination in 1954, he has been a Vikar in the Evangelical Church of Westphalia. During this time he spent one year (1954/55) studying at Colgate Rochester Divinity School, Rochester, New York, on a World Council of Churches scholarship. In 1955/56 he was vicar to the superintendent of the synod of Hagen/Westphalia. The following year he continued his graduate studies at Hamburg University. It was during that time that he began to focus his interest on the problems of missions in Africa. In 1959, after a brief service as vicar in a rural community in the Westphalian highlands, he continued his studies in the field of Ecumenical Theology and African Affairs at the School of Theology and the African Research and Studies Program of Boston University.