

With recourse to the broader Ethiopian, evangelical and biographical contexts, identify the missional motivations and strategies of Dick McLellan.

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Voyaging across the Indian Ocean, Dick and Vida McLellan wrote: ‘anyone on board that we mention to that we are going to Africa, looks at us as though we are crazy. With all the uncertainty in Africa today, we, too would much rather stay at home where we are free and safe’.¹ Nevertheless, this self-confessedly ‘very ordinary Australian couple’ would serve for twenty years as missionaries with *Serving in Mission* (SIM) in Ethiopia (1954–1974).² There, they would pioneer the evangelisation of unreached tribes and fan flames of revival. Thereafter, despite having returned to Australia with four children, and in the face of the Socialist uprising of 1974, Dick would visit Ethiopia over twenty times to encourage the underground church.

This paper seeks to explain both the motivations and strategies of Dick McLellan as he ministered in this unique context. It is by analysis of early correspondences, later books, and recent interviews that his missional motivations and strategies will be identified. We will argue for five major motivators that inspired McLellan’s missionary endeavours: his conviction that there is only one way to be saved, that much of southern Ethiopia was unreached, that all Christians have a responsibility for mission, that he was personally called to go, and the encouragement received from observing church growth. With respect to strategies, we will show Dick’s thinking with regard to the location and placement of their mission work in Ethiopia, their partnership with the indigenous church in evangelism and edification, and the priority of prayer.

In order to locate these missional motivations and strategies in context, we will begin with a foundational summary of the broader Ethiopian, evangelical and biographical settings amidst which the McLellans began their work.

Broader Ethiopian, evangelical and biographical contexts

Any account of the broader Ethiopian context must necessarily address the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The earliest extra-biblical records of Christianity’s intersection with Ethiopia’s forebears date to the fourth century.³ Rufinus reports the conversion of the Aksumite royal family by Syrian seafarers.⁴ One of these youths, Frumentius, would be ordained by Athanasius as bishop of the nascent church that initially enjoyed recognition from Constantinople, Antioch and Alexandria. During the following centuries, however, the Ethiopian Orthodox

¹ Despite his given name of Richard John McLellan, he will hereafter be referred to as Dick.

² Vida McLellan, *A Girl From Wondah Farm: The Life of a Missionary Nurse in Ethiopia* (Sydney: Vida McLellan, 2015), 126.

³ For a discussion of possible intra-biblical references to Ethiopia, see Michèle Miller Sigg, ‘The Dictionary of African Christian Biography and the Story of Ethiopian Christianity’, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 39/4 (October 2015): 205.

⁴ Note also the corroborative, epigraphical evidence from Ezana, ruler of the Aksumites. See Brian L. Fargher, *The Origins of the New Churches Movement in Southern Ethiopia, 1927–1944* (Studies on Religion in Africa: 16; Leiden; New York: E. J. Brill, 1996), 3.

Church developed an idiosyncratic identity. Formative factors thereof included refuge of the Nine Saints, Monophysites condemned by Chalcedon's council in 451; centuries of political and religious expansion over the northern highlands with the resultant syncretisation of 'a wide variety of elements of indigenous origin'; ecclesial retainment of Geez as a liturgical language despite communal adoption of Amharic between 800–1200; the origin of distinctive theological tendencies throughout 1220–1500, exemplified by the Kebra Negast, which validated the monarchy and linked Ethiopia with the Israelite nation; and Gran's Muslim jihad of 1528–1540.⁵ Following these formative periods of isolation, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church first faced Catholic (1555–1563) and Protestant (1632–1796) missionaries. And yet, until the 1920s, external religious influence may be considered minimal. Indeed, as Fargher aptly states, from the middle of the fourth century 'Ethiopian ethnicity and Ethiopian Orthodoxy were one and the same thing'.⁶

Of course, Ethiopia as we observe it today is a relatively recent creation.⁷ For until the expansive reigns of Emperor Menelik II (1844–1913) and Emperor Haile Selassie (1930–1974), Ethiopia constituted a northern, highland kingdom primarily composed of Amhara and Tigrinya ethnicities. As Menelik II conquered the rich south-western regions, however, large ethnic groups were added and the empire's borders nearly doubled. To consolidate Menelik's conquest, both emperors sought to integrate ethnicities via socio-political, linguistic, and religious means. Socio-politically, the empire was ordered into provinces, and northern authorities were installed into south-western regions.⁸ Furthermore, Menelik II established a tributary serfdom, which, under Haile Selassie, would transition to a more oppressive, feudal mode. Eide observes that the peasantry was taxed to the limits of its capacity, keeping them at a subsistence level.⁹ Linguistically, unification was attempted via the standardization of Amharic. With respect to religion, Menelik II sponsored Ethiopian Orthodoxy by erecting churches and relocating northern clergy. Thus, for the first time in its history the Ethiopian church was required to absorb millions of people within a few decades.¹⁰ The extent of its success would be minimal. For Ethiopian Orthodoxy employed Amharic and Geez, languages foreign to the south-west; and both the religion and its languages were perceived to derive from oppressive conquerors.¹¹

Toward the end of Menelik II's reign, in 1893, Rowland Bingham founded the most pertinent piece of the broader evangelical context: the *Serving In Mission* organisation (SIM). Adopting 'the Principles and Practices of the China Inland Mission' and modelling the faith-based financial policy of William Carey, Bingham intended his interdenominational agency to

⁵ For a fuller treatment, including consideration of the Kebra Negast as a Geez account linking the Ethiopian and Solomonic dynasties, see Fargher, *The Origins of the New Churches Movement in Southern Ethiopia, 1927–1944*, 28.

⁶ Brian L. Fargher, *Ethiopian Revivalist: Autobiography of Evangelist Mehari Choramo* (Edmonton: Enterprise Publications, 1997), 16. Cf. Calvin E Shenk, 'Church and State in Ethiopia: From Monarchy to Marxism', *Mission Stud.* 11/2 (1994): 220.

⁷ Øyvind M. Eide, *Revolution & Religion in Ethiopia: The Growth & Persecution of the Mekane Yesus Church, 1974–85* (Eastern African Studies; Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2000), 15.

⁸ John Markakis, *Ethiopia: Anatomy of a Traditional Polity* (Oxford Studies in African Affairs; Addis Ababa: Oxford University Press, 1975), 42.

⁹ Eide, *Revolution & Religion in Ethiopia*, 18.

¹⁰ Fargher, *The Origins of the New Churches Movement in Southern Ethiopia, 1927–1944*, 21.

¹¹ For a fuller treatment, see Fargher, *Ethiopian Revivalist*, 17; Fargher, *The Origins of the New Churches Movement in Southern Ethiopia, 1927–1944*, 21; E. Paul Balisky, *Wolaitta Evangelists: A Study of Religious Innovation in Southern Ethiopia, 1937–1975* (American Society of Missiology Monograph Series; Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2009), 82–83. Cf. Faqāda Gurmésā Kušā and Ezekiel Gebissa, *Evangelical Faith Movement in Ethiopia: Origins and Establishment of the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus* (Minneapolis, MN: Lutheran University Press, 2009), 33.

reach the Sudan.¹² In 1926, after receiving ‘several applications [...] from candidates in Australia and New Zealand’, Bingham visited and, having spoken at the Katoomba and Upwey conventions, formed ‘Councils of the Mission in Melbourne and Sydney, as well as [...] New Zealand’.¹³ However, due to financial and wartime difficulties involved in transporting workers through Britain and into the Sudan, Bingham faced his ‘problem of finding a new field for our Australian and New Zealand workers’.¹⁴

A solution presented itself in Thomas Lambie’s fledgling Abyssinian Frontiers Mission (AFM) intended to reach the more accessible Ethiopia. Thus, after acknowledging the mutual benefits of unification, the AFM prayerfully merged with SIM and Thomas Lambie assumed leadership of SIM Ethiopia.

Until SIM entered Ethiopia in 1927, evangelical agencies primarily operated within the capital and expressly sought ‘the conversion or revival of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church rather than the establishing of new churches’.¹⁵ However, in 1928 Lambie left Addis Ababa and, heading southward, sought ‘to establish new religious communities with the capacity to develop and replicate themselves’.¹⁶ After being diverted from his intended destination at Jimma, Lambie was invited to found a SIM station in the largest urban centre in south central Ethiopia: Soddo, Wolaitta.¹⁷ Aptly described as one of the richest agricultural regions of Ethiopia, Wolaitta included eight major ethnic groups and was incorporated into the empire in 1894 after ‘one of the bloodiest campaigns of the whole process of expansion’.¹⁸

Thereafter, Wolaitta experienced ‘a policy of violent control, harsh economic extraction, and cultural marginalization’.¹⁹ Meanwhile, most of the population practised primal religions despite an earlier, monotheistic, prophetic movement and Orthodox attempts at evangelization.²⁰ Into this milieu, the SIM pioneers, considering the Wolaitta locals to be unevangelized, established a station in 1928.²¹ Five years later, on December 10, 1933, the first ten locals were baptised.²² SIM would go on to establish nine mission stations in Wolaitta and the surrounding provinces, although they witnessed only 48 baptised.²³ Shortly thereafter, in 1937, SIM’s missionaries were expelled in the wake of Mussolini’s invasion.

¹² Notably, the Sudan then referred to all territory south of the Sahara. Rowland V. Bingham, *Seven Sevens of Years and a Jubilee* (Toronto: Evangelical Publishers, 1943), 45.

¹³ Bingham, *Seven Sevens of Years and a Jubilee*, 65–80. Cf. J. H. Hunter, *A Flame of Fire: The Life and Work of Dr. Rowland V. Bingham* ([Ottawa?]: SIM International Publications, 1961), 177.

¹⁴ Bingham, *Seven Sevens of Years and a Jubilee*, 82. Cf. Tibebe Eshete, ‘The Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) in Ethiopia (1928–1970)’, *Northeast African Studies* 3 (1999): 34–35.

¹⁵ Such agencies included the American United Presbyterian Mission, B.C.M.S., and the Swedish Evangelical Mission (SEM). For further treatment, see Fargher, *The Origins of the New Churches Movement in Southern Ethiopia, 1927–1944*, 50–53; Niklas Eklöv, ‘The Evangelical Movement in Ethiopia: Resistance and Resilience’, *Svensk Missionstidskrift* 98/2 (2010): 264; Steven Kaplan, ‘Themes and Methods in the Study of Conversion in Ethiopia: A Review Essay’, *Journal of Religion in Africa* 34/3 (2004): 375–379. For SEM’s entrance into Massawa in 1866, see Karl Johan Lundström and Ezra Gebremedhin, Kenisha: *The Roots and Development of the Evangelical Church of Eritrea (ECE), 1866–1935* (Trenton, NJ.: Red Sea Press, 2011), 92–95. Fargher, *The Origins of the New Churches Movement in Southern Ethiopia, 1927–1944*, 19.

¹⁶ Balisky, *Wolaitta Evangelists*, 85.

¹⁷ Wolaitta was renamed from Walamo after the 1974 revolution. Fargher, *Ethiopian Revivalist*, 1.

¹⁸ Fargher, *The Origins of the New Churches Movement in Southern Ethiopia, 1927–1944*, 34; Pierre Guidi, ‘Wolaita Memories of Gärmame Nəway Governorship (1958–1959): Radical Reforms and Political Consciousness’, *Northeast African Studies* 2 (2013): 2.

¹⁹ Guidi, ‘Wolaita Memories Gärmame Nəway Governorship’, 1.

²⁰ For earlier Orthodox attempts at evangelization, see Balisky, *Wolaitta Evangelists*, 86–90. For the prophetic movement, see Eshete, 42.

²¹ For evidence that SIM pioneers considered southern Ethiopia unevangelized, see Hunter, *A Flame of Fire*, 185.

²² Raymond J. Davis, *Fire on the Mountains* (Grand Rapids, MI.: Zondervan, 1966), 73.

²³ Hunter notes that SIM had established a total of sixteen stations prior to Italian occupation. (Hunter, *A Flame of Fire*, 213. Cf. Balisky, *Wolaitta Evangelists*, 85.)

It was not until Haile Selassie reconquered his empire in 1941 that they would return, seeking news of the fledgling church.²⁴ Unexpectedly, despite intense persecution, the fledgling indigenous church had not diminished, but flourished. In Wolaitta alone, those baptised now numbered over 10,000 in what Guy Playfair called ‘the mightiest movement of the Spirit of God which we have heard in this day’.²⁵

As Haile Selassie welcomed mission agencies because of their efforts in the field of education and health care, SIM returned to partner with the indigenous churches and especially the Wolaitta evangelists.²⁶ For during the Italian occupation, the churches had followed the model of their founders by sending their own cross-cultural missionaries. These Wolaitta evangelists succeeded in establishing churches throughout nearby regions, despite tribal and ethnic barriers, thereby providing ‘a unified tradition throughout southern Ethiopia’.²⁷ And so, as SIM’s missionaries encountered this burgeoning indigenous movement, they necessarily reconsidered their roles. While their predecessors showed ‘surprisingly little interest in structured Bible teaching’, they built Bible Schools, served as quasi-administrators, and sought to address medical and educational needs.²⁸ And yet SIM maintained its evangelistic, pioneering priorities. When the government issued the Missions Decree of 1944, requiring missionaries to use Amharic in a bid to unify the empire, missionaries were forced to rely upon evangelists for translation into local dialects.²⁹ Thus, it was with united efforts that SIM and the indigenous churches spearheaded evangelization throughout the south despite persecution from the Orthodox Church, feudal landlords, and local witchdoctors.

Dick McLellan would encounter this expansive situation in 1954. Raised in Albury during the great depression, Dick was one of five children born to Annie and John McLellan. After being converted at 14 through his Sunday School teacher, he was challenged by the Upwey message of Paul White, ‘the Jungle Doctor’, to consider missionary work. Thereafter, Dick attended Sydney Missionary Bible College, where everything ‘was geared to good missionary training’, and met Vida Scott.³⁰ During his time there, he was convicted by ‘the great needs of the people in Ethiopia’ and applied to SIM ‘which was the only mission that was working with Australian missionaries in Ethiopia’.³¹ Vida, converted from an unbelieving family through the Postal Sunday School Movement, had previously trained as a nurse. She was separately ‘called [...] to go to Ethiopia’.³² On the September 24, 1954, eleven days before he sailed for Ethiopia, they announced their engagement. Upon arriving in Ethiopia, Dick was tasked with building a mission station at Bako, a town in the southern province of Gamo Gofa, before attending language school with Vida at Debra Berhan. They would be married there on November 30, 1955 and, thereafter, return to Bako. Thus, they took their place amongst approximately 135 SIM missionaries serving in Ethiopia in 1955.³³ Over the next twenty years, they would send their four children to the mission’s boarding school in

²⁴ For a detailed treatment of Haile Selassie’s conquest, see Robert Norman Thompson, *Liberation: The First to Be Freed* (Canada: Battleline Books, 1987).

²⁵ Fargher, *The Origins of the New Churches Movement in Southern Ethiopia, 1927–1944*, 260.

²⁶ Eide, *Revolution & Religion in Ethiopia*, 28.

²⁷ Fargher, *Ethiopian Revivalist*, 47.

²⁸ Fargher, *The Origins of the New Churches Movement in Southern Ethiopia, 1927–1944*, 103.

²⁹ Fargher, *The Origins of the New Churches Movement in Southern Ethiopia, 1927–1944*, 276–277; Balisky, *Wolaitta Evangelists*, 215.

³⁰ McLellan, *A Girl From Wondah Farm*, 14.

³¹ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

³² Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library. For more, see McLellan, *A Girl From Wondah Farm*, 1–19.

³³ Fargher, *The Origins of the New Churches Movement in Southern Ethiopia, 1927–1944*, 296.

Addis Ababa; take three furloughs in 1960, 1964 and 1970; and work at six southern stations: Bako (1954–1959); Bulki (1959–1963); Silti (1963–1964); Bolosso (1965–1969); Soddo (1969–1973); and Waka (1973–1974).

The Wolaitta revival of the late 1960s and early 1970s is of singular significance. In the years immediately prior, while Dick and Vida were contentedly working at Bolosso, ‘there was much unrest among the churches of Wallamo [Wolaitta]’.³⁴ Fractures had formed between dissidents and the churches’ leading elders, resulting in internal tension and, externally, stagnated evangelistic efforts. Consequently, SIM relocated the reluctant McLellans to Wolaitta’s capital, Soddo, tasking them with oversight and conciliatory efforts. As the Wolaitta church experienced reconciliation, the earlier Wolaitta vision was restored and ‘a large number of dedicated men, some with Bible training, some with none, volunteered to leave their homes and spend the three-month rainy season [...] in their outreach into untouched territories’.³⁵ In three short years, this work would result ‘in a great outreach which saw more than [sic] 30,000 turn to Christ from Satan-worship and over 120 new churches formed’.³⁶

There are two events of note that happened around this time. Firstly, Dick was elected as District Superintendent, a task entailing oversight of ten mission stations located within the Southern District.³⁷ Secondly, the Wolaitta churches, which had earlier obtained ‘official recognition from Addis Ababa authorities for their existence’ to become an official organization in 1964, formally united with the surrounding southern churches to form an evangelical Ethiopian denomination: the Kale Heywat Church (KHC).³⁸

In 1974, three months after the McLellan family returned to Australia, the Derg, a socialist junta, deposed Emperor Haile Selassie, plunging Ethiopia into the Red Terror.³⁹ Evangelical churches throughout Ethiopia faced fiery persecution, with over 2,500 church buildings closed.⁴⁰ Although SIM was permitted to maintain restricted operations because of its significant impact on Ethiopia’s medical and educational welfare, missionaries encountered various pressures and many ‘were forced to leave when their movements were restricted’.⁴¹ Nevertheless, Dick returned the following year for two reasons. Firstly, because his help was requested by leaders of KHC. Secondly, because earlier that year, taking advantage of national unrest, the remote, unreached Bodi tribe had raided and massacred their southern neighbours in Konta.⁴² Hearing of this massacre, Dick asserted that ‘the Bodis must be reached now’ and decided that he ought to ‘trek into Bodi territory and reach that fearsome tribe for the Lord’.⁴³ His initial treks with three evangelists, and the subsequent ‘larger-scale attempt to reach the Podi [Bodi] people’, would eventually lead to the

³⁴ Dick McLellan to Miss Ferrier, February 29, 1972, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan.

³⁵ Dick McLellan to Miss Ferrier, February 29, 1972, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan. Cf. Raymond J. Davis, *The Winds of God* (Canada: SIM International Publications, 1984), 47–48.

³⁶ Dick McLellan to Supporters, August 1, 1972, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan.

³⁷ McLellan, *A Girl From Wondah Farm*, 127.

³⁸ Notably, ‘Kale Heywat’ means ‘Word of Life’. Balisky, *Wolaitta Evangelists*, 212.

³⁹ For a detailed account, see John Cumbers, *Living with the Red Terror: Missionary Experiences in Communist Ethiopia* (Charlotte, NC: Morris Publishing, 1996).

⁴⁰ Eide, *Revolution & Religion in Ethiopia*, 2–3.

⁴¹ The significance of SIM’s medical and educational impact is detailed by Fuller, who claims that SIM was responsible in 1967 for ‘one tenth of all the country’s education’. W. Harold Fuller, *Run While the Sun Is Hot* (New York: Sudan Interior Mission, 1966), 192–194. Cumbers, *Living with the Red Terror*, 277.

⁴² For a fuller treatment, see Dick McLellan, *Messengers of Ethiopia: Extraordinary Stories of Men and Women Who Suffered and Died for the Gospel* (UK: Lost Coin, 2013), 195–198.

⁴³ Dick McLellan to Supporters, May 1975, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan. McLellan, *A Girl From Wondah Farm*, 137.

establishing of ‘several churches among the Bodi tribe’.⁴⁴ In the upcoming years, Dick would assume the position of Director of Gospel Recordings, a role that would enable him to visit Ethiopia almost every year.⁴⁵ Finally, when the Derg was overthrown in 1991 ‘after seventeen years of oppressive rule’, it would become evident that ‘despite the years of fierce opposition and cruel persecution and the hardships inflicted on the believers, the church continued to grow’.⁴⁶ Indeed, as of 2015, ‘KHC is currently the second largest Christian denomination in Ethiopia after the Orthodox Church [...] with believers numbering around 7.6 million or 8.7 percent of the population’.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, Dick McLellan continues to return, having completed his twenty-second visit in January 2016.

The missionary motivations of Dick McLellan

With a foundational summary of the broader contexts in place, Dick McLellan’s missional motivations and thereafter his strategies may be identified. What, then, motivated Dick not only to leave Australia for foreign soil, but to remain and return there despite significant difficulties? Notably, these difficulties included ideological opposition from communism, religious persecution from Orthodox priests and witchdoctors, sickness, wild animals, familial separation, and isolation.⁴⁸ Alongside a host of minor motivations, including his perception of eschatological urgency and the encouragement of fellow missionaries, at least five of Dick’s major motivations may be detected. These include three objective convictions: (1) that salvation exists exclusively in the gospel of Jesus Christ, (2) that southern Ethiopians were unreached by that gospel, and (3) that Christians are responsible for mission. There were the two further subjective convictions: (4) that McLellan felt he was personally called to mission in Ethiopia; and (5) the encouragement derived from observing church growth.

Firstly, then, Dick McLellan’s mission was motivated by the exclusivist conviction that it is ‘the Gospel of Christ which alone can convert [...] souls, give real joy and peace’.⁴⁹ Indeed, it was with this conviction that Dick and Vida answered the concern of other passengers voyaging across the Indian Ocean: ‘If there was another way for these people to be saved, then we wouldn’t go. But we know that only a personal faith in the blood of Christ’s sacrifice can save from sin and transform lives.’⁵⁰ Moreover, this conviction concerned not only with eternal futures, but also present joy and peace. For Dick also considered those without Christ to be ‘missing out on all the blessings of salvation’.⁵¹ Indeed, he wrote that, outside of Christ, ‘there is no joy or peace or satisfaction’.⁵² A powerful exemplification of this is found in his writings on the Bodi massacre, where, after considering a range of non-spiritual factors influencing that event, he wrote: ‘the real reason is that heathen darkness, sin and

⁴⁴ Davis, *The Winds of God*, 138; McLellan, *A Girl From Wondah Farm*, 139.

⁴⁵ McLellan, *A Girl From Wondah Farm*, 141.

⁴⁶ Dick McLellan, *Warriors of Ethiopia: The Extraordinary Story of How the Gospel Came to a Remote Region of Africa* (UK: Lost Coin, 2013), 205; McLellan, *Messengers of Ethiopia*, 63.

⁴⁷ Sigg, 204.

⁴⁸ Accounts of such difficulties may be found scattered throughout McLellan, *Messengers of Ethiopia*; McLellan, *Warriors of Ethiopia*; McLellan, *A Girl From Wondah Farm*.

⁴⁹ Dick McLellan to Annie McLellan, October 16, 1954, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan.

⁵⁰ Dick and Vida McLellan to Annie and John McLellan, November 24, 1960, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan.

⁵¹ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

⁵² Dick McLellan to Annie McLellan, October 12, 1954, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan.

savagery burst from the hearts of these Bodi people [...] remember they have never been reached with the Gospel of Jesus Christ'.⁵³

Synergising with Dick's exclusivist conviction was his second major conviction, that many in southern Ethiopia were unreached. Defining unreached as 'people who have not had a clear presentation of the Gospel', Dick reflectively claimed that 'we worked in areas where they'd never heard the Gospel, never knew anything about Jesus Christ and what he did'.⁵⁴ In conjunction with recent academic accusations that western missions were 'evangelizing the evangelized',⁵⁵ Fargher asserts that 'the message [...] had been preached in the area for centuries by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church'.⁵⁶ Although this dispute is undeniably complex, it must be noted that Dick's conviction was neither naive nor unschooled. This is seen in his awareness of historical developments in the broader Ethiopian and Orthodox contexts; and, secondly, by his well-founded contention with the southern manifestation of the Orthodox Church.⁵⁷ For Dick's disputation was not primarily sacramental, Monophysite, or Marian—as Fargher claims—but evangelical.⁵⁸ Indeed, Dick contended: 'there was a formality of religion [...] however, it wasn't the evangelical faith [...] there was nothing of the evangelical gospel at all'.⁵⁹ He founded this contention upon ongoing animistic practices of the southern peoples, the superstition and lack of knowledge he perceived within the Orthodox Church, and the severe persecution of evangelical converts by the Orthodox Church.⁶⁰

Dick's third objective motivating conviction was that Christians are responsible for Mission.⁶¹ While acknowledging the 'sovereign will of God', Dick cites passages such as 2 Kings 7:3–11, Ezekiel 3, Ezekiel 33, and Romans 1:14–15 to support his claim that 'we are responsible to those who haven't heard'.⁶² On the one hand, this responsibility arises 'simply because the Lord told us to go to everybody'.⁶³ And so, 'if we know the command to share the gospel [...] and we do nothing about it [...] then we are guilty'.⁶⁴ On the other hand, this responsibility is especially borne by western believers because of dramatic gospel inequality. For believers in the west have enjoyed not only 'hundreds of years of the gospel, we've got the benefits of the gospel'.⁶⁵ Meanwhile, to illustrate the impoverished situation in southern Ethiopia, Dick often retells the story of a female slave, who, when presented with

⁵³ Dick McLellan to Supporters, May 1975, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan.

⁵⁴ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library. His claim to speaking with the unreached may be found throughout his letters and books, as well as in Vida's book. For example, see McLellan, *A Girl From Wondah Farm*, 21.

⁵⁵ Eide, *Revolution & Religion in Ethiopia*, xv.

⁵⁶ Fargher, *The Origins of the New Churches Movement in Southern Ethiopia, 1927–1944*, 104.

⁵⁷ For Dick's historical awareness, see Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library; Dick McLellan to Supporters, September 1966, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan; Dick McLellan to Supporters, December 1972, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan.

⁵⁸ Fargher, *The Origins of the New Churches Movement in Southern Ethiopia, 1927–1944*, 65.

⁵⁹ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

⁶⁰ For his argument from ongoing animistic practices, see Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library; McLellan, *Messengers of Ethiopia*, 66. For his argument from superstition and lack of knowledge, see Dick McLellan to Annie McLellan, September 5, 1955, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan; Dick McLellan to Supporters, September 1956, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan. For severe persecution by the Orthodox church, see Dick McLellan to Annie McLellan, May 14, 1961, Personal Collection, in Possession of Dick McLellan; McLellan, *Warriors of Ethiopia*, 40, 46.

⁶¹ Notably, when speaking of Christians, Dick primarily refers to evangelicals.

⁶² Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library. For further evidence of Dick's responsibility conviction, see Dick McLellan to Supporters, May 1959, Personal Collection, in Possession of Dick McLellan.

⁶³ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

⁶⁴ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

⁶⁵ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

the gospel, said, ‘It must be true. But if it is true, why didn’t you come before and tell us?’⁶⁶ Reflecting upon this experience, Dick lamented: ‘They’re lost; they’re going to a lost eternity. And that poor old slave woman, she’d been used and abused all of her life, and here was her one chance to hear the gospel. And... why hadn’t we gone before?’⁶⁷ Thus, for the sake of love in the name of Jesus, Dick asserts: ‘we who have so much have been commanded to go to those who have nothing’.⁶⁸

Alongside these three objective convictions was Dick’s subjective conviction that he was personally called to missionary service in Ethiopia. The language of ‘calling’ may be found throughout Dick’s letters, beginning as early as his first sight of African soil, after which he wrote: ‘Naturally excited at seeing this land to which God has called us to preach the Gospel, we feel very much “at home”’.⁶⁹ For Dick, calling is a universal Christian experience, as ‘the Lord calls every one of us to serve him’.⁷⁰ Citing Matthew 9:36–38, Matthew 28, and Mark 16, Dick asserts that ‘obedience to the revealed word of God is a call. It doesn’t have to be something spectacular.’⁷¹ Thus, ‘the call [...] is a call to the Lord himself and to obey his word, to go and share the gospel to the ends of the earth’.⁷² Of course, Dick acknowledges that ‘the missionary call does not depend on geography [...] we are all called to be witnesses where we are’.⁷³ However, for Dick, his conviction of personal calling to overseas mission was formed only after doubting his suitability for such service. It was the reception of a verse, Daniel 3:17, which assures ‘God is able and he will’, that he took ‘by faith that this was a call from God and he would undertake for me and supply my needs and send me out’.⁷⁴ Thereafter, a host of formative factors, including ‘missionaries returning on furlough from Ethiopia and speaking at the college’, shaped his conviction that he was personally called to be a missionary to Ethiopia.⁷⁵ For Dick, this sense of calling was significant not only for his initial entrance into Ethiopia, but for the duration of his service. As he states, ‘one of the things that kept us there was the fact that God called us. Because he called us out there, he had to call us to quit’.⁷⁶

Finally, Dick also drew motivation from observing church growth. This, he asserts, ‘was a moving of the Spirit of God’.⁷⁷ Indeed, he considers himself ‘very fortunate in seeing a real movement of the Spirit of God among quite a few different tribes’.⁷⁸ Notably, despite his keen conviction of missional responsibility, he considers this movement to have ‘nothing to do with us. We were just the messenger boys, if you will, to take the gospel there’.⁷⁹

Moreover, while some significant numbers have been recorded above, it must be noted that Dick considered individual conversion to be ‘a miracle every time’.⁸⁰ This was especially the

⁶⁶ McLellan, *Warriors of Ethiopia*, 30–32.

⁶⁷ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library. Cf. Dick McLellan, ‘Zabu the Witchdoctor: Possessed but Re-Possessed’, *The Sudan Witness: Australian Edition* (March 1961): 1.

⁶⁸ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

⁶⁹ Dick McLellan to Annie McLellan, October 12, 1954, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan. Cf. Dick McLellan to Mavis McLellan, 7 December 1954, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan; Dick McLellan to Annie McLellan, February 14, 1955, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan

⁷⁰ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

⁷¹ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

⁷² Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

⁷³ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

⁷⁴ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

⁷⁵ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

⁷⁶ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

⁷⁷ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

⁷⁸ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

⁷⁹ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

⁸⁰ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

case in light of violent persecution. For, ‘it was really tough for people to become Christians’.⁸¹ Thus, motivated by exclusivism, the conviction that southern Ethiopia was unreached, a sense of responsibility for mission, a personal calling, and the encouragement of church growth—and despite significant difficulties—Dick McLellan laughingly reflects: ‘there were some sad times, but on the whole, we wouldn’t have missed it for quids’.⁸²

The missionary strategies of Dick McLellan

Having addressed Dick’s missional motivations, the strategies with which he undertook mission in Ethiopia may now be considered. Firstly we will examine Dick’s strategy with regard to the location and placement of missions within Ethiopia, before moving to consider his deliberate partnership with the indigenous church in evangelism and edification, and the high value that he placed on prayer.

The first thing to be said regarding the location of the McLellans’ mission work within Ethiopia is that they were actually unable to devise and implement their own desired strategy. For despite considering himself called to Ethiopia, his placement into six distinct mission stations throughout his service was authoritatively decided by the SIM Field Council. For, ‘in those days you did what the mission told you, no matter how daunting it was’.⁸³ This often caused uncertainty and disappointment, with Vida commenting upon being asked to leave Bulki for Silti: ‘this was very hard for us to accept [...] we believed that this was where the Lord wanted us to be’.⁸⁴

Nevertheless, their placement also indicates SIM’s concern, with which Dick and Vida wholeheartedly agreed, ‘to get out as far as we could’.⁸⁵ Indeed, the methodology Dick employed in his rural stationing was in distinct contrast to the Orthodox tendency to ‘spread from the core to the periphery’.⁸⁶ For, although the medical and educational work would attract people to the mission station, Dick’s foremost strategy was ‘to itinerate rather than to invite people to come to them’.⁸⁷ This was exemplified in his tendency to trek into unreached territory, constantly searching for new contacts in new places.⁸⁸ When returning to Ethiopia to visit believers under the Red Terror, he would exult: ‘This is the way to do missionary work! No responsibility on a mission station. Out with the people in the areas. It is thrilling!’⁸⁹

Thus, although a significant element of Dick’s mission work was strategized directly by SIM, we see that wherever they were placed, they were committed to partnering with the local church in evangelism. He recognised that it was both necessary and desirable. For to reach the swathes of unreached, ‘there was no way that the two or three missionaries could [...] we had to have Ethiopian evangelists’.⁹⁰

Dick partnered alongside evangelists, training and itinerating with them. His training entailed both private instruction, ‘teaching them the basics of the gospel [...] basic doctrines

⁸¹ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

⁸² Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

⁸³ McLellan, *A Girl From Wondah Farm*, 110.

⁸⁴ McLellan, *A Girl From Wondah Farm*, 84. Cf. Dick McLellan to Annie McLellan, November 21, 1955, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan; Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

⁸⁵ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

⁸⁶ Kaplan, ‘Themes and Methods in the Study of Conversion in Ethiopia’, 379.

⁸⁷ Fargher, *The Origins of the New Churches Movement in Southern Ethiopia, 1927–1944*, 102.

⁸⁸ A focus observed in his early mentors at Bulki, the Grays.

⁸⁹ Dick McLellan to Supporters, June 15, 1975, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan.

⁹⁰ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

about what we believe', and modelled method.⁹¹ For example, each weekend in Soddo, Dick would take two or three trainees 'to preach the gospel in the local meeting places, markets, schools and churches'.⁹² While itinerating with evangelists, Dick noted that upon entering new areas, 'we all took turns to share the Gospel of Christ'.⁹³ Such iteration would entail travelling 'thousands of kilometres together [...] many days trekking together to remote villages'.⁹⁴

However, Dick's partnership with evangelists was also often from afar. For example, he provided transportation for evangelists, sometimes administered their movements, ensured that food and medical help was taken to them in crises, and represented them to government officials during periods of persecution.⁹⁵

Sometimes, Dick would carry out difficult interpersonal roles on their behalf, such as in the case of the evangelist Tekka, where Dick 'went to inform Tekka's mother that the Bodi tribe had killed her brave son'.⁹⁶ Also, as the stipends of evangelists from the Wolaitta church were often kept with missionaries at their stations, Dick frequently ensured their financial welfare.⁹⁷ Moreover, Dick constantly sought to raise the profile of evangelists and the priority of prayer, writing: 'please continue to uphold the evangelists in prayer as they do battle against the forces of darkness'.⁹⁸ He considered these evangelists to be 'just as much "missionaries" as we are who come from the western world', and would demonstrate his admiration of and focus for them in his publishing of their stories rather than his own.⁹⁹ Moreover, this partnership was never unilateral, as Dick frequently writes of being encouraged by their zeal and welcoming their advice.¹⁰⁰

Dick's evangelistic partnership was not only with evangelists, but with the entire church movement. For, from the outset of SIM's mission work in southern Ethiopia, it enacted a policy of every believer evangelism, placing responsibility on the indigenous church.¹⁰¹ This responsibility entailed partaking in local evangelism and supporting those who went by giving and praying. For example, Dick recalls an initiative in Soddo where 'once a month the whole church, everyone, goes out in teams of two or three visiting in the area and seeking people for Christ'.¹⁰² Indeed, Dick considers the evangelism of southern Ethiopia to have been 'a grassroots movement. Somebody would come to Christ and he'd get so excited he'd want to tell his family and friends [...] they'd hear and the evangelist would be invited'.¹⁰³ As we will be demonstrate below, Dick supported this wider movement by various means of edification.

In order to promote this evangelical partnership, Dick utilized a range of tools. These included a range of minor tools such as vehicles, including his Toyota LandCruiser and the aircraft of the Missionary Aviation Fellowship (MAF), radios, gramophones and gospel

⁹¹ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

⁹² McLellan, *A Girl From Wondah Farm*, 116.

⁹³ Dick McLellan, *Memories of Mahae* (Sydney: Dick McLellan, 2006), 22

⁹⁴ McLellan, *Memories of Mahae*, 17.

⁹⁵ Fargher, *Ethiopian Revivalist*, 105; Fargher, *Ethiopian Revivalist*, 168; McLellan, *Memories of Mahae*, 21; McLellan to Supporters, January 1977, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan; Fargher, *Ethiopian Revivalist*, 119, 190.

⁹⁶ McLellan, *Messengers of Ethiopia*, 96.

⁹⁷ See Dick McLellan to Supporters, May 12, 1969, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan.

⁹⁸ Dick McLellan to Supporters, January 1972, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan.

⁹⁹ McLellan, *Warriors of Ethiopia*, 137–138.

¹⁰⁰ This may be seen, in the case of Mehari, throughout his autobiography. Fargher, *Ethiopian Revivalist*. Dick McLellan to Annie McLellan, 12 December 1956, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan.

¹⁰² Dick McLellan to Supporters, June 11, 1973, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan.

¹⁰³ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

recordings, visual aids such as illustrated Bible stories and films. On top of this were the two major draws of education and medicine.¹⁰⁴ Dick records that ‘the government required the Mission to start a school and medical clinic’.¹⁰⁵ However, far from considering medical work a burdensome requirement, Dick considered it a ministry that could ‘open many hearts and homes to the Gospel’.¹⁰⁶ For, as many sought medical aid, there were opportunities not only to address physical needs and to ease tension between locals and the evangelists, but also to evangelize.¹⁰⁷ This occurred as Dick and Vida, who was especially equipped as a medical nurse, spoke with patients alongside an evangelist or a ‘young boy playing the gramophone during the clinic hours’.¹⁰⁸ Such medical ministry would often operate as ‘a means of contacting people from many different tribes’, and Dick records at least two unreached tribes, the Tara and Basketo, being reached in this way.¹⁰⁹ Likewise, education was strategically used for evangelism as students ‘heard a gospel message every day, and some of them believed and some of them took those stories home to their villages [...] and that led to kids inviting us on behalf of their parents to go to their villages’.¹¹⁰

In addition to partnering with the indigenous church for the purpose evangelism, Dick also saw the importance of this partnership for the edification of local Christians. He constantly visited indigenous believers, and for much of his ministry, he aimed to visit one of the remote churches each week.¹¹¹ Vida recalls, ‘we trekked from church to church, meeting with evangelists and encouraging Christians, preaching, praying and fellowshiping together’.¹¹² Dick continued his visitations after the socialist uprising ‘to encourage the local people [...] living under the repression of the Red Terror’.¹¹³ Moreover, Dick also undertook training and administration. Training was essential, for ‘a completely untaught church is the challenge we face’.¹¹⁴ Thus, Dick opened Bible schools and met with various groups of elders, pastors, and evangelists to meet this need. In these meetings, he taught doctrine and expounded Scripture.¹¹⁵ Dick’s administrative role was also essential, in which he undertook such duties as ‘supervising the election of the new elders throughout the province’, advising these elders ‘who meet to discuss church problems, administer discipline and gather funds to support the evangelist in distant areas’, and mediating difficult relationships.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁴ For vehicles, see Dick McLellan to Annie McLellan, May 28, 1964; Dick McLellan to Supporters, May 12, 1969; Dick McLellan to Supporters, January 1971, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan. For radios, see Dick McLellan to Annie McLellan, May 28, 1964; Dick McLellan to Annie McLellan, October 6, 1956, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan. For gramophones and gospel recordings, see McLellan, *Warriors of Ethiopia*, 140; McLellan, *A Girl From Wondah Farm*, 40. For visual aids and films, see Dick McLellan to Supporters, February 22, 1968, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan; McLellan, *Warriors of Ethiopia*, 175

¹⁰⁵ McLellan, *Memories of Mahae*, 3.

¹⁰⁶ Dick McLellan to Supporters, February 22, 1968, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan.

¹⁰⁷ For the medical ministry’s ability to ease tension, see McLellan, *Warriors of Ethiopia*, 46.

¹⁰⁸ McLellan, *A Girl From Wondah Farm*, 41.

¹⁰⁹ For more on the Tara, formerly spelt Tsara, see McLellan, *Messengers of Ethiopia*, 18. McLellan, *A Girl From Wondah Farm*, 64.

¹¹⁰ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

¹¹¹ Dick McLellan to Annie McLellan, September 15, 1962, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan; Dick McLellan to Annie and Mavis McLellan, July 15, 1966, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan.

¹¹² McLellan, *A Girl From Wondah Farm*, 45.

¹¹³ McLellan, *A Girl From Wondah Farm*, 139.

¹¹⁴ Dick McLellan to Supporters, 1972, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan.

¹¹⁵ For an example of opening a Bible School, see Dick McLellan to Supporters, April 25, 1966, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan.

¹¹⁶ For a detailed explanation of church governance, see Dick McLellan to Annie and Mavis McLellan,

Conferences complemented Dick's visitation, training, and administration work. From December until February while the weather was dry and the roads easy to travel, and as the believers multiplied, they held 'a kind of annual conference' for each tribe.¹¹⁷ As tribal churches grew, however, they had to have district conferences.¹¹⁸ Wolaitta, for example, held 'sixteen district conferences and one big one with over 35,000 people'.¹¹⁹ The purpose of these conferences 'were to renew the spiritual life of the Christians; to challenge couples for missionary work [...] to strengthen the love and unity among the Wolaitta [...] and to allow people to give offerings, tithes, and pledges for the work of evangelism'.¹²⁰ Of course, these conferences had 'a strong missionary emphasis', and Dick often challenged believers to evangelistic endeavours.¹²¹ Malcolm Hunter, his fellow missionary, asserted 'there is nobody more respected and used by God in this way than Dick'.¹²²

Also noteworthy is the women's work that Dick encouraged, especially in partnership with Vida. Vida organized women's classes in the stations, following the model of earlier female missionaries.¹²³ There, women learnt skills such as 'reading, writing and sewing'.¹²⁴ She also pioneered the first women's conferences in southern Ethiopia. Vida recognized that 'few women could come to the main convention [...] most of the women stayed home to look after the animals and house', and so proposed the possibility of a conference for women.¹²⁵ And, despite the broader cultural reality, whereby 'nearly all the peoples of Greater Ethiopia considered women genetically inferior', the local elders 'were happy with the idea'.¹²⁶ Thus, Dick and the elders encouraged Vida to organize women's conferences where 'we taught them simple Bible stories about the life of Jesus and how to live for Christ in their homes'.¹²⁷

In support of these modes of edification, Dick often represented believers before the government. This was not only to secure land for mission stations, but also to protest in the face of severe persecution. Dick recalls this persecution deriving from 'the witchdoctors, who were losing a lot of their customers, from the Orthodox who were losing their tax money', and resulting in these parties agitating 'the authorities, the police and the government authorities against the evangelists and the mission and the Christians in turn'.¹²⁸ Although SIM missionaries were not exempt from the harassment, their expatriate status often afforded them certain privileges.¹²⁹ Thus, Dick 'appealed against the injustice of imprisoning

October 8, 1972, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan; Dick McLellan to Supporters, May 12, 1969, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan; Fargher, *Ethiopian Revivalist*, 90; Davis, *Fire on the Mountains*, 115–148.

¹¹⁷ Dick McLellan to Annie and Mavis McLellan, January 10 1972, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan; Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

¹¹⁸ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

¹¹⁹ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

¹²⁰ Balisky, *Wolaitta Evangelists*, 161.

¹²¹ Balisky, *Wolaitta Evangelists*, 161.

¹²² Malcolm Hunter, 'Foreword to Messengers of Ethiopia', in *Warriors of Ethiopia* (UK: Lost Coin, 2013), 10.

¹²³ For the models of other missionaries, especially Selma Bergsten and Beatrice Bernard, see Balisky, *Wolaitta Evangelists*, 162.

¹²⁴ Dick McLellan to Annie and John and Mavis and Jean and Amy McLellan, June 17, 1962, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan.

¹²⁵ Vida McLellan, 'A Women's Convention in Africa!', *Christian Woman* (August 1969): 6.

¹²⁶ Fargher, *The Origins of the New Churches Movement in Southern Ethiopia, 1927–1944*, 162; McLellan, *A Girl From Wondah Farm*, 70.

¹²⁷ McLellan, *A Girl From Wondah Farm*, 119.

¹²⁸ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

¹²⁹ Cumbers, *Living with the Red Terror*, 285

evangelists'¹³⁰, spending 'much time going back and forth to the town to see the local officials on their behalf'.¹³¹ When this failed, he would 'appeal on their behalf to higher authorities' personally, via letter, or by delegation.¹³²

Finally, Dick valued prayer highly in his mission strategy. In his third prayer letter from January 1955, Dick articulated his priority of prayer: 'how mighty, how valuable, how blessed is that place at Jesus' feet in real prayer! It is the greatest of all ministries'.¹³³ Indeed, because Dick considered God to be the primary agent in conversion and revival, he prayed. He prayed with believers, especially with believers experiencing relational dissonance, so that 'prayer was being used to bind people together'.¹³⁴ And his prayer letters and records from furlough evince his efforts at raising prayer support for Ethiopians believers. For example, it was often Dick's practice to hand out lists of unreached tribes to those who supported him in prayer from Australia and, on one occasion, to two young girls. When later recounting the evangelization of each one of those tribes, Dick asserted: 'This is why it happened—because two little girls prayed faithfully'.¹³⁵

Having identified Dick's missional motivations and strategies, founded upon an outline of the broader Ethiopian, evangelical, and biographical contexts; it must be acknowledged that a comprehensive assessment thereof, likely to be both complex and controversial, lies beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, Dick's five major motivating convictions of exclusivism, the unreached state of southern Ethiopia, responsibility for mission, personal calling, and encouragement from church growth; as well as his four strategic foci regarding placement, partnership with the indigenous church in evangelism and edification, and prayer are evident and undisputable. Crucially, we can see their significance in the life and work of the McLellans. For although Dick considers 'the story of the evangelization of the tribes [...] a story of God using just ordinary people', concluding that 'the Lord just used them to proclaim a very simple message of God's love and saving power', these powerful convictions fueled ordinary men like Dick McLellan to enact missionary strategies in southern Ethiopia, which God used to accomplish the extraordinary.¹³⁶

¹³⁰ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

¹³¹ McLellan, *A Girl From Wondah Farm*, 60.

¹³² McLellan, *Warriors of Ethiopia*, 48

¹³³ Dick McLellan to Supporters, January 1955, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan.

¹³⁴ Dick McLellan to Miss Ferrier, February 29, 1972, Personal Collection, in possession of Dick McLellan.

¹³⁵ McLellan, *Warriors of Ethiopia*, 66.

¹³⁶ Interview with Dick McLellan, January 30, 2016, MTC Library.

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