Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies

ASIAN JOURNAL OF PENTECOSTAL STUDIES is published twice per year (January and July) by the Faculty of Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, P.O. Box 377, Baguio City 2600, Philippines. Part or whole of the current and previous issues may be available through the internet (http://www.apts.edu/ajps). Views expressed in the *Journal* reflect those of the authors and reviewers, and not the views of the editors, the publisher, or the participating institutions.

PARTICIPATING INSTITUTIONS: Educational or research institutions that are interested in participating in the *Journal* ministry are encouraged to write to the *Journal* office. The following are participating institutions of the Journal:

Asian Pentecostal Society, Philippines (Dr. Joseph Suico)
Central Bible College, Tokyo, Japan (Dr. Koichi Kitano)
Asia LIFE University, Daejon, Korea (Dr. Yeol-Soo Eim)
International Theological Institute, Seoul, Korea (Dr. Sam-Hwan Kim)

THE *JOURNAL SEEKS TO PROVIDE A FORUM*: to encourage serious theological thinking and articulation by Pentecostals/Charismatics in Asia; to promote interaction among Asian Pentecostals/Charismatics and dialogue with other Christian traditions; to stimulate creative contextualization of the Christian faith; and to provide a means for Pentecostals/Charismatics to share their theological reflection.

MANUSCRIPTS AND BOOK REVIEWS submitted for consideration should be sent to *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies*, P.O. Box 377, Baguio City 2600, Philippines (fax: 63-74 442-6378; E-mail: apts@agmd.org). Manuscripts and book reviews should be typed double-spaced. Manuscripts should conform in style to the 6th Edition of Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations.* An additional style guide will be sent upon request. The *Journal* encourages contributors to submit an electronic copy prepared through a popular world processor mailed in a Windows-compatible disk or sent as an email attachment.

BOOK FOR REVIEW: Send to the *Journal* Office.

CORRESPONDENCE: Subscription correspondence and notification of change of address should be sent to the subscription office or email to: Paul Lewis (paul.lewis63@gmail.com)

For the following areas, you may contact the following friends for subscription orders and other inquiries:

For North America: Paul Elbert, Pentecostal Theological Seminary, Cleveland, TN 37320-3330, USA (email: pelbert@windstream.net)

For Southeast Asia (except the Philippines) and South Asia: Mr. Tan Woon Khang, 41 Nadia, 10 Persiaran Residen, Desa Parkcity 52200 Kuala Lumpur (email: tanwk8@yahoo.com)

SUBSCRIPTIONS RATES: Annual subscription rates including surface mail are: P300 for the Philippines: US$18.00 for Asian countries; and US$23.00 for other countries, including Australia and New Zealand. For more details, see the Subscription/Order form.

THIS PERIODICAL IS INDEXED in *Religion index One: Periodicals,* the *index* to books Review in religion, Religion Indexes: Ten Subset on CD-ROM, and the ATLA Religion Database on CD-ROM, published by the American Theological Library Association, 250 S. Wacker Dr., 16th Floor., Chicago, IL 60606 USA, email: atla@atla.com, http://www.atla.com/.

Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies

Volume 13, Number 2 (July 2010)

BOOK REVIEWS

APTS-PAST AND PRESENT

The Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies has been blessed over the last 13 years to have relationships with many schools in the Asia Pacific area. A primary partner has been the Asia Pacific Theological Seminary (APTS) found in Baguio, Philippines. In fact, the editors since the journal's inception have come from this institution. As an expression of our gratitude for this relationship, this issue will be set with the theme 'APTS past and present'. All the essays are by former and current faculty of APTS. The earliest faculty members stem from early on (Charles Clauser) to the present (Paul Lewis). It is hoped that this issue will both honor the relationship and demonstrate the longevity of the school over the last 46 years.

The first essay by Charles Clauser focuses on the will of God in missions looking through the lens of the term 'predestined.' This essay, originally written 3 decades ago and updated, reflects a Pentecostal missiological understanding of the time. The following essay is by Gary Long who looks at the cognitive sciences to see the 'brain-mind-soul' problem. The discussion is within the context of his life growing up and later teaching in the Philippines.

Narciso Dionson delineates the development of the Assemblies of God in the Cebuano area of central Philippines. The author bases his writings on his own experience and the histories of various pioneering ministers of the area. This essay is the first of its kind documenting the initial development of the Assemblies of God in this area of the Philippines. The following is an exhaustive bibliography of C. M. Ward compiled by a former librarian of APTS, Gary Flokstra. C. M. Ward was a very influential minister of the Assemblies of God in the USA as the voice of 'Revival Time' radio program for 25 years. This is the first compilation of the works of its kind.

The following essay is by David Hymes on the topic of Numbers 11 a noted passage that has drawn attention from Pentecostals. He looks at this passage with a Pentecostal perspective within a strong exegetical analysis of the passage in its context. The author develops a

fully orbed discussion of the passage, correcting, expanding and suggesting a reading of Numbers 11. Christopher Carter wrote the essay on the theme of 'Reputation' in the books of 1st and 2nd Thessalonians.   The author formulates the theme first looking at 'reputation' with the 1st century Greco-Roman world. Later he looks at 'reputation' in Thessalonica and finally within 1st and 2nd Thessalonians within the Pauline perspective. The final essay by Paul Lewis is entitled "The Baptism of the Holy Spirit as Paradigm Shift." This essay functions in two parts with the first part discussing Thomas Kuhn's concept of 'Paradigm Shift' and how it can describe the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. The second part suggests what this Pentecostal Paradigm should look like.

Editors

THE WILL OF GOD IN MISSION
ACCORDING TO THE USE OF THE WORD PREDESTINED[*]

Charles T. Clauser

1. Introduction

Man, a free agent born responsible to God, has freedom of choice, but can choose to conduct his life by the precepts of the Word, or by his own design. God created man for fellowship with himself and with other persons, not for automatic replays of pat phrases and set answers. As we find the personality of Jesus multi-faceted, so great diversity of personalities abide in the body of Christ. God has predestined, He made man's life possible that all who will repent and come to Him may receive forgiveness, salvation, and life eternal through His son Christ Jesus.

2. Consideration of Terms

The word "predestined" appears primarily in three passages: Romans 8:29, Ephesians 1:5, and Ephesians 1:11. Beginning with Romans 8:29, the word "predestined" has been presented in the following phrases: "He predestined us to adoption as sons" (NAS); "For those whom He foreknew" (AMP); "For whom He foreknew, He also predestined" (NKJV); "For those God foreknew He also predestined" (NIV); "For whom He did foreknow, he also did predestinate" (KJV); "For from the very beginning God decided that those who came to Him – and all along He knew who would – should become like his son" (TLB)

---

[*] [This essay was originally written over 30 years ago. This essay both argues a case and is reflective of the time period. As such, we saw the invaluable contribution of the piece. The Editors]

The Oxford American Dictionary and Thesaurus[2] defines "predestine" as "God or fate decide in advance that something will happen or that someone will have a particular fate. Thiessen[3] indicates that the words "foreordained" and "predestined" have the same meaning. He describes "foreordained" as: "that effective exercise of the will of God by which things before determined by Him are brought to pass." Funk and Wagnall's Standard Dictionary[4]describes predestine as something "designed for some special fate, foreordained by divine decree, as to salvation; to destine or decree beforehand; foreordained."

Williams[5] affirms the purpose of God for His Church as predestined: (1) "to be adopted as sons" (Ephesians 1:5); (2) "for the praise of His glory" (Ephesians 1:11-12); and (3)"to be conformed to the likeness of His son" (Romans 8:29). Romans 3:23 states all mankind have sinned, and because of it, do not know God. But God made it possible reference: for Jesus to take our sins upon Himself, that "we might become the righteousness of God" (2 Corinthians 5:21). We are adopted as sons of God if we accept Jesus as Lord by belief, faith, and confession. Romans 10:9 affirms: "that if you confess with your mouth Jesus as Lord" (NAS). By His grace, the free gift of God (Ephesians 2:8), we are saved through faith in Jesus Christ.

3. An Abbreviated Comparison of Arminianism and Calvinism

The consideration of predestination belongs to that branch of theology called soteriology, the doctrine of salvation. The questions concerning the controversial meanings of "predestinate/predestined" have divided the religious community into two main camps. People ask: "Is salvation conditional or unconditional?" If a person is saved, is he eternally saved?" "On whom does salvation depend – man or God?" "Is grace irresistible?" "Will a person be saved whether or not he wants

---

[2] *Oxford American Dictionary and Thesaurus*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2009), 1,012.

[3] Henry C. Thiessen, *Lectures in Systematic Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1949), 345.

[4] Funk and Wagnall's *Standard Dictionary of the English Language,* Combined with the Britannica World Language Dictionary, I (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1985), 993.

[5] Morris Williams, *Partnership in Mission,* Revised and enlarged ed. (Springfield, MO: Division of Foreign Missions, 1979; 1986), 15.

to be saved?" "Is a person once in grace (saved) always in grace (saved)?"[6]

Guthrie[7] summarizes his comments on predestination by observing:

> Paul does not set out salvation as if God decreed that so many people, irrespective of human responsibility, should be saved and the rest condemned. That would make men robots, mere tools in the hand of God. The remarkable balance between God's sovereignty and man's responsibility does not remove the tension . . . but he was sufficiently down to earth to see the need for constant appeals to Christians to persevere in faith.

Jacobus Arminius (1560 – 1609), a progressive Protestant Dutch theologian and author of the reformed branch of theology known as Arminianism, reacted against the sternness of Calvinism. "Arminius discarded the idea of unconditional predestination and taught that man had freedom to choose or reject salvation."[8]

John Calvin (1509-1564) was born in France, studied in Paris, Orleans, and Bourges and later was forced to break away from the Catholic Church. He founded in 1559 what later became known as the University of Geneva. Barker[9] calls him "the greatest theologian and disciplinarian of the great of the reformers." Hurbut[10] calls him "the greatest theologian of the church after Augustine. Calvin's Institute of the Christian Religion (1536), published at age 27, became standards of Protestant reform doctrine." The Council of Orange formally accepted the Augustine doctrine of unconditional election in A.D. 529, upon which Calvin based his theology.[11]

---

[6] Myer Pearlman, *Knowing the Doctrines of the Bible* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1937), 269-71.

[7] Donald Guthrie, *New Testament Theology* (Leicester, England: Inter-Varsity Press, 1981), 629.

[8] William Baker, *Who's Who in Church History* (Old Tappan, New Jersey: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1969), 23.

[9] Who's Who, 57

[10] Jessie L Hurbut, *The Story of the Christian Church*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1970), 122.

[11] Merrill F. Unger, *The New Unger's Bible Dictionary*, rev. & updated (Chicago: Moody Press, 1988), 347.

Calvinism can be summarized in an oversimplified manner by using the mnemonic device – "t-u-l-i-p." Calvin believed in the complete sovereignty of God. Man has no choice with regard to election and salvation. Man exists (1) "T"otally depraved. He was born completely sinful and corrupted. Salvation (2) becomes a matter of "U"nconditional election apart from human endeavor or divine knowledge. Election has a dual predestination – some will be saved, others will be condemned. Christ's work on the Cross (3) was "L"imited atonement, received only by those elected to salvation. The doctrine of (4) "Irresistible grace says the elect will be saved , whether or not they desire salvation. The Holy Spirit will irresistibly draw them to Christ. (5) "P"erseverance of the saints describes the doctrine that says they will never be lost.

Calvin's theological emphasis echoes that of Augustine. "Like other reformers," Cairns[12] comments, "he went from the Bible to Augustine to seek support" for his conclusions.

A comparison of major predestination beliefs of Calvin and Arminius include the following:[13]

Calvinism	Arminianism
1. Salvation is only a matter of divine grace.	1. Man is able to initiate his salvation from God's offer.
2. Election is unconditional, some men to grace, others to condemnation.	2. Election is conditional on man's reaction to God.
3. Christ's Atonement is only for those elected to salvation.	3. Christ's death was sufficient for all who will believe.
4. God's grace is irresistible	4. Man may resist God's saving grace.
5. Saved man will never be lost ("Perseverance").	5. It is possible for man to fall away from salvation.
	6. God is not the author of sin; man is not an automaton.[14]

---

[12] Earle E. Cairns, *Christianity Through the Centuries*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1967), 336-37.

[13] Ibid., 352

[14] Emery H. Bancroft, *Christian Theology*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1961), begin his "unconditional" position, p.219f. Thiessen begins his presentation on "election", 343ff. Both authors

4.   The Wider Scope of Man's Destiny

The issue in predestation: "How does the divine Sovereign choose who may be children of God and heirs of heaven?" Calvinists maintain that the "election of individuals to salvation is absolute, unconditional, by virtue of divine decree." Arminians regard "election as conditional upon repentance and faith," repent and believe, and you will be saved by Jesus Christ. Sufficient grace will be given everyone to make the proper decision. Arminians also believe man is responsible for making his own decision with regard to accepting salvation.[15]

Predestined (*proorizō*) in Ephesians 1:5 "adopted as sons" (NAS), carries the Greek meaning of "one to obtain a thing." Predestined in Romans 8:29 "to become conformed to the likeness of His Son (NAS) means "to foreordain, to appoint beforehand."[16]

This writer follows the Arminian viewpoint of predestination. Many of the salvation passages contain the conditional word "if." I feel the burden has been placed directly on man himself to accept or reject God's provision for taking away man's sin and bestowing grace on a person through Jesus Christ. Romans 10:9 says "That if you confess." Roman 8:10 states "If Christ is in you." Romans 8:11 affirms "But if the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you." Romans 8:17 records "If indeed we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together." Romans11:22 states "If you continue in His goodness. Otherwise you also will be cut off" (NKJV).

Roman 8:28-30 contains five words that describe the salvation progression in a person's life: (1) God's foreknowledge; (2) predestinate (also foreordained or election); (3) called; (4) justified) and (5) glorified. Sanctification remains deleted in this grouping, however,

---

write as Calvinists; *Pearlman* presents both sides, but concludes as an Arminian.

[15] Merrill F. Unger, *Unger's Bible Dictionary* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1966), 297.

[16] Joseph H. Thayer, *Thayer's Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, trans., rev. & enlarged (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1974 [1889], 541.

Pomerville[17] states "Sanctification is progressively becoming like Christ here and now. Glorification is perfect sharing in Christ's nature and inheritance there and then. Sanctification is glory begun, glory is sanctification completed." Each of the above five terms grow out of and depend upon the preceding term. In the perfection of one's salvation, foreknowledge and foreordination are past tense; our calling and justification are present tense events. Glorification will be a future tense event in our life.

Foreknowledge refers to the fact that God foreknows and foresees[18] who will respond to the Gospel. Foreordained and predestined have been defined above. One who has been justified has been declared right with God and treated accordingly.   His wrong doing has been taken away, just as if the person had never sinned. Justification concerns not the innocent person, rather the guilty one. Justification cancels out the guilt of sin. Sanctification deals with the power of sin; a person becomes separated from the world and drawn unto closeness with God. In the process the person undergoes a process of being made holy. A person "called" by God might well follow George Mueller's six steps in finding God's will for his life.[19]   First (Not your Will), come to the place where you have no will of your own in the matter. Ninety percent of the problem of ascertaining God's will can be found here. Second (Ask God), ask God in earnest prayer to lead you in His will and keep you from being led astray.   Third (Consult the Word), seek the will of God in connection with the Word of God. The Word and the Sprit must agree. Fourth (Circumstances), take into account providential circumstances; these sometimes clearly indicate the will of God.   Fifth (Decision), come to a deliberate conclusion, according to the best of your ability and knowledge. Sixth (Peace –Action), with your mind at peace after several more petitions. Proceed accordingly.

---

[17] Paul A. Pomerville, *Galatians and Romans: A Study Guide* – ICI Diploma Program (Brussels, Belguim: International Correspondence Institute, 1976), 204-05.

[18] Anthony Palma, *Galatians and Romans: A Study Guide* – ICI Advanced Level (Brussels, Belgium: International Correspondence Institute, 1973), 127-32.

[19] Hugh P. Jeter, *Introduction to Missions: A Study Guide* (Brussels, Belgium: International Correspondence Institute, 1974), 41.

Jeter[20]defines the missionary call with "The Great Commission, plus the assurance in your heart, no matter how it comes, that God wants you to go as His witness to those who do not know the Savior."

Cook[21] relates that very few missionaries receive their call by means of a vision, a dream or by hearing an audible voice. Most are influenced by reading or hearing an appeal for willing workers. Sometimes the call is general, sometimes to a specific place and ministry.

A Christian worker needs to be led of the Lord because: (1) God knows us better than we know ourselves: (2) God knows the task ahead and the power and strategy of the enemy; (3) God knows the future; (4) God knows His work and what should be done; and (5) the secret of success is as the Lord leads us.[22]

5.   Conformed to the Likeness of Jesus

God's will (Romans 8:28-29 for each person clearly indicates he be conformed to the image and likeness of Jesus. The Holy Spirit knows what Jesus wants for each of us: His work in each person's life and directing experiences in our lives, which will eventually make us like Jesus.[23] Jesus became the first-born among all His body of believers. God's will manifests a family of joint-heirs and brethren, men and women – people, his sons and daughters, who will share heaven with Him. They will tabernacle with Him and He will be their God.

Romans Chapter Nine continues the discussion of God's absolute sovereignty in election. God has elected that all who believe on His Son Jesus Christ shall be saved. The Jews were not automatically saved because of being sons of Abraham, nor because they kept the Law. Their salvation will be by faith in and belief on Jesus Christ. God's predestined plan prefers those who believe in His Son and rejects those who do not accept Jesus. "Whoever will believe" (Romans 9:33; 10:11) will receive his mercy (Romans 9:23) and grace. Man has a

---

[20] Jeter, *Introduction to Missions*, 44.

[21] Harold R. Cook, *An Introduction to Christian Missions* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1971), 78-91.

[22] Cook, *An Introduction to Christian Missions*, 92-101. Jeter. 43-44.

[23] Morris Williams, *Declare His Righteousness* (Springfield, MO: Division of Foreign Missions, 1975), 64-65, 69-71.

responsibility (Romans 9: 30-33): to receive God's righteousness in faith, not human works. The predestined way to God has been established that all who believe are the elect of God, irrespective of race, color, or creed (Romans9:24-26).[24]

Barclay[25] relates how the father of a Roman family had absolute power over his children, even when they were full-grown and may have been employed in high positions of government. He then describes the Roman adoption process. In the buying back process, the adopted person finally has been sold to the new family for the third time. That time the "old family" no longer buys back the person. As a member of the new family all old debts and obligations were cancelled. Connections with the previous family were abolished completely and never brought to mind again. God has accomplished that feat for us through the atoning work of Jesus.

We are "adopted as sons" (Ephesians 1:5). The power of sin and of the world, and the mistakes of the past are completely wiped out. We are made new in Jesus Christ. We are made the righteousness of God through Jesus (2Corinthians 5:21). As adopted sons have the likeness of Christ, we will grow up into maturity as a perfect person in Christ (Ephesians 4:13). Our new life will be marked by righteousness and true holiness (Ephesians 4:24).

Some blessings of adoption include: His fatherly care (Luke 12:27-33); family love (John 13:35); father comfort (2 Corinthians 1:4): and a new family name (1 John 3:1). Some evidences of sonship of those adopted into God's family include: (1) being led by the Spirit (Romans 8:4); (2) having liberty of access to God (Ephesians 3:12); (3) having love for the brethren (1 John 2:9-11); and (4) having a child-like confidence in God (Galatians 4:5-6).

Hastings[26] concludes his comments on predestination:

> Men attending to the will of God revealed in His Word, and yielding obedience … may be assured of their eternal election. So shall this doctrine afford… praise, reverence, and

---

[24] Ibid., 68-71.

[25] William Barclay, *The Letter to the Galatians and Ephesians*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1976), 79-80.

[26] James Hastings, *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, II Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1973), 264.

admiration of God, and of humility, diligence, and consolation to all that sincerely obey the Gospel.

6. Summary Comments about Life in the Son

William W. Adams comments in the Introduction to Life in the Son[27] about Robert Shank's essays on the doctrine of perseverance of the saints and of the security of believers:

> There are certain people who should not read Life in the Son: People who have already decided what they intend to believe…. The book was not written for people with spring-trap minds that have already sprung. People who prefer to determine their doctrine from new proof texts and ignore or wrest other passages bearing on a given theme…. Pastors who never read except to gather material for next Sunday's sermon.

Shank[28] questions: Is it possible to know we are persevering? Can we know whether salvation is a present reality, rather than a vain assumption?" Answer (1 John 5:13): "Know that you have eternal life," because apart from Jesus there is no salvation.

We are assured of our salvation if we keep His Word; If we walk after the example of Jesus; If we love the Father rather than the world; If we practice righteousness rather than sin; If we love the brethren; If we are conscious of the indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit.[29]

Shank[30] with overwhelming detail in 367 pages, convincingly refutes the arbitrary consignment of some persons to perdition, while other individuals gain an unconditional choice of eternal salvation. One argument of supporting evidence has been stated in Appendix A entitled "New Testament Passages Establishing the Doctrine of Conditional Security, and a List of Passages Cited by [Lewis Sperry]

---

[27] Robert Shank, *Life in the Son* (Springfield, MO: Westcott Publishers, 1960), xiv-xv. William W. Adams was a professor at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky. Adams states "it would require months, even years, to prepare the average Baptist audience to face the flesh Biblical exegesis this book contains (xv).

[28] Ibid., 301.

[29] Ibid., 302-05

[30] Ibid., 333-37

Chafer as 'Misunderstood' by Arminians." Shank has paralleled a list of 85 passages establishing the doctrine of conditional security beside Chafer's list of 51 passages in support of the doctrine of unconditional security. Thus, a continuing conclusion throughout each chapter in Life in the Son: search the Word, don't rely on man's opinion.

All the glory and honor for saving mankind belongs to Jesus. Individuals thus saved need to show and demonstrate the glorious grace and mercy given them by Jesus. We who have trusted Him, have obtained a special inheritance set forth in the council of God before the world was created.[31] God has created us to be a radiant, praising church, without spot or wrinkle (Ephesians 5:27, 30). We are members of His body, His flesh and bones. As we praise Him and glorify God, we are reminded to be like Jesus in our ministry endeavors.

7.   Epilogue: Conditional Security through Decades of Change

Mary, our daughter Cindy, and I arrived in Metro Manila in August 1982 on the week to prepare for three classes at Far East Advanced School of Theology (FEAST, currently Asia Pacific Theological Seminary), settle ourselves into a new apartment, and begin the adjustment process in a new culture. The US Assemblies of God Far East Field Director Wesley Hurst, referring to the Educational program of FEAST in the Philippines stated, "We're preparing men to produce Pentecostal churches. We'll keep pushing upward academically, but we don't want to remove ourselves from where the people really need help."[32] His comment described the missionary attitude toward Bible education throughout the Philippines. Both American missionaries and national pastors enjoyed a parallel ministry of evangelism, teaching and church planting.

This joint ministry activity became firmly established on September 23, 1953 when the Philippines General Council of the Assemblies of God incorporated and registered with the securities and Exchange Commission. Reverend Rodrigo (Rudy) C. Esperanza was elected General Superintendent from 1953 to 1969. From 1961 – 1973

---

[31] Joseph S. Exell, *The Biblical Illustrator*, XIX (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1973), 54-61.

[32] Wesley Hurst, "Philippines Report: FEAST." The School of Missions (Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, Division of Foreign Missions, June 1976), 2. Notes and interview material received from Adele F. Dalton, July 1981.

the General Council met annually. By 1981 there were ten district councils, with one aim:

> To perpetuate the evangelistic fervor and missionary zeal with which the Pentecostal Movement was born. With the Holy Spirit's anointing (Act 1:8), nationals and missionaries, clergy and laity work together in winning the Philippines for God until Jesus comes.[33]

> General Superintendent Javier, speaking at the 1981 School of Missions stated these observations:
> [1] We are concerned with "Cross-cultural missions," not foreign Missions;
> [2] The missionary is responsible to the national church of which he is a part;
> [3] Let not the problem of mechanics overshadow your vision and your call;
> [4] Filipinos are personally oriented: Americans are principle oriented. Even with principles, mercy is needed.[34]

In spite of the scars of World War II still evident in the 1960s, the wind of the Pentecostal activity roared fervently in evangelistic open-air meetings, targeting the bigger cities. One significant attempt at evangelism resulted in the Manila '85 city-wide thrust. Many people were saved, but lack of follow-up resulted in excessive fallout of church growth possibilities. The lessons of Manila '85 increased the emphasis on holding revival meetings in small towns and in the barrios (suburbs) of larger cities.

One of the notable success stories of Manila '85 was the growth of the new work. Good news Assembly in Project 8, a Metro Manila suburb pastored by Reverend Eli Gaad.

---

[33] "Fortieth Foundation Year (1940-80)," The Philippines General Council of the Assemblies of God (Manila, Philippines, 1980), 4 Notes and interview material received from Adele F. Dalton, July 1981.

[34] Eleazer Javier, "Philippine Report, "School of Missions (Springfield, MO: Assembly of God, Division of Foreign Missions, June 12, 1981), 1. Superintendent Javier was elected General Superintendent of the PGCAG in 1979.

"The Filipinos' interest in the World intense," noted missionary Wesley Weekley, the evangelist who challenged the crowd for the opening two weeks of this crusade. "They are hungry for something, which we know to be Jesus. . . the middle-class people are now coming. They are here with serious needs. They want to hear how they can respond to God."[35]

Ten strategic areas in Manila were highlighted for evangelism and church planting with participation of approximately twenty Assemblies of God pastors. General Superintendent Cresencio Tandog commented: "We plan to have no less than 1,000 established A/G national churches by the end of the year. Currently, there are 800 national churches."[36]

"My idea," Missionary Dwight Palmquist emphasized, "is to start with a nucleous of believers in each location, rather than just buy a lot and set up a tent. We need to generate local support first, so from the beginning Manila '85 becomes their project. Thus the local church will become self-supporting as soon as possible."[37]

Reverend Evan Squires, A New Zealand A/G veteran missionary and associate pastor at the Asian Christian Charismatic Fellowship in Cubao Metro Manila said: "We can't use the standard format of service to attract people. They want more than a "hymn-prayer-sermon sandwich type of service. The Filipino wants to become involved from the pew. All the action cannot come only from the platform. The Filipino wants sharing and fellowshipping with the service.[38]

Thus, a move toward partnership ministry began to overtake the mechanics of parallel ministry activities. One of these trends was the regional development and outreach of Bethel
Bible College begun 1941, Immanuel Bible College founded in 1951, the Assemblies of God Bible Institute of Mindanao (later MRBC) organized in the 1960s, and the regional Bible Institute for the Deaf opened in 1970.

---

[35] Charles Clauser, "The Challenge of Manila," *Mountain Movers* (Springfield, MO: Division of Foreign Missions, November 1985), 10

[36] Manila '85 Means Church Planting," Unpublished Notes gathered by Charles Clauser, 1985.

[37] Manila '85, Clauser Notes.

[38] Manila '85, Clauser Notes.

By the early 90s, missionaries began to specialize in their contributions to the thrust of Filipino A/G ministry. Rather than performing a variety of duties, specific portfolios were developed. For example, one couple concentrated on upgrading the accounting procedures in Filipino and Asia Pacific Bible schools. Another missionary couple devoted their time primarily to health-care ministries. At least three missionaries followed a path of full-time evangelism and church planting. One couple began developing media ministries. This specialized ministry has resulted in several Philippines national pastors assuming leadership positions in Bible school management and auxiliary service development. One growth factor has been the increased number of Filipino missionaries being sent out by the PGCAG.

The age of the cell phone and Facebook plus other fast-track media services in this first decade of the 21st century have been a blessing for teaching the hearing impaired at the Bible
Institute for the Deaf. Computer use in the classroom by both teachers and students has been ushering in a higher level of proficiency in evangelism, church planting, Bible school teaching, and in compassion ministries for both deaf and hearing persons.

I believe the Philippine Assemblies of God will continue to bring abundant numbers of persons to Christ because of its pursuit of the Arminian interpretation practice of predestination throughout the last seven decades of its history. Less escape avenues exist in Arminianism for persons hesitating to make a commitment to accept the Lord's way of living. Filipinos, for example, need not hide behind cultural mores of a bahala na ("Happen what may" or "What will
 be, will be") attitude. Filipino pastors have definitely entered upon a stage of leadership ministry in the new century.

Arminianism allows persons the freedom to inquire of spiritual expression, but requires responsibility in pursuing a godly life. The Filipinos I know have risen to the predestined challenge of partnering with God and following the leading of the Holy Spirit in adequately fulfilling His desire for their life Ministry.

"YANKEE GO HOME!"
THE COGNITIVE SCIENCES AND IMPLICATIONS
FOR WESTERN-INFLUENCED THINKING AND THE
BRAIN-MIND-SOUL PROBLEM

Gary A. Long

Introduction[1]

I grew up in the Philippines. I was there in the 60s. I was there in the 70s. I was an American, and a lot of us were around. Vietnam was not far away, and the American bases of Clark Air Field and Subic Bay were strategic. My parents had little to do with that war. Their "war" was spiritual. They were missionaries.

A lot of us were around, enough to encounter protests rallied around a then-common theme: "Yankee Go Home!," "Imperialists Go Home!" As a young boy I remember our school bus cautiously driving through one freshly-ended rally. Through my window, I was looking at people not much older than I as they carried their expressive placards and banners. Some, noticing our busload primarily of white faces, yelled the slogans of those banners directly at us. I didn't understand. Imperialists? The Bataan Death March, Corregidor Island…those were the stories of Imperialism. General MacArthur, good on his promise, returned, crushing Imperialism. What was so bad about me, about America? We were the *heroes*. We now were the *helpers*. Why should they want *us* to leave?

The child on the bus didn't fully understand the complexities. A metaphor of distance was at play. Very little space separated my face

from those shouting at me—a lot unifies us humans in our encounter with the world. Yet a great divide stood between me and them—a great deal separates us, culture from culture, language from language.

Just why do I start with a story involving an American in a journal focused on Asia?[2] Like the Americans in the Philippines of my youth, we are a presence beyond our numbers. Like the moon in front of the sun, we cast a long shadow across the world. America is part of a North Atlantic Corridor (Europe, Canada, USA), an inheritor of over two millennia of deep philosophical and theological speculation involving Plato, Origen, and Descartes. And my critique extends to this inheritance and subsequent influence on so much of the world. *My real goal, though, is that you see that I'm actually speaking to all dispositions that uncritically privilege their cultures and understandings.*

Like Dorothy in *The Wizard of Oz*, we may all find ourselves exclaiming, "Toto, I've a feeling we're not in Kansas any more." We're not.

Several decades of increasing data and convergences within the many branches of the cognitive sciences appear to argue for us no longer being at the same-as-it-ever-was Kansas home. My own modest placement within the cognitive sciences is Cognitive Linguistics. What's at stake are some of the very foundations of the ways the Corridor, and all those influenced by it, have approached how we understand existence and how and what we can know. Longstanding foundations appear to be weakened, or at least up for serious reconsideration, in the light of certain data within the cognitive sciences.

Any question we ask and any answer we give is framed by *human* language and the *human* conceptual system. The journey in the years ahead must seek to understand, with as much *empirical* evidence as possible, how these operate. Such a journey's a quirky one. The running joke—though not everyone laughs—is that work in the cognitive sciences, especially within the cognitive science of

---

[2] Ma Wonsuk, Robert Menzies, and I, in the mid-80s sharing a single office in Manila, dreamed of starting this journal. Regrettably, we all shortly scattered to our respective doctoral educations. In the 90s Ma and others fulfilled the dream.

philosophy, is work proven by someone else to be absolutely wrong.[3] Such passionate disparity is understandable. We're talking about the *mind*. Something we perceive as special—this thing that makes us *human*—is largely unknown.

Methodologically, I defer to observable data. Though not unproblematic by any means, empiricism, in general, trumps, for me, a self-cohering philosophical system detached from scientific empiricism. We should not enter into investigations by advancing a priori claims about what science can and cannot tell us about human experience and understanding (Feldman 2008; Haack 1993; Kornblith 1999). Only by pursuing the science can we ever really know its limitations. Doing the science, though, can never or should ever be free of philosophical suppositions, but philosophical and theological explorations should not involve sweeping insular appeals to intuition or commonsense, devoid of a tethering to scientific data (Thompson 1995, 286). Admittedly, we're on perilous ground here. The thinking and talking needed to understand the mind is carried out by the very mind doing the thinking and talking. Can any such system transcend itself completely to critique itself sufficiently (Rolston III 2005, 21)? No inquiry is without a philosophical foundation. All science is situated, absolutely. Everyone knows the real challenge of investigation is not necessarily the data but their *interpretation*. But we should all be interested, as investigators, in arriving at "scientifically stable" notions. The sun, all will affirm, does not orbit around the earth. Humanity once thought differently, following their intuitions, perceptions, and theology. Such concepts, now banal, are "scientifically stable," a bit too late for Galileo's trial by the Church in 1633. What is stable in cognitive science? Very little. But this is where ever-increasing convergences from several disciplines shed light. We should strive to navigate our journey in the daylight of stable, responsible empiricism and self-critical cognitive science.

This is but the start of a voyage, and I think the distance to be traveled is far. But make no mistake, the anchor is lifted. The ship of our past likely cannot remain tethered to its safe and comfortable mooring. Whether we bought a ticket or feel thrown onboard against our will, we're all on a relatively new exploration with much to engage.

---

[3] Anthony Chemero humorously makes this point in a recent monograph, "Jerry Fodor is my favorite philosopher. I think that Jerry Fodor is wrong about nearly everything" (2009, ix).

The pages ahead are but a short excursion[4] and the sailing will not be smooth. Selectivity and my own flaw of not being able to do justice to a wide range of extremely complex fields within the constraints of this article, my own failure to say things simply while avoiding the shame of being simplistic, and, who knows, maybe your own unwillingness to critique your own views, all call out for choppy water and gales. If nothing else, I hope my words will start you on your own journey to consider the insights and implications from the cognitive sciences. They have my attention, but they need yours as well. Whether we know these related fields and contemplate implications, as Plato thought of his Forms, they nonetheless exist, and the insights and challenges they represent need plenty of attention.

I hope the vistas are engaging and worthwhile as we travel through the following ports-of-call:

- ☙ WHAT COGNITIVE SCIENCE IS SHOWING US: UNIVERSALS AND NON-UNIVERSALS
- ☙ COGNITIVE SCIENCES' CHALLENGE TO MILLENNIA OF CORRIDOR-INFLUENCED THOUGHT AND THEOLOGY
- ☙ IMPLICATIONS FOR THE BRAIN-MIND-SOUL PROBLEM

What Cognitive Science is Showing Us: Universals and Non-Universals

- ☙ THE MIND IS EMBODIED IN AN EMBEDDED BODY
- ☙ THOUGHT IS MOSTLY NON-CONSCIOUS
- ☙ HUMANS UNDERSTAND THE WORLD CONCEPTUALLY AND THE ABSTRACT THROUGH CONCEPTUAL INTEGRATION AND LARGELY THROUGH METAPHOR

These three statements—a triumvirate—increasingly appear to be fundamental universals across humanity, thanks to the cognitive sciences. We look at them in turn.[5]

---

[4] The full journey is being detailed in a monograph I'm presently writing, *"Yankee Go Home": Implications of the Cognitive Sciences for Western-Influenced Thought and Theology.*

[5] I am influenced here by Chemero 2009; Clark 2008; Edelman 2006; Fauconnier and Turner 2002; Hanna and Maiese 2009; Lakoff and Johnson 1999; and Verela et al. 1991.

The Embedded Body's Embodied Mind

The *mind* is embodied. The *brain*, of course, is embodied—no one denies that—but I'm not here talking about the *brain*. I'm talking about the *mind*. The *brain* produces the mind, and the "wiring" of the former is fused to human sensorimotor phenomena—what we sense and how we move.

The *body* is embedded. Our bodies are situated in a specific environment, influencing it and being influenced by it. This mutual contact defines our respective econiche. Our human bodies, along with our brains, have evolved within a long sequence of such niches (Boyd and Richerson 2005). Humans are humans because of their embodied minds in econiche-embedded bodies.

But all this, especially the *mind* as embodied, flies in the face of over two millennia of commonsensical thinking in the Corridor.

Consider what you may see as commonsense about your mind. I see mine as something separate from me, something I access to think and understand. I'm not quite sure whether I see it having a location. I sometimes envision it working within my head, but my mind also somehow transcends such localization. The mind is *just there*, and I think of it as something I *just have* that's not quite physically linked to me. My mind has a certain autonomy about it, or so it seems to me.

But growing evidence suggests that every human mind resides embodied within an embedded body, inescapably so. One means of conveying this idea is that our *per*ceptions play a central role in our *con*ceptions. We seem to understand correctly that *per*ception is embodied, fused to senses and body movement and brains. But concepts have been seen as independent of embodiment. To be sure, mind-independent phenomena occur all around us, but to comprehend them, we use an *embodied* mind in an *embedded* body.

Our vista here looks selectively at but one of many concepts that demonstrate embodiment: basic-level categorization.

Basic-Level Categorization

Functional neural beings categorize. They cannot not categorize.

My son, a few years back, carried out some research at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The lab was looking at the mechanism for how the Hawaiian bobtail squid screens for, categorizes particular symbiotic bacteria. And even amoeba distinguish between food and non-food.

Take the human brain. They say we have 10^{12} neurons. Information passes from one neural circuit to another often through a numerically-meager set of connections. The pattern of neural activation of one bundle often cannot map in a one-to-one correspondence to another. The meager set of connections thus groups certain input patterns to map them over to an output. Whenever a pattern of neural activity produces the same output from different inputs, neural categorization has occurred. For example, let's say you are in a room as you read this. Look up at one wall. What you experience is registering or "firing" in your brain as a pattern of neural activity. Now turn to another wall. Is the input identical? No, you're looking at another wall and you're experiencing the room differently. But the output can be the same. You can process two different inputs and output them as a single conceptual category, 'room.' This is human categorization happening where it actually happens—at the level of neural activity.

It just seems natural, doesn't it, that the categories we have in our minds fit the categories out there in the world? The conceptual category of 'cat' simply fits the pet I have. 'Russian Blue' is a type of 'cat,' and 'cat' is a type of 'animal.' I see it there in the world. What could be clearer?

One reason we feel our categories fit the world is that humans have seemingly developed one important class of categories to understand, categorize the world's physical objects: basic-level categories (Rosch and others 1976; Rosch 1978; Mervis and Rosch 1981). Again, we are here, and for the next several paragraphs, talking about physical objects in the world.

Take the following vertical category bundles:

SUPERORDINATE	*animal*	*fruit*
BASIC LEVEL	***cat***	***apple***
SUBORDINATE	*Russian Blue*	*Fuji*

Cat and *apple* are examples of the *basic-level* horizontal category (stratum) among their respective vertical category members. Empirical evidence suggests that this level of categorization is *cognitively basic* and is rooted to aspects of our mind-embodied embeddedness.

This basic level, generated by humans themselves, seemingly is distinguished from others, in part, by such aspects as motor programming, holistic perception, mental images, and knowledge structure (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 27; Rosch and others 1976; Mervis and Rosch 1981, 92; Lakoff 1987, 47). (1) Humans apparently

consider similar motor programming a hallmark for identifying basic-level categorization of physical objects. Such motor movement is not available at the superordinate level. We all have specific motor programs for interacting with apples (polishing, holding in one hand, very open mouth, forceful teeth closure) and bananas (holding in one hand, peeling with a second, rounded mouth, soft teeth closure). *Apples* and *bananas* function as basic-level items. We do not have a motor program for interacting with *fruit*, a superordinate. (2) Holistic perception characterizes a basic level—a shape or material composition of the object—but not a superordinate. This trait and the next one (single image) seem to demonstrate that basic-level categories are *maximally contrastive* and *informative*. I say "apple," and you can envision an overall apple shape. I say "banana," and your mind likely has generated its profile. Apples and bananas have a high contrast between them. Each one's overall shape is maximally informative of each. I say "fruit," though, and you have no overall shape you can assign to this generality. For some cultures material composition of the object seems to play a more important role than shape (Lucy 2004). (3) An object where one single *image* is able to reflect an *entire* category is a basic-level member. We cannot produce a single *image* for all fruit, but we can for apples, bananas, and mangoes. (4) Most of our knowledge of physical objects seems to be organized around the basic level. This level appears to be established first in language development (Mervis and Rosch 1981, 93). When asked to spontaneously name objects, adults and young children commonly call out what we're here identifying as the basic level. The words themselves tend to be linguistically unmarked, commonly used in normal, everyday conversations (Cruse 1977). In American Sign Language, single signs generally denote this basic level, while super- and subordinate categories routinely have multiple sign sequences (Newport and Bellugi 1978).

What is universal and non-universal in such categorization? The particular *content* of a category is not universal. Arriving at categories is (1) an interaction of a human with real world objects and (2) the knowledge a human has of an object in relation to other objects. The relations and structures involved in such understanding differ among people groups.

So, *content* is not universal, but the *principle* of category formation appears to be so, and with it, the formation of a basic level. Though specific content differs, humans seem to have arrived upon a basic-level category for physical objects (Rosch and others 1976).

The phenomenon of the basic level appears also to apply to things *non-physical*, though not likely for the exact same reasons. Here, more work is needed, but we can point to such phenomena as the linguistic phoneme and linguistic unmarkedness vs. markedness as examples. Additionally, we seem to think in terms of basic-level motor programming for which we have holistic perception and images such as running, walking, swimming; basic-level socialization like clubs, teams, families; even basic-level emotion: anger, happiness, sadness (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 29).

So what? What are the implications of basic-level categorization? Lakoff and Johnson take us through some:

> First, the division between basic-level and nonbasic-level categories is body-based…. Because of this, classical metaphysical realism [categories match the world as is] cannot be right, since the properties of categories are mediated by the body rather than determined directly by the mind-independent reality…. Second, the basic level is that level at which people interact optimally with their environments, given the kinds of bodies and brains they have and the kinds of environments they inhabit…. Third, basic-level categorization tells us why metaphysical realism makes sense for so many people…[it] seems to work primarily at the basic level. (1999, 28-29)

If our excursion did not have to be so brief, we would also take the time to consider vision and bodily motion and orientation. Suffice it to say that there are *mind-independent* realia—reflectance, light waves, things located in relation to other things, and much more—but to comprehend them, all humans use an *embodied* mind in an *embedded* body. In short, the old adage "Seeing is believing" is more correctly "Seeing is (what the brain is) believing (it is seeing)." We would also consider the linguistic phenomenon of aspect (Narayanan 1997) and a neurophysical one that further suggest the mind's embodiment: mirror neurons (Rizzolatti and Craighero 2004; Pelphrey, Morris, and Mccarthy 2004; Iacobonhl and others 2005; Ramachandran 2008; Rizzolatti and Sinigaglia 2008).[6]

---

[6] First discovered in monkeys and then in humans, mirror neurons fire when a subject (1) performs object-oriented movement or (2) observes another doing so. Mirror neurons are part of the neurophysiology seemingly involved in understanding another's actions, for grasping intentions, predicting what others will do. They are involved not only in the motion of an object but with the motivation behind it.

Thought is Mostly Nonconscious

Thought is mostly nonconscious. This is the second of the triumvirate. Cognitive nonconsciousness refers to those cognitive processes that operate without our general awareness, often inaccessible to consciousness or happening far too quickly to comprehend.

A cup of tea strikes us as a singular item, but neurophysiology has forced us to recognize our error: the shape of the cup, its rim, its base; the cup's thickness, quality, and opacity; its situatedness; the tea's color; its aroma; its taste; the cup's initial and ever-lessening weight; the hand's reach; the fingers' positions, and so on. Consciously the cup of tea is singular while nonconsciously it's many things. Look at a picture of that special someone in your life. The two-dimensional arrangement of colors has little in common with the real person, but through a brain and its development, you construct an identity between the picture and the person. Because the brain accounts for this instantly and nonconsciously—in that you're not aware of the processes—we tend to think that the *picture* is giving off meaning, when actually meaning is being constructed by astoundingly complex cognitive processes in our brain (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 5). Consider all the stuff that's behind what you think about something, what you "instinctively" do. You're conscious of many things, but there's a driving force beneath it all. How we account for things as singular or identifiable or coherent, when they are in reality so many different processes at the nonconscious level, is one of the central challenges of cognitive neuroscience. It's the *binding problem*. The nonconscious processes occur in different locations, and no single site in the brain seems to bring them all together. Yet, consciously, there is singularity, identity, and coherence.

That's cognitive nonconsciousness, and it's ballparked to make up roughly 90-95% of human thought. Think of a nicely packaged trinket at a retail store. The nonconscious is the very complex processes involved in producing and delivering that trinket there. All you really notice is the beautiful item—the conscious. An extremely involved nonconscious, though, has delivered it to you.

Humans Understand the World Conceptually and the Abstract through
Conceptual Integration and Largely through Metaphor

Out of the 70s came an important and influential study, popularizing the growing discipline of Cognitive Linguistics, *Metaphors We Live By* (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Lakoff and Johnson claimed, firstly, that metaphor permeates ordinary, everyday language (hence, metaphors *we live by*). Metaphor is not simply rhetorical flare. Secondly, metaphor in everyday language is not just a way of speaking, but a mode of *thought*. Metaphoric expressions trigger concepts that are themselves structured in terms of metaphor. Thirdly, metaphors of daily life display a highly coherent system of thinking about the concept the metaphor prompts.

Much Lakoff-influenced work talks of basic or primary *conceptual metaphors*, those at the heart of how a language group thinks and understands, and it argues that metaphor is essential to abstract thought. In short, metaphor reigns supreme.

Metaphor is extremely important, but it likely doesn't reign *supreme* in cognition, at least judging from the recent landscape of Cognitive Linguistics.[7] Metaphor now seems to be but an instance (albeit extremely common!) of *conceptual integration/blending*, the highly imaginative integration of concepts crucial to even the simplest of thought processes (Fauconnier and Turner 2002; Grady, Oakley, and Coulson 1999; Taylor 2002).

We often say that words carry meaning, words convey what we mean, we put meaning into our words. Ever-more-known human cognitive processes, however, suggest that "[l]anguage does not carry meaning, it *guides* it" (Fauconnier 1994, xxii). Language is code that accesses the riches of our mind's layers of conceptual processes, prompting us to construct meaning. The meaning we attain draws on our (physical, social, linguistic, cultural, etc.) embeddedness. The *minimal* code that is language prompts vast networks of mind-resident conceptions, and those mind-resident conceptions are largely the product of our embodied minds in our embedded bodies interacting with(in) our embeddedness.

Vast and deep mechanisms of nonconscious thought and conceptual blends universally drive human consciousness (Fauconnier

---

[7] Taylor offers a brief review (2002, 519-535). Quite telling also is how little attention Langacker, a father-figure in Cognitive Linguistics, gives to metaphor in his recent summative work (2008).

and Turner 2002, v). Equally universal is the human biology and embeddedness to produce conceptual blends, but many of the particular blends are not universal. The particularities of our embeddedness produce scores of non-universal conceptualizations, which, again, are driven primarily by *non*conscious yet learned blends or integrations.

Understanding the world through this type of conceptualization, though, is not held by all. A *platonic* disposition views meaning as independent of the mind and the human, disembodied. *Objectivist* inclinations, in part, identify meaning closely with a sentence and with a set of conditions that show the sentence to be true. Such *truth conditions* reflect the world as it objectively is, irrespective of how a human may conceptualize it. This essay, and much of the work in the cognitive sciences and especially Cognitive Linguistics, stands in sharp contrast. Though we push the horizons continually, a firm understanding of how conceptions are neurologically implemented remains a horizon yet to be reached. But the path now seems to suggest, in the words of Langacker, that "conceptions evoked as linguistic meanings are *nontransparent*: they do not simply reflect or correspond to the world in a wholly straightforward manner, nor are they derivable in any direct or automatic way from objective circumstances" (2008, 35). As we continue to ponder how humans understand, we must finally recognize not only conceptualization but the sheer pervasiveness of the imaginative mechanism of *conceptual blending* for meaning.

Cognitive Sciences' Challenge to Millennia of Corridor-Influenced Thought and Theology

It's now time to consider what the first part of this journey means for Corridor-influenced thought and how philosophical and theological streams within have approached what and how we can know. Our port-of-call is brief, so brief, in fact, we will not leave the ship, but from its deck only point out a general lie of the land and a few prominent features.

Plato

I think we can identify a couple vertebrae of the backbone of Plato's views on knowledge (Taylor 2008).

☜ FORM TAKES CENTER STAGE

Humans experience the world, which is material and ever-changing, as a shadow of something higher, unchanging, and

immaterial. Casting this shadow, for Plato, is a special category of entity, *Form* (*eidos* and *idea*). The information we have about things in the world comes from our senses, and such information changes. It is not stable and cannot be real knowledge. One must discover the unchanging. These are Plato's Forms, and they are the basic things of All-That-Is, mind-independent, existing whether known or not, and knowable only by the mind. A Form, in part, is "divine, immortal, intelligible, uniform, indissoluble, unvarying, and constant in relation to itself" (*Phaedo* 80b). They do not become, they simply are and are shared by the world's objects (*Timaeus* 27d3-28a3), defining the nature of objects. His Allegory of the Cave in *Republic* VII is, of course, his most famous conceptualization of these things.

❧ KNOWLEDGE IS ACHIEVABLE A PRIORI, BY CRITICAL REFLECTION

While arguing for the preexistence of soul in *Phaedo*, Socrates, the voice of Ideal Philosopher, says the following, "And so we must have got pieces of knowledge of all those things ["what it is" = All-That-Is] before birth" (*Phaedo* 74d-75d).

The mind already possesses understanding of the sense-perceived objects of the world. Knowledge is attained *a priori*. Empirical data appear to play second violin.

For Plato, there is an intelligible world and a visible one. The latter provides no perfect or unchanging object for a correct understanding, though it has some share with the intelligible world. The world of the senses, though, is not properly intelligible. Forms in the intelligible world, as stable and unchanging, are knowable. The goal of query, in part, is to achieve a systematic understanding, principally a priori, of those objects, reality's intelligible principles (Taylor 2008, 188).

Origen

In the Greek-speaking Christian world, Origen's influence likely stands alone. God was a "first principle" revealed through lower levels of reality. God, or the divine "One," produced the Word (*logos*), the collective world of intelligibles and archetype for the lower levels of reality (Kenney 1999). Origen was driven to describe a coherent, harmonious universe, provided by a loving God who, after first inviting the Word to join in contemplation, invited all rational beings to do the same.

Origen eloquently discusses the mind's disembodiment, though he acknowledges "material intermixture" (*First Principles* I.1.6), since only the One is free of the material world:

> Now mind does not need physical space in which to move and operate…nor anything else…which are suitable to bodies and matter. Accordingly that simple and wholly mental existence can admit no delay or hesitation in any of its movements or operations;… That mind needs no space in which to move according to its own nature is certain even from the evidence of our own mind…. [T]here is a certain affinity between the mind and God, of whom the mind is an intellectual image, and that by reason of this fact the mind, especially if it is purified and separated from bodily matter, is able to have some perception of the divine nature. (*First Principles* I.1.6-7)

Descartes

Confident of their views and heralding them as Truth, European religious thinkers during most of Descartes' life threw Europe into a maelstrom of persecution against each other—the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). With each claiming knowledge and killing to uphold it, how could one not become skeptical of the processes for knowing? There had to be a better way to know, and Descartes wished to find it. In the wake of de Montaigne, who argued that humans could not know with certainty, Descartes, starting with that very skepticism, argued that one could confidently know. Doubt, for Descartes, led to knowledge. And self, the *thinking* I, stood at the center of being able to know.

The senses could be unreliable, argued Descartes, thus trustworthy knowledge could not be gained solely through them. Even hard-to-doubt experiences, such as, in his own example, sitting near a fire in a winter dressing gown holding on to a sheet of paper were questionable. Such an experience could, after all, be imagination, as in a dream. In the face of possible uncertainty all around, one thing remained certain, argued Descartes. He himself *existed*, "I am, I exist" (*Meditation* 2), and even more, he himself was *thinking*, "I think, therefore I am" or "Insofar as I am a thinking person, I exist" ("*cogito ergo sum*," *Meditation* 4). Descartes affirmed that he possessed one certain piece of knowledge: he *existed* and his existence was defined by *thinking*.

For Descartes, the body was merely physical, but the *cogito* was a process beyond the physical body. The physical body could be doubted,

but not the *cogito*. "I readily discover that there is nothing more easily or clearly apprehended than my own mind" (*Meditation* 2). The well-known Cartesian mind-body dualism was thus set in place, and by the *cogito*—the "I" thinking about all it is and all that is—in isolation from an unreliable world, Descartes believed he could excavate to the bedrock of what could be reliably known.

A thread of irony weaves itself through this. All this "certainty," so Lakoff and Johnson argue, is built on and unified through multiple figurative conceptual blends (1999, 391-414). Figurative ideas lie at the heart, primary among them: OBJECTS ARE IDEAS and KNOWING IS SEEING. Figuration in no way, by *itself*, invalidates Descartes' thinking. One of the triumvirs of this article, after all, affirms that most abstract thinking is achieved through figurative conceptual blending, that is, metaphor. The irony is that so much positivist and objectivist thinking argues that the realm of the figurative is a stain on the cloth of knowledge.

Implications for the Brain-Mind-Soul Problem

It began in earnest among the Presocratics and has remained a foundation within the Corridor ever since: the mind trying to understand existence. The whole of Descartes' views has, for some time now, functioned as a straw man for most everyone. Hardly anyone says they adhere fully to a Cartesian view of reality. But aspects of his legacy remain alive and vibrant.

- THE MIND CAN KNOW ITS OWN IDEAS WITH CERTAINTY
- ALL THOUGHT IS CONSCIOUS
- THE MIND'S STRUCTURE IS DIRECTLY ACCESSIBLE TO ITSELF
- EMPIRICAL RESEARCH IS UNNECESSARY TO ESTABLISH CERTAIN KNOWLEDGE OF THE MIND

Indeed, these Descartes-inspired foundational pillars (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 396-397) still support some Anglo-American analytic and formalist philosophical traditions and modernist inclinations within Evangelical theology. Reason and rational thought remain for these traditions an unencumbered route to knowing what is true. The pillars help support a number of well-entrenched North Atlantic Corridor ideas, articulated by Lakoff (1987, 9):

- MEANING IS BASED ON TRUTH AND REFERENCE; IT CONCERNS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SYMBOLS AND THINGS IN THE WORLD
- THE MIND IS SEPARATE FROM, AND INDEPENDENT OF, THE BODY

✑ REASON IS TRANSCENDENTAL, IN THAT IT TRANSCENDS—GOES BEYOND—THE WAY HUMAN BEINGS, OR ANY OTHER KINDS OF BEINGS, HAPPEN TO THINK

✑ THERE IS A CORRECT, GOD'S EYE VIEW OF THE WORLD—A SINGLE CORRECT WAY OF UNDERSTANDING WHAT IS AND IS NOT TRUE

✑ ALL PEOPLE THINK USING THE SAME CONCEPTUAL SYSTEM

The connection of these ideas with the Corridor is not lost on critical thinkers not from there. To many within the Corridor, these ideas are how and what humans everywhere know or *should know*. To many outside the Corridor, these ideas are not simply the *apparition* of colonialist thinking, but a tangible, almost physical expression of it. The insights of my colleague at Bethel, Victor Ezigbo, a Nigerian-born, Corridor-educated theologian are noteworthy:

> Twenty–first century Christianity is desperately in need of a new theological landscape. The existing (old) landscape—Western theological communities—can no longer withstand the theological pressure coming from the non–Western communities… African theological communities and other theological communities emerging from Asia and Latin America represent the new landscape. In the old theological terrain, white supremacy enjoys an elevated status. In the new, the supremacy of Jesus Christ will overthrow white supremacy. In the old, rationality functions as the most important theological test. When a theology fails it or ignores it, such a theology is construed as invalid and must be discarded. In the new, particularly in the African context, rationality is simply a cognitive vehicle for expressing a theological content and not a test for theology. *In the old, Western theologians see themselves as custodians of theological truths and relegate all non–Western theologians suspicious of their theological presumptions to the periphery of the Christian theological map. In the new, all theological communities enjoy the same status as truth seekers* [emphasis mine]. All communities have the same freedom to contribute to and critique the already existing theologies. As Kevin Vanhoozer has argued: "The recovery of Christian humility in the West—not least among systematic theologians!—may be just the beginning of a new phase of theological wisdom informed by the attempt of Christian disciples in a variety of cultures and settings to follow the way of Jesus Christ." (Ezigbo 2010)

A major point of this article is suggesting that empirical evidence from the cognitive sciences seems to be undermining some longstanding, prominent streams within Western understandings of human thinking, especially various analytic and modernist points of view, indeed, postmodern ones as well. To rehearse:

❧ THE MIND WITH ITS THINKING PROCESSES AND CONCEPTS IS EMBODIED IN AN EMBEDDED BODY

There seems to be no realm of disembodied senses and direct or disembodied relationships between human senses and the objects, the phenomena, and the categories in the world. The brain, sitting in the body, interacting with its environment, gives rise to how and what we know. Meanings that are universal, the universal capacity for figurative conceptual blending, universal basic-level concepts, and other universals seem to arise, in part, from the universality of human sensorimotor systems. The commonalities of human bodies and brains and experiences make much meaning public (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 463). Yet, the particularities of human embeddedness produce scores of non-universal meanings and conceptualizations.

This tenet within cognitive science goes a long way to drying out some postmodern streams that advocate the extreme relativity of concepts and meaning. Their point is that meaning has no universals, and any one meaning has no privilege. They're right, in part, but those views have overreached. Cognitive science, especially linguistics, appears to be showing that many meanings and concepts can and do change over time and differ across languages and cultures. There is relativism. But there are universals, widespread throughout humanity and linked with common sensorimotor systems.

❧ THOUGHT IS MOSTLY NONCONSCIOUS

Thought is not all or even mostly conscious. It is mostly nonconscious. *A priori* knowledge is thus not a reliable gauge of what we know. It doesn't see and therefore doesn't take into account the iceberg's underwater world, not perceived by the onlooker.

❧ HUMANS UNDERSTAND THE WORLD CONCEPTUALLY AND THE ABSTRACT THROUGH CONCEPTUAL INTEGRATION AND LARGELY THROUGH METAPHOR

That humans try to understand the abstract largely through figurative conceptual blends or metaphors is the damning irony for many analytic and formalist streams of thought. Concepts are

supposed to be nonfigurative, understood by an objective, mind-independent reality. Such philosophical and theological positions are, in general, blind to the large-scale imaginative processes involved in their positions of knowledge, operating at unobservable speeds and largely in the nonconscious.

Where to now? More in line with some emphases within naturalized epistemology, perhaps we should pursue more empirically responsible philosophy and theology, as I said at the start. No inquiry is without a philosophical foundation, and theological conceptualizations affect the theologian. All science is situated, absolutely. But we should all be interested, as investigators, in arriving at "scientifically stable" notions.

That's easier said than done for a person of faith. *Embodiment*, whether embodied cognitive science or embodied philosophy and the like, affirms that the embodied mind is responsible for our conceptions, and empirical evidence is how we best continue to understand ourselves. A natural trajectory, not unlike one associated with evolutionary theory, has little room for notions of 'transcendence,' 'soul,' a 'divine Being,' and other as-yet non-empirically observable concepts. Lakoff and Johnson's "enfleshed," embodied philosophy and cognitive science clearly articulates what seems to be a natural conclusion of embodiment, and it's sobering news:

> Your body is not, and could not be, a mere vessel for a disembodied mind. The concept of a mind separate from the body is a metaphorical concept….
>
> All this matters vitally in the realm of spiritual and religious life. What we have called variously the Subject or the disembodied mind is called in various religious traditions the Soul or Spirit. In spiritual traditions around the world, the Soul is conceptualized as the locus of consciousness, subjective experience, moral judgment, reason, will, and, most important, one's essence, that which makes a person who he or she is….
>
> Whether you call it mind or Soul, anything that both thinks and is free-floating is a myth. It cannot exist. (1999, 561-563)

The challenges associated with the growing (confirming and conflicting) empirical evidence within the cognitive sciences are immense. We can be neither the proverbial ostrich with head in ground nor Tomás de Torquemada, the grand Spanish inquisitor, about these significant developments.

So here's where a lot of thought is needed among us scholars with faith. Does dualism remain a viable disposition for understanding humanity and God? Is reductive physicalism a viable disposition for understanding humanity and God? Is "physicalism" to be understood as "eliminativism"—only physically existing entities are real? Or is "physicalism" to be understood as ultimately physical or material explanations lying behind how and what humans know? A great deal needs rethinking and rewriting. Indeed, we're in the middle of it, with a remarkable array of positions between the two extremes: substance dualism (Swinburne 2007), emergent dualism (Hasker 1999; 2004), constitutional materialism (Rudder Baker 2011), nonreductive physicalism (Murphy 2006), etc. As I pen these words, my own hunch is that we should recognize the brain as a central mechanism for the whole body interacting within its econiche embeddedness and that such a position can and does lie within a reductive physicalism (= physical/material explanations), which I find more embracing of the role of econiche embeddedness than acknowledged by its detractors. Those closest to this reductionism who nonetheless create the striation of a nonreductive physicalism—the brain is necessary for the mind but not sufficient because, they argue, social and environmental contexts are not accounted for in reductionism (Murphy and Brown 2007)—are perhaps, if I may draw on imagery from my archaeological background, interpreting in the balk wall a stratum that need not be there, judging from the chorus of *neuroscientist* voices (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 109-115, especially 112).[8] Whatever the case, how such questions are answered will or should inform practical concerns of missiology,[9] counseling, and the like.

Separating material from immaterial within a human has for millennia underpinned how influential thought has understood humanity. This, in the end, may be (remain) the best response. But in the meantime, might it not be best to consider what dualism has always been—a theory—one that has described a variety of religious experiences and one that, perhaps for now in the minds of many people of faith, accounts for them more adequately than physicalist alternatives? Might it also not be best, for the moment, not to assert that physicalism will never adequately explain humanity vis-à-vis God? I'm

[8] I will in time discover whether I will agree with myself as I continue to work on these issues.

[9] "Saving (nonfigurative) souls" has guided many a mission away from humanitarian/physical emphases.

not sure we theologians, philosophers, even cognitive scientists so well understand the sciences' developmental trajectory to declare physicalism insufficient. Indeed, as never before we need to be working hand in hand. We have much to learn, and no one yet is likely in a position to know definitively the best response.

Bon Voyage

The spirit of "Yankee Go Home" in those demonstrators of my youth was the feeling of being overwhelmed, swallowed up by, and beholden to outsiders, others. In the heat of the riot, yes, they wanted the Yankee to leave, to go home. In calmer reflection, demonstrators wanted the Yankee to treat them as equals, as genuine global partners. The Corridor has indeed cast and continues to cast a long shadow on much of the world. But the cognitive sciences seem to be common ground for helping us all understand our universality, our cultural peculiarities, for confronting dispositions that uncritically privilege cultures and understandings, and sorting through our humanity and connection with God. The cognitive sciences are giving a world without borders much to contemplate. Ahead lie those journeys. *Bon voyage.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Boyd, Robert and Peter J. Richerson. 2005. *The origin and evolution of cultures.* Evolution and cognition. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Chemero, Anthony. 2009. *Radical embodied cognitive science.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Clark, Andy. 2008. *Supersizing the mind: Embodiment, action, and cognitive extension.* Philosophy of mind. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cruse, D. A. 1977. "The pragmatics of lexical specificity." *Journal of Linguistics* 13, no. 2: 153-164.

Edelman, Gerald M. 2006. *Second nature: Brain science and human knowledge.* New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press.

Ezigbo, Victor. 2010. "Christian theology and its changing face: Theological implications of the shift in Christianity's centre of gravity from the West to the non-Western world." unpublished paper.

Fauconnier, Gilles. 1994. *Mental spaces: Aspects of meaning construction in natural language.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Fauconnier, Gilles and Mark Turner. 2002. *The way we think: Conceptual blending and the mind's hidden complexities.* New York, New York: Basic Books.

Feldman, Richard. 2008. "Naturalized epistemology." In *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy*, ed. Edward N. ZaltaURL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2008/entries/epistemology-naturalized/>.

Grady, Joseph E., Todd Oakley, and Seana Coulson. 1999. "Blending and metaphor." In *Metaphor in cognitive linguistics*, ed. Gerard J. Steen, 101-124. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Benjamins.

Haack, Susan. 1993. *Evidence and inquiry: Towards reconstruction in epistemology.* Oxford; Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.

Hanna, Robert and Michelle Maiese. 2009. *Embodied minds in action*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hasker, William. 2004. "Emergent dualism: Challenge to a materialist consensus." In *What about the soul? Neuroscience and Christian anthropology*, ed. Joel B. Green, 101-116. Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon Press.

———. 1999. *The emergent self.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Iacobonhl, Marco, Istvan Molnar-Szakacs, Vittorio Gaiiese, Giovanni Buccino, John C. Mazziotta, and Giacomo Rizzolatti. 2005. "Grasping the intentions of others with one's own mirror neuron system." *PLoS Biology* 3, no. 3: 529-535.

Kenney, John Peter. 1999. "The Greek tradition in early Christian philosophy." In *The Columbia history of western philosophy*, ed. Richard H. Popkin, 118-127. New York: Columbia University Press.

Kornblith, Hilary. 1999. "In defense of a naturalized epistemology." In *The Blackwell guide to epistemology*, ed. John Greco and Ernest Sosa, 158-169. Malden, Massachusetts; Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Lakoff, George. 1987. *Women, fire, and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind.* Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson. 1999. *Philosophy in the flesh: The embodied mind and its challenge to western thought.* New York, New York: Basic Books.

———. 1980. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Langacker, Ronald W. 2008. *Cognitive grammar: A basic introduction.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Lucy, John A. 2004. "Language, culture, and mind in comparative perspective." In *Language, culture and mind*, ed. Michel Achard and Suzanne Kemmer, 1-22. Stanford, California: CSLI Publications.

Mervis, Carolyn B. and Eleanor Rosch. 1981. "Categorization of natural objects." *Annual Review of Psychology* 32: 89-115.

Murphy, Nancey. 2006. Bodies and souls, or spirited bodies?. *Current issues in theology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Murphy, Nancey C. and Warren S. Brown. 2007. *Did my neurons make me do it?: Philosophical and neurobiological perspectives on moral responsibility and free will.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Narayanan, Srinivas. 1997. "Knowledge-based action representation for metaphor and aspect (KARMA)." PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley.

Newport, Elissa L. and Ursula Bellugi. 1978. "Linguistic expression of category levels in a visual-gestural language: A flower is a flower is a flower." In *Cognition and categorization*, ed. Eleanor Rosch and Barbara B. Lloyd, 49-77. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Pelphrey, Kevin A., James P. Morris, and Gregory Mccarthy. 2004. "Grasping the intentions of others: The perceived intentionality of an action influences activity in the superior temporal sulcus during social perception." *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* 16, no. 10: 1706-1716.

Ramachandran, Vilayanur S. 2008. "Reflecting on the mind." *Nature* 452, no. 7189: 814-815.

Rizzolatti, Giacomo and Laila Craighero. 2004. "The mirror-neuron system." *Annual Review of Neuroscience* 27, no. 1: 169-192 + C1-4.

Rizzolatti, Giacomo and Corrado Sinigaglia. 2008. Further reflections on how we interpret the actions of others. *Nature* 455, no. 7213: 589-589.

Rolston III, Holmes. 2005. "Genes, brains, minds: The human complex." In *Soul, psyche, brain: New directions in the study of religion and brain-mind science*, ed. Kelly Bulkeley, 10-35. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rosch, Eleanor. 1978. "Principles of categorization." In *Cognition and categorization*, ed. Eleanor Rosch and Barbara B. Lloyd, 27-48. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Rosch, Eleanor, Carolyn B. Mervis, Wayne D. Gray, David M. Johnson, and Penny Boyes-Braem. 1976. "Basic objects in natural categories." *Cognitive Psychology* 8, no. 3: 382-439.

Rudder Baker, Lynne. 2011. "Christian materialism in a scientific age." *International Journal for Philosophy of Religion* 69, (accessed 03 April 2011).

Swinburne, Richard. 2007. *The evolution of the soul*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Taylor, C. C. W. 2008. "Plato's epistemology." In *The Oxford handbook of Plato*, ed. Gail Fine, 165-190. New York: Oxford University Press.

Taylor, John R. 2002. *Cognitive grammar*. Oxford textbooks in linguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thompson, Evan. 1995. *Colour vision: A study in cognitive science and the philosophy of perception*. Philosophical issues in science. London; New York: Routledge.

Varela, Francisco J., Evan Thompson, and Eleanor Rosch. 1991. *The embodied mind: Cognitive science and human experience*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

CONVERGENCE: BEGINNINGS IN THE CEBUANO
ASSEMBLIES OF GOD

Narciso C. Dionson

There is a tide in the affairs of men.
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.
On such a full sea are we now afloat,
And we must take the current when it serves,
Or lose our ventures.
(William Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, Act 4, Scene 3)

Not by might, nor by power but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.
Zechariah 4:6

When Jordan Abellano was a student at Far East Advanced School of Theology in the 1980's, he asked Trinidad Seleky about the history of the Assemblies of God in the Visayas, she replied, "You guys need to submit your own part of history then give it to me."[1]

Neither Jordan Abellano nor his teacher ever got around to update her history of the Philippines General Council of the Assemblies of God. Jordan wrote, "What was needed was for someone to gather the bits and pieces of our history from knowledgeable sources as part of the bigger picture." I hope that with this attempt the process of gathering the bits and pieces of Cebuano Pentecostalism will begin, for the initial stages of the Assemblies of God in the Cebuano speaking region of the Philippines is worth telling. It is a story that defies the usual pattern of missionary activity and highlights the kind of convergence of unplanned events associated with Pentecostalism.

---

[1] Jordan Abellano, Facebook message to author, July 2, 2011.

Nearly all accounts of Assemblies of God beginnings in Eastern Visayas and Northern Mindanao include the following points.

1. In 1951, Assembly of God missionary Edwin Brengle founded Immanuel Bible Institute (IBI) in Sogod, Leyte, which later became a Bible College.

2. Graduates of this school pioneered the first churches of the Assemblies of God in Leyte and from there to Northern Mindanao.

There are huge gaps in these accounts, however. It is in trying to fill these gaps and answering the puzzles that arise that the significance of the Cebuano Assemblies of God beginnings comes to the fore:

1. Why would an Assemblies of God missionary choose a remote town in the Eastern Visayas as a base for missionary activity? Until now, Sogod does not have the port facilities of the three main cities of Leyte: Ormoc, Maasin and Tacloban. At 39,800 Sogod only has half the population of Maasin, a fifth that of Ormoc and a sixth of Tacloban, the regional center of the Eastern Visayas. Assemblies of God missionaries as a rule base themselves in urban centers. Benjamin Caudle, the first Assembly of God missionary who arrived in 1926 based himself in Manila, as did Leland Johnson who came in 1939. Even the Brengles themselves initially started in Manila. The exception to the rule would be Warren and Marjorie Denton. They made rural San Jose, Antique as their base but only because the congregations started by Crispulo Garsulao needed oversight. (Garsulao, a young Filipino, was converted in the US and returned at the end of the 1920's to his village in Villar, Sibalom, Antique. He established several congregations in the mountainous regions of Antique but his career was cut short by his premature death. Trinidad Seleky is the main written source of this account but in 1969 I briefly pastored the first church established by Garsulao when two of his sisters were still alive. In 1965 I also visited one of the churches he planted, a thriving Pentecostal church in Villa Solomon, an interior village in Patnongon, Antique.)

2. How did Brengle recruit the first batch of students to study at IBI? Normally discipleship and then ministerial training follow the establishment of a local church. But nowhere in the accounts of IBI is mention made of any church. In fact the only church mentioned is one in Sogod with Placido Ortega as

pastor.[2]   How were these ministerial candidates recruited? What was their experience of church life? How did they come to decide to dedicate their life to the Pentecostal ministry?

3.   Finally, how did the first batch of eight graduates do their work such that in less than five years after graduation, their converts were themselves attending IBI—not only from Leyte but from all over the Cebuano speaking areas of the Visayas and Mindanao? I studied at IBI in 1957, just five years after the first graduates of the school stepped out into the field. The student population was over fifty—(my class alone had 30). There were students from the churches of Antique, planted as early as the 1930's. There were new converts from Iloilo City and Bacolod City who were sent by missionary pastors, Gunder and Doris Olsen and Calvin and Olive Zeissler. But more remarkable was the number of students coming from Northern Mindanao.   There were students from Surigao, Agusan, Misamis Oriental, Lanao and Misamis Occidental and Zamboanga del Sur or virtually the entire coastal provinces of Northern Mindanao!   None of these churches were planted by Western missionaries.   How did these churches come into being?

In answer to these questions I wrote friends and acquaintances who still remembered the people who were part of the story. Help also came from another direction. Retired missionary Calvin Zeissler sent me two compact discs of photos of his ministry in the Philippines which began when he visited Cebu and IBI in 1953 before leaving for Bacolod where he would establish Calvary Temple. This was the year when IBI moved from Sogod and acquired a two-hectare campus in Banawa. I posted some of Zeissler's photos in the Immanuel Bible Institute Alumni Association Facebook and soon old photographs were dug up and posted and happily for me including photos from Sogod. It became a lot easier for me to get the information I needed.

Of course many important first hand sources of information are no longer alive. Both Ortega and Brengle are now deceased.   Of the original batch of graduates only Roque Cagas and Emperatriz Reyes Maureal are still living. Thankfully, Roque Cagas Jr., second son of Roque Cagas, is an avid online user and helped me identify individuals

---

[2] Diomedes Lusica, Facebook message to IBC Alumni Association, July 11, 2011.

in the photographs. Rosanny Engcoy still has excerpts of an interview she did with Reverend Cagas. Having also served as District Superintendent of the area in question, he is a treasure trove of information that others could mine for a fuller historical account. I quote excerpts of that interview. But this story relies more upon how, sixty years later, the beginnings of Cebuano Pentecostalism was remembered not by the participants themselves but by those whose lives were affected by the Pentecostal movement's incursion into the Cebuano speaking region of the country.

The information provided by Seleky on the early history of Cebuano Assemblies of God churches is bare and contains little to describe what really happened in the Eastern Visayas and Northern Mindanao.

Chaplain Edwin M. Brengle joined MacArthur's liberation forces. As he stepped on Philippine soil in Leyte, March 10, 1945, he felt a desire to help the Filipino people, and with the war over, he received a missionary appointment. He and his family arrived in Manila on January 6, 1947. After three years of service in Bethel Bible Institute in Pozorrubio, Pangasinan and later in Malinta, Polo (now Valenzuela), Bulacan, the Brengles moved to Sogod, Leyte and founded Immanuel Bible Institute in July, 1951.[3]

It is worth noting that while Seleky devoted seventeen paragraphs of Assemblies of God history to the work in the Western Visayas, she devoted only three short paragraphs to Assemblies of God beginnings in Eastern and Central Visayas and Northern Mindanao. The reason is simple. Missionaries write reports of their work; national workers do not. And the Brengles just did not provide her with the reports she needed.

Calvin Zeissler writes:

> I arrived in the Philippines when Bro. Brengle had just moved the school from Sogod   Cebu City. As far as I know from him, the school was started in Sogod and they had built or rented a facility that served as the school building, but it was destroyed by the typhoon that passed through that area. That is why he decided to move the school to Cebu.[4]

---

[3] See Trinidad E. Seleky, "The Organization of the Philippine Assemblies of God and the Role of the Early Missionaries," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 8 #2 (2005): 271-287.

[4] Calvin Zeissler, Facebook message to author, July 11, 2011.

Zeissler mentions that the Brengles had a part in starting the Revival Center in Tondo, Manila, but the missionary couple did not stay long in the metropolis. After turning over the Revival Center to Paul Pipkin they moved to Leyte. China was in turmoil and missionaries like Paul Pipkin moved out as Mao Tze Tung took over. Many of them transferred to the Philippines. Was it possible that like Daniel Boone, Edwin Brengle wanted more elbow room because Luzon was getting too crowded with new missionaries? But in 1950 the Assemblies of God churches south of Manila were located mainly in the Western Visayas and with the exception of the Dentons in Antique there were no missionaries around. The Olsens and the Zeisslers would not arrive until 1953. The Blounts would arrive only in 1955. The major cities of the Visayas—Cebu, Iloilo and Bacolod—were open to Brengle. If he was more adventurous he could have gone to Mindanao especially since Southern Mindanao already had Assemblies of God churches started by Ilocanos and Ilonggos. Instead he chose to go to Leyte. Why?

An account by Diomedes Lusica, a 1961 graduate, may provide a hint:

> I remember Rev. Ortega's frequent testimony about him becoming a Pentecostal believer. When World War II broke out, his loving wife passed away while [he was] pastoring a Protestant church in Sogod, Leyte. He felt lonely, forsaken and alone. Then came the American forces camping across his church. He said, "I was surprised that every Sunday evening I hear a big noise of excitement. So one evening after our vesper service I ventured to creep inside the tent to see what was going on. And lo and behold, I saw a bunch of young servicemen having a good time singing and praising the Lord. Each one grabbed the mike and testifies what the Lord has done in their lives." To him it was new and exciting. So every Sunday evening he goes and enjoys the service. He forgot about his sorrow and loneliness. Then one night, he found himself sitting on the front seat. Then while prayers were made, somebody grabbed and prayed for him to receive the in filling of the Holy Spirit which happened that night. I believe that was the beginning of the work in Sogod, Leyte.[5]

---

[5] Diomedes Lusica, Facebook message to author, July 11, 2011.

A Protestant pastor attending a Pentecostal service would certainly have grabbed the attention of whomever it was who was leading the service. Is it possible that the leader was Chaplain Edwin Brengle? Again the possibility is not remote that the two were in correspondence. According to Seleky the Brengles taught at BBI (Bethel Bible Institute) in Pangasinan and moved with the school to its present location in Malinta. In 1949 Placido Ortega himself was also teaching in a Protestant school, Vision Hill Bible Institute in Cambite, a barrio of Malitbog, Leyte but now belonging to Tomas Oppus. It is tempting to propose that a motive for the Brengles move to Leyte was to do their work freely without too much interference from other missionaries— but perhaps there was more. In Leyte they had acquaintances developed during the time of his chaplaincy. Furthermore and maybe just as important—Leyte provided vivid memories of wartime exploits. The Battle of Leyte from October to December 1944 culminating with Macarthur's landing at Palo, Leyte, is considered as one of the greatest battles of world history. It was in Leyte that MacArthur made this radio broadcast, "People of the Philippines I have returned." Although geographically Leyte was remote, in the hearts of those who participated in the struggle to liberate the Philippines, it was near.

Upon returning to Leyte the Brengles lost no time. Roque Cagas Jr. mentions that Brengle was invited to hold a revival meeting at National Heroes Institute (NHI), a Protestant school located in Cambite just a few kilometers south of Sogod but belonging to another municipality. He adds that Brengle was invited by no other than Placido Ortega himself.[6] But his father disputes this.[7] He says that it was the director of the school himself, Rev. Jose Evarreta, who invited Brengle. It is common practice among Protestant schools to hold a week-long evangelistic or Christian life emphasis. As a new missionary in a small town, it was only natural that Brengle would be invited to preach at NHI.

Rev. Cagas describes what happened:

> It was in 1950 when I was in 4th year high school that an Assembly of God missionary, Rev. Edwin Brengle, preached in our school and it was there that I was convicted and respond to the challenge of salvation. I consider that the first step of my conversion. Beginning that time, I was inspired to take up

---

[6] Roque Cagas Jr, Facebook message to author, July 5, 2011.

[7] Roque Cagas interviewed by Rosanny Encoy, September 13, 2005.

> the ministry. I was inspired by the lives of the ministers in the high school institution as well as in the Bible school. I thought that the best life that can be spent by any man on earth is to serve the Lord. So I prayed for an opening to be in the Bible school. Thank God, when I graduated from high school, Rev. Edwin Brengle had me as one of the scholars to study in Bethel Bible Institute in Manila. And with my co-graduates - we were seven in the school – and together with other young people from different places of Leyte , we went to Manila and we were about 20 young people. So we spent our first year in Manila.[8]

Roque Cagas would study only for one year at BBI. When schools reopened in July 1951 the Leyte students were about to return to Manila but Rev. Brengle and Rev. Placido Ortega suggested that we start Immanuel Bible Institute. So when that school opened, we attended. We were already enrolled as 2nd year, and we recruited four 1st year students. And when the school opened, there were 1st year and 2nd year classes.[9] Thus Immanuel Bible Institute was born—not in an urban center but in a third class municipality of the Eastern Visayas.

How much time did Brengle and Ortega have to prepare this original group of ministry candidates? It depends upon the date of Brengle's arrival in Leyte. If he and Oneida arrived in 1950, they must have done the revival in NHI no earlier than January but no later than March for the batch of Roque Cagas was graduating and in a few weeks leave for Manila. There seems to be very little time there--unless groundwork was being made for him by Ortega. But he could not have arrived earlier than 1949 for Seleky's account says they stayed three years at BBI. So either they arrived late in 1949 or early in January 1950. If the latter then Ortega must have done a lot of the preparation for Brengle to get accepted at NHI. If so, this is a most remarkable cooperation between an American missionary and a Filipino national. But Brengle and Ortega did not have the luxury of time--they only had at most six months to evangelize, disciple, and encourage these young people to consider the ministry as their life calling. So hardly had these young people been converted and graduated from high school, than they were made to prepare to go to Manila to study in a Bible school.

---

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

Even if the formation period was stretched to a year it still was a remarkable feat. By comparison, my home church in the city of Iloilo, took six years to send its 20th ministry candidate to train in Bible school.

But there is more to it than time. The experience of church life is important for anyone whose work involves working as a church man or woman. How and where did these young people experience church life?

Again the explanation may lie in the work of Placido Ortega. Not only was he teaching at National Heroes Institute, he was also connected with a Bible Institute right next to National Heroes Institute. The name of the school was Vision Hill Bible Institute (VHBI). A picture of the students and faculty of VHBI taken in September 1949 shows Rev. Ortega sitting at the front. Beside him are Protestant ministers and dignitaries. At the back are cut out letters forming Romans 1:16. Among the students are future pastors and pastors wives of the Assemblies of God: Lily Maureal and his future wife Emperatriz Reyes, Estrella Tagalo, future wife of Roque Cagas and Gertrudes Ugsad, later to become the mother of Jordan Abellano.[10]

Of Ortega being a minister of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines (UCCP) Jaime Balista says that he is "very sure" and that "he was in fact the moderator … [of] their conference starting from Maasin to Silago" and that Ortega was a "pillar of [the]UCCP conference" in Leyte.[11]

If Vision Hill had become Pentecostalized, had regular chapel services and prayer meetings and a highly committed student population, then it is very likely that it provided the formation and motivation needed by the recruits.   According to Rosanny Engcoy, Roque Cagas was a "devout Catholic" but he is the exception to the rule. Most of the other recruits belonged to the UCCP and some, like Lily Maureal and Emperatriz Reyes, had attended Vision Hill Bible Institute. In other words, the first ministerial candidates identified by Brengle and Ortega were not raw recruits who jumped at the opportunity to go to Manila for free education and free room and board to boot!

---

[10] Roque Cagas Jr., photo submitted to Immanuel Bible College on Facebook, July 14, 2011.

[11] Jaime Balista, Facebook message to author, July 11, 2011.

It was in Leyte that the first pastors of the Assemblies of God were recruited—Roque and Estrella Cagas, Lily and Emperatriz Maureal, Perfo and Brigida Navarrete, Felix and Pelagia Engcoy, David Artuza, Wire Aley Gonzalez, Rudy Trigo, William Navarrete, Eley Sumbeling and many more. In Leyte, Brengle rode at its flood a massive wave of spiritual energy.

Not all students of National Heroes Institute and Vision Hill Bible Institute would enter the ministry as full-time pastors. Gertrudes Ugsad, mother of Jordan Abellano, chose to stay in the life of the laity but was vital in supporting pioneers of Assemblies of God churches in the Northeastern section of Mindanao. In a message to the Alumni Association Facebook, Jordan admits: "Soon after their graduation, they all [who did not enter the ministry] lived their own lives looking for jobs, got married and have children but with the Pentecostal experience with them. That small diaspora helped plant churches anywhere they went."[12]

In choosing to join the Assemblies of God, Jordan's mother gave up a scholarship at the premier legacy of Presbyterianism in the Philippines—the prestigious Silliman University in Dumaguete. Gertrudes got married to Jordan's father, Estanislao Abellano, originally from Gibusong, a small island at the tip of Dinagat, in Surigao del Norte. Lured by the prospect of work in the logging industry, the family moved to Agusan, at first joining a Presbyterian church but when a Pentecostal pastor arrived, they became the core members of the church. And when Modesto Dalapu after graduating from IBI in 1960 went to establish a church in the city itself, they helped him too. Three of the Abellano children entered the ministry—Jordan, Oral and Noel. Jordan is now based in Hong Kong where he pastors a church for expatriate Filipinos and earned a doctorate degree. Oral now ministers in California. Noel remains in Agusan.

Presbyterian Protestantism was introduced to the Philippines in 1901, shortly after Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States. Together with the Methodists, Northern Baptists, Congregationalists and Disciples of Christ, they made an agreement of comity so there would be no overlapping in mission work, but leaving the capital, Manila open for everyone. The Episcopal Church, refusing to convert Roman Catholics, chose to work among non-Christian tribal population. The Christian and Missionary Alliance, although not participant to the Comity, limited their mission to Mindanao. The

---

[12] Jordan Abellano, Facebook message to author, July 13, 2011.

Presbyterians devoted themselves to the Cebuano speaking provinces of the Visayas. In 1929 the Presbyterians merged with the Congregational and United Brethren to form the United Evangelical Church of the Philippines. Then in 1948 UEC merged with the Philippine Methodist Church and the Evangelical Church in the Philippines, forming the United Church of Christ in the Philippines or UCCP

The United Church of Christ in the Philippines, the largest and most widespread Protestant church in the country, came into being in 1948. It unites in one church the United Evangelical Church in the Philippines (a 1929 union of Presbyterian, Congregational and United Brethren churches with the small United Church of Manila), the Philippine Methodist Church and the Evangelical Church in the Philippines (a 1944 union of various Evangelical churches). [13]

Mergers are a risky business, however, and not a few leaders and members of churches involved must have felt disenfranchised and alienated. They saw the ecumenism not as a movement to unify the church but as compromise, an adulteration of the faith once delivered to the saints. To these people the UCCP was "worldly."

In the aspect of external holiness, Cebuano Pentecostals were not much different from newer conservative groups that arrived from America in the decade of the 50's. But there was one aspect of Pentecostalism that would set it apart from evangelicalism—speaking in tongues. Glossolalia was heavenly language. No human experience is as transcendent, as holy as speaking with the tongues of angels.

As the decade of the fifties opened, Pentecostalism was no longer unknown among Protestant Christians in Northern Mindanao. The home of Felix and Lorenza Jalapit was a gathering place for those who were interested in the experience of the "baptism in the Holy Spirit." Carlito Jalapit remembers that his parents belonged to the UCCP but encountered Pentecostals when they ventured to Cotabato in the 1940's. [14] When they returned to their home town of Jimenez, in Misamis Occidental, a Pentecostal evangelist by the name of Solomon Patayan, followed them up and held meetings. Relatives of the Jalapits, mostly coming from the UCCP church, joined up with them and formed a house church. A companion of Evangelist Patayan, Modesto

---

[13] Floyd T. Cunningham, "Diversities Within Philippine Post-war Protestantism" *The Mediator* 5 #1 (Oct 2003): 46.

[14] Carlito Jalapit, Faceook message to author, July 5, 2011.

Buta, influenced by Brengle and Ortega, suggested Roque Cagas, a new graduate of Immanuel Bible Institute in Sogod to be their pastor.[15]

With the arrival of Cagas, the renewal movement spread quickly. Very soon the Jimenez Assembly of God was having outreaches in Oroquieta to the north; later to be led by Lily and Emperatriz Maureal; and to the south all the way to Ozamis and then crossing the Panguil Bay to Tubod, in Lanao (to be pastored first by Eley Sumbeling and later by Rudy Trigo who began ministerial studies at IBI when it was still in Sogod).[16] From 1951 to 1953, virtually all the students of IBI were from Leyte. By 1954 Assemblies of God congregations in Northern Mindanao began sending ministerial candidates to Immanuel Bible Institute, which by now had moved to Cebu City. The first to graduate from Northern Mindanao was Max Abugan, from Caniogan, Tubod, Lanao. He belonged to the Class of 1957 which meant that he enrolled as a Freshman student in 1954 just a year after the birth of Jimenez Assembly of God. When I enrolled at IBI in August 1957, the older Assemblies of God churches of Antique and Cotabato were represented significantly. But there was an increasing number from Northern Mindanao. In 1958 there were students from Misamis Occidental, Misamis Oriental, Lanao, as well as the Central Visayan provinces of Cebu and Bohol. With few exceptions these young people came out of UCCP background.

Still it is worth noting that the first graduate of IBI to shepherd the renewal movement was not a former Protestant. Renewals need leadership and take root in particular places whether they happen in Wales or Asuza or Pensacola. So the flash point of Pentecostalism in Northern Mindanao was Jimenez and its leader was Roque Cagas, the former devout Catholic. But even more significant, it would put an individual without the baggage of Protestant governing systems and forge one that was distinctively Assemblies of God.

Conclusion

Tantalizing question: what would have happened if Brengle chose to base himself in Cebu the cultural and economic hub of the Cebuano speaking provinces?

The answer to this question may lie partly in the history of two evangelical denominations that also started their work after the war but

---

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

based themselves in Cebu. The Baptist General Conference (BGC) and the Evangelical Free Church (EFC), like the early Protestants divided Cebu province, BGC to the north and EFC to the south with Cebu City open to both groups. Both groups remained in the province, unable to expand to other provinces until well into the 80's.

On the other hand the Assemblies of God, starting from the Eastern Visayas and moving rapidly to the more open populations of Northern Mindanao, gradually encircled Cebu City. The flow of Christian workers and pastors within the Cebuano speaking region was not from Cebu City outward but from the surrounding Cebuano speaking provinces going inward towards the economic and cultural hub. Both the city and the province grew at a much slower pace compared with the churches of Leyte and Northern Mindanao. The pastors of Cebu churches came from Northern Mindanao. Bethel Temple, the original city church of the Assemblies of God in Cebu did not produce home-grown pastors. Its first national pastors came from Leyte: Eusebio Tan, David Artuza and Roque Cagas. They were followed by pastors from Northern Mindanao: Cresencio Tandog, Diomedes Lusica, Michael Pilapil, Stanley Pilapil and Oriel Dumanon. The present pastor is from Southern Mindanao but his wife, the former Isidra Taboclaon, is from Canitoan in Northern Mindanao.

The Catholic Charismatic Renewal of the 70's and 80's brought new seekers to Pentecostal churches and new churches were born with rapidity. Unlike other cities in Manila and the Western Visayas, and in contrast with new Charismatic groups, the Cebuano churches of the Assemblies of God were not personality driven. They were not as attracted to programs of evangelism and church planting methods as their counterparts In the Western Visayas for example. By and large the growth of Cebuano churches remained spontaneous rather than methodical in the tradition of Brengle, Ortega and Cagas.

And yet in comparison the Cebuano churches of the Assemblies of God outpaced other regions in terms of church growth.

Let's begin at the district level. Thirteen provinces comprised the original Cebuano speaking Visnomin District within the Central and Eastern Visayas and the whole of Northern Mindanao from Surigao in the east to Zamboanga in the west. Visnomin has multiplied into eight Districts. Sogod continues to be part of the Cebu-based district which is now called Cebu and Lower Leyte District and it remains to be one of the most rapidly growing districts of the Philippines General Council of the Assemblies of God. By comparison the former Southern Luzon District Council which covered a similar number of provinces only

multiplied into four: Southern Tagalog, Bicol, and Central Luzon District Councils.

But the real indicator of growth lies at the provincial level. The data is from the Philippines General Council Website.[17]

PROVINCE	POPULATION	DISTRICT	NO. CHURCHES	CHURCH TO POPULATION RATIO
CEBU	2,439,005	Central Visayas Lower Leyte (CVLL)	146	16,706
BOHOL	1,275,214	CVLL	74	17,233
NEGROS ORIENTAL	1,231,904	CVLL	63	19,554
ILOILO	1,691,878	WEST VISAYAS	61	27,736
AKLAN	495,122	NW VISAYAS	22	22,506
CAPIZ	701,664	NW VISAYAS	22	70,166

Although the population of the province of Cebu is greater, its 146 churches reduced the church to population ratio by one to sixteen thousand seven hundred, the lowest among the provinces listed. Furthermore, the Assemblies of God in the three provinces of the Central Visayas Lower Leyte District all posted smaller church to population ratio than their counterparts in the Western Visayas. There could be other factors in the reduction of churches in the Western Visayas such as churches joining other groups. Even then, however, the higher number of churches in CVLL could also mean that they Cebuanos are more successful in keeping their churches within the fold.

Another way of looking at the growth of Cebuano churches is by comparing them with Tagalog churches. The area of jurisdiction of the Southern Tagalog District Council includes at least nine provinces and eleven cities.

---

[17] Info from website. http://pgcag.wordpress.com/

TOTAL CHURCHES SOUTHERN TAGALOG DISTRICT COUNCIL	203
TOTAL CHURCHES CEBU, BOHOL AND NEGROS ORIENTAL	283

The three provinces of Central Visayas exceeded the total number of Assemblies of God churches in the most heavily populated region of the country. I excluded Lower Leyte because it includes part of Leyte (Northern Leyte). If the churches of Southern Leyte were added, the gap between the two districts will widen even more.

Edwin Brengle is all but forgotten at Immanuel Bible College. According to Dave Johnson the Brengles returned to the United States in 1956 physically and emotionally exhausted. He and Oneida never returned.[18] Placido Ortega did not follow Brengle and IBI to Cebu. He remained in Leyte.   But the Pentecostal flame they started in Leyte continues to burn.

---

[18] Dave Johnson, *Led by the Spirit: the History of the American Assemblies of God Missionaries in the Philippines (*Pasig City, Philippines: ICI Ministries, 2009), 102.

C.M. WARD'S BOOKS, TRACTS AND PAMPHLETS

Gary Flokstra

One of the best known preachers in the history of the A/G USA was also one of its greatest writers. Charles Morse (C.M.) Ward communicated in small churches, the largest auditoriums, on the audio airwaves and as a guest on television with PTL and TBN. He also communicated in writing.

While serving as the Librarian of Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, I was able to observe some of the extent of C. M. Ward's reach. Every A/G Bible school or seminary I visited housed some of his books and pamphlets. Over 40 schools and all had some C.M. Ward. Now I can say they reach from Ulanbataar to Sri Lanka, from Kolin, Czech Republic to General Santos City. One of the harder tasks was the disposal of hundreds of termite eaten reel-to-reel tapes containing the Revivaltime broadcasts from the 1960's that were discovered stored under a stairwell in the old FEAST building in Manila.

Most studies of Bro. Ward focus on his role as Revivaltime speaker. Revivaltime was the international radio program of the General Council of the Assemblies of God, USA for 40 years and provided a platform for printing many of his sermons, theology, personal history, etc. His written legacy includes good Pentecostal theology: expectation of the second coming, Divine healing, free will, Baptism with the Holy Spirit, and power for a changed life. He believed in the direct working of God in all aspects of life and history. But C.M. started writing much earlier than that as he was editor of the PAOG *Pentecostal Testimony* and wrote a column for the local newspaper while pastoring in Bakersfield, California.

This article records a portion of his written legacy as no bibliography of books, pamphlets, and tracts by C.M. Ward exists. There are good indexes of his periodical articles so this study will not list those works. Also left for another time are the mimeographed Revivaltime Broadcast Sermons. Most of these are also published in the

Revivaltime Pulpit series.

In this paper a pamphlet is defined as being held together through all leaves, but not all pages. A book is bound by gluing, stapling, or sewing all pages. A tract is not bound together and is usually folded. Information enclosed in () is usually printers or collator's information. Here is an example: (5M 556) is a Gospel Publishing House code meaning 5 thousand were printed in May of 1956. I have also provided tract identifier numbers when known. For certain items that I did not have "in hand" an OCLC record number is provided. Information gleaned from "in hand" descriptive cataloging or from Revivaltime notebooks kept by Revivaltime staff Tucker and/or Beam are included in [].

PAMPHLETS, TRACTS, and BOOKS by C.M. WARD

*7th Annual Edition Revivaltime Prophecy Newspaper. What Does it All Mean?*Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1972] Photos, illus., [8] p. Tabloid.

8th Annual Revivaltime Prophecy Extra. The Crunch. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1973] Photos, illus., [8] p. Tabloid.

9th Annual Revivaltime Prophecy Extra. Spoil. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1974] Photos, illus., [8] p. Tabloid.

10 Most Requested Sermons. Springfield, MO*:* The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1976. 62 p. Paperback.

10th Annual Revivaltime Prophecy Extra. The Beginning of Sorrows. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1975] Illus., [8] p. Tabloid.

24 Hours after Jesus Returns to Earth. Revivaltime Sermons of the Month. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (3M 555). 35 p. Pamphlet.

52 Complete Evangelistic Sermons. Revivaltime Pulpit. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1956 or 1957]. 173 p. Spiral Bound. [Mimeographed, 8.5 x 11 format, red plastic spiral, white back cover. This is Revivaltime Pulpit number 1 even though that title is not found anywhere on the item.]

52 Complete Evangelistic Sermons. Revivaltime Pulpit. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1990's. 173 p. Spiral Bound. [Easy to tell apart as this one has better paper, cover, and binding. Black plastic spiral and black back cover.]

101 Proofs that God Answers Prayer—Today. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (8M 455). 73 p. Pamphlet.

"666". Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1975. 63 p. Pamphlet.

1969 Not Many Moves Left. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. Tabloid. Illus, photos, [8] p. [E.S. Caldwell, editor. 2 color. 4th Annual Prophecy Annual?]

20,000…Traps: Why Assemblies of God Members do not Smoke Cigarettes. Pulpit Series No. 21. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1956. (10M 556 5M 52161). 22 p. Pamphlet. [52161 printing has darker red title.]

20,000…Traps: Why Assemblies of God Members do not Smoke Cigarettes. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, [1956]. Illus., [4] p. Tract, 1 fold.

A-Z Your Christmas Message and Friendship Message. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, n.d. [1957?] [8] p. Tract, 3 folds.

"According to Your Faith". Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1961. (6M 42161; 2M 42A361). 46 p. Pamphlet. [Cover has subtitle: *Lessons in Divine Healing*. There is an additional unnumbered page, "Dear Friend".]

Adoption Offered. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1966. Tract, 1 fold. [Christmas tract.]

After 54 Years My Healing Still Holds. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1968. Photos., 24 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: A Faith Building Testimony Reported by…]

Ahab. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1972. 24 p. Pamphlet.

All Israel Shall be Saved. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1976. 32 p. Pamphlet.

All Things are not Continuing as They Were. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1974. 64 p. Pamphlet. [Back cover illus. by Bob Palmer.]

And Be Baptized. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1959. [16] p. Pamphlet. [Cover states: Certificates of Water Baptism and Church Membership enclosed. Also a title of a Revivaltime Broadcast sermon]

"And He Prayed". Revivaltime Sermons of the Month. Springfield, MO: Assemblies, 1954. (25C 1254). 32 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: ....And He Prayed, some printings have a

list of C.M. titles on back cover.]

And We are Not Saved : C.M. Ward Speaks to Senior Citizens. Springfield, MO : Revivaltime, n.d. [1962] (T-NS) 7 p. Tract, 3 folds. [Cover: *The Harvest is Past, The Summer is Ended…*]

Andrew Pixley, No. 9739. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1966. 22 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: Executed December 10 Wyoming's Gas Chamber.]

Answers to Perplexing Questions. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1976. 32 p. Pamphlet.

Answers to Questions. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1973. 31 p. Pamphlet.

Answers to Your End-Time Questions. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1977. Ports, 32 p. Pamphlet.

Approaching the End The Next War! The Stage is Set for the Final Drama. Minneapolis, MN: Osterhaus, n.d. Tract, 1 fold. [4] p.

Approaching the End The Next War! The Stage is Set for the Final Drama. Randleman, NC: Pilgrim Tract Society, Inc., n.d. Tract, 1 fold. [4] p.

Are You God's Man in Your Community. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. Tract, 1 fold.

Are You a Witness? Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1960. (5M 560; 3M 761). 47 p. Pamphlet. [First part deals with Early Pentecostal Revival at Azusa and U.S. Pamphlet with 5/60 printing is a darker blue and about ½ inch shorter.]

Arthur Godfrey Made Me a Preacher: The Testimony Story of Marty Karl Former TV Star. Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1962. (75C 56262) Ports., 46 p. Pamphlet. [Cover adds: The Story of Marty Karl Baritone in TV's Famous Mariners Quartet.]

"Asking No Question for Conscience Sake". The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1958. (75C 258; 5M 1161). 27 p. Pamphlet. [First printing 1/8 inch shorter.]

Asleep in Church. Toronto: Full Gospel Publishing House, n.d. [believe it to be 1940]. [15] p. Pamphlet.

Baseball Sermons. Columbus, GA: Quill Publications, 1995. 96 p. Paperback.

Be Filled with the Spirit. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1975. 46 p. Pamphlet.

The Bear and the Dragon. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1966. 48 p. Pamphlet.

Beginning of Sorrows. Reprinted from Revivaltime's 1975 Prophecy Newsletter. Tract, 1 fold.

"Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and Thou Shalt Be Saved" Acts 16:31. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1958. (5M 858; 3M 1058) 46 p. Pamphlet. [Unnumbered page has: "Response to Salvation appeal".]

Bible Answers to Your Money Questions. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1975. Photos., illus., 45 p. Pamphlet. [Back cover has cartoon by Jack Hamm. Unnumbered page with tear out response form asking for information on wills. At least 2 printings; one is ½ inch shorter and ¼ inch narrower.]

A Bible Study on Amusements. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1961. (5M 49861; 5M 49A62) Photos., 36 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: Includes 30 Questions and Answers for Teenagers. Copyright page has list of "other teen-age literature". Photo of CM on cover.]

The Big Lie. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1976. 32 p. Pamphlet.

A Birth Announcement… Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1965. Tract, 1 fold. [Christmas tract.]

Bless the Lord! Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1977. 32 p. Pamphlet.

The Bobby Black Story. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1967. Photos., 32 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: Picked off the Streets to Preach.]

Born to Love. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, n.d. (4628) [8] p. Tract, 3 folds.

"Box 70". Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1958. (75C 958). 59 p. Pamphlet.

Bulletin Extra Special Extra: Are the Ancient Roman Boundaries Being Redrawn? Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1962-1965?] Maps, 4 p. Tabloid.

Bulletin Middle East Crisis. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1962-1965?] Tabloid. [4] p.

C.M. Ward Talks about Marriage. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1969. 32 p. Pamphlet.

Camp Meeting Religion. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO:

Assemblies of God, 1964. 43 p. Pamphlet. [Inside front and back cover have a Camp Calendar.]

Can Christians Participate in the "$64,000 Question"? (and 37 other questions). Pulpit Series No. 16. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. 15M 1055). 39 p. Pamphlet.

Can I Know God's Will for My Life—How? Pulpit Series, no. 13. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (8M 755; 5M 2nd printing revised 955). 36 p. Pamphlet. [Cover a deeper orange on 2nd printing. The 2nd printing has a list of items by C.M. Ward. There is a second printing with same dates, but without the word revised on copyright page. That could mean 3 printings.]

Can You Mix Sex with Old-Time Religion? Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1976. 31 p. Pamphlet.

Can You Rest Your Future on a Crystal Ball? The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1966. 30 p. Pamphlet.

"Censored": Five Messages. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1957. (10M 957) 48 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: Sermons C.M. Ward could not preach over the Network.]

Cheated? Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1971. Photos., 30 p. Pamphlet.

Choosing Rather... The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1958. (5M 1058) 28 p. Pamphlet. [Cover adds: I could have married him, but…]

Christ was not Born on this Date! Pulpit Series, no. 18. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (10M 1255). 24 p. Pamphlet. [Contains list of books by C.M.]

The Christian Testimony of Dr. John N. Moore. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1976. Photos., n.p. Mini-pamphlet. [Cover: Mich State U Professor Jn N Moore says—God did it!]

The Christian's Investment Handbook: Written Exclusively for Channel 38 Chicago's

Christian Television Station. Christian Communications of Chicagoland, Inc., 1980. 77 p. Pamphlet. [Last page not numbered.]

Christmas Reflections. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1977. Photos., illus., 32 p. Pamphlet. [There may be a 25 p. printing. Contains many of the earlier Christmas tracts or enclosures]

Clash. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1955. Illus., 32 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: The conflict of modern youth.]

Colonel Sanders Begins a New Life. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1968. Photos., 15 p. Mini-pamphlet.

The Comeback Trail. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1970. 31 p. Pamphlet.

Common Sense & Divine Healing. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1973. 24 p. Pamphlet.

Common Sense Answers to Personal and Bible Questions. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1975. 32 p. Pamphlet.

Communism's Global Plan for World Dominion. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. Illus., [4] p. Tabloid.

Consulte a Sua Biblia. Illus. Pamphlet. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: A Voz Das Assembleias De Deus, n.d.

Cowardice. Revivaltime Sermons of the Month. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1954. (5M 1154). 42 p. Pamphlet.]

Cyprus Points to Christ. The Pulpit Series, no. 23. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1956. 32 p. Pamphlet.

D.D.'s for Preachers. [1950] 25 p. [No copy in hand.]

Daily News: Suddenly You are Dead. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1963. 8 p. [Mini-newspaper format.]

Dangers in College Life. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1973. 24 p. Pamphlet. [Advert sheet in some.]

Datebook. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1961. 24 p. Pamphlet. [Additional unnumbered page "My prayer for daters".]

Day When Men Judge Angels. Revivaltime Sermons of the Month. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (3m 155). 42 p. Pamphlet.

The Decision is Mine. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, n.d. [1959 & ?] Tract, 1 fold. (T-D) (4685) (34-4685) [Cover adds: Why Should I Be Lost…]

Detente. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1976. Photos., illus., 64 p. Pamphlet.

Deterents to Divorce. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1959. (75C 259). 37 p. Pamphlet. [Unnumbered page at end has "Dear Friend" from C.M. Ward. Also a Revivaltime Broadcast sermon]

Devices of the Devil. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1973. 24 p. Pamphlet.

Devotionals for 1979. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1978. 112 p. Paperback.

Discernment: The Divine Answer to Deceit. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1965. 29 p. Pamphlet. [Cover above title: A Story-Study.]

Discouragements and Encouragements for New Converts. The Pulpit Series, no. 10. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (5M 255). 34 p. Pamphlet. [This pamphlet has a list of other titles by C.M.]

Divine Healing: The Human Side. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1974. 15 p. Pamphlet.

Divine Healing: The Human Side. Special TBN edition. Santa Ana, CA: Trinity Broadcasting Network, n.d. 45 p. Pamphlet. [Page 45 is blank.]

The Divorced Wife. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1967. 23 p. Pamphlet.

Does Everyone go to the Same Heaven? The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1965. 28 p. Pamphlet. [Cover adds: But the Righteous shall go away into Life Eternal.]

Does Everyone go to the Same Hell? The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1965. 23 p. Pamphlet. [Cover adds: These shall go away into everlasting punishment.]

Does it Help to Pray? Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 10/25/59. (T-HP) [8] p. Tract, 3 folds.

The Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde of the Old Testament. Revivaltime Sermons of the Month. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (4M 455) 32 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: C.M. Ward's sermon on the two-faced prophet.]

Drugs, Despair, Deliverance! The Story of Dr. Howard Thomas. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1971. Photos., 30 p. Pamphlet.

Drunkards. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1964. Photos., 30 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: …nor drunkards shall inherit the kingdom of God. When drinking becomes drunkenness.]

The Edge. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1969. Photos., 31

p. Pamphlet.

Elder A.G. Ward: Intimate Glimpses of My Father's Life. Pulpit Series No. 14. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (10M 855). Photos, 42 p. Pamphlet.

Escape from Misery. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1974. 24 p. Pamphlet.

The Evidence of the Holy Spirit Today. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1962. 37 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: A Scriptural Answer to the Inquirer Seeking Truth. There is a short list of C.M. Ward titles in this pamphlet if it is the first printing.]

"Exchange". Revivaltime Sermons of the Month. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (5M 155). 32 p. Pamphlet.

Expendable, But…The Leon Miles Story. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1960. (5M 560). Photos., 31 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: The true story of the wartime injury that spared Leon Miles to work for God. Four unnumbered pages for the reader.]

"The Farther We Probe into Space, the Greater my Faith..": C.M. Ward's account of His Interview with Dr. Warner Von Braun. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1966. Photos., 17 p. Mini-pamphlet.

"The Farther We Probe into Space, the Greater my Faith..": C.M. Ward's account of His Interview with Dr. Warner Von Braun. Evangelism Literature for America, n.d. Photos., 17 p. Mini-pamphlet.

Father—King in His Own Home!!! Springfield, MO : Revivaltime, 6/10/62. (T-FR) [7] p. Tract, 3 folds.

Favorite Sermons from Revelation. Springfield, MO: General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1978. 128 p. Paperback.

Fear Not : For They That be with Us are More than They that be with Them 2 Kings6:17. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1963. 32 p. Pamphlet.

Five Dividends the Baptism of the Holy Spirit will Bring to You. Denver, CO: General Council of the Assemblies of God, 1975. [1] p. [Sermon outline for Origination Broadcast of Revivaltime.]

Five Times Reprieved: Story Told to Wesley P. Steelberg, Jr. edited and prepared by C.M. Ward. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime,

1957. Photos., 27 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: The true story of Major James Bradley who escaped death five times during World War II before surrendering to God—Pub. for the first time.]

Flesh. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1974. 32 p. Pamphlet. [Cover has pre-title of: *Have no confidence in the...*]

For You. Illus. [1962?] Tract, 3 folds. [No publication data. It looks like a Christmas Gift Tag and then folds open to become a tract.]

Four Dimensions. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. (9/4/60) (T-4D) [7] p. Tract, 3 folds]

Frigoli: The Story of Bruno R. Frigoli—former Facist now Serving Christ in Bolivia. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1969. Photos., 24 p. Pamphlet. [Different printings with different covers and sizes.]

From Rock 'n' Roll to a Passion for Souls. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1960. (75C 960; 4M 1060; 5M 1160). 49 p. Pamphlet. [Photo of Snows with Elvis on back cover. 2 unnumbered pages on how to become a Christian at end.]

Funeral of the Soul. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1959. (7/26/59) (T-F) [7] p. Tract, 3 folds. [Also title of a Broadcast Sermon.]

Fuse Grows Shorter. Revivaltime's 1971 Prophecy Tabloid. Springfield, MO: time, n.d. [8] p. Tabloid. [Edited by E.S. Caldwell. Color! Photos & illus.] [6th Prophecy Annual]

The Galyen Story. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1965. Photos., 24 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: *The Sheriff Galyen Story*.]

The General Speaks in Tongues: The Personal Experience of General Ralph E. Haines, Jr. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1973. Photos., 21 p. Pamphlet.

Generations Apart. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1970. 32 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: Guidebook to help bridge the widening generation gap.]

Gift Certificate. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1956?] Tract, 1 fold. [Christmas tract.]

Go Tell! (The Eighteen Things God does with a Man's Sins). Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 10/30/60. (T-GT) [7] p. Tract, 3 folds.

Go to Your Bible. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. Illus., [14 p.] Pamphlet. [2" by 2".]

God had a Better Idea. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1972. Photos., no pagination. Mini-pamphlet.

"God Made Me an Optimist": The Life-Changing Experience of Carpet Executive John Weller. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1977. Color photos, 22 p. Pamphlet.

God Speaks Today. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1961. (65C 161; 5M 1161). 52 p. Pamphlet. [3 unnumbered pages with salvation plea.]

"God was with Me in the Fiery Furnace". The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1961. (6M 43161; 4M 43A761). Photos, 32 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: C.M. Ward tells the true story of Capt. Dan Borgen. Story of the sole survivor.]

God's Carpenter. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (5M 955). 36 p. Pamphlet.

Going Steady. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. 1 p. (Both sides) [Not a sermon, but a response to questions from listeners.]

Goliath Rises Again. *Revivaltime's 1970 Prophecy Newspaper*. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1970] Photos, illus., [8] p. Tabloid. [E.S. Caldwell, editor. 5th Annual Prophecy]

Good-bye Make-Believe The Hal Herman Story. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1959. (10M 659). Photos., 50 p. Pamphlet.

Gott kam nach Hollywood: der Lebensweg von Harold Herman. Darmstadt, Germany: Leuchter-Verlag, 1964. Illus., photos, 48 p.

The Governor Who Prays: The Christian Testimony of Reuben Askew. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1975. Photos., no pagination. Mini-pamphlet.

The Great Conflict. *Revivaltime 1977 Prophecy Tabloid*. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. Photos, illus., [8] p. Tabloid. [12th Prophecy Annual]

A Greeting of Cheer for You. [Card selected by C.M. and sent out in response to mail. Does not appear to be written by C.M. He also sent out Mother's Day cards, Father's day cards, etc.]

Greetings. [Springfield, MO:] Revivaltime, n.d. [1958?] Illus. [A Christmas card that folds open and then folds up. Designed by C.M. Ward, Frank Boyd, and Lloyd Colbaugh.]

Group Therapy: Psychological and Psychiatric Research confirms

Pentecostal Practices. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1970. 23 p. Pamphlet.

Growing Old Gracefully. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1974. 31 p. Pamphlet.

The H-Bomb and the Battle of Armageddon. Pulpit Series, no. 2. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1954. 23 p. Pamphlet. [Mimeographed. Last page has Revivaltime address only. There are 2 printings one without a date.]

He Tried to Rob You of the Calendar's Sweetest Date. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1973] Tract, 1 fold. [Christmas tract.]

Heaven. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1963. 54 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: *There remaineth…*]

Heaven. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1972. 24 p. Pamphlet.

Hell, What Is It? Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, n.d. [1954] 6 p. Tract, 2 fold. [Reprint has (34-4584) added.]

Hell's Garbage. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1978. 32 p. Pamphlet.

Hi Neighbor. Series 1a, The One-Eight Crusade. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, n.d. (4687) [4] p. Tract, 1 fold.

Hi Neighbor. Series 1b, The One-Eight Crusade. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, n.d. (4687) [4] p. Tract, 1 fold.

Hi Neighbor. Series 2a, The One-Eight Crusade. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, n.d. (4688) [4] p. Tract, 1 fold.

Hi Neighbor. Series 4a, The One-Eight Crusade. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, n.d. (4690) [4] p. Tract, 1 fold.

The Holy Spirit. Santa Ana, CA: Trinity Broadcasting Network, [1980's] 53 p. Paperback. [Last numbered page blank. Photo of CM on cover.]

The Holy Spirit is for You. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1966. 32 p. Pamphlet. [Two covers: one solid orange and one with pictures of people.]

How Can I Help Another by Praying. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1961. 27 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: God Says…and thy house] [Size is 2.5 inches by 8.5 inches.]

How do Pentecostals Worship? Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1977. 32 p. Pamphlet.

How Far can a Mother's Prayers Reach? The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1963. Photos., 47 p. Pamphlet. [Also a Broadcast Sermon.]

How I was Saved. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, n.d. (Tract no. 4400) Tract. 1 fold. [This is the testimony of Charles H. Spurgeon with the last few paragraphs by C.M. Ward. Late 1959 or early 1960.]

How Mean was David's Sin? Pulpit Series No. 15. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (10M 955). 35 p. Pamphlet.

How Not to Have a Nervous Collapse. Tract, 1 fold. [Reprinted as a stand alone item from the article by the same name. This one does have an additional memo about American Mercury by C.M. at end.]

How Religious was George Washington? Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1971. 24 p. Pamphlet.

How Short is Short and How Long is Long? And Other Questions on Christian Conduct. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1971. 32 p. Pamphlet.

How to be a Big Splash in a Little Puddle. Columbus, GA: Quill Publications, 1993. 120 p. Paperback.

How to Bring out the Best in Your Husband. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1961. (5M 47661). 40 p. Pamphlet.

How to Enjoy the Next 365 Days. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1] p. Tract, calendar. [Either 1961 or 1967.]

How You Can Know You are not Going to Hell. Pulpit Series No. 9. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (10M 255; 20M 3rd printing 755). 30 p. Pamphlet. [The 2/55 and 7/55 printing has a list of C.M. titles. Third printing sent out with a list of stations airing Revivaltime.]

Husbands & Wives. Springfield, MO: General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1976. 31 p. Pamphlet.

Husbands Love Your Wives. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 5/31/59. (T-H) [7] p. Tract, 3 folds. [Also two Revivaltime Broadcast Sermons; 5/31/59; 2/18/76.]

I Experienced Four Miracles: Story and Convictions of Dr. Harry Goldsmith, Professor of Psychology—Evangel College. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1961. 5M 46461). 35 p. Pamphlet. [Two additional unnumbered pages on becoming a Christian.]

I Sang for the Bandstand Set: The Personal Story of Bobby Green.

The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1961. (75C 51961). 24 p. Pamphlet. [Photo of Bobby Green on cover.]

"I Saw the Holy Spirit Move in These Meetings". Pulpit Series No. 22. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1956. 47 p. Pamphlet. [with A.G. Ward.]

I Survived Cancer. Milwaukee, WI: Breakthrough Publications, 1982. 28 p. Pamphlet. [C.M. wrote part 3. Part 1 by Dorothy Ward; Part 2 by Ethylene Wood. OCLC number 13043762]

I Was Sick… Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1963. Photo. 35 p. Pamphlet. [Two printings as Revivaltime info on back cover in two different font sizes.]

I Was Sick… Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1972. Photos., illus., 28 p. Pamphlet.

I Will Guide Thee. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1976. 32 p. Pamphlet.

"If Thou Believest…" Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God. 1961. (5M 44361). 48 p. Pamphlet.

If Ye Then be Risen with Christ Colossians 3:1. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God. 1962. (75C 54262). Map, 56 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: Story-Studies of the Bible vol. 1.]

Impressions: Can God Tell Me What to Do? Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1968. 32 p. Pamphlet.

"In Perils of…Brethren…" Columbus, GA: Quill Publications, 1991. Ports, 158 p. Hardback. [Autobiography and recollections. Photo of CM on DJ.]

"In the Beginning God…": The Story of Colonel Frank Boreham. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1969. Photos., 23 p. Mini-pamphlet.

Inspiring Sports Stories. Carol Stream, IL: Creation House, 1977. Photos, 128 p. Paperback.

Intuition. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1964. 34 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: Can Knowledge reach us that we re about to die?]

Is any…Afflicted…Let Him Pray. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 2/8/59; 6/8/69. (T-A) [8] p.] Tract, 3 folds. [2 printings.]

Is God too Good to Send Anyone to Hell and too Just to Keep Anyone There Forever? Revivaltime Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, [1954?] 22 p. Pamphlet.

Is it True—Once Saved Always Saved? Springfield, MO:

Assemblies of God, 1968. 32 p. Pamphlet.

Is it Unbelief to ask WHY? Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1965. Photos, illus., 32 p. Pamphlet.

Is it Unbelief to ask" Why"? Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1971. Photos., [29] p. Pamphlet. [Paginates 26.]

Is it Unbelief to ask" Why"? St. John's, Newfoundland, CANADA: The Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, n.d. [29] p. Pamphlet. [Paginates 26.]

Is Praying a Waste of Time? Springfield, MO: General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1976. 45 p. Pamphlet.

Is the United States Turning from the Church? Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1970. 24 p. Pamphlet.

Ishmael and Isaac: Two Brother's Destiny. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1955. 24 p. Pamphlet. [GPH number 727]

Israel. Did God Choose the Jew? Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. Photo, illus., [8] p. Tabloid. [Prophecy Annual?]

J. Edgar Hoover Testifies... Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1970. Photos, 22 p. Mini-pamphlet.

James, The Brother of Jesus. Story-Studies of the Bible, vol. 2. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God. 1962. 48 p. Pamphlet.

Jewels: The Remarkable Story of Ricky Singh. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, [1960?]. (T-J) [7] p. Tract, 3 fold.

John Wesley's Religion. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1959. (4M 759). 35 p. Pamphlet. [Last page, unnumbered, is a tear out page for those who accepted the invitation.]

Kings of the East: Is the West Fading as the East Emerges? Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1964. Illus., [15] p. Pamphlet. [56,000 printed according to Pentecostal Evangel article.]

[*Lamb of God.*] Illus., [3] p. Tract, 1 fold. [Christmas tract. No publication information. Possibly 1975? Title supplied based on cataloging from FPHC and Pearlman Memorial Library. Others refer to the title as "Marry's Little Lamb".]

Left Behind. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1962. (75C 57662). 30 p. Pamphlet.

"Let a Man Examine Himself". The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1959. (65C 959) 35 p. Pamphlet.

Life Beyond. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1974. Photos., [28] p. Pamphlet.

Life or Death-Which? Revivaltime Sermons of the Month. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (3m 755). 34 p. Pamphlet.

Life's Greatest Questions How Much do I have to Understand to be Saved? What Must I do to be Saved? How can I Know I am Saved? Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1971. 24 p. Pamphlet.

Life's Greatest Questions: What Must I do to be Saved? How Can I Know I Am Saved? Pulpit Series No. 9. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (15 M 4th printing 1055). 30 p. Pamphlet.

Living the Overcoming Life. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1975. 32 p. Pamphlet.

The Long Long Altar: True Life Testimonies of Miracles through Prayer. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1975. 32 p. Pamphlet. [Title page: "as told to C.M. Ward". Contains testimony of Vernon Pettenger among others.]

Mankind's Dilemma: "Peace & Safety" or "Sudden Destruction". The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1960. (75C 360 4M 60). 35 p. Pamphlet. [Unnumbered page for response to salvation.]

Man's Quest—God's Conquest. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [3] p. Tract, 1 fold. *Marked Men*. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1/15/61. (T-M) [7] p. Tract, 3 fold. *Marriage and …Religion …Money …Sex*. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1963. Ports., 56 p. Pamphlet.

Marriage Insurance. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (200M 855). 32 p. Pamphlet. [200,000 copies is a lot of insurance.]

The Messiah from Hell. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1977. 32 p. Pamphlet.

Moab: Another Interesting Bible Study. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1970. 24 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: Are there promises to Israel's enemies?]

More Than Superstar. Springfield, MO: The General Council of

the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1972. 32 p. Pamphlet.

More Than Twenty Years. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1967. Photos., 30 p. Pamphlet. [Title page: "by Ruth Roy as told to C.M. Ward". Some have advert insert.]

Most Requested Radio Sermons of 1956. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1956. 96 p. Pamphlet. [Foreword by E.M. Clark. Cover: Special Edition and photo of CM.]

Mother and Dad. Springfield, CO: Assemblies of God, 1965. 39 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: *Sermons for Mother and Dad*.]

Mother: Chief of Staff. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1961. (5M 45361; 2M 45A461). 50 p. Pamphlet.

Multitudes in the Valley of Decision. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1968] Photos, illus., 8 p. Tabloid. [3rd Annual Prophecy]

Music on a Single String. Sentinel Series. No. 2-4. Springfield, MO: Serviceman's Division, n.d. [8] p. Pamphlet.

My Message and Instruction to Soul Winners. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1956 & 1957] 8 p. Tract, 3 folds.

My Message to Graduates of 1956. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [7] p. Tract, 3 fold. [5/56 Tucker]

My Message to the Backslider. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1960. (5m 160; 5M 260). 38 p. Pamphlet. [Contains list of C.M. messages. 3 unnumbered pages of plea in addition to the 38.]

My Most Important Health Lesson. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1958. (75C 458). 24 p. Pamphlet.

My Personal Worker's Guide. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1959. (10M 659, 25C 959, 6M 1059, 5M 560). 61 p. Pamphlet. [At least 4 printings with red and one in blue.]

My Personal Worker's Guide. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1972. 61 p. Pamphlet.

"My Testimony". The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1964. Photos. 32 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: How I was saved and knew it!]

Mystery Babylon. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the

Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1975. 32 p. Pamphlet.

A Name or a Number? The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1966. Illus., 48 p. Pamphlet.

Nation's Top Innkeeper Serves Christ. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1967. Photos., 17 p. Mini-pamphlet.

Never Thirst Again. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1965. 30 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: A Biographical testimony. Photo of Wayne Evans on cover.]

A New Babylon. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1972. Photos., illus., 48 p. Pamphlet.

The Next Pearl Harbor could be Everywhere at Once. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. Illus. 6 month calendar.

No Man can Make a Seed. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1969. 32 p. Pamphlet.

Old Testament Passages with New Testament Applications. Columbus, GA: Quill Publications, 1997. 163 p.

One Mistake can be Fatal! Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, n.d. (34-4708) [4] p. Tract, 1 fold.

One Taken-The Other Left. Pulpit Series No. 12. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (8M 655; 3M 855). 34 p. Pamphlet.

The One-yard Line. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1965. 15 p. Mini-pamphlet.

"Our New Gods". Revivaltime Sermons of the Month. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1954. 29 p. Pamphlet.

Parents, Love Your Children. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1977. 32 p. Pamphlet.

Parents, Love Your Children. St. John's, Newfoundland, CANADA: The Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland, 1984. 32 p. Pamphlet.

Peace on Earth the Original Christmas Carol. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. Illus. Tract, 1 fold. [Christmas enclosure card, Oct 1970 re Tucker.]

Pentecostal in a Wheelchair. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1966. Ports., 37 p. Pamphlet.

Personal Workers Guide. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1972. 61 p. Pamphlet. [Earlier printing under title: *My Personal Workers Guide*.]

Plans for This Planet: A Bible Study and a Change in Government.

Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1968. 24 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: …after the 1,000 years.]

The Playboy Comes Home. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1976. 107 p. Paperback. [At least 2 printings. Photo of CM on back cover.]

Prayer-Delusion or Dialogue? Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1977. 22 p. Pamphlet.

Prayers are not Always Answered, but Pray-ers Are! Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1957] [7] p. Tract, 3 folds. [At least 2 printings.]

Prophecy and the Future: Today's Headlines Written Yesterday. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1963. 52 p. Pamphlet.

Quando Dio Giunse a Hollywood. Roma: Luce di Vita, n.d. Photos, 49 p. Pamphlet.

Questionable Things. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1972. 32 p. Pamphlet. [Photo of CM on cover.]

Questions and Answers. The Pulpit Series, no. 6. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1954. (5M 1154; 5M 255). 37 p. Pamphlet.

Questions Folks are Asking Now. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1966. 32 p. Pamphlet.

Questions Folks ask Each Other. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1965. 45 p. Pamphlet.

"Questions Folks ask the Preacher". The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1964. 39 p. Pamphlet.

Questions I Have Answered Privately. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1969. 32 p. Pamphlet.

Questions on Pentecostal Beliefs from College Campus Ambassadors. 1953. 24 p. Pamphlet.

Questions that Deserve Answers. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1967. 32 p. Pamphlet.

Questions that Should be Answered. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1970. 31 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: *C.M. Ward replies to*.]

Questions this Generation is Asking. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1969. 31 p. Pamphlet.

Rauschgift…Verzweiflung! Die Geschichte des Dr Howard Thomas. Edmonton, Alberta, Canada: German Gospel House,

1971.

Recession or Revival? Or Go Weep and Howl. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1958. (75C 658). 28 p. Pamphlet.

Recontre avec Dieu a Hollywood: La Carriere de Harold Herman. Traduction e M. Mallet. Saint Denis, France: Viens & Vois, 1966. 46 p. Pamphlet.

A Redeemed Alcoholic. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1962. 38 p. Pamphlet. [About T. Texas Tyler, i.e. David Luke Tyler.]

Religion: An Issue in Politics? The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: General Council of the Assemblies of God 1960. (75C 560; 5M 660; 5M 760; 10M 860). 20 p. Pamphlet.

Religion in Russia. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1959. (75C 1059). Photos., 21 p. Pamphlet.

The Religion of Sam Houston. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1961. (3/26/61) (T-SAM) 7 p. Tract, 3 folds.

Resisting the Holy Spirit. Revivaltime Sermons of the Month. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (5M 355). 32 p. Pamphlet.

Rev. C.M. Ward's Notes on: Helps in Receiving the Baptism in the Holy Spirit. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. 2 sheets typewritten paper, 3 p. [Sent out to listeners to help answer questions.]

Revelation made Easy. Nashville, TN: E.E. Gaddy & Associates Publishers, 1986. 232 p. Bonded leather. [Contains unpaginated *The Revelation of St. John the Divine* in the Authorized version with references to Ward's commentary on that passage at the beginning. This book is a compilation of 38 sermons previously published in a variety of formats. Foreword by Richard Dortch.]

Revivaltime Broadcast Sermon [This heading was given to hundreds of mimeographed Sermons. These are the first printed copies of the weekly Revivaltime broadcast. In this format they were sent out in response to listener's inquiries or sold to those requesting titles or subjects. The original price was 5 cents each. They were advertised in one pamphlet and in at least one Revivaltime brochure.]

Revivaltime Bulletin Prophetical Commentary Extra. Is the Profile of Daniel's "Little Horn" Appearing in Europe? Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. Tabloid. Illus., Photos. [4] p. [Prophecy

Annual]

Revivaltime Bulletin Prophetical Commentary Extra. The Snare. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. Tabloid. Illus., photos, 4 p. [Prophecy Annual]

Revivaltime Calendar and Map: Russia. Poster, 8.5 x 11 inches. [July 1060 re Tucker.]

Revivaltime Evangelist C.M. Ward's Sermon Outlines, No. 1. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1962. 31 p. Pamphlet.

Revivaltime Evangelist C.M. Ward's Sermon Outlines, No. 2. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1963. 39 p. Pamphlet.

Revivaltime Forecast: What About Cuba? Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. Illus., 8 p. Tabloid. [Another name for Bulletin? Aug 1960 if yes, Tucker.] *Revivaltime Heartlines*. [This was a letter that C.M. wrote that went out regularly.] *Revivaltime Origination Sheets*. [This heading is given to the single sheet sermons given to those attending an origination service. Only a couple are listed here.]

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Two. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1958. 304 p. Hardback. [Number 1 is *52 Evangelistic Sermons*. This volume can be found with a dust jacket as can #3 and #4. Spine info on this and all following volumes have Revivaltime Pulpit No. This volume is the only volume without any information on front cover. Bottom of spine states: Gospel Publishing House.]

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Three. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1959. 342 p. Hardback. [DJ spine and book spine says Gospel Publishing House. Front cover has a C.M. Ward signature unlike any of the other pamphlets or books in this series, but no other information on cover.]

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Four. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1960. 215 p. Hardback. [Bottom spine says: Published by Revivaltime as do all subsequent volumes. This is the first cover to say Revivaltime Pulpit No. and have an authentic C.M. Ward signature. The covers will remain the same for the rest of the set. Only 35 of the 52 sermons preached on the ABC Network in 1959 are included in this volume.]

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Five. Springfield, MO:

Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1961. 311 p. Hardback.

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Six. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1962. 320 p. Hardback.

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Seven. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1963. 295 p. Hardback.

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Eight. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1964. 290 p. Hardback.

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Nine. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1965. 301 p. Hardback.

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Ten. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1966. 310 p. Hardback.

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Eleven. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1967. 315 p. Hardback.

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Eleven. Honor Presentation Edition. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1967. 315 p. Hardback. [Honor Presentation Editions (HPE) started with this book. Front covers have Honor Presentation Edition embossed in gold from volumes 11-23. I have not found the presentation certificate and signatures in volume 11.]

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Twelve. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1968. 318 p. Hardback.

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Twelve. Honor Presentation Edition. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1968. 318 p. Hardback. [Honor presentation certificate signed by Webb, Schultz and CM. Many honor presentation editions have the certificate missing. Most are given to churches for ongoing monthly support of Revivaltime.]

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Thirteen. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1969. 312 p. Hardback. [HPE signed by Lee Schultz, Bert Webb, and C.M.]

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Thirteen. Honor Presentation Edition. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1969. 312 p. Hardback. [HPE signed by Lee Schultz, Bert Webb, and C.M.]

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Fourteen. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1970. 319 p. Hardback.

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Fourteen. Honor Presentation Edition. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1970. 319 p. Hardback. [HPE signed by G. Raymond Carlson Schultz and Ward.]

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Fifteen. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1971. 332 p. Hardback. [Spine: Published by Revivaltime. Copyright page: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime. Title Page: Assemblies of God National Radio Department. This information remains the same until volume 20 when TV is added.]

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Fifteen. Honor Presentation Edition. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1971. 332 p. Hardback. [HPE signed by Carlson, Schultz and Ward.]

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Sixteen. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1972. 318 p. Hardback.

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Sixteen. Honor Presentation Edition. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1972. 318 p. Hardback. [HPE signed by Lee Schultz and C.M.]

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Seventeen. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1973. 328 p. Hardback.

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Seventeen. Honor Presentation Edition. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1973. 328 p. Hardback. [HPE signed by Lee Schultz and C.M.]

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Eighteen. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1974. 318 p. Hardback.

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Eighteen. Honor

Presentation Edition. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1974. 318 p. Hardback. [HPE signed by Riley Kaufman and Ward.]

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Nineteen. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1975. 324 p. Hardback.

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Nineteen. Honor Presentation Edition. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1975. 324 p. Hardback. [HPE signed by Riley Kaufman and C.M.]

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Twenty. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio-TV Department, 1976. 324 p. Hardback. [Note TV added.]

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Twenty. Honor Presentation Edition. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio-TV Department, 1976. 324 p. Hardback. [HPE signed by Riley Kaufman and Ward.]

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Twenty-one. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio-TV Department, 1977. 310 p. Hardback.

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Twenty-one. Honor Presentation Edition. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio-TV Department, 1977. 310 p. Hardback. [HPE signed by Dan Betzer and Ward.]

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Twenty-two. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio-TV Department, 1978. 313 p. Hardback.

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Twenty-two. Honor Presentation Edition. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio-TV Department, 1978. 313 p. Hardback.

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Twenty-three. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio-TV Department, 1979. 323 p. Hardback.

Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book Number Twenty-three. Honor Presentation Edition. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God National Radio-TV Department, 1979. 323 p. Hardback.

Revivaltime Sermons. Dollar Sermon Library. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1966. 97 p. Pamphlet. [Introduction is written by Lee Schultz and it went through at least 4 printings; 1966, 1968, 1970, 1971]

Revivaltime's 11ᵗʰ Annual Prophecy Extra! Strong Delusion.

Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1976. Photos, illus., 8 p. Tabloid. [No. 3848]

Revivaltime's 1978 Prophecy Tabloid Special Issue. Illus., 8 p. Tabloid. [no pub. data. 13th Prophecy Annual]

Revivaltime's Crusade for Souls Harvester's Tract Packet. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [Includes 3 How I was Saved; 3 Why Should I, 3 Smart People, 1 3 Big Lies of, 1 Sin of Swearing, 3 Funeral of the Soul. Only two packets were checked as to contents. "Hints for Tract Use" by C.M. on back cover of packet.]

Revivaltime's Election Bulletin. Springfield, MO: General Council Assemblies of God, n.d. Illus., [4] p. Tabloid. [Publisher is as it is listed. Oct 1960 re Tucker.]

Revivaltime's Storm Maps. *World Changes are Brewing*. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. Illus., maps, 8 p. Tabloid. [May 1966 re Tucker.]

Right or Wrong? Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1957. (15M 657). 40 p. Pamphlet.

The Ringmaster Meets Jesus: The Christian Testimony of Austin Miles. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1973. Photos., no pagination. Mini-pamphlet.

The River Shall be Wasted. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1968. Illus., map, 48 p. Pamphlet.

Rules for Teenagers. Revivaltime, 1956. 6 inches. [Is this a ruler or tract? It is a ruler.]

Rumors. 1971 Prophecy Book. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1970. Illus., ports., 48 p. Pamphlet.

The Second Goat: A Bible Study and The Veil of the Temple Sermon Preached on the

ABC Network. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1969. 24 p. Pamphlet.

The Sergeant Thompson Story. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1958. (75C 158). 33 p. Pamphlet. [Photos of Thompson on front and back covers.]

Sermon Classics. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime Media Ministries, 1991. 514 p. Blue Leather. [Edited by Gwen Jones. Foreword by Thomas Trask. Contains 90 sermons.]

Sermon Classics. Limited edition. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime Media Ministries, 1991. 514 p. Blue Leather. [Edited by Gwen Jones. Foreword by Thomas Trask. Contains 90 sermons. Limited edition of 3500 signed copies. There seems to be no difference between the limited edition and the regular edition except for a bookplate on the front flyleaf that has the book number and C.M.'s signature.]

Sermon Classics. Volume 2. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime Media Ministries, 1993. 515 p. Red Leather. [Edited by Gwen Jones.]

Sermon Classics. Volume 2. Limited edition. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime Media Ministries, 1993. 515 p. Red Leather. [Edited by Gwen Jones. Limited to 3500 signed copies with book plate.]

Sermons from Luke. Tulsa, OK: Harrison House, 1982. 84 p. Paperback. [At least 2 printings. Has unnumbered pages with photo of C.M. and list of books.]

She's Gone. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1968. 32 p. Pamphlet.

Should Parents Force Their Children to go to Church? Pulpit Series No. 3. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1954?] 31 p. Pamphlet. [Mimeographed.]

The Silent Speak. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1963. Photos., 23 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: The great miracle argument for "the initial evidence".]

The Simplicity of Salvation. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1974. 31 p. Pamphlet. [Unnumbered salvation invitation page: "It's as easy as this".]

The Sin of Swearing. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. {1958} [7] p. Tract, 3 folds. [Also title of a Broadcast sermon.]

Sinful Praying. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 11/27/60. (T-SP) [7 p.] Tract, 3 folds.

Sling vs. Sword. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1973. Photos., illus., 48 p. Pamphlet.

Smart People Have Been Wrong! Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1959 & 1960] (T- D; T-W) [5] p. Tract, 2 folds.

'So Did Not I'. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 9/13/59. (T-I) (4627) 7 p. Tract, 3 folds.

So Much the More: Should the Church be Dark on Wednesday

Night? Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1958] [7] p. Tract.

Space Travel Foretold. Pulpit Series No. 20. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1956. (10M 256). 30 p. Pamphlet. [This pamphlet has a list of C.M. items. 10/57 Tucker]

Space Travel Foretold. Pulpit Series No. 20. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1973. 30 p. Pamphlet.

Special Delivery. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1974] [3] p. Tract, 1 fold. [Christmas tract.]

Special Middle East Revivaltime Prophecy Tabloid. Illus. [4] p. [No publication data.]

Sto dalje prodiremo u Svemir, to vise moja vjera raste…Dr. Wernher von Braun. Zagreb, Yugoslavia: Kristova Pentekostna Crkva u SFRJ, 1970. Illus, photos, 31 p. Pamphlet.

The Story-Study of Jeremiah. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1963. 16 p. Pamphlet.

Stranglehold. 1972 Prophecy Book. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1971. 32 p. Pamphlet.

The Sure Foundation: Jim Bakker Presents a PTL Club Daily Devotional Guide with Dr. C.M. Ward. Charlotte, NC: PTL Television Network, 1978. Paperback. [Edited by Dr. Jeffrey Park. Photo of Bakker and CM on back cover. No pagination.]

"The Sword of Goliath". Revivaltime Sermons of the Month. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (3M 755). 42 p. Pamphlet.

Temper. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 10/12/58. (T-T) [7] p. Tract, 3 folds. [Some printings do not have date.]

Ten Year Olds in Hell. Revivaltime Sermons of the Month. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (5M 655). 41 p. Pamphlet.

Tension. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1973. 31 p. Pamphlet.

"That Ye Might Believe": An Explanation of the Purpose of the Gospel of John. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1974. Illus., 40 p. Pamphlet.

There Shall be Signs. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1964. Illus., 84 p. Pamphlet.

These All Died in Faith. Revivaltime Sermons of the Month.

Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (5M 1055) 34 p. Pamphlet. [Some printings contain list of C.M. items.]

A Thief in Paradise. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 9/18/60. (TTP) [7] p. Tract. 3 fold.

Things I Didn't Learn in Bible School. South Plainfield, NJ: Bridge Publishing, Inc., 1982. Photos., 136 p. Paperback. [With Jeffrey Parks. Photo of CM on cover.]

The Third Day. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1965. 4$\overline{4}$ p. Pamphlet.

This Child Shall be Lent unto the Lord. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1967. Illus., 31 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: The power of child dedication.]

This Child Shall be Lent unto the Lord. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1967. (8th printing 1994; 10th printing 1999). Illus., 32 p. Pamphlet. [Illustrated by Kim Nettie.] (02-0822) [at least 10 printings; 9th 1987; 10th 1998]

"Thou Preparest a Table"... Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1974. 31 p. Pamphlet. [Cover adds: in the presence of mine enemies.]

"Though He was Crucified". The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1963. Illus., 16 p. Pamphlet.

The Three Big Lies of Communism. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1954] (T-Lies) [7] p. Tract, 3 folds.

The Three Big Lies of Communism and other Special Sermons. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1954. (10M 1054). 32 p. Pamphlet. [Contains list of C.M. works. Picture of CM on cover.]

Three Dozen Common Sense Answers. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1962. 48 p. Pamphlet.

Three Steps to Healing. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1978. 29 p. Pamphlet.

To Another the Working of Miracles. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1969. 22 p. Pamphlet.

Tomorrow's Temple. 1969 Prophecy Book. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1969. Illus., 48 p. Pamphlet.

The Tongue is a Fire. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, n.d. 11 p. Tract. [OCLC record number 674336181]

The Tragedy of Mixed Marriage. Pulpit Series No. 7. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1954. (64C 1254; 7M 2nd printing

555). 23 p. Pamphlet. [Some printings have list of C.M. titles. There is a printing(s)? that does not give any printer's info. At least 3 printings.]

Travel Devotions. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. Illus., charts, [24] p. Pamphlet. *The Traveler's Devotion and Log Book*. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1958. Photos., charts, illus., diagrams, 28 p. Pamphlet. [Back cover has a gas mileage calculator attached. Not electric, but a cardboard disc.]

The True Relationship between the Pentecostal Believer and the Medical Doctor. No publication data. 22 p. Pamphlet. [Mimeographed. Last numbered page has address of Revivaltime. First in Pulpit Series according to Tucker & Beam both date the pamphlet June 1954.]

The Trumpet Shall Sound. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1975. 31 p. Pamphlet.

Turned on to Jesus. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1971. Photos., 22 p. Mini-pamphlet. [Testimony of Royal Brougham, associate editor of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer.]

Two Clouds. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 5/27/62. (T-2C) 6 p. Tract, 3 folds.

Two Further Signs of Christ's Soon Return. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1959. (5M 259; 5M 759?). 30 p. Pamphlet.

Two or Three. The Pulpit Series for September. No publication data. [1954] 20 p. Pamphlet.

Two Shall Be One. Springdale, PA: Whitaker House, 1986. 146 p. Paperback. [Foreword by Jim Bakker.]

Two Trees. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. Tract, 2 folds. [Heavy stock.]

A Twofold Picture of God: And Other Messages. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, [1935?]. 131 p. Paperback. [With A.G. Ward. Foreword by S. Frodsham.]

A Twofold Picture of God: And Other Messages. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, [later than the 1935 printing]. 147 p. Paperback. [With A.G. Ward. Foreword by Stanley Frodsham.]

Unequally Yoked Together with Unbelievers. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1958?] [7] p. Tract, 3 folds.

Unto What then were You Baptized? Springfield, MO: Assemblies

of God, 1967. 31 p. Pamphlet.

"The Vilest Clean": The Story of Captain Paul Dilena His Beat: New York's Subway. The Pulpit Series. Assemblies of God, 1963. 36 p. Pamphlet. [On Back cover and inside back cover: "What is a Cup?' by Conrad S. Jensen.]

"…Waiting…" The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1959. (5M 459). 42 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: …the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain…]

Walking on the Water: The Personal Testimony of one of the Nation's Champion Surfers- Yancey Spencer of Pensacola, Florida. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1972. 22 p. Pamphlet.

What are they Saying About Divine Healing? The Press Doctors Ministers. Pulpit Series No. 19. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1956. (12M 156; 10M 2nd printing 857). 26 p. Pamphlet. [First printing contains list of C.M. titles. Each printing has a different cover.]

What Christmas Really Means. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, n.d. Illus., [8] p. Tract, 3 folds.

What does the Evangelist mean…When He Says Believe, Accept, Saved, Cleansed, Converted, Commit, Disciples? Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1961. [8] p. Tract, 3 fold. (T-E) [Also title of a Broadcast Sermon.]

What Happened? I Planned and Prayed for the Best. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1972. Photos., 27 p. Pamphlet.

What Happened to J.C. Penney. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1965. Port., 22 p. Mini-pamphlet.

What Happens to Sinners? Westwood, NJ: Fleming H. Revell, 1967. 127 p. Hardback.

What is Thy Request? It Shall be Given Thee. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [4] p. Tract, 1 fold.

What the Bible Says about Public Divine Healing Services. Pulpit Series No. 11. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (10M 555). 40 p. Pamphlet.

What You Should Know about Prophecy. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1975. 127 p. Paperback. [At least 2 printings. Adapted from *Bible Prophecy* by Stanley M. Horton. There are two teacher's guides for this book: Zenas Bickett in 1976 and one by Tom Young in 1983.]

"When Shall These Things Be?" The Pulpit Series. Springfield,

MO; Revivaltime, 1965. 64 p. Pamphlet.

When the Archangel Michael Stands Up to Fight for Israel. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1957. (15M 357). 63 p. Pamphlet. [Advert for the most requested radio sermons of 1956 on back cover.]

Where did Cain get His Wife? Revivaltime Sermons of the Month. Springfield, MO; Assemblies of God, 1955. (6M 1155). 40 p. Pamphlet.

Where did Cain get His Wife? Springfield, MO; Revivaltime, 10/9/55. (T-C) 7 p. Tract, 3 folds.

Which of these Three was Neighbor? A Study for Soulwinners from the Story of the Good Samaritan. Springfield, MO; The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1973. 32 p. Pamphlet.

Who Moves Next? Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1961] Photos., illus., [14] p. Mini-pamphlet.

The Whole Creation. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1967. Illus. Tract, 1 fold. [Christmas enclosure card. Heavy stock.]

Whose Money is It? Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, n.d. (34-4128) [8] p. Tract, 3 fold.

Why I do not Pray to the "Mother of God". The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1958. (75C 458). 24 p. Pamphlet.

Why Insist on a Protestant Purgatory? Must a Generation of Believers go through the Great Tribulation. Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1971. 23 p. Pamphlet.

The Whys & Wherefores: Answers to Personal and Bible Questions. Springfield, MO: General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1974. 32 p. Pamphlet.

Will at Long Last the Silent Sphinx Speak? The Pulpit Series, no 17. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1955. (12M 1155). 24 p. Pamphlet. [Cover: *Will the Sphinx Speak? A Prophetic Sermon.* Contains list of C.M. items.]

Will You Have a Nervous Collapse? Pulpit Series no. 8. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1955. (5M 2nd printing revised 855 5M 2nd printing revised 959). 30 p. Pamphlet. [Two page list of C.M. items. One in 4/56.]

Will You Have a Nervous Collapse? Pulpit Series no. 8. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1961. (3M 961). 32 p.

Pamphlet.

Will You Have a Nervous Collapse in 1955? Pulpit Series no. 8. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1955. (5M 155). 30 p. Pamphlet. [One page list of C.M. items.]

Will You Have a Nervous Collapse in 1959? Pulpit Series no. 8. Revised. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1959. (5m 959). 30 p. Pamphlet.

Win...or Lose... Springfield, MO; Gospel Publishing House, 1961. Illus., 44 p. Pamphlet.

Witches, Goblins, Spooks-Are They for Real? Springfield, MO: The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime, 1977. 32 p. Pamphlet.

World War III : Light in the Night. Minneapolis, MN: Osterhus Publishing Company, n.d. [196?] [4] p. Ill. Tract.

World without Children! 1970 Prophecy Book. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1970. Photos., illus., 48 p. Pamphlet.

[*The Wreath*]. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. Tract, illus., 1 fold. [Christmas card. Should be called "Christmas Wreath". Tucker 1971]

Writing on the Wall: New Prophetic Sermons and Up-to-Data. Columbus, GA: Quill Publications, 1993. 179 p. Hardback.

"Ye Visited Me". Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1961. (T-YE 6/25/61) [6] p. Tract, 3 fold.

You can Have a Prosperous Church. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime National Radio Department, [1950?]. 18 p. [Cover adds: A Courageous and Scriptural Approach to Financial Problems.]

You Must Believe in God...When You Live in Santa Cruz! Santa Cruz, CA: Bethany Bible College, 1975. Photos., 20 p. Pamphlet. [24 p. counting unnumbered pages of picture and response card. Cover adds: The Miracle of the Monarch Butterfly.]

You're a Good Mother Are You a Good Mother-in-Law Too? Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1959?] (T-MIL) 1 p. Tract, 1 fold.

You're Nobody 'til Somebody Loves You. The Pulpit Series. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1966. 23 p. Pamphlet. [Front covers add: A Sermon by C.M. Ward. Back cover: You'll never walk alone. Also Broadcast sermon.]

Yulegram: Peace on Earth. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [1969?] Tract, 1 fold. [Christmas tract.]

ARTICLES in BOOKS BY C.M. WARD

Christian and His Money. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, 1980. Pamphlet. [Betzer, Tucker, C.M.]

"Daniel's Vision of the Four Beasts" pp. 6-14 in *Revivaltime Prophecy Digest 1983*. Springfield, MO : The General Council of the Assemblies of God and Revivaltime Media Ministries, 1983.

"Former Revivaltime Speaker Shares Scriptural 'Watches'" in *Revivaltime Prophecy Tabloid: Beware of These Things*. Springfield, MO Revivaltime, n.d. [After 1978.]

"Generosity" pp 127-131 in *The Pentecostal Minister Sermon Resource Manual Volume 3* edited by Floyd D. Carey and Hoyt E. Stone. Cleveland, TN: Pathway Press, 1989.

"How Can a Minister Succeed?" pp. 27-30 in *Solving the Ministry's Toughest Problems* Vol. 2 from the editors of Ministries. Altamonte Springs, FL: Strang Communications Company, 1986.

"How Can a Preacher Achieve Total Communication?" pp 255-258 in *Solving the Ministry's Toughest Problems* vol 2.

"How Can You Add Color to Your Preaching" pp113-116 in *Solving the Ministry's Toughest Problems volume 1* from the Editors of Ministries. Altamonte Springs, FL: Strang Communications Company, 1984.

"How Not to Have a Nervous Collapse" in *American Mercury* April 1956.

"How Should You Cope with Criticism?" pp. 223-226 in *Solving the Ministry's ToughestProblems* vol. 2.

"Huit Principes pour un Mariage Heureux" pp 76-81 in *Le Serviteu de Dieu e sun Service* edited by Pasteur Hall. Assemblies de Dieu en Afrique, n.d. Illus., photos, 112 p. Pamphlet.

"Imaginative Creative Preaching" in *Preparation for Preaching* compiled by Louis H. Hauff. No publication data. 97 p. Paperback.

The Preacher's Clinic: A Study Guide in Cassette Notebook Format. Milwaukee, WI: Breakthrough Publications, 1981. 99 p. Pamphlet. 8 cassettes. [In plastic case. The pamphlet is made up transcripts of sermons of C.M. and Glen Cole. The study guide section seems to be authored by Samuel Henning. A brief introduction to C.M. was written by Nathanael Olson.]

Radio Workers Training Handbook edited by Paul & Violet Pipkin. Taipei, Taiwan: Assemblies of God Mission, 1964. Notebook. [This is in Chinese so it is hard to tell which article is C.M.'s. This may use the Handbook for Gospel Broadcasters as a model.]

"Shall We Continue with Radio" pp 7-11 in *Handbook for Gospel Broadcasters*. Springfield, MO: Radio Department Assemblies of God, n.d. 34 p. Pamphlet.

"Should Women Fill a Preaching Role in the Church?" pp 347-350 in *Solving Ministries Toughest Problems volume 1*.

"Though He Was Crucified" in *Treasury of Praise* edited by Don Gossett. 34 p. Cloverdale, British Columbia: n.d. [196?] Pamphlet.

"What Place Should Worship Have in Your Life" pp 377-380 in *Solving the Ministry's Toughest Problems volume 1*.

FOREWORDS BY C.M.

25 Great Years—25 Anointed Sermons. Jimmy Swaggart. Baton Rouge, LA: Jimmy Swaggart Ministries, 1981.

Aggie: The Inspiring Story of a Girl Without a Country. Aggie Hurst. Springfield, MO: Access Publishing, 1986. 148 p. Paperback. [Blurb.]

The Basics of Revival Campaign Planning. 2nd ed. Wesley W. Weekley. Hong Kong: World Outreach Publishers, 1969. 116 p.

Before we Kill and Eat You. H.B. Garlock. Dallas, TX: Christ for the Nations.

Dan to Beer-Sheba: A Journey through Israel. Springfield, MO: Harris Enterprises, 1979. 32 p. Photos. Pamphlet.

Fred Church and the Spirituals. Beltharto, IL: Fred Church, 197?. Record. [C.M. Wrote a "Letter of Recommendation"]

Going It Alone: A Devotional Walk through Philippians without a Spouse. Bette Carter. Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1990. 107 p. Pamphlet.

Home for the Holidays. Daniel E. Johnson. Milwaukee, WI: Breakthrough Books, 1980.

I Survived Cancer. Dorothy Ward and Ethylene Wood. Milwaukee, WI: Breakthrough, 1982.

Jesse. Robert Paul Lamb. Springdale, PA: Whitaker House, 1976.

Let's Dance! Ron S. Dryden. Oklahoma City, OK: Ron Dryden Ministries, 1988.

The Lord Calls Me Dean. Howard Dean Hill. More Excellent Way Publications, 1980. 152 p. Paperback.

The Magnificent Messiah. Atwood Foster. Portland, OR: Ecclesiastical Press, 1977.

More than Just Friends. David L. Allbritton. Dallas, TX: The Author, 197?. Photos, 37 p.

The Pursued Generation. Paul G. Trulin. Sacramento, CA: Paul Trulin Ministries, 1986. 153 p. Paperback.

Questions and Answers on Faith and Practice. Ernest S. Williams. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1959. 47 p. Pamphlet. [Cover has photo of Bro. Williams.]

Questions and Answers on Faith and Practice. Ernest S. Williams. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1963. 47 p. Pamphlet. [Cover title: Questions You have Asked and Scriptural Answers. Very different from pamphlet above.]

The Valley Park Story: A History of 35 Years of Service 1931-1966. John Eller. Valley Park, MO: First Assembly of God, 1966. Photos, 51 p.

Within Heaven's Gates. Rebecca Springer. Pittsburgh, PA: Whitaker House, 1984.

BOOKS, ARTICLES, and PAMPHLETS about C.M. WARD

Boyd, Dudley. *A Rhetorical Analysis of the Persuasive Preaching of C.M. Ward*. Pepperdine University, 1971. [M.A. Thesis]

Boyer, Vernon P. *Partnership in Pioneering: Revivaltime and First Assembly*. Elmira, NY: Maranatha Ministries, 1994. CD. 2 hours.

"Broadcaster C.M. Ward Dies" in *Charisma & Christian Life*, Sept. 1996, pp. 32-33. *C.A. Herald* December 1953. {Front and back cover deal with C.M. as new Revivaltime speaker. Picture of C.M. on from cover.}

Caldwell, E.S. "The Assemblies of God Through the Eyes of C.M. Ward" in *Charisma & Christian Life*, August 1989, pp. 46-47.

Cavaness, Barbara. "The Big Picture from the Long, Long Altar" in *Heritage*, Summer 2003.

Colbaugh, Wildon and Ron Rowden. "Then Came Jesus, the Doors

Being Shut" in *Pentecostal Evangel* May 30, 1965. pp 16-19. Photos.

Fjordbak, Everitt M. *Interview with C.M. Ward*. Dallas, TX: Lakewood Productions, 1980?. CD.

Grant, Steve. *Documentary and an Interview with C.M. Ward 1978 and 1981*. CD. Grant, Steve. "C.M. Ward: Voice of the Assemblies of God for 25 Years" in *Heritage*, June 1996.

Grant, Steve. "C.M. Ward: Voice of the Assemblies Still Loud & Strong at 85" in *Springfield! Magazine*, May 1995, pp 41-43, Photos.

Lemon, Marie. *An Interview with C.M. Ward*. Atlantic City, NJ: Grace Assembly of God, . CD.

Michael, Stanley, compiler. *Moving Illustrations from the Life and Ministry of C.M. Ward*. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1958. (5M 1258). 63 p. Pamphlet.

"Radio Evangelist Ward Dies at Age 87" in *The News-Leader* (Springfield, MO) 4b, 2 p., July 13 1996. [Ran 17 and 18 July as well with different headlines.] *Revivaltime: A Vast and Effective Full Gospel Ministry*. Springfield, MO: Revivaltime, n.d. [8 p.] Pamphlet.

Shannon, Ethylene Wood. *C.M. Ward, 1909-1996* in Glad Tidings, pp 4-5. September 1996 Minneapolis, MN: Minnesota District, 1996.

Smith, Leslie W. *Crusader of the Air Wares*. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God, 1959. 42 p. Pamphlet. [Photo of CM on front and back covers.] Smith, Sarah E. "Whoever He is, He's Out of His Mind!" in *Religious Broadcasting*, December 1994, pp 30-36. (Volume 26: number 11).

Stout, B.M. "Ward, Charles Morse" in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and CharismaticMovements* edited by Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988, p. 879.

Strang, Stephen. "The In-Ward Man" in *Charisma*, July-August pp. 24-26.

Wagner, Benjamin A. *"'Full Gospel' Radio Revivaltime and the Pentecostal Uses of Mass Media, 1950-1979"* in Fids et Historia Winter/Spring 2003 (Volume XXXV: number 1), pp. 107-122. [Best article on Ward and Revivaltime.]

Wagner, Benjamin A. *"'Full Gospel' Radio Revivaltime and the Pentecostal Uses of Mass Media, 1950-1979"*. 26 p. [Paper presented in partial fulfillment for a doctoral class at Concordia, St. Louis.]

Ward, C.M. "Rhapsody and Rapture : My Personal Experience of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit" in *Pentecostal Evangel* May 30, 1965, pp 20-21.

Warner, Wayne E. *An Interview with C.M. Ward*. Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God Archives, 1987. CD.

Wead, R. Douglas. *The C.M. Ward Story*. Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, . Photos., p. Hardback. [DJ has photo of CM.]

_____

Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang, eds.,

Asian and Pentecostal
The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia

_____

"This volume is a first in the study of Asian Pentecostalism at several levels…. This book comes highly recommended for use in courses on global Pentecostalism, Asian Church History, Moder Church History, as well as a resource for those who want to know what God is saying through the Charismatic face of Christianity in Asia."
Cecil M. Robeck, Ph.D.
Fuller Theological Seminary, CA, USA

Contributors include Walter J. Hollenweger, H-S Bae, Michael Bergunder, Simon Chan, DengZhaoming, Roger Hedlund, Hwa Yung, Jeong C-H, Jeong J-Y, Lee Y-H, Julie Ma, Wonsuk Ma, David Martin, Gotthard Oblau, Paulson Pulikottil, Mark Robinson, Paul Shew, Joseph Suico, Tan Jin Huat, Gani Wiyono, Lode Wostyn, Amos Yong and the editors.

_____
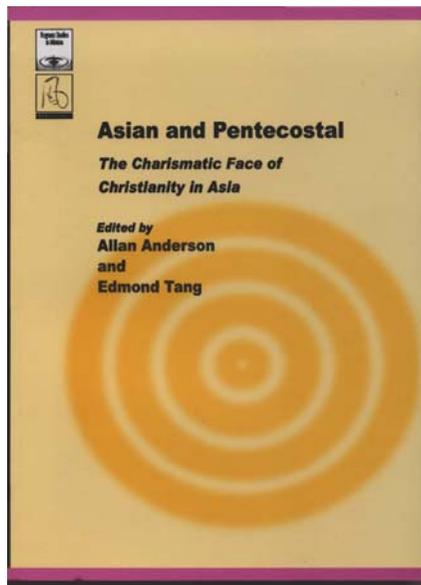
Allan Anderson is Reader in Pentecostal Studies, University of Birmingham, UK

Edmond Tang directs the Centre for East Asian Christian Studies, University of Birmingham, UK

_____

NUMBERS 11: A PENTECOSTAL PERSPECTIVE

David Hymes

A Pentecostal Perspectival Approach

Katharine Dood Sakenfeld has noted that Numbers 12 has attracted certain perspectival approaches ranging from gender[1] or feminist to race[2] or African ethnocentric readings.[3] In a similar manner it can be argued that Numbers 11 has often been read from a Pentecostal perspective. I would suggest that there are three modern Pentecostal readings of this chapter that have appeared in recent academic literature.

The first involves the attempt to establish an analogy between the experience of the elders in Num 11 with the Pentecostal experience of Spirit Baptism. Applying the temporary prophetic abilities of the

---

[1] Ursula Rapp, *Mirjam: Eine feministisch-rhetorische Lektüre der Mirjamtexte in der hebräischen Bibel*, BZAW 317 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), 31-193; Rita J. Burns, *Has the Lord indeed spoken only through Moses? A Study of the Biblical Portrait of Miriam*, SBLDS 84 (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1987), 48-79; Phyllis Trible, "Subversive Justice: Tracing the Miriamic Traditions," in *Justice and the Holy: Essays in Honor of Walter Harrelson*, ed. D. Knight and P. Paris (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 99-109; Wilda C. Gafney, *Daughters of Miriam: Women Prophets of Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008), 76-85.

[2] David Tuesday Adamo, "The African wife of Moses: an examination of Numbers 12:1-9," *ATJ* 18, no. 3 (1989), 230-237; David Tuesday Adamo, *Africa and the Africans in the Old Testament*, (San Francisco: International Scholars Publications, 1998), 67-73; Jacqueline Ann Williams, "And She became 'snow white': Numbers 12:1-16," *OTE* 15, no. 1 (2002), 259-68.

[3] See Katharine Doob Sakenfeld, "New approaches to understanding and study of the Bible," in *The Bible in the twenty-first century*, ed. Howard Clark Kee (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1993), 131-37.

seventy elders, Wonsuk Ma notes that the

> . . . prophesying was perhaps one of the best phenomena which includes objectivity, demonstrability as well as its cultural acceptability among the Israelites. This visible demonstration of the spirit's presence was probably intended to provide an objective sign of God's authentication upon the seventy elders to the people.
>
> The sign served not only the recipients, that is, the seventy, and Moses himself, but also the people to whom the seventy would eventually administer by assisting Moses. The election authenticated by the coming of the spirit (with the prophetic sign), in a sense provided God-given authority upon God's chosen sub-leaders in the presence of the people. Although in a less significant way, this reaffirmed the leadership authority of Moses when God affirmed his choice of the seventy.[4]

Ma has combined two themes: authentication of the leadership role or office and the presence of a quantifiable sign[5] of the spirit's presence. It is interesting to note that Roger Stronstad had argued back in 1980 that Luke was influenced by two Old Testament charismatic motifs: transfer motif and sign motif.[6] These basically align with Ma's depiction. For Ma, the sign was a "behavioral display, rather than upon any pronounced oracle."[7] This sign served two roles: "authentication

---

[4]   Wonsuk Ma, "'If it is a Sign': An Old Testament Reflection on the Initial Evidence discussion," *AJPS* 2, no. 2 (1999) 167. Note however that Benjamin D. Sommer, "Reflecting on Moses: The Redaction of Numbers 11," *JBL* 118, no. 4 (1999), 606 counters that, "the point of gathering them is not to introduce them to the burden of leadership for the first time . . . . Rather, it is to allow those who already share Moses' political burden to experience prophecy."

[5]   Ma is following Frank Macchia, "Groans too Deep for Words: Towards a Theology of Tongues as Initial Evidence," *AJPS* 1, no. 2 (1998), 149-73, where Macchai suggests the use of the term "sign" rather than "evidence."

[6]   Roger Stronstad, "The Influence of the Old Testament on the Charismatic Theology of St. Luke," *Pneuma* 2, no. 1 (1980), 35-7. In Roger Stronstad, *Spirit, Scripture and Theology: A Pentecostal Perspective* (Baguio City: APTS Press, 1995), 154, he notes three: "1) transfer, 2) the sign, and 3) the vocation motifs."

[7]   Ma, "'If it is a Sign'," 171.

and empowerment."[8] Ma further answers a self posed question of why prophesying was used by noting that "Prophesying, which is beyond the human realm in nature, thus provides a clear sign of divine control or possession. In that sense, this sign is more than a signpost. Rather, it contains certain elements of the reality to which it points."[9]

Roger Cotton has similarly argued that Num 11 was "the foundational Charismatic/Pentecostal passage in the Old Testament."[10] In fact "Numbers 11 strongly supports a concept of initial observable evidence of the empowering of a believer to fulfill God's purpose for him or her as a witness for the Lord."[11]

A second Pentecostal perspectival reading is strangely found among non-Pentecostals who have understood the ecstatic state of the prophesying elders as being some sort of glossolalia. Gordon Wenham for example writes that "the prophecy described here was probably an unintelligible ecstatic utterance, what the New Testament terms speaking in tongues, not the inspired, intelligible speech of the great Old Testament prophets . . . ."[12] His reading does not have any substantial support. However Nobuyoshi Kiuchi supports Wenham based on the supposed ecstatic nature of the Hithpael form of the verb נבא and concludes that "in the Old Testament, there is no one word that represents "glossolalia," however from the purpose and the behavior of the 72 elders' prophesy, we may speculate that they were speaking in tongues."[13] The theory that the form התנביא represents an ecstatic behavior on the part of the elders has been contested by many scholars. As early as 1979, Robert Wilson summarizes his study of the form by noting that

the use of the hithpael of *nb   suggests that this form was

---

[8]   Ma, "'If it is a Sign'," 172.

[9]   Ma, "'If it is a Sign'," 173.

[10]   Roger D. Cotton, "The Pentecostal Significance of Numbers 11," *JPT* 10, no. 1 (2001), 3.

[11]   Cotton, "The Pentecostal," 8.

[12]   Gordon J. Wenham, *Numbers: An Introduction & Commentary*, Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries (Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity Press, 1981), 109.

[13]   Nobuyoshi Kiuchi, "Prophesy as a Sign (Numbers 11:24-30) - A Biblical Theological Consideration," *Exegetica* 9 (1998), 10 [my translation from the Japanese].

indeed used to describe characteristic prophetic behavior. However, this behavior seems to have varied from group to group within Israel and also changed over the course of Israelite history. The term sometimes designated types of ecstatic or trance behavior, but this was not always the case. Increasingly the term was used to describe characteristic prophetic speech, until finally the hithpael of *nb became synonymous with the niphal.[14]

Another scholar, Benjamin Uffenheimer also notes the diverse behavior that is associated with the Hithpael form. He writes, "the argument concerning the Hitpa'el form *hitnabbē* , which has been raised by scholars as evidence of prophetic madness, is untenable. The philological investigation into this form reveals that its semantic field covers all shades of meaning from "to behave enthusiastically" to "to be made" (1 Sam xviii 10) - the exact meaning in each case being determined by the context."[15]

It is in an article by John Levison that the strongest counter argument has been offered. Levison categorically denies the out of control frenzy portrayal of the Elders by: 1) denying that 1 Sam 10-19 is parallel to Num 11; 2) focusing on the verbs אצל and נוח rather than נבא; 3) and following a different sociological understanding of the role of ecstasy in society. He argues that the prophetic phenomena that the elders experienced was visionary.[16] Since Cotton[17] used the unique understanding of the Hithpael form of נבא as a crucial part of his argument and Ma interpreted Num 11 based on the texts of 1 Sam 10 and 19,[18] Levison's proposal destroys both the ecstatic-tongues reading and the sign/evidence element.

Roger Stronstad, provides a third read when he argues that Num 11.25-29 is the wellspring for the "doctrine of the prophethood of all

---

[14] Robert R. Wilson, "Prophecy and Ecstasy: A Reexamination," *JBL* 98, no. 3 (1979), 336.

[15] Benjamin Uffenheimer, "Prophecy, Ecstasy, and Sympathy," *Vetus Testamentum Supplements* 40 (1988), 263.

[16] John R. Levison, "Prophecy in Ancient Israel: The Case of the Ecstatic Elders," *CBQ*, 65, no. 4 (2003), 503-21.

[17] Cotton, "The Pentecostal," 7-8.

[18] Ma, "'If it is a Sign'," 167-70.

believers,"[19] which was expanded in Joel 2.28-32 and followed in the Luke-Act tradition.[20] Num 12.6 is used as a bridge to Joel 2 with the mention of dreams and visions, however the Numbers pericope paints dreams and visions as subordinate forms of Yahweh's revelation in comparison to the direct revelation that Moses received.

Several important contextual preliminaries to exegesis and application that have not been taken into account by Pentecostals include the following observations. First, as Rolf Knierim has indicated, Exodus through Deuteronomy should be read as a biography of Moses. In Knierim's own words, "*the Pentateuch is not the story or history of Israel's beginnings but the story of the life of Moses which is fundamental for the beginnings of Israel's history; that it is the vita, or the biography of Moses*."[21] This implies that as in the immediate context of the subunit Num 10.11-14.45, Moses stands out as the main character. Even in Num 14.5-10, where it seems that Moses and Aaron have lost their leadership role to Joshua and Caleb, Yahweh turns the story back to Moses as the sole mediator for Israel in the rest of the chapter. A peek into this Moses-centric reading may be noted in Num 12.6-8, where prophets are recognized as revelatory agents of Yahweh, but are understood as secondary in quality to that which is mediated by Moses. Therefore when it comes to Num 11, even with an over emphasis on the prophesying elders, Eldad/Medad or Moses' wish that all of Yahweh's people were prophets and that they would have Yahweh's spirit on them (11.29b), the exegete should not be distracted from understanding it as ultimately Moses' story.

Second, Num 11 must not be exegeted without realizing that it has an immediate context of Num 10.11-14.45.[22] The Sinai event had come

---

[19]   Roger Stronstad, "The Prophethood of all Believers: A Study in Luke's Charismatic Theology," in *Pentecostalism in Context: Essays in Honor of William W. Menzies*, ed. Wonsuk Ma and Robert P. Menzies, JPTSup 11 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 61.

[20]   Roger Stronstad, *The Prophethood of All Believers: A Study in Luke's Charismatic Theology*, JPTSup 16 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 75, 84.

[21]   Rolf P. Knierim, "The Composition of the Pentateuch," in *The Task of Old Testament Theology* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1995), 372, the italics are Knierim's.

[22]   The LXX should be delimited as 10.1-14.45, because of several internal connections with the unit 10.11-36.

to an end and now the fully equipped Israelite people begin their travel into the wilderness toward the promised land. The ideal, which is described in chapter 10 is exposed to a series of conflicts in 11.1-3, 4-35; 12.1-16; 13.1-14.45. Analyzed from a narratological perspective,[23] 10.11-36 should be considered an exposition, laying the groundwork for the upcoming narrative. The subunits in 11.1-14.10a are a series of complications which will be altered in 14.10b by Yahweh's glory.[24] The following indictment, intercession and judgment in 14.11-38 bring closure to the collection of subunits. The exodus generation had been unfaithful to Yahweh and now will live out their lives in the wilderness without entering the promised land. The futile effort to force an entry in 14.39-45 concludes the larger unit. This contextual framework for Num 11 means that the chapter is part of a strong current that is flowing toward the grave sin of unbelief in chapters 13-14. Num 11 with the people's implied threat to return to Egypt[25] not only connects to this torrent, but also must be integrated into any analysis of the chapter.

Third, the two major plot-lines in Num 11 should not be exegeted in isolation. Scholars have traditionally isolated two story-lines; one dealing with the demand for meat that led to Yahweh providing quail and, a second dealing with Moses' complaint about shouldering the burden of leadership of the Israelites to which Yahweh provides 70 elders that prophesy.[26] However there are several *Leitwöter* that

---

[23]   See Yairah Amit, *Reading Biblical Narratives: Literary Criticism and the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 46-7.

[24]   Claus Westermann, "Die Herrlichkeit Gottes in der Priesterschrift," in *Wort, Gebot, Glaube: Beiträge zur Theologie des Alten Testaments Walther Eichrodt zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Hans J. Stoebe, AthANT 59 (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1970), 242. Westermann has observed that the appearance of the glory of Yahweh consistently occurs in the center of the glory of Yahweh narratives in Priestly literature.

[25]   For the importance of this theme in the Pentateuch and especially for Numbers 11 and 14, see F. V. Greiffenhagen, *Egypt on the Pentateuch's Ideological Map: Constructing Biblical Israel's Identity*, JSOTSup 361 (New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 177-205.

[26]   The older standard source critical studies on Numbers 11 divide the text into two intertwining narratives from two different sources. Specifically J, represented by 11.4-15, 18-23, 31-35 and E with 11.1-3, 16-17, 24-30. See S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1913), 62. However even the early source critical scholars seem to vary in detail. For example J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der Historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter,

indicate that the final form of the text is meant to be read together and not isolated.[27] Three specific words that bridge the supposed fissures of the two plot-lines include first of all, אסף√, which first appears in the word, אספסף and shows up in 11.16, 22, 24, 30, 32 (x2). The second is the נשא√ which also appears crossing the supposed plot-lines. It is found in Num 11.11, 12 (x2), 14, 17 (x3). Finally the אכל√ runs throughout the chapter: 11.1, 4, 5, 13, 18 (x2), 19, 21. This means that all implications that are derived from this chapter should be informed by both stories-line not just an isolated look at the prophesying elders or Moses' desire for a democratization of the prophetic. The approach of Cotton and especially Ma have failed to deal sufficiently with the interconnectedness of the two plot-lines. This can be noticed by the

---

1963, vierte unveränderte auflage), 99, has the E material as 11.14-17 and 24b-29. The most radical is that of H. Seebass, "Num. XI, XII und die Hypothese des Yahwisten," *VT* 28 (1978), 214-223. See the summary on pages 219-20, where he divides the text into: a) the J source (establishment of the seventy) in 11.4a, bα, 10b-11, 14-16aα, b, 17, 24b-25a, 30, 33b-34; b) a pre-Deuteronomic source (the quail plague) in 11.4bβ, 10a, 12-13, 18aα, 19-20a, 21-23a, 24a, 31-33a; c) a Deuteronomic source (the people's revolt against Yahweh) in 11.5-9, 16aβ, 18aβ, b, 20b, 23b; d) a postexilic redaction (ecstatic prophecy of Eldad and Medad) in 11.25b-29. Volkmar Fritz, *Israel in der Wüste: Traditionsgeschichtliche untersuchung der Wüstenüberlieferung des Jahwisten* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1970), 16-18, divides the sources into the E-source at 11.11, 12, 14-17, 24b-30, while the J-source is found in 11.4-6, 10, 13, 18-25a, 31-35. Aaron Schart, *Mose und Israel im Konflikt: Eine Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studie zu Wüstenerzählungen*, OBO 98 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 162-63 divides the text into a early J source focusing on the quail story with 11.4-6, 13, 18-24a, 31-35 and a D gloss in 11-12, 14-17, 24b-30. Benjamin Sommer, "Reflecting on Moses: The Redaction of Numbers 11," *JBL* 118, no. 4 (1999), 604, divides the chapter as 11.4-15, 18-24a, 31-35 and 11.16-17, 24b-30. Reinhard Achenbach, *Die Vollendung der Tora: Studien zur Redationsgeschichte des Numeribuches im Kontext von Hextateuch und Pentateuch*, BZABR 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2003), 219-20, 266, provides a new redactional approach breaking the text in the followin manner: early quail narrative (Num 11.4bβ, 5, 6a, 13, 16aα, 18aα, 18b, 19, 20aα, 21-23, 31-32); a HexRed via the murmuring narrative (Num 11.1-3, 4a, 4bα, 6b, 10bα, 18abg, 18b, 20aβ, 20b, 33-35); a PentRed (Num 11.10a, 10bβ, 11-12, 14-15, 16aβ, 16b, 17, 24-30); while Num 11.7-9 is ThB.

27　See Pamela Tamarkin Reis, "Numbers XI: Seeing Moses Plain," *VT* 55, no. 2 (2005), 229-31, who argues along with A. Berlin that the "compositional and rhetorical features" of Num 11 argues against the redactional and source critical analysis of the pericope.

downplaying or total silence about the significant internal issues such as the "desire," "manna," "Moses' expostulation," "quail," "Eldad & Medad."[28]

Last but not least is the fact that the text of Num 11 is pluriform, having been preserved in multiple textual trajectories which are now represented by the Masoretic, Samaritan Pentateuch and Septuagint, with many interpretative additions present in the Targumim. The slow realization by the scholarly community,[29] that the manuscript finds in the Judean desert clearly indicate that there was a range of textual traditions in Judaism during the period of about 300 BCE to 100 CE[30] and that the early church developed in this context makes it imperative to interact with these texts. This is especially so for a Pentecostal perspective since the tradition has a proclivity towards repristination. Taking the pluriform nature of the text seriously would be inline with a first century understanding of the chapter.

An Analysis of Numbers 11

The usual exposition of Num 11 involves an isolation of not only 11.1-3 from the rest of the chapter, but also a lack of continuity with the prior materials in 10.11-36. It is better to recognize that the story of Num 11 has its initial exposition, with the descriptions of Moses and tribes of Israel being lead out from Mount Sinai on a 3 days journey into the wilderness.[31] A glimpse into Moses' family life (10.29-32) has been woven into the theme of the military/cultic march.[32] Family issues

---

[28]   Conrad E. L'Heureux, "Numbers," *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*, Vol. 5, (London: 1990), 27 writes, "The acknowledgement of Eldad and Medad's prophetic charism by Moses against the objection of Joshua, serves to protect the independence of the prophetic office [perhaps a better phrase would be "prophetic *role*"] from those who would subject it to institutional control."

[29]   See Eugene Ulrich, "Our Sharper Focus on the Bible and Theology Thanks to the Dead Sea Scrolls," *CBQ* 66, no. 1 (2004), 1-24.

[30]   See the recent volume Hanne von Weissenberg, Juha Pakkala and Marko Marttila, *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple*, BZAW 419 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011).

[31]   Fritz, *Wüste*, 68-70; John van Seters, *The Life of Moses* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994), 226-7; H. Seebass, *Numeri 10,11-22,1*, BKAT 4 (Düsseldorf: Neukirchener Verlag, 2003), 21.

[32]   Rolf P. Knierim and George W. Coats, *Numbers*, FOTL, vol. IV (Grand

reappear once again in Num 12 enclosing chapter 11 with the good and the bad of familiar relationships and political realities.

Num 11.1-3 is the prelude[33] to the upcoming murmuring story which begins in v. 4. It introduces a series of complications that will thwart Israel from reaching the goal of the promised land. Here, however the people are warned by a shocking "fire from Yahweh" which burns the outskirts of the encampment. But the warning did not have a lasting effect. Even before Israel moved to a new location,[34] a small segment of the population "desires a desire" (v. 4). The irony of the selfish demand for meat to eat35 right after a story about a consuming fire from Yahweh links the stories with the all too familiar *Leitwort*, √אכל, "to eat" or "to consume."

The countermemory36 of these people paint a picture of culinary opulence which does not align with the understanding of their slavery in Egypt as depicted in the book of Exodus. Nor does it align with recent research that indicates that the dietary triad of cereals, grape and olive products, with an emphasis on the grains, was the staple for the *hoi polloi* of the region.37 Although Yahweh had provided manna (vv. 7-9; Exod 16), the monotony caused the people to claim that their very souls were dried up (נפשנו יבשה). This colorful phrase was a hyperbole to emphasis their desire for dietary variety and a dislike of their present state so much so that they were weeping (v. 10a) within their family units to a point where both Moses and Yahweh will have to take action

Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2005), 141.

[33] Erhard Blum, *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch*, BZAW 189 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1990), 135, calls it a "*Vorspiel*."

[34] Ludwig Schmidt, *Das vierte Buch Mose: Numeri 10,11-36,13* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 19-20.

[35] It is to be noted that a diet of meat was not normative for people in Egypt nor throughout the Mediterranean region. See Douglas Brewer, "Hunting, Animal Husbandry and Diet in Ancient Egypt," in *A History of the Animal World in Ancient Near East*, ed. Billie Jean Collins (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 438.

[36] Adriane Leveen, *Memory and Tradition in the Book of Numbers* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 83.

[37] Peter Garnsey, *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 13-17; J. F. Ross, "Food," *Interpreter's Bible Dictionary*, vol. 2 (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), 304-8. Nathan MacDonald, *Not Bread Alone: The Uses of Food in the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 47-52, 60-65.

(v. 10b).

In v. 18, Yahweh's understanding of the complaint is revealed, one which is already noted as causing Yahweh to be angry (v. 10b). The people's demand for meat comes from their claim that their lives were better off back in Egypt (טוב לנו במצרים). This may be taken as an implicit rejection of Yahweh's act of delivering the former slaves from their bondage. A similar sentiment surfaces in v. 20, where Moses presents Yahweh's message with a quote from the people: "Why did we ever leave Egypt?" Egypt reappears in chapter 14 when the majority report of the scouts cause the people to revolt against Moses' and Aaron's leadership. A return to Egypt is proposed along with an attempt to replace these leaders (14.1-4). This longer plot-line suggests that the cause for the accusations in Num 14.11 may have already been present in chapter 11. In Num 14 the people are accused of spurning and not believing in God. Here in 11.20, the term "rejected" (מאסתם) is used to describe the peoples' complaint. It was these very people that Moses astutely claimed were Yahweh's people and not his suckling infants (vv. 11b-12).38 In a similar manner and general literary context, Moses presents his wish as a counter to the banal desires of the people for meat. Grammatically the reading of v. 4b as "Who will give us meat to eat?" is questionable. I would argue that it should be translated instead as a wish or desire,39 therefore: "If only we had meat to eat!"40 The phrase would then be complemented by v. 29bα, where a similar interrogative phrase is used in an optative manner with the phrase: "if only all Yahweh's people were prophets." I suggest that the counter-balancing of these two desires is an important element in the narrative. Moses has a great and positive expectation of the people in spite of their carnal proclivities. If the people were all prophets and Yahweh gave his spirit to them, we would expect them to be able to receive

---

38   n.b. the phrase כל־העם הזה in v. 12 should be sharply contrasted with יהוה כל־עם in v. 29.

39   P Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, trans. and rev. Muraoka (Rome: Susidia biblica, 2006), §163d, who states, "A wish is sometimes expressed by an exclamatory question"; Carl Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen: Neukirchner Verlag, 1956), §9; W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch and E. A. Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Backwell, 1910), §151a.

40   B. Jongeling, "L'expression *my ytn* dans l'ancien Testament," *VT* 24, no. 1 (1974), 40, has translated the phrase as "Ah! si quelqu'un nous donnait de la viande à manger!"

revelations from Yahweh directly, albeit limited compared to Moses (12.6-8). Furthermore, if the people could receive revelations from Yahweh, then Moses' burden would be reduced. Such a desire on the part of Moses, a virtual prophethood of all Israel, would be a great asset for their future. Paradoxically, it would mean that the people would also be culpable for their disloyalty to Yahweh since they would know better.

Ironically, Yahweh judges those who demanded meat as an alternative to the consistent gracious provision of manna with an overabundance of meat (vv. 18b-20a; 31-32). This was an act that was as large in scale as Moses' wish that all would be prophets. A further irony, and maybe the more pertinent one is that it was Moses who first introduced the subject of quantity in v. 13a with the question: "Where am I to get meat to give to all this people?" Once again in the late retort of v. 21, Moses brings up the quantity issue. The amount that is described here is now: one month worth of meat for 600,000 foot soldiers and more. The narrative allows Moses to further expostulate with Yahweh in a sardonic tone indicating that neither the slaughter of the livestock nor a successful fishing expedition would be sufficient (v. 22). The overabundance answers Moses' questions and indicates to him as well as to the people that Yahweh's arms are not too short to provide for them and that Yahweh will fulfill his words (v. 23).

The plot-line of the prophesying elders along with Moses' desire that "all Yahweh's people were prophets" is deeply woven into the desperately broken relationship between Yahweh and the people. It is this same relationship that Moses wanted to mend by the democratization of the prophetic. Moses' long expostulation with Yahweh is his attempt to build a bridge that brings the people back to Yahweh. Here it is important to grapple with how one understands Moses' seemingly harsh interaction with Yahweh. Michael Widmer, for example, argues that Moses allowed "personal anger and irritation to take over," because he was "overwhelmed by the complaints of the people."[41] I would, on the contrary, understand Moses' daring expostulation as a bold act of intercession, one which George Coats has labeled a "loyal opposition."[42] There is no textual evidence to suggest

---

[41]   Widmer, *Moses, God, and the Dynamics of Intercessory Prayer: A Study of Exodus 32-34 and Numbers 13-14*, FAT 2 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 298.

[42]   George Coats, "The King's Loyal Opposition: Obedience and Authority in Exodus 32-34," in *The Moses Tradition*, JSOTSup 161 (Sheffield: Sheffield

that Moses had done anything wrong in his strong verbal sparing with Yahweh. In v. 15, which is the climax to this section of Moses' intercession for the people, he concludes with an either/or challenge. "Help me or just kill me," is his ultimate plea. The parenthetical phrase, "if I have found favor in your sight," a phrase that Moses has used before in his intercession for the Israelites,43 gives evidence that he is forcefully bringing his request to a temporary conclusion.

11.17	11.25
aα - Then I will descend and speak with you there aβ - and I will take some of the spirit which is on you aγ - and I will put it on them;	aα - Then Yahweh descended in a cloud and spoke with him aβ - and he took some of the spirit which was on him aγ - and he put it on the seventy men, the elders
bα - and they will bear the burden of the people with you bβ - so that you will not bear it alone.	bα - and when the spirit rested on them, bβ - they prophesied but did not continue.

The elders that Yahweh has requested Moses to assemble are a direct answer to Moses' request that he would not have to shoulder the burden of the people alone (vv. 14, 17b). These elders were "those called" or "elected" by the community as indicated in the passive understanding of both the Qere and Kethib reading of this verse.44 They are therefore a positive representation of the people of Israel. They are transformed by receiving a portion of the spirit (רוח) that was on Moses. The tendency of the Pentecostal perspectival reading is to presuppose that the reference to the spirit here is part of an empowering רוח יהוה/אלהים tradition, however I would argue against such

Academic Press, 1993), 57-75.

43   Exod 33,12, 13(x2), 16, 17; 34.9.

44   See Diether Kellermann, *Die Priesterschrift von Numeri 1.1 bis 10.10* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1970), 6-7 and David Hymes, "Heroic Leadership in the Wilderness, Part 1," *AJPS* 9, no. 2 (2006), 303-4.

interpretation.45 Vv. 17 and 25 are crucial in determining the meaning of רוח here.

V. 25 is presented as the fulfillment of v. 17. Therefore v. 17aα, aβ and aγ align with v. 25aα, aβ and aγ. It is with 17bα-β and 25bα-β that the verses provide an interpretative crux: "and they will bear the burden of the people with you so that you will not bear it alone" (v. 17bα-β); "and when the spirit rested on them they prophesied but did not continue" (v. 25bα-β). So the רוח resting on them is parallel to the burden of sustaining the people. This suggests that the רוח is the gifting or more contextually, the responsibility to lead the people by shouldering them.46 Furthermore, as the elders would relieve Moses from his singular task of sustaining the people, so they also glimpse the prophetic office of Moses by prophesying in one anomalous event (יספו ולא ויתנבאו).

Two further examples of a unique use of רוח and the leadership roles can be observed in the depiction of Caleb and Joshua in the book of Numbers. In Num 14.24, Caleb is called by Yahweh as "my servant" (עבדי), a title only attributed in the book of Numbers to Moses (12.7) with a strong leadership implication.47 Furthermore he will uniquely be granted entrance into the promised land over against others of his generation because "he has a different spirit within him" and "he has followed me fully." The "different spirit within him" (רוח אחרת עמו) explicitly contrasts him with the other Israelites. Most interestingly, there is no biblical evidence that he received this spirit at any specific time. Caleb's spirit here is something that he possessed before the crisis

---

45   Pentecostal and Charismatic Old Testament scholars have tended to overemphasize the importance of the noun רוח and have distorted their studies by artificially isolating certain uses of the term while neglecting the full semantic field. The 14 usages of רוח in the book of Numbers varies widely including an attitude of jealously (5.14 (x2), 30), divine empowerment to prophesy (11.29, 24.2), wind (Num 11.31), divine gifting (11.17, 25 (x2), 26), an attitude of faith or courage (14.24), leadership capacity (27.18), and an immaterial aspect of "all flesh" (16.22; 27.16).

46   See Ze'ev Weisman, "The Personal Spirit as Imparting Authority," *ZAW* 93, no. 2 (1981), 231, who notes that "the spirit that is conveyed to them from the spirit that is on Moses is meant to have them partake of Moses' authority while also subjecting them to it in a sacred ceremony in which the main performer is God himself."

47   Seebass, *Numeri*, 120, notes that "Kaleb heißt hier ganz singulär Gottes Knecht."

of Num 13-14 and is not understood as temporary. It is just who he is. Since the phrase is in parallel with "he has followed me fully," one which has military overtones, it may be best to consider it a personal trait such as courage or boldness in battle.48

In Num 27.18 it is Joshua who is said to "have a spirit in him" (בו רוח). One may be tempted to translate the רוח here as courageousness or boldness in battle as in the case of Caleb, since Joshua often appears in such military contexts. However, Num 27 is slightly different. Here, the narrative is concerned with Joshua's commissioning as the one who would lead Israel in general.49 In the parallel account of Deut 34, Joshua is said to be "filled with the spirit of wisdom" (v. 9, רוח חכמה מלא).50 Although this has been read as implying that the laying on of Moses' hands caused Joshua to be filled with the spirit of wisdom, it is better to understand the particle כי as "introducing a strong emphatic statement"51 combining the act of laying on of hands and the obedience of the congregation to Joshua. Now the two texts are in harmony and indicate that Joshua was chosen due to the רוח that he already had. Here then as in Caleb's case, Joshua is chosen because of his spirit, an aspect of his person that was present before Moses laid his

---

48   Martin Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist: Untersuchungen zu den Berührungspunkten beider Literaturwerke*, AThANT 67 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1981), 265-66. See also Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 78, who notes that the phrase is "found only in connection with Caleb and . . . reflects the original formulation of the grant tradition of Caleb."

49   Itamar Kislev, "The Investiture of Joshua (Numbers 27:12-23) and the Dispute on the Form of the Leadership of *Yehud*," *VT* 59, no. 3 (2009), 429-44, argues that v. 19, which has Joshua secondary to Eleazar is a secondary redaction to the text, added in the Persian period. I would agree with this suggestion.

50   See J. Roy Porter, "The Succession of Joshua," in *Proclamation and Presence: Old Testament Essays in Honour of Gwynne Henton Davies*, ed. John Durham and J. R. Porter (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1983), 128.

51   Although many translations of Deut 24.9 imply that Joshua received the spirit of wisdom after Moses laid his hands on him, implying contradiction between this text and Num 27.18, Vogels has proffered a simple solution. He breaks the sentence up and reads: "And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom. When (or Since) Moses had laid his hands upon him, the people of Israel obeyed him . . . ." See Walter Vogels, "The Spirit of Joshua and the Laying on of Hands by Moses," *LTP* 38, no. 1 (1982), 7.

hands on him. The term רוח was introduced in Num 27 as part of Moses' request for a successor in v. 16: "May Yahweh, the God of the spirits of all flesh, appoint a person over the congregation." If the concept of the רוח in these verses are related, the phrase "spirits of all flesh" is instructive. Although Joshua's רוח is obviously from Yahweh, it is related to a larger concept of "spirits of all flesh," rather than emphasizing a charismatic gifting.[52] As Mattingly correctly notes "YHWH knows who Joshua is and can guarantee Moses that Joshua possess the requisite spiritual qualifications and skills for leadership."[53] It is difficult to be more precise.

The spirit on Moses in Num 11 that is distributed to the elders is similar in that it can be said to be Moses' and yet ultimately Yahweh's. The use of רוח in v. 31 of chapter 11 is quite different. It refers to the wind that carries the unexpected overabundance of meat. But contextually, the paralleling of the רוח of Moses, the רוח of Yahweh desired to be placed on all the people and the רוח that drives the quail toward the Israelite encampment is significant. An aligning of Moses' רוח and its effect on the elders is ironically twisted, with the hope-for prophetic activity of the people being put aside to meet their demand for meat.

A quick comparison of the characterizations of Moses, the seventy elders along with Eldad and Medad, and the people in general is helpful to clarify the meaning of Num 11. Beginning with the people in general (עם),[54] it is to be noted that stress is placed on their importance for the understanding of the chapter since out of the 87 occurrences of this noun in the book of Numbers, 20 are found in this chapter. They are portrayed negatively in vv. 11, 12, 13 and 14 as can be argued by the

---

[52]   Contra Vogels, "The Spirit of Joshua," 6 and Leon Wood, *The Holy Spirit in the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976), 49-50. I also do not agree with Keith Mattingly, "The Significance of Joshua's reception of the Laying on of Hands in Numbers 27:12-23," *AUSS* 39, no. 2 (2001), 196, who argues that the text implies that the spirit is both indicative of Joshua being a spirited individual and having God's spirit.

[53]   Mattingly, "The Significance," 196.

[54]   עם occurs in the following verses: 11.1, 2, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 21, 24, 29, 32, 33 (x2), 34, 35. Note that there is only one anomalous occurrence of בני ישראל (11.4) in the chapter. For a study of the term in both its biblical and West Semitic context, see Robert McClive Good, *The Sheep of His Pasture: A Study of the Hebrew Noun ☎○(m) and Its Semitic Cognates*, HSM 29 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 13-42, 141-8.

use of the phrase "all this people" (כל־העם הזה). In fact this negative image characterizes the people throughout the chapter, especially in the quail narrative. However with the phrase "all the people of Yahweh" (כל־עם יהוה) in v. 29 a strong positive note is struck in close proximity to the phrase "his spirit" (רוחו). Furthermore when the seventy elders are introduced they are identified as "elders of the people" (זקני העם) in v. 16a, indicating that the people were a legitimate organization, like the "congregation" (עדה),55 that could elect their own eldership. Therefore the people are a legitimate legal body that has angered Yahweh and Moses (v. 10) and therefore portrayed negatively in their desire for meat (vv. 13, 18-20a) and their countermemory of Egypt (vv. 5, 18, 20).

Within this chapter, however, the elders are intended to be contrasted with the general depiction of the people. They appear, as Martin Rose notes, the "representatives of the people,"56 but they are positive representations. They are most likely not intended to introduce a new social-administrative institution as in Exod 18.12-27,57 but rather a contextually bound assistance to Moses.58 Their reception of the רוח of Moses and Moses' wish that all the people were prophets and

---

55   See Hymes, "Heroic Leadership in the Wilderness, Part 1," 297-300; Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, *King and Messiah: The Civil and Sacral Legitimation of the Israelite Kings*, ConBOT 8 (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1976), 107-30; Jacob Milgrom, "Priestly Terminology and the Political and Social Structure of Pre-Monarchic Israel," *JQR* 69 (1978), 70, 75; E. Lipiński, "עַם ①○," *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, vol. XI, ed. G. Johnnes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, Heinz-Josef Fabry, trans. David E. Green (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2001), 174; Norman K. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel, 1250-1050 B.C.E.* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1979), 242.

56   Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist*, 243, "bleiben Repräsentanten des Volkes." See also Frank Crüsemann, *The Torah: Theology and Social History of Old Testament Law*, trans. Allan W. Mahnke (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 90, who writes, "as in Ex. 24:1, 9 . . . the seventy elders are representatives of the people as a whole."

57   Contra Stephen L. Cook, "The Tradition of Mosaic Judges: Past Approaches and New Direction," in *On the Way to Nineveh: Studies in Honor of George M. Landes*, ed. Stephen L. Cook and S. C. Winters (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 291.

58   See Shigehiro Nagano, "The Elders of Israel in Exodus 24.9-11," *AJBI* 19 (1993), 18, where he argues for the connection of Exod 24.9-11 with Ezek 8.11 and Num 11.16f.

thereby receive Yahweh's spirit should be understood as dovetailing. In this case being receptive to Yahweh would lighten Moses' burden and at the same time the people as a whole would receive Yahweh's provision of manna with gratitude. By this means the predilection of the people to look toward Egypt would be thwarted.

In contrast to the characterization of the people and the elders, Moses is the crux throughout the pericope. He is the individual who ties together the two major plot-lines, the quail and prophesying elders narratives. It is Moses' intercession before Yahweh, both in an almost super-mundane form in v. 2 and in a heated, vociferous interchange in vv. 11-15, and 21-22 that is the binding element throughout the chapter itself. The consistent theme of Yahweh as the provider of sustenance for the people[59] is supported by Moses' intercessory activity. I understand the extreme language of Moses' intercession to be a use of hyperbole as a rhetorical device to persuade Yahweh and not a failure on his part.

The presence of Eldad and Medad in the narrative, along with Moses' attitude toward them (vv. 26-29) supports my argument that Moses is not being portrayed as failing or out of control. Once again with a certain narratological irony Moses does not stop them from prophesying as Joshua demand (v. 28, אדני משה כלאם), while the elders did not continue in their prophesying (v. 25). The fact is that Moses' gracious attitude toward them is in line with his desire for the people to be prophets.

Lastly, it needs to be noted that the concept of prophesying by the elders, including Eldad and Medad, and Moses' wish for a democratization of prophesy is clarified in Num 12.[60] Although

---

[59]   See L. Juliana M. Claassens, "The God Who Feeds: A Feminist-Theological Analysis of Key Pentateuchal and Intertestamental Texts" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 2001), 66-78, 79-98, who understand the dual image of manna and nursing as a metophor of God's nature and care along with teaching and learning; Rolf P. Knierim, "Food, Land, and Justice," in *The Task of Old Testament Theology* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1995), 230-32. However, Diane M. Sharon, "The Literary Function of Eating and Drinking in Hebrew Bible Narrative with reference to the Literature of the Ancient Near East" (Ph.D. diss., The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1995), 83, 113-14, understands the eating motif here as a divine reassurance.

[60]   See T. C. Römer, "Nombres 11-12 et la question d'une rédaction deutéronomique dans le Pentateuque," in *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic Literature* (Louvain: Leuven University Press / Peeters, 1997), 492-95, who argues that 12.2-9 was an early response to Num 11 and its pro-prophetic

Yahweh may speak to/through prophets, Moses is unique in his relationship to Yahweh. He is Yahweh's servant, the one considered "faithful in all" Yahweh's household (12.7). This contextual observation further ensures that a Moses-centric interpretation of Num 11 is necessary.

One more observation about Num 12 is instructive. Although the noun "prophet" does occur in the chapter, it only appears once (12.6). Instead the chapter uses the phrase ב . . . דבר "speaks to/against" in uniting the first part of the pericope.61 The phrase focuses more intently on the concept of the reception of divine revelation and communication with Yahweh rather than prophetic utterances *per se*.

So what is the significance of Num 11? At least in the form of the text that developed into the Masoretic tradition, we may argue that the murmuring and complaints of the people concerning food endangered their progress to the promised land. The problem was so acute that signs of returning to Egypt, which would have meant a complete rejection of Yahweh's deliverance, were evident. In this context Moses interceded on their behalf, an intercession that was both rhetorically charged with *pathos* and yet an expression of his loyalty to both Yahweh and his work in leading the people.

The noun רוח, which is of great Pentecostal interest, is one of the main threads, along with Moses himself, that weaves the story lines together. רוח is involved in burden bearing. רוח is involved in making one a prophet. רוח is part of Moses. רוח is from Yahweh. רוח brings the quail. The overall meaning of the text is violated by attaching רוח solely to the appointment of the seventy elders with an implication that their prophesying is a sign of their initiation to eldership. This is especially so since their eldership is only related to this narrative alone. On the other hand a reading that isolates an understanding of the chapter as promoting a prophethood of the people misses the significance of Num 12 and its clarification of such democratization of prophesy.

The Septuagint reading of Num 11 is slightly different. In contrast to the Masoretic tradition which places the culpability on the people in general, the Septuagint has placed the blame squarely on the shoulders

---

stance. Also T. C. Römer, "Israel's sojourn in the wilderness and the construction of the Book of Numbers," in *Reflection and Refraction: Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 428, 436-41.

61   Römer, "Nombres 11-12," 492.

of the ἐπίμικτος in 11.4. In the Masoretic tradition a *hapax legomenon* אספסף appears which is almost impossible to translated. Baruch Levine has noted that this noun derives from a "reduplicative form of the verb -s-p 'to gather in,'"[62] which is found repeatedly throughout Num 11. The *Targum Onkelos* has ורברבין which mimics the reduplication. Levine has proposed an interesting possibility that he himself does not follow: "The verb *asap* often connotes the assembling of fighting forces (1 Sam 17:11). So it remains unclear whether reference here is to auxiliary fighting forces, or to camp followers and other non-Israelite hangers-on."[63] It is important to note that in Num 10.25 the root appears in the Piel participle form, which is understood as meaning "rear guard." Joshua 6.9, 13 exhibits this same usage. Num 10.25 has the tribe of Dan as this rear guard. In the *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*, the tribe of Dan is identified as those who had to be destroyed because they had an idol in 11.1. However in 11.4, the *Pseudo-Jonathan* text has the reading: ניורייא, "strangers," or "proselytes."[64] This would mean that the translator/s of *Pseudo-Jonathan* must not have connected the subunits: 11.1-3 and 11.4-35.

There is insufficient evidence to conclude that אספסף identifies some sort of military élite within this chapter. In fact, the Masoretic version of this chapter is thin on martial allusions in general. The fact that the root is found in the pericope six other times evidences an aesthetic proclivity that is found in other *Leitwörter* in the chapter and may have been used as an ironic counterpart to the elders that were gathered.

The Septuagint translation with the full phrase ὁ ἐπίμικτος ὁ ἐν αὐτοῖς "the mixture who were among them,"65 is an attempt to deal with the difficult term. Dorival understands that the Septuagint uses

---

[62]   Baruch A. Levine, *Numbers 1-20, A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 4 (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 320. See also David J. A. Clines, ed., *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, vol. 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 350, cites 4Qcat^a 7.5 as reading, "אנשי בליעל וכול האספסוף *men of Belial and all the rabble*."

[63]   Levine, *Numbers 1-20*, 320-1.

[64]   Ernest G. Clarke, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Numbers*, ArBib 4 (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1995), 217, has noted a parallel meaning in *Sifre Num*. II, 84.

[65]   Aquila has συνειλεγμένοι = crowd together, things bound together and the Theodotion has ὁ ἐπισυστρέφων = collect together - See Num 16.42 (17.7).

ἐπίμικτος to connect the Num 11.4-35 pericope with the Exod 12 account where the term is used to translate the phrase "large mixture" (ערב רב = ἐπίμικτος πολὺς). This group is distinguished in Exod 12.37-38 from three other groups: the 600,000 foot soldiers, the general company and the animals.[66] Staffan Olofsson uses the term "associative translation," which he argues is "where the choice of a corresponding word or phrase is dependent on renderings in similar passages,"[67] to describe this phenomenon. This clear case of intertextuality colors the pericope as a whole. Wevers identifies the issue best when he observes that, "by this interpretation, the responsibility for the revolt is put on the shoulders of the hangers-on, rather than on the Israelites themselves. There is a certain irony in this reliance on the Exodus passage, since the same passage lists not only the "large mixture" as traveling with the Israelites, but also πρόβατα καὶ Βόες καὶ κτήνη πολλά σφόδρα."[68]

The significance of blaming the mixed group is difficult to ascertain. Was there a group of individuals in the diasporean communities that could be identified as a mixed group that the translators saw as problematic? These may have been those who were being integrated too readily into the surround non-Jewish communities. Another suggestion is that the translators were attempting to soften the impression that the Lord was punishing unfairly a wide array of Israelites and that by specifying the offenders or at least the initiators of the offense, the punishment could be understood as falling specifically on them. A careful differentiation of blame, punishment and those who would be saved is also seen in the Septuagint reading of Num 14.23.[69]

---

[66]   Gilles Dorival, *La Bible D'Alexandrie: Les Nombres* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1994), 287.

[67]   Staffan Olofsson, "The Septuagint and Earlier Jewish Interpretative Tradition," *SJOT* 10, no. 2 (1996), 206.

[68]   John Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers*, SBLSCS 46 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 161-62.

[69]   See the studies of Hans Ausloos, "LXX Num 14:23: Once More a "Deuteronomist" at Work?" in *X. Congress of the International Organisation for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Oslo, 1998*, SBLSCS 51 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 415-427 and Michaël N. van der Meer, "The Next Generation: Textual moves in Numbers 14,23 and related passages," in *The Books of Leviticus and Numbers*, ed. Thomas Römer, BETL 215 (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2008), 399-416.

Another distinctive reading of the Septuagint tradition is found in the fact that it has interlaced the two major plot lines in a unique way. This is done by slightly altering the perspective on the people as noted in Moses' query of Num 11.11. Although the term "burden" (משא) is rather common, the Septuagint has chosen to translate it with the rare noun ὁρμή. Liddell and Scott divided the term into three fields: 1) "rapid motion forwards, onrush, onset, assault"; 2) "impulse to do a thing, effort"; 3) "setting oneself in motion, start on a march".[70] Flint and Wevers have translated the word as "onslaught,"[71] following the first definition of Liddell and Scott. However, Dorival has correctly followed the second definition with his translation "the impetus/impulse of (these) people,"[72] which fits better into the present context. Therefore I would translate Moses' dialogue as follows: "Why have you mistreated your attendant and why have I not found grace before you, to put the impulse of this people on me?" The word appears again in Num 11.17 which I would also translate: "And I will come down and speak there with you and I will remove some of the spirit that is on you and place it on them and they shall help with the impulse of the people and you will not carry them alone." The Greek may be making a distinction between the immediate crisis deriving from the complaint and that of the regular leadership role of Moses. This "impulse" connects more closely with the complaint that was first mentioned in 11.4 as "craved a craving" (ἐπεθύμησαν ἐπιθυμίαν) and then closed off the pericope in 11.34, 35 (see also Num 33.16, 17), which was incited by the dissident group, i.e., the "mixture." So both the Septuagint and the Masoretic traditions have attempted to bring together the two plot lines, but they did it in their own distinct ways. The Septuagint laced the stories together from a negative perspective, focusing on the inappropriate craving. At the same time it was the mixed group that was the responsible party.

The textual tradition that eventually was used by the Samaritans was one of the standard Hebrew texts during the period of about 300 B.C. to 100 C.E. The more important witnesses of this textual grouping

---

[70] H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. with revised supplement (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 1253.

[71] Peter W. Flint, "Numbers," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 120; Wevers, *Numbers*, 165.

[72] Dorival, *Les Nombres*, 290, 292, i.e. "l'élan de (ce) peuple."

from the Judeaen desert manuscripts such as 4QpaleoEx[m], 4QNum[b], and 4QDeut[n] give evidence to a fuller vocalization by vowel letters, grammatical emendations, unique paragraph divisions (*qissim*) and several characteristic expansions that appear in the later Samaritan Pentateuch. The Samaritan Pentateuch of Num 11 does not have any of its characteristic interpolations and therefore tends to follow the Masoretic tradition closely, with only minor alterations.[73] There are however, a few exegetically noteworthy differences. First, the characterization of Moses has been affected by the use of the verbal √נצל in vv. 17 and 25, which in the Hiphil form would present a rather harsh[74] reading: "take away" or "snatch away"[75] when compared to the gentler אצל of the Masoretic textual tradition. In spite of the high esteem that the later Samaritan theology places on Moses,[76] such a term is surprising unless the idea is that only a violent wrenching away could secure a portion of Moses' spirit for the seventy. Later Samaritan theology insists that Moses' uniqueness was in no way changed.

---

[73]   Several changes are evident that do not seem to have grave interpretative value. For example in Num 11.8 the ⑩ does not have או "or" as in the ⑧, but has the conjunctive-*waw*. However, the ⑤ also reads "and" with καὶ ἔτριβον ἐν τῇ θυίᾳ. The לזרה may be a simple spelling alternative to the ⑧'s לְאָזְרָא In 11.20; however, if it is not, then the difference would be that the לזרה follows a scattering imagery in harmony with יצא מאפכם. The ⑩ reads היקראך rather than the ⑧'s הֲיִקְרְךָ in 11.23. This, however, is a spelling issue, since √קרה is translated in a similar way in Num 23.16. The spelling of מֵידָד is מודד in 11.26. This is the same as the ⑤ which has: Μωδαδ.

[74]   George Buchanan Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903), 112, calls it "too violent."

[75]   David J. A. Clines, ed. *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, vol. V (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 742.

[76]   The Samaritan creed reads, "We believe only in God and in Moses the son of Amran his servant, and in his sacred Law, and in the Mount Garizim Beth El, and in the day of punishment and reward." See Moses Gaster, *The Samaritans: Their History, Doctrines and Literature*, The Schweich Lectures 1923 (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925), 180. Also John Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans*, The New Testament Library (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1964), 147-222. Macdonald writes on p. 147, "Samaritanism as a religion and philosophical system is unique in one respect. Though derived from the same source as Judaism and having the same Pentateuch (broadly speaking), it developed a belief in Moses, its only prophet, as the pre-eminent one of all humanity, the specially endowed of God."

Macdonald quotes the *Memar Marqah* as indicating that "his prophethood was like the surrounding sea, for from it seventy prophets prophesied without diminishing of it."[77] Hjelms has observed that the Samaritans have largely ignored the prophetic literature since it traditionally only recognized Moses as the prophet and all others as sorcerers.[78]

Second, the characterization of the elders differs from that of the Masoretic tradition, for in Num 11.25 the Samaritan Pentateuch has the words ולא יאספו "and they will not gather." Both of the Samaritan Targumim; J & A, partially confirm this reading with ולא אתכנשו.[79] Here, surprisingly, the אתכנשו is a noun meaning "gathering together."[80] Aesthetically another אסף may be welcomed in the narrative; however, the meaning of the text is at first blush nebulous. If the text is best translated with a passive connotation, i.e., "and they will not be gathered," which occurs for the Niphal form, then the idea is that the elders would not die on account of the revelatory experience, as the elders did not die in Exod 24.11. Another possible interpretation is to view the verbal construction as an antithetical clause to Num 11.30, where the Niphal form ויאסף is understood as indicating that "Moses returned to the camp, both he and the elders of Israel." In this way the democratizing statements of 11.29b are slightly mitigated. Either way the reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch differs from both the Masoretic and Septuagintal traditions. Here the elders are allowed to continue the Mosaic prophetic tradition, while the democratization is looked at askance.

---

[77] Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans*, 209. See also S. Lowy, *The Principles of Samaritan Bible Exegesis*, Studia Post-Biblica (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), 371.

[78] Ingrid Hjelm, *The Samaritans and Early Judaism: A Literary Analysis* JSOTSup 303; Copenhagen International Seminar 7 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 254-55.

[79] Abraham Tal, *The Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch: A Critical Edition*, Part II Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium (Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University, 1981), 190-91. It is interesting to note that Abraham Tal, "Divergent Traditions of the Samaritan Pentateuch as Reflected by Its Aramaic Targum," *JAB* 1 (1999), 313, argues that ". . . a plurality of texts existed in ancient Samaritan religious life."

[80] Stephen A. Kaufman, ed., *Targum Lexicon: Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon*, electronic edition, Logos Bible Software (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 2005).

The three major traditions are part of the textual materials that thrived in the late Persian and early Hellenistic periods of Judeaen history. They, along with other textual streams, were available for the budding Christian movement. An important thing to keep in mind is that these readings have much in common. First, they weave two major plot lines together in such a way as to unify the message of the chapter. Second, it is also clear that the murmuring and a growing discontent with Yahweh that began to evidence a countermemory of Egypt is the offense in all textual trajectories. Third, Moses' role as intercessor is crucial for all traditions. If one of the major roles of a prophet was to intercede on behalf of those who offend God, then the assistance of the elders would have been to follow in this vein. Fourth, all traditions indicated that in an almost *lex talion* fashion the craved meat became a judgment. It is with these four common elements that the message of the total textual traditions should be understood.

At the same time, the pluriform textual witnesses provide their own unique points of emphasis. The Hebrew readings in the Masoretic and Samaritan trajectories have highlighted the רוח√ as one of its unifying *Leitwörter*, but the Septuagint has used the idea of craving as an added stitch. Where the Masoretic and Samaritan traditions find the people as a whole to be culpable, the Septuagint isolates the mixed group as blameworthy. It is true that the Masoretic textual tradition and the Septuagint have placed Moses as the central figure in the narrative, the Samaritan reading has lifted his esteem at least one notch. It is these pluriform readings that the primitive Church understood as part of the message of Numbers 11.

A Pentecostal Perspectival Application of Numbers 11

In the earliest Pentecostal interpretation of Num 11 that I could find, Alice Flowers focused on Moses' intercession instead of a Spirit Baptism analogy or a promise for a prophethood of the believers. She wrote that "the petulant murmuring of the people was too much even for the very meek Moses. He failed and yet through his failure and recourse to God we catch a glimpse of that haven sure and effective in every distressing predicament."[81] Although I would disagree with her

---

[81]   Alice Flowers, "A Day of Decision - Review," *The Christian Evangel* (Dec. 20, 1913), 7. This quote is from a review article summarizing a Sunday school lesson entitled "Moses' Cry for Help." I did not have access to the original article.

understanding that Moses failed, I would agree that the problem in the chapter derives from the murmuring of the people. A Pentecostal perspectival understanding of this chapter must begin from this point of departure. I would add that a contextual reading of Num 11, would attempt to understand the murmuring and growing countermemory concerning Egypt within the literary parameters of Num 10.11-14.45, where an almost ideal departure from Mount Sinai is marred by an escalating series of insubordination and rebellion against Moses and Yahweh. In spite of and in the very context of this growing sin, Moses is able to graciously wish that all Yahweh's people would become prophets and be given the רוח. As the רוח has been shown to be integrally related to the bearing of the burden of the people for the elders, so also the רוח given to the people as a whole should touch on these matters. The chapter understands prophesying and the reception of the רוח as generally within a revelatory sphere, but not in isolation to the issues of murmuring and countermemory.

Murmuring and a growing countermemory is the very context of Moses' intercession on behalf of the people, a pattern that will continue to the end of chapter 14. It is in intercession that we may see a prophetic function that is close to the center of the rhetorical message of Num 11. Moses' intercession is not a disinterested activity on his part. His stance as a loyal opposition is aggressive and dangerous in his use of hyperbole. A Pentecostal reading of this chapter therefore should emphasize the intercessory challenge that is being proffered.[82]

---

[82]   This article is based on chapter 4 of my doctoral dissertation. See David C. Hymes, "A Pluriform Analysis of Numbers 10.11-14.45" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wales, Bangor, 2010), 80-132, for a more detailed analysis.

A CONSIDERATION OF THE THEME OF REPUTATION in 1 and 2
THESSALONIANS

Christopher L. Carter

Even though the books of 1 and 2 Thessalonians have been
somewhat neglected compared to other Pauline compositions,[1] there
seems to be no end to the secondary literature which has grown up
around them. No detail of these missives has escaped the
microscopically precise analysis of NT scholars. Indeed entire
monographs and anthologies have sprouted from small sections such as
2 Thessalonians chapter 2.1-12. Not occasionally such well intentioned
scrutiny can lead to myopia, and that has perhaps been the case with the
Gordian knot of the aforementioned passage. The antidote to myopia,
of course, is the occasional panoramic view, and in this particular
article, I would like to explore the neglected macro-theme of reputation
which Paul has conscientiously woven through these two epistles.

In addressing reputation, necessity demands the defining of terms.
For our purposes, we will consider reputation to encompass the social
status, honor, and esteem that a community attributes to individuals or
groups. Obviously, this nice conscience definition raises more
questions than it answers. Status, honor, and esteem do not represent
objectively referential concepts. Societies fill each of these terms with
the content to which their histories, traditions, and developmental paths
have led them. However, this process of filling terms really lies at the
heart of Paul's rationale for spending time and effort on reputation at

---

1   I am assuming Pauline authorship for both epistles. Almost no one
will object in the case of 1 Th., and in the case of 2 Th., the point does not need
more defense than that which many scholars have already provided.
Nonetheless, Colin Nicholl has provided the most recent and complete defense
available (Colin Nicholl, *From Hope to Despair in Thessalonica: Situating 1
and 2 Thessalonians*, SNTSMS, no. 126 [Cambridge: CUP, 2004], 208, et
passim.).

all. He intends to keep showing the Thessalonians that becoming Christians has resulted in a refilling of concepts like status, honor, and esteem with new content. However, in order to appreciate this new wine, we will first need to consider the old wine of reputation in the first-century Greco-Roman world. Then, we will need to examine the social and historical setting in which reputation came to the forefront in Thessalonica. And finally with these pieces in place, we will possess the contrast necessary to comprehend Paul's treatment of reputation in these letters.

REPUTATION IN THE FIRST-CENTURY GRECO-ROMAN WORLD

Perhaps no statement captures the ancient Greco-Roman ideal of reputation better than the oft cited line penned by the ancient Athenian poet and statesman Solon: "πρ ς πάντων νθρώπων α ε δόξαν χειν γαθήν."[2] The poet prays that he might always have a "good reputation before all men," and his wish typifies a cardinal and enduring value in ancient Greek as well as Roman culture. Within this value system, Pericles can appeal to reputation as a strong motivation for the beleaguered Athenians to press on in the face of tragedy and loss,[3] and Tacitus willingly concedes the normalcy of men being absolutely bent on getting a good reputation.[4] Plutarch tells the story of an Indian archer who had a reputation for being the best, and when Alexander the Great commanded him to demonstrate his skill, he refused. Alexander was about to execute him until he learned the reason

---

2   Solon, 13.4.

3   Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, 2.61.2-4. For more on the importance of the reputation of both Athens and its citizens in ancient political rhetoric similar to the above passage from Thucydides see Demosthenes, *Third Philippic*, passim.

4   Tacitus, *Histories*, 4.6.1; Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.49.3; In his analysis of Tacitus' Agricola and martyrdom, Sailor sees Tacitus presenting the "self-evident goal of a man's life" as "public esteem" (Dylan Sailor, *Writing and Empire in Tacitus* [New York: CUP, 2008], 18). Cf. Tacitus, *Agricola*, 42.4. Contra Plutarch who believes that one should neither pursue or avoid reputation (Plutarch, *On Praising Oneself*, 777E-F). However, it should be noted that Plutarch too admits that especially young men have a kind of unquenchable thirst for reputation (Plutarch, *Should Old Men Take Part in the Affairs of the State?*, 793D).

for his insubordination. Apparently the archer had not been practicing, and he would rather die than lose his reputation for being the best. Alexander understood all too well, and spared the man's life.[5]

In light of the ancient sources, modern students of the first-century Greco-Roman world agree on the paramount importance of reputation in that society. Malina roots this tendency in the visceral male drive to dominate. He argues that men of this era viewed their own honor and masculinity and that of others in direct relationship to one's willingness to defend reputation.[6] So, in a real sense to lose reputation was tantamount to emasculation. Indeed, many scholars would argue that one of the worst things that could possibly happen to a denizen of this ancient world would be having one's reputation publicly damaged.[7] The more reputation at stake the more there was to lose. This was particularly true of political men for whom "reputation...counted for practically everything."[8] So, laws protected patrons, parents, city magistrates, and priests from court cases. In this way, low status people with an ax to grind could not easily damage the reputation of a high status person.[9] The impulse to protect reputation pervaded every sphere of life. Even at play, whether it be in the symposium or telling dirty jokes, the Greeks in particular took pains to protect reputation whether through their drinking rules or laws that limited the extent of free speech.[10]

---

5   Plutarch, *Sayings of Kings and Commanders*, 181b.

6   Bruce J. Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology*, 2nd Rev. ed. (Louisville: W/JKP, 1993), 49.

7   Andrew D. Clarke, *Secular and Christian Leadership in Corinth: A Socio-Historical and Exegetical Study of 1 Corinthians 1–6*, AGJU, no. 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 8, 95; Peter Marshall, *Enmity in Corinth: Social Conventions in Paul's Relations with the Corinthians*, WUNT 2, no. 23 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 69.

8   Sarah B. Pomeroy, Stanley M. Burstein, Walter Donal, and Jennifer T. Roberts, *Ancient Greece: A Political, Social, and Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 299.

9   Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 64-65.

10   Steven Halliwell, *Greek Laughter: A Study of Cultural Psychology form Homer to Early Christianity* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), 115, 242, 318.

Clearly it is hard to overstate the importance of reputation,[11] and this subject cannot be explored and categorized adequately here. Nonetheless, I would like to sketch briefly what made for a good reputation and what made for a bad reputation in Greco-Roman society at the time Paul wrote. The apostle's contemporaries secured good reputations through actions, states, and moral qualities. Acumen in public speech through command of the rhetorical arts assured that a gifted orator would enjoy a good reputation.[12] Likewise writing history could have the same effect,[13] and in a similar vein, even the artisan could come by the acclaim of reputation through the excellence of his work.[14] Also the simple act of extending hospitality to travelers led to a good reputation.[15] Nonetheless, some did find reputation through more spectacular means such as through military exploits[16] and building cities and monuments.[17] For Plato, however, the most important sort of reputation came through performing acts of justice.[18] Beyond actions, certain states carried with them elevated status in the form of an enhanced reputation, e.g., sobriety,[19] nobility of birth[20], good looks,[21]

---

11   Of course the Cynics who did purportedly did not care one bit about reputation are perhaps an exception to this rule (cf. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, 6.93). Nonetheless, one could also argue that the Cynics were seeking reputation just as much as anyone else; they had simply moved the goal posts and had changed the definition of "a good reputation" dramatically. Whatever the case may be; our description holds as a reasonably accurate stereotype.

12   Bruce W. Winter, *Philo and Paul Among the Sophists: Alexandrian and Corinthian Responses to a Julio- Claudian Movement,* 2nd edn. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 83, 147, 168; Steve Walton, *Leadership and Lifestyle: The portrait of Paul in the Miletus Speech and 1 Thessalonians*, SNTSMS, no.108 (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), 156.

13   Sallust, *The Conspiracy of Catiline*, 3.1-2.

14   Plato, *The Republic*, 345E2-3.

15   Polybius, *The Histories*, 4.20; Marshall, *Enmity*, 6.

16   J. E. Lendon, *Soldiers and Ghosts: A History of Battle in Classical Antiquity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 37, et passim.

17   Seutonius, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, 243.

18   Plato, *The Republic*, 589c1-3.

19   Philo, *Sobriety*, 1.3.

20   Tacitus, *Annals*, 2.13.1.

and wealth.[22] To these we can also add certain moral qualities like wisdom,[23] goodness,[24] autonomy,[25] and seriousness.[26]

On the flip side of reputation lay poverty, greed, and unworthy speech. And all of these were inimical to a good reputation. If wealth procures good repute, then it should come as no surprise that its opposite comes with a concomitant lack of honor. However, one must be careful to note that although wealth brings reputation and dearth destroys reputation, it is *not* the act of growing or gaining wealth that bolsters esteem. Indeed, those who make it their aim to become wealthy often fall into the trap of greed, and the greedy do not receive high marks in the category of reputation. Accordingly, we learn from Tacitus that Nero's freedman, Patrobius, gained a bad reputation for his greed.[27] The rich man of note earns his status not by gaining wealth but by spending it. He invests in clients duty-bound to work for the glory of his name; he extends hospitality; he paves roads, builds buildings, and funds feasts.[28] In short, the ancients esteemed reputation as just about the only thing worth spending money to buy.

Just as poverty and greed diminished public standing, so also could unworthy speech. Derision in particular could damage reputation even more effectively than an inglorious death.[29] If contemptuous ridicule went unanswered, the victim would become a laughing-stock bereft of

---

21   Ibid.

22   Sänger, Dieter, "Die δυνατοι in 1 Kor 1.26" *ZNW* 76 (1985): 285–91.

23   Clarke, *Leadership*, 113.

24   Plutarch, *On Envy and Hate*, 538D.

25   Sailor, *Writing*, 292.

26   Halliwell, *Laughter*, 115.

27   Tacitus, *The Histories*, 2.95. Cf. Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 1.5.1-6, 2.6.19; Plato, *The Republic*, 1.349-50, 362; Aristotle, *Politics*, 2.4.11-12; Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 5.2.2, 5.9.9, 9.8.4-5; Polybius, *The Histories*, 6.56.

28   K. C. Hanson and Douglas E. Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus: Social Structures and Social Conflicts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 122; Douglas Oakman, "The Ancient Economy," in *The Social Context of the New Testament*, ed. Derek Tidball (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2003), 149.

29   Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 285-286.

reputation.[30] Slanders and character defamation could also have a devastating effect on one's status within the community. Therefore, in an effort to mitigate reputation damage, the Athenians restricted free speech by outlawing slander and defamation.[31] It also seems that the speech and behavior of one's friends could negatively impact reputation, and Cicero, therefore, warns his readers to choose friends wisely. He says that one must be careful to choose comrades who will protect one's reputation because ultimately he views each individual as responsible for both himself and his friends.[32] Beyond the speech of others, one's own speech could also imprecate personal honor. This was particularly so for those who made it their business to report the misdeeds of others—becoming tattletales in the process.[33]

REPUTATION in THESSALONICA

In recent years the social-sciences have shed new light on the situation in Thessalonica. This has especially been true in terms of understanding the highly apocalyptic nature of these letters and the obvious social strife that they reveal. A good case can be made that the apocalyptic elements attest to a disenfranchised community. In other words, those who embrace an apocalyptic world-view do so because they feel disconnected from this-worldly social structures. In Thessalonica, new Roman immigrants had displaced the older elite Greek families, and the once powerful found themselves on the outside of the political power structures. Additionally, the dominant religion, i.e., the Cabirus cult, had been absorbed into emperor worship and had simultaneously become an elite and Roman religion—leaving many disaffected former adherents.[34] Thus Paul came to town at just the right moment preaching a gospel of belonging to a new family and a new

---

30   Halliwell, *Laughter*, 26.

31   Ibid., 318.

32   Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 2.2.28. (Most scholars no longer attribute this work to the hand of Cicero.)

33   Plutarch, *On Curiosity*, 16.

34   Karl P. Donfried, *Paul, Thessalonica, and Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 25-28; Charles A. Wannamaker, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians*, NIGNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 4-6; Ben Witherington, *1 and 2 Thessalonians: A Social-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 5-6.

kingdom just when people were feeling spiritually and socially homeless.

However, as the extant letters make all too clear, new loyalties resulted in conflict. The fledgling church, composed primarily of gentiles, quickly found themselves at odds with friends, family, and empire. They had broken away from normal social intercourse with friends in socio-religious contexts, traded their loyalty to their birth families for a commitment to the church, and become subjects of God's kingdom rather than Caesar's.[35] Todd Still has helped to explain the dynamics of this reality in terms of conflict and deviance models. Regarding the nature of the harassment faced by the church, Still writes: "I would contend, then, that it is best to regard the Thessalonians' affliction to which Paul repeatedly refers as external (i.e. observable, verifiable), non-Christian opposition which took the forms of verbal harassment, social ostracism, political sanctions and perhaps even some sort of physical abuse, which on the rarest of occasions may have resulted in martyrdom."[36] Paul himself could not escape the tribulations which afflicted the Thessalonians. As chapter 2 of 1 Th. reveals, some had undertaken to besmirch Paul's reputation by slandering him and leveling accusations of greed and profiteering against him. Still has well demonstrated that the good relationship which Paul enjoyed with this church and its internal stability preclude the possibility that this onslaught came from the inside.[37] Consequently, Paul himself had endured the same treatment from the same enemies as everyone else.

If the above snapshot of some of the social forces at work in Thessalonica has merit, then no one can deny the manifest importance of reputation here. The reputation and honor of those with political aspirations had become worthless since their ouster from the system. Their birth status had become null. Their opportunity for military

---

35   Many have heard a note of subversion in Paul's attitude towards Rome in these letters, and Paul's use of the imperial slogan, "Eivrh,nh kai. avsfa,leia," in 1 Th. 5.3 seems to seal the case. Here, he implicitly uses a Roman boast to presage the fall and utter ruin of the empire. Importantly, Paul has been saying these thing in a city desperate to maintain good standing with Rome.

36   Todd D. Still, *Conflict at Thessalonica: A Pauline Church and its Neighbours*, JSNTSup, no. 183 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 217.

37   Ibid., 148.

exploits of repute had evaporated as their loyalty had come under doubt, and they now faced reputation assassination brought about by the derision of their neighbors. In short, every opportunity to purchase reputation through deeds and even money itself had dissolved when the church found itself being crushed under the *de facto* label of "deviants." And even their apostle and teacher found his reputation waning under derisive and slanderous speech peppered with accusations of greed!

REPUTATION in 1 and 2 THESSALONIANS

Before looking at how the subject of reputation unfolds in Paul's correspondence to the church in Thessalonica, we need to take a look at the word δόξα. New Testament scholars, under the influence of Gerhard Kittel, often adopt the facile assumption that δόξα means something different in the NT than it means everywhere else. In normal Greek usage δόξα refers to the opinions that others have of one, repute, and the honor and glory that come with reputation.[38] Although Kittel freely admits the usual meaning of reputation and renown, he claims that the word takes on a new religious sense in the NT and admits only a few exceptions where the sense of "repute" remains intact. In the NT, Kittel believes that it primarily expresses the "divine mode of being."[39] Undoubtedly, the NT does employ this specialized use, but as Nolland demonstrates even when the numinous glory of God takes center stage, reputation can concurrently be the chief sense of "glory."[40] And in Thessalonians we have the most thoroughly Greek documents in the NT. In them, Paul never mentions the OT; he spotlights the former idolatry of his congregation, and he employs a very Greek hortatory style.[41] If any NT audience would have thought of δόξα in the ordinary sense of "reputation," it would have been the Thessalonians.

---

38   LSJ, 444.

39   Gerhard Kittel, δόξα, *TDNT*, 2.232-253. Cf. Mounce who sees δόξα in terms of "God's radiant power" in the NT (Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, WBC, no. 46 [Nashville: Nelson, 2000], 43).

40   John Nolland, *Luke 1-9:20*, WBC, no. 35A (Waco: Word, 1989), 108.

41   Abraham J. Malherbe, *1 and 2 Thessalonians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, ABC, no. 32B (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 56-58.

Reputation Re-framed 1 Th. 1.7-2.20

Reputation comes to the forefront from the very beginning. In 1 Th. 1.7, we learn that the manner in which the Thessalonians had received the gospel in the midst of hardship had made them an example (τύπον) to the believers in both Macedonia and Achaia. Their willingness to stay put and face the wrath of their neighbors and the social death brought by Christian commitment made them models worth emulating.[42] Furthermore, verse 8 clearly indicates that their reputation had taken on a life of its own; so that Paul found their renown having preceded him wherever he traveled. So, after boldly and consciously choosing to cut off all possibilities for gaining reputation and honor at home, the Thessalonians attained a reputation far beyond anything previously available to them. And although disconnected from normal paths of gaining reputation, Paul begins his letter by showing them that they had gained one anyway: this not through birth, speech, wealth, politics or the like, but simply by embracing the gospel in spite of extreme pressure to abandon it.

After giving more details about what sort of Gospel they had received, Paul turns to the manner in which he had brought it to them. If the Thessalonians had suffered and made sacrifices in receiving the gospel, no less was true of Paul who had preached it. Chapter 2 begins by detailing the hardships the apostle had faced including coming from Philippi into the hostile city of Thessalonica with fresh whip marks on his back (1 Th. 2.2) yet preaching boldly. And as we have previously discussed, he endured slanderous and derisive speech from the non-Christian residents of Thessalonica which would have sounded the death knell to any glimmer of reputation and status in the Greco-Roman world (1 Th. 2.3). In fact Paul refused to tone down the gospel with flattery simply to preserve his own reputation and status or to enhance his wealth (1 Th. 2.5). Finally (vs. 6), Paul boldly declares that he did not seek after reputation[43] (δόξαν) from those in the church or any one else. In the verses that follow, he explains his willingness to leave aside authority, status, financial support, and essentially all marks of reputation for the sake of planting the gospel firmly in Thessalonica (1

---

42   Gordon D. Fee, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 44.

43   Malherbe notes the meaning of "reputation" in this case. He believes that Paul here asserts his intention to conduct ministry in a manner worthy of God (Malherbe, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, 143).

Th. 2.7-9). But there is a hint that Paul had not forsaken completely outside opinion. Although he had abandoned any notion of pleasing men, he had fully devoted himself to being a person approved by God (1 Th. 2.4).

This passage reveals that both Paul and the Thessalonians had abandoned the reputation rat race, but in the Thessalonians reputation for belief and endurance and Paul's pursuit of a God-pleasing, God-approved life, we find shimmering in the background a truth that only becomes lucid in 1 Th. 2.12. Paul caps the whole thing—their belief, his preaching, their mutual suffering—with a purpose/result clause: εἰς τὸ περιπατεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ καλοῦντος ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείαν καὶ **δόξαν**. All of it had the goal and result of the Thessalonians living a life worthy of God who had called them for his kingdom and "glory." Perhaps Paul means that God has called the Thessalonians for a divine mode of existence,[44] but the immediate context strongly suggests "reputation." Interestingly, in this context, reputation does not come through any of the normal actions, states, or moral qualities. God has his own kind of reputation for the Thessalonians. One gets this reputation without trying to do anything but obey the call; it is a reputation sourced in God. And this is precisely what the Thessalonians have experienced as word of their steadfast resolution to obey the gospel call rang out far and wide.

Just like his church, Paul who eschewed reputation–choosing instead to answer the apostolic call, ends up receiving a reputation after all. Indeed, we finally learn that he looks forward to the *parousia* at which time he expects to have both a boast and a reputation. However, like his congregation, his boast and reputation lie far outside the normal actions, states, and moral qualities. On that day, his reputation will consist of people. Verse 20 concludes the chapter by naming the Thessalonians themselves as Paul's reputation (δόξα).[45]

---

44   Wannamaker sees the transformation of Christian experience behind "glory" in this case, and I would agree (Wannamaker, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, 153). However, I would be more specific and link this "experience" with reputation.

45   In one of the most recent commentaries, Fee, like those who wrote before him, passes over "glory" without comment on its meaning in this context (Fee, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, 111).

A Reputation Sourced in Christ 2 Th. 1.3-2.14

As Paul pens his second missive,[46] he has heard about some anxiety within the community which had resulted from a misunderstanding related to eschatology. The problem does not really have to do with timing, but rather it involves the very nature of the day of the Lord. In the present section, Paul reaffirms the character of this event: absolute justice, judgment, reward for the right people, and a purification of the church. But before going into all of that, Paul begins with the same theme that he took up at the beginning of his previous missive, *viz.*, reputation.

Based on their continued suffering and marginalized status, some among the Thessalonians seem to have begun to doubt: some questioned God's justice, others disbelieved their own worthiness for reward, and yet others suspected that the day of the Lord had come and gone—leaving them condemned and judged unworthy of the blessings associated with that day. Therefore, Paul needs to remind them about who they are, and he begins with their reputation which, as we have already observed, rests not on the usual actions, states, and moral qualities but on their obedience to the divine call. Immediately, Paul highlights the security of that reputation. Indeed, he had been continually boasting about them and spreading the word about their faithfulness in the midst of trials, but now we learn that his confidence to do is based on the impressive growth of their faith and their love one for another (2 Th. 1.3-4). So, at the outset, Paul encourages the doubters by holding up their secure reputation for steadfast obedience to the call of God as exhibit A in a section designed to end their eschatological misgivings. Indeed, verses 5 and 6 go on to explain that this secure reputation provides "evidence" (ἔνδειγμα)[47] of God's just judgment[48] which has counted them worthy of his kingdom (2 Th. 1.5).

---

46   Refer to footnote 1 for my views on authorship.

47   The usual options for the referent of *endeigma* include: their endurance of faith, the persecution and affliction experienced by them, or their endurance and faith in the face of persecution (Wannamaker, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, 220). This matter is a sticky wicket for most commentators who struggle in their attempts to understand how the Thessalonian's suffering can be evidence of just judgment. Our reading avoids these particular difficulties.

48   Commentators often argue about whether judgment is present or future (cf. Malherbe, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, 394-395). We have reached the unique conclusion that the judgment has happened in the past when God called

Furthermore, justice in this area means that the Thessalonians can also expect justice with regard to their enemies who inflict hardship and cause them to suffer for the kingdom's sake (2 Th. 1.6). On that day, the tormentors will receive payment in kind in the form of tribulations while Paul and the Thessalonians will receive the opposite, much needed rest (ἄνεσιν) (2 Th. 1.6-7). Interestingly, the following verses (8-9) expand on the identity of these enemies, and it seems that Paul does so to alleviate the anxieties of those who feared being God's enemies rather than his friends. For, the real enemies are precisely the opposite of the Thessalonians when it comes to reputation. The Thessalonians had received a divine sort of reputation through obedience to the gospel, but the enemies are "those who do not obey the gospel" (τοῖς μὴ ὑπακούουσιν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ) (2 Th. 1.8). Further, we learn in verse 9 that these condemned ones will undergo a terrible punishment: utter and everlasting ruin[49] away from the presence of the Lord and away from his mighty sort of reputation (ἀπὸ τῆς **δόξης** τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ).[50] So, the very ones who excluded Paul and the Thessalonians from the reputation rat race in the end find themselves utterly banned from the only kind of reputation that counts for anything while the reputation of the Thessalonians remains securely intact. Evidently, Paul has specifically calibrated these verses to remind the Thessalonians of their approved status via the theme of reputation.

In what follows, Paul goes on to describe the scene on the day of the Lord. At this time, Jesus will appear with the purpose and result of receiving glory (ἐνδοξασθῆναι) and being marveled at, and this from believers.[51] Something unmistakably numinous and awe inspiring is happening here, but one cannot escape the nuance of Jesus' own

---

the Thessalonians into his kingdom.

49   On ruin rather than destruction see Witherington, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, 196.

50   Based on its apparent allusion to Isa. 2.10 LXX, Fee understands this phrase as meaning "the splendor of his glory as the Mighty One" (Fee, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 259). Although Fee mentions nothing about reputation, it seems probable that the splendor of the Lord in the Isaiah text had something to do, at least in part, with Yahweh's renown, i.e., reputation among the nations. Nonetheless, I doubt that the Thessalonians were cognizant of any allusion.

51   Contra Wannamaker who suggests that those glorifying and marveling are none other than the former persecutors (Wannamaker, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, 231).

reputation being ratified if not augmented in this event. Perhaps in confirmation of this, Paul sees part of the glory that redounds to Christ here as directly resulting from the Thessalonians' belief as verse 10b makes evident "ὅτι ἐπιστεύθη τὸ μαρτύριον ἡμῶν ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς." Paul then reveals his habitual prayer that his congregation will live worthy of their calling by continuing to do what it demands (vs. 11). Finally, the apostle shows where their endurance ultimately ends up: with the glorification (ἐνδοξασθῇ) of the name of the Lord among the Thessalonians *but also* with the glorification of the Thessalonians by the Lord (ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ) (vs. 12). Thus, obedience results both in Christ attaining an even greater level of repute within the church, and in the augmentation of the church's own divinely rooted reputation for steadfast obedience to the call.

At this point Paul departs from the subject of reputation, and he offers some more proofs that demonstrate the futurity of the coming day of the Lord (2 Th. 2.1-12). After describing the nature of the day of the Lord in lurid detail, Paul winds down chapter 2 by returning to his purpose of reassuring the Thessalonians regarding their eschatological angst. Verse 13 affirms their salvation as a kind of first-fruits.[52] The concept of the first-fruits has to do with the part that purifies the whole.[53] Thus, Paul endorses not only their own salvation, but also implies that their reputation for obedience unto salvation has resulted in others coming to Christ. Now Paul goes completely back to his original proof by bringing up the divine sort of reputation once again. He affirms that God had called the Thessalonians for salvation through the gospel into "the possession of a reputation sourced in our Lord Jesus Christ" (εἰς περιποίησιν δόξης τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) (vs. 14). In this way, reputation forms the bookends of chapters 1 and 2— showing that the reputation which Paul had elaborated in his first epistle remains intact and that it proves that the Thessalonians have nothing to fear when it comes to the day of the Lord. Instead, those persecutors who have cut themselves off from the good repute sourced in Christ are the ones who should worry.

Finally, chapter 2 closes with several exhortations in imperative form that urge the Thessalonians to continue to live a life

---

52   A textual variant gives interpreters the choice between "first fruits" and "beginning." We are following Witherington and others in accepting the former reading over the latter (Witherington, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, 231).

53   Ibid., 233.

that supports the reputation which they enjoy. Notably, this accords nicely with Greco-Roman thinking. For it was widely understood that one could not take reputation for granted. One had to continually guard it and build it. Homer's heroes, for instance, had high expectations laid upon them because of their birthright and mighty deeds, but they also had the burden of continually upholding their reputation through meritorious actions.[54] Likewise, Plutarch exhorts old men to continually maintain their reputations since he realizes that even a lifetime of good deeds needs constant maintenance.[55] In the same manner, Paul encourages the Thessalonians to keep obeying the call of the gospel as they have been doing so that their reputation may remain secure.

CONCLUSION

In a situation where climbing the ladder of reputation was everything and in which Paul and his congregation had been knocked off that ladder, the apostle responds by abandoning old concepts of reputation and filling the word with new wine. For him reputation has a divine source and quality, and it derives directly from obedience to the calling of God. In Paul's hands reputation reminds the Thessalonians of who they are through obedience to Christ and his gospel, and it exhorts them to continually guard that reputation by acting in a manner worthy of it. Perhaps in the future, this neglected theme will receive consideration from expositors of 1 and 2 Thessalonians.

On a personal note, during my time at Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, I thoroughly enjoyed the relationships which blossomed between my fellow faculty members and my beloved students. My family still reminisces about the many occasions on which our house was filled with students who sometimes came for parties, movies, Bible studies, home groups and other times...just came. Those years were indeed rich, and, in many ways, I can't wait to get to heaven so that I may fully appreciate the fruit of them. It is my hope that this article will crown those years of teaching, and it is perhaps fitting for it to do so since the concepts that I have herein articulated first occurred to me as I was preparing a sermon for an APTS chapel service. In that sermon on 2 Th. 2.13-17, "a reputation sourced in Christ" functioned as one of the

---

54   Lendon, *Soldiers*, 37.

55   Plutarch, *Old Men*, 786E-787F.

main points, but I really believe that it is *the point* of everything I tried to teach. Real reputation does not come from letters behind our names. Rather it comes from obedience to the divine call. Nonetheless, the one called to teach the Bible must obey the call in such a way that his or her obedience matches the height of the call. The letters are just fine: provided that the years spent getting them are filled with the right sort of stuff.

WORKS CITED

Aristotle. Trans. H. Rackham et al. LCL 23 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926–1991.

Cicero. Trans. Louis E. Lord. LCL 28 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912–1977.

Clarke, Andrew D. *Secular and Christian Leadership in Corinth: A Socio-Historical and Exegetical   Study of 1 Corinthians 1–6.* AGJU, no. 63. Leiden: Brill, 1993.

Demosthenes, I Olynthiacs, *Philippics Minor Public Orations I-XVII and XX*. Trans. J. H. Vince. LCL   1 vol. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930.

Diogenes Laertius. Trans. R. D. Hicks. LCL 2 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1923–1933.

Donfried, Karl P. *Paul, Thessalonica, and Early Christianity.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002.

Euripides. Trans. David Kovacs. LCL 1 vol. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Fee, Gordon D. *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians.* NICNT. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.

Halliwell, Steven. *Greek Laughter: A Study of Cultural Psychology form Homer to Early Christianity*. Cambridge: CUP, 2008.

Hanson, K. C. and Douglas E. Oakman. *Palestine in the Time of Jesus: Social Structures and Social Conflicts.* Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998.

Kittel, Gerhard and Gerhard Friedrich, eds. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.* Trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1977

Lendon, J. E. *Soldiers and Ghosts: A History of Battle in Classical Antiquity.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Liddell, Henry G. and Robert Scott. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Revised by Henry S. Jones. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

Malherbe, Abraham J. *1 and 2 Thessalonians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary.* ABC, no. 32B. New York: Doubleday, 2000.

Malina, Bruce J. *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology*. 2ⁿᵈ Rev. ed. Louisville: W/JKP, 1993.

Marshall, Peter. *Enmity in Corinth: Social Conventions in Paul's Relations with the Corinthians*. WUNT 2, no. 23. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987.

Nicholl, Colin. *From Hope to Despair in Thessalonica: Situating 1 and 2 Thessalonians*. SNTSMS, no. 126. Cambridge: CUP, 2004.

Nolland, John. *Luke 1-9:20*. WBC, no. 35A. Waco: Word, 1989.

Oakman, Douglas. "The Ancient Economy." In *The Social Context of the New Testament*. Edited by Derek Tidball. Carlisle: Paternoster, 2003.

Philo. Trans. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker. LCL 12 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929–1962.

Plato. Trans. H. N. Fowler et al. LCL 12 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914–1935.

Plutarch. Trans. Bernadotte Perrin et al. LCL 26 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914–   2004.

Polybius. Trans. W. R. Paton. LCL 6 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1922–1927.

Pomeroy, Sarah B., Stanley M. Burstein, Walter Donal, and Jennifer T. Roberts. *Ancient Greece: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Sailor, Dylan. *Writing and Empire in Tacitus*. New York: CUP, 2008.

Sallust. Trans. J. C. Rolfe. LCL 1 vol. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921.

Sänger, Dieter. "Die dunatoi, in 1 Kor 1.26." *ZNW* 76 (1985): 285–91.

Solon. in *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, pg. 416-439, ed. T. Bergk. Leipzig: B. G. Teubneri, 1882.

Still, Todd D. *Conflict at Thessalonica: A Pauline Church and its Neighbours*. JSNTSup, no. 183. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.

Suetonius. Trans. J. C. Rolfe and K. R. Bradley. LCL 2 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press,   1914.

Tacitus. *Histories and Annals*. Trans. Clifford H. Moore and John Jackson. LCL 3 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925-1937.

_____. *Agricola, Germania, Dialogus*. Trans. M. Hutton and R. Peterson. Revised by R. M.   Ogilvie   and   E.   H. Warmington. LCL 1 vol. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914.

Thiselton, Anthony C. *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*. NIGNT.   Grand   Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.

Thucydides. *The History of the Peloponnesian War.* Trans. C. F. Smith. LCL 4 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919-1923.

Walton, Steve. *Leadership and Lifestyle: The portrait of Paul in the Miletus Speech and 1   Thessalonians*. SNTSMS, no.108. Cambridge: CUP, 2000.

Wannamaker, Charles A. *The Epistles to the Thessalonians.* NIGNTC. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990.

Winter, Bruce W. *Philo and Paul Among the Sophists: Alexandrian and Corinthian Responses to a   Julio- Claudian Movement.* 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002.

Witherington, Ben. *1 and 2 Thessalonians: A Social-Rhetorical Commentary.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006.

Xenophon. Trans. E. C. Marchant et al. LCL 7 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918–1925.

ASIA PACIFIC THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Impacting the Future of the Asia Pacific Church

APTS is committed to education that merges a concern for academic excellence, practical ministry involvement and effective spiritual formation.

Degree Programs

* Graduate Certificate in Ministerial and Theological Studies
* M.A. in Ministry
* M.A. in Intercultural Studies
* M.A. in Intercultural Studies (Islamic Concentration)
* M.A. in Theology
* Master of Divinity
* Master of Theology in Pentecostal Studies
* Doctor of Ministry in Pentecostal/Charismatic Ministries

THE BAPTISM IN THE HOLY SPIRIT AS PARADIGM SHIFT[1]

Paul W. Lewis

In 2006, we celebrated the 100th anniversary of the beginning of the Azusa Street revival. A revival that not only was important in establishing the modern Pentecostal movement in North America, it also was influential in the expansion of the movement worldwide. The Azusa Street revival had the international influence in establishing the baptism of the Holy Spirit as a corporate tradition, as opposed to either as purely an individual experience or as a theological rationality. As such, I will look at the role of the baptism in the Holy Spirit as foundational to the formulating of the 'Pentecostal Paradigm' that is distinctive, yet part of the broader Christian orthodoxy. In this essay, I will argue that rather than a set of 'doctrines' *per se*, in one sense it was a 'spirituality'[2] that was a 'shift' from a previous paradigm indicative due to the baptism of the Holy Spirit. In this essay, by 'Pentecostal,' I am referring to the Classical Pentecostal and those of the Neo-Pentecostal or Charismatic classification who uphold Classical Pentecostal beliefs and practices in relation to the baptism of the Holy Spirit with the concomitant *glossolalia*.[3] It is not within the parameters

---

[1] Part of this essay will relate to my previous essay (2000) "Toward a Pentecostal Epistemology: The Role of Experience in Pentecostal Hermeneutics" and this essay was presented in an earlier version at the Asia Pacific Theological Association's Theological Commission Symposium in Manila, Philippines, September 2007.

[2] Even though some might prefer the use of 'spirituality' to represent the basic concept (e.g. Albrecht, Land), the term spirituality in protestant circles was divorced from theology historically (Sheldrake 33-64) and recently the term has been protean in definition (Schneiders).

[3] Note that for this essay I am not including 'Oneness' Pentecostals or those Pentecostals who believe that the Baptism in the Spirit and tongues is necessary to salvation within the parameters of Classical Pentecostal.

of this essay to deal with the relationship of the baptism of the Holy Spirit and *glossolalia*, nor give an explanation of glossolalic activity; these will be assumed as the norm for 'Pentecostals.' This essay will consist of two main parts: First will be a discussion on the nature of 'paradigms,' 'paradigm shifts' and related material in reference to the baptism of the Holy Spirit. The second section will look at specific elements of a 'Pentecostal Paradigm.' Following these some appropriate concluding remarks will be made.

Paradigms, Religious Experience and the Baptism in the Holy Spirit

The concept of 'paradigm' has reached prominence and expression with the publication of Thomas Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. (see also Kuhn 1977, esp. 293-319; and Kuhn 2000, esp. 13-32) Whereas Kuhn originally used the term 'paradigm' and the changing of 'paradigm shifts' within the history of scientific discovery, the terms have seen usage in various other fields of study.[4] Kuhn's definition of 'paradigm' is a scientific unitary outlook or 'disciplinary matrix,' which contains "not only theoretical postulates, but presuppositions about the world which those postulates were to fit, about how they ought to fit that world, about the proper procedures for trying to make them fit, and criteria for judging when such attempts were or were not successful." (Ratzsch 45) Following N. R. Hanson's often quoted dictum, "all data are theory-laden," Kuhn recognizes that the paradigm is the epistemological 'sorting' filter by which all input is adjudicated. (see also Barbour 95-98; Ratzsch 45-56) The transference from the original paradigm to a different paradigm is called a 'paradigm shift' or 'gestalt switch.' This occurs not due to the rational or logical transfer, rather the old paradigm develops a number of anomalies that adjustments or self-blindness can no longer account for. This environment fosters a 'conversion' from the old paradigm to another paradigm. These 'revolutions' are distinct from normal science or the normal accumulation of knowledge; it is a shift of the whole perspective fundamentally.[5] Hans Küng and Stephen Toulmin also

---

[4] For instance, in theology: Barbour, Küng, Martin, and van Huyssteen; in Biblical studies see Shedinger; for use in other religions see for example LaFleur; Note later Kuhn further develops these parameters in Kuhn 1977, and Kuhn 2000.

[5] Kuhn sees that there are 3 possible solutions to these crisis situations: 1. Solution within the old paradigm (e.g. epicycles), 2. No solution because there

suggest that there are likewise 'micro-revolutions' which make major changes in assumptions, perspectives or data, but are not a shift from the paradigm itself. (Küng 134-5; Toulmin; see Barbour 107-110) In other words, the 'paradigm' may have some 'repackaging' but the primary paradigm is retained. For example, the shift from the Terra-centric system to a Solar-centric system is a 'paradigm shift'—where all pertinent data had to be reapplied in light of the new paradigm; but the shift from the planetary circular orbits to the elliptical orbits was a 'micro-revolution'—where the current data verified the revised position. As this example demonstrates, the paradigm is likewise perpetuated by certain 'exemplars' (i.e. select prominent examples) through which the tradition is transmitted. (Barbour 9) Further for Kuhn, although the paradigms are distinct, they are not 'incommensurable' with each other. As such, there can be communication between paradigms, although the data and evidence will be sorted differently. However, the language and its terms in one paradigm do not necessarily mean exactly the same to someone in another paradigm, nor can someone in one paradigm completely understand all the components of another paradigm. (Kuhn 2000, 33-57; Ratzsch 50, 53; Sharrock and Read 58-65, 140-98) These paradigms are endorsed, strengthened and propagating within communities. Further, it is the communities that verify the elements and the usefulness of the paradigms pragmatically. The communities not only participate in the verification, but it also articulates the appropriateness of the paradigm. (Kuhn 1970, 145-157; Kuhn 2000, 33-57)

The most prominent 'paradigm shift' in a Christian's life is the conversion experience. For some the conversion experience is a dramatically, punctiliar crisis experience, while for others the conversion experience itself may be in one point in time, but the process and perceived 'crisis event' took place over time. (Alston 1989) The New Testament terminology attests to this 'paradigm shift' by the usage of the terms 'old man,' 'new creation' and other similar expressions (i.e. new wine in old wineskins). As William Alston notes the reality claims made to put Christians in touch with the physical environment is vastly different than the general perceptual practice of discerning the physical environment, and thereby the procedures to put us in touch with the environment, cognitively, is likewise different. (1983, 103-34) In other words, there is a Christian paradigm that is

---

is no new proposed paradigm and 3. A scientific revolution (paradigm shift). Ratzsch 47.

different from the non-Christian paradigm. The Pentecostal paradigm is inseparable from the Christian paradigm, since the Pentecostal life is Christian.[6]   Whereas the Christian paradigm is a result of a conversion paradigm shift, the Pentecostal paradigm with the baptism of the Holy Spirit results from a 'micro-revolution.' The baptism of the Holy Spirit can be related to Abraham Maslow's 'Peak Experiences' where the experience has intrinsic value, is gestalt in itself, and is a self-actualized experience which is "more a shift in attention, in the organizing of perception, in noticing and realizing, that occurs." (77; see 59-78) Likewise H. Richard Niebuhr (1941) calls this paradigmic shift 'revelation.' As Niebuhr states to attain knowledge of Christ as Lord means that "Only a decision of the self, a leap of faith, a *metanoia* or revolution of the mind can lead from observation to participation and from observed to lived history. . . .Revelation means for us that part of our inner history which illumines the rest of it and which is itself intelligible." (61, 68) Generally speaking, Pentecostals do not espouses beliefs, doctrines or practices that are not found within other times of church history.[7]   What the Pentecostals have done in a unique way, at least since the late second century AD, is to put these doctrines together into a coherent whole, thereby, creating what I will call a 'Pentecostal Paradigm.'[8]   It is this paradigm with the inherent beliefs, practices and experiences of God in one's day to day life, which informs Pentecostal self-understanding. The Pentecostal paradigm is essentially the same elements of orthodox Christianity—doctrines (e.g. Diety of Jesus Christ), practices (e.g. Water Baptism) and experiences (e.g. feeling

[6] Here I am clearly not including the 'less Christian' Pentecostals referred to in Ma 2005, 74-75.

[7]W. Menzies (1985, 1-2) notes that possibly the direct connection between the Baptism in the Spirit and tongues is the one unique doctrine of Pentecostals, excluding the first two centuries AD. Obviously, Pentecostal belief, experience and practice are much broader than given, but these were given as they directly or indirectly pertained to the discussion.   For more detailed studies in Pentecostal belief and practice, here is a partial list of helpful works, Anderson; Dayton; Gause; Hocken; Hollenweger; MacDonald; Poloma; and the JPT supplemental series.

[8] The idea of the uniqueness of Pentecostalism as not being a pure Spirit-baptism issue, but as a 'gestalt' of theological, spiritual and various other concerns is not new: Dayton; Kärkkäinen; Lewis; Macchia 2002; and Petersen 1999.

remorse due to own sin), but the package has shifted into a very difference epistemological filter. This paradigm is not a world-view, but a conglomeration of understanding (including various political, social, theological and ecclesiastical elements [Küng 173]) related to what might be called 'the Pentecostal tradition.' The Pentecostal paradigm is promulgated and traditioned by Pentecostal communities in Pentecostal tradition (see Chan), and it is pragmatic in orientation which allows for the ease of verification. The community plays a significant role in the propagation, expression and explanation of Pentecostal experience. (see Deutsch) The social element of experience is perpetuated and communicated through narrative (Gelpi 121-57; see also Ambler; Oden 1987, 338-9), which within the Pentecostal community can take the form of testimonies whether oral or written as in writing historical accounts (e.g. Bartleman; see Cerillo). The narrative provides both continuity with past and present, and helps the community formulate ethically, culturally, and socially as a group, and perpetuates this paradigmic perspective. Experience has a narrative quality and this extends to people in a narrative community. Narrative binds the community together [9]; and narrative can provide the parameters by which religious experience is understood and interpreted. (Yamane) It is for this reason why the Azusa Street revival provided the necessary communal experience (and an exemplar) by which the baptism of the Holy Spirit and the 'Pentecostal paradigm' became traditioned (Chan) and incorporated into the Pentecostal movement worldwide. This is not to imply that Azusa Street was the only Pentecostal revival during the early part of the 20th century. Rather if it is assumed that this revival was of God, then to have simultaneous similar revivals elsewhere is not just possible, but it is probable if not certain. However, of all the revivals of the period, whether non-Pentecostal (e.g. Welsh revival) or Pentecostal-like (e.g. Ramabai Mukti Mission, Kedgaon, India), the Azusa Street revival provided the

---

[9] The role of testimonies, stories of early Pentecostal experiences and the general Christian narrative have greatly influenced Pentecostal communities. H. Richard Niebuhr and Stephen Crites were important early proponents of narrative in regard to experience. Since then, Alasdair McIntyre (1984), Stanley Hauerwas (1981), and James McClendon Jr. (1988) have espoused the importance of narrative in theology and ethics, especially character or virtue ethics. For a good collection of works on narrative with essays by the first four authors mentioned above see Stanley Hauerwas and L. Gregory Jones, eds., *Why Narrative? Readings in Narrative Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989). See also Moltmann 1992, 25.

corporate understanding and through the missions emphasis (partially due to the belief that the *glossolalia* was *xenolalia*), the baptism in the Holy Spirit, *glossolalia, charismata,* etc. was established in a framework which was perpetuated and traditioned internationally. (e.g. Smylie) The baptism of the Holy Spirit was verified biblically and communally, and just as importantly cross-culturally.

The baptism in the Holy Spirit is specifically a Pentecostal religious experience. It must be understood that the term 'experience' is one of the most difficult to define; experience and in particular, religious experience.[10] As such, contemporary discussions on religious experience and in particular, mysticism will help with some of the issues involved. Within the arena of religious experience, there have been 3 prominent positions which are pertinent to this essay: perennial philosophy, 'the constructivists,' and 'the essentialists.' It was typical historically that the goal of the study of religious experience was to discuss the possibility of a commonality of an interfaith religious experience or a 'core experience' found in all the world's religions, this perspective was/is attached to perennial philosophy.[11] Perennial philosophy, as exemplified by such authors as Aldous Huxley, Frithjof Schuon and Huston Smith, emphasize the universality of mystical experience due to the commonality of the 'absolute,' and thereby the transcendental unity of religions which is primordial in its claim. Perennial philosophy, in other words, proposes that all mystical experience (i.e. experience of the 'absolute') is, in fact, the experience

---

[10] Whereas the ambiguity and general difficulty in discussing 'experience' was noted earlier by Hans-Georg Gadamer (310-25); more recently Paula Cooey (326-7) and Jürgen Moltmann (18) have noted the same difficulties. Donald Gelpi states that "the term "experience" enjoys a certain pride of place among the weasel words of the English language." (1-2) He further develops in his book the wide variety of definitions and descriptions of experience in contemporary theology before articulating his own position. A definition of experience that I will use for this essay is that "experience refers to a complex conscious, affective, psychological phenomenon, involving both cognitive awareness of external events and internal physiological, affective, and conscious reactions to such events." (Parker 15) Thomas and Cooper (1978) have likewise pointed to the problems of measurement techniques of religious or mystical experience.

[11] Some socio-psychological studies on the possibility of a 'core experience' are Hay; Hay and Morisey; c.f. Margolis and Elifson.

of the same entity, in spite of the different religious frameworks and terminologies. Further, although perennial philosophy does not specifically focus on religious experience or mysticism, it does discuss it as it pertains to its emphasis on religious metaphysics.

The study of religious experience itself has been greatly influenced by the work of Friedrich Schleiermacher, William James, Rudolf Otto, W. T. Stace, Evelyn Underwood, R. C. Zaehner and more recently William Alston, Robert Forman, Steven Katz, and Wayne Proudfoot among others. Wayne Proudfoot's significant study on the nature of religious experience describes some important features of religious experience. "Religious experience cannot be identified without reference to concepts, beliefs, grammatical rules, and practices." (Proudfoot 1985, 228; 190-227) Likewise, Katz (1978) in his classic essay states "There is NO pure (i.e. unmediated) experiences". Katz (1978 ed.; 1983 ed.), Proudfoot (1985), Ann Taves (1999) somewhat similarly Alston (1991), called 'the constructivists,' expressed that there is no religious experience apart from religious belief and the socio-linguistic setting (Brainard 359-62). In the same way, for Jonathan Edwards and John Wesley, religious experience was by necessity Christian, and the nature of this Christian experience is predetermined by the Christian belief.[12] Religious experience was seen as formulated from the subject's point of view with reference to their religious beliefs. In other words, the beliefs precede the experience and its explanation, not the other way around. George Lindbeck (1984; see Shuman 1997), following Ludwig Wittgenstein's language games,[13] similarly notes the importance of the cultural-linguistic approach to doctrine, while Stanley Hauerwas (1981; 1983) also emphasizes the cultural-linguistic community as formative in a person's ethics. In other words, doctrine, ethics, and religious experience are limited to the community of the cultural-linguistic grouping. In contrast, Forman (1990 ed; 1999) as a member of the 'essentialists' argues that there is a potential of a pure consciousness event (PCE) independent of the socio-linguistic setting, and thereby allows for an 'unmediated experience.' Forman's contention is that there is a possibility for an unmediated religious experience. He turns,

---

[12]On Edwards, see Proudfoot 1989; and Edwards; On Wesley, see Runyon (1987, 1990). Note that Edwards and Wesley's paradigm of Christian experience were based upon the work of John Locke. (Brantley)

[13] Gill; Nicholson (1996) argues that Lindbeck actually misinterprets Wittgenstein and his 'language games.'

however, to the individual consciousness and suggests the abilities of humans to be aware of their own consciousness, independent of the socio-linguistic group.

Whether following Katz, Proudfoot et al. or Forman's allowance for a PCE, the understanding seems to suffer from a Feuerbachian limitation and limits the Divine by reducing religious experience and theology to anthropology without the Divine ability to immediately impact the individual,[14] by allowing that all religious experience is located in a socio-linguistic framework with no 'unmediated,' that is direct experience. Further, experience is not experience itself or consciousness itself rather it is intentional—an 'experience of' or 'consciousness of' something. (Althouse; Gelpi 140, 145-8; Proudfoot 1985, 192; Schner) This does not mean that the object of the experience must be whom the experiencer believes, but the experience can still be intentional. Other parameters play the role of setting the pattern of discernment in religious experience (i.e. Bible, community of faith etc.). The problem with the 'constructivists'' or 'essentialists'' positions is that they do not adequately account for a living God who directly interacts with the present world. It makes human experience as a 'closed system.' A basic tenet of Pentecostal belief is potential of an unmediated experience of the Divine (or the Demonic) with the life of the person, thereby allowing an 'open system.' (c.f. Macchia 1993) Yet, there is little doubt of the decidedly important and normal aspects of the cultural-linguistic limitations. This approach should be seen as the norm without being a certainty.[15] Contrary to the perennial philosophers, a person can talk about a universal religious or mystical experience as part of anthropology, but fundamental to the Pentecostal paradigm is the difference between the divine and the demonic. Thus,

---

[14] Note that Katz does recognize this fact, Katz 1993.

[15] Someone may ask why this is such an important distinction. First, we recognize that as a whole, beliefs predispose people to certain experiences and preclude them from others. Abraham Maslow notes this tendency in his studies of 'peak-experiences,' 19-29. Second, while we understand that these beliefs and ultimately, the cultural-linguistic production of these beliefs are normal, we as Pentecostals know and believe that God can and has worked beyond these limitations sovereignly. I know of occasions when a person within another culture, language group and/or religion through a vision of Christ, an angel, a dream, or by reading the Bible became converted to become a follower of Christ without a church, cultural-linguistic group or foundation. However, we are, likewise, cognizant that this is the exception.

there is a clear distinction in content and source between Christian religious experience and other religious experience by the very nature of foundational Christian beliefs which in turn determine, inform and interpret the religious experience. Although there can be general descriptions of aspects of the religious experiences as part of humanity's anthropological elements, these do not describe the substance of the experience. In other words, description and interpretation of religious experience must ultimately be based upon the beliefs, and practices of the person, since the description is nothing more than a description of the human condition, and not necessarily proof for the divine.[16] This is not to say that the answer is a spiritual reductionism; rather there must be a spiritual-physical balance in any discussion of religious experience. (Hardy 372; Taves) Furthermore, as to the descriptions of mystical experience, such as 'nonordinariness' and 'profundity' (Brainard) or 'ineffability' and 'noetic quality' (Proudfoot 119-54; James 299-336), Pentecostal experience and belief diverge from these descriptions. (Schner) Pentecostal experience is not anomalous as Brainerd (372-5), Proudfoot (148), and James (299-336) state describing mystical experience, rather it is enigmatic—which seems to be contrary to the natural order, but is fundamentally within the natural order. So perennial philosophers confuse the universality of the phenomenon of religious experience with the content or source of such an experience. Further, whether the religious experience is able to convey moral content is debatable, but it can be said to verify already know moral stances.[17]

This discussion on religious experience has some implications concerning the baptism in the Holy Spirit. First, the baptism in the Holy Spirit is intentional; it is an experience of the Triune God. Note that this experience is both an experience of the Holy Spirit and prominently Christocentric (see below). Second, although there is little doubt about the socio-linguistic elements of the baptism in the Holy

---

[16]Brainard describes the three major schools of thought in regard to mystical experience. A good general discussion of some of the issues from an interfaith perspective is Jerald Gort et. al., eds., *On Sharing Religious Experience* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992).

[17] Wainwright 1976, 29-36; on the debate of the possibility of moral content in a mystical experience see Danto 1972, 1976; Proudfoot 1976; and Wainwright 1976.

Spirit and *glossolalia*, the nature of the baptism of the Holy Spirit emphasizes an I-Thou encounter with God (Buber) that is both revelatory and unmediated. (e.g. Sepúlveda) Third, as to whether the baptism in the Holy Spirit includes moral content is debatable within Pentecostal circles; some suggest that moral development is intrinsic to the reception of the baptism of the Holy Spirit (Holiness Pentecostals), while others have them as independent in development (Baptistic Pentecostals). Further, some Pentecostal scholars emphasize the action orientation of the baptism of the Holy Spirit (e.g. R. Menzies; Williams), while others see the baptism in the Holy Spirit as holistic or for 'life' including its moral implications. (Chan 1997, 2000; Dempster 1987; Kärkkäinen 2005, 49-50; Macchia 1992, 68-70) In either case, it can be reasonably argued that the baptism of the Holy Spirit can verify moral positions (i.e. to allow women in ministerial roles), rather than either having no moral ramifications or having total moral implications.

The baptism in the Holy Spirit also has certain implications about the nature and usage of religious language. (e.g. Yong 1998) Pentecostals would agree with the church fathers as Thomas C. Oden's articulates that religious language for the early church fathers by necessity must at least represent the 'truth' about salvation. Pentecostals use religious language in descriptions of the experiences, practices and beliefs in which they participate. They 'raise hands,' 'speak in tongues,' receive the 'Baptism in the Holy Spirit,' etc., in each case basing the terminology of the activity, or experience upon Biblical (albeit for North Americans somewhat King Jamesish) texts. Further, for instance, Pentecostals even use the phrase "Thus saith the Lord. . ." as a preparatory formula for delivering prophecies or interpretations. Pentecostal religious language demonstrates the inbred belief of Pentecostals that there is a Divine continuity of experience from the early church (as in the book of Acts) to our own experiences. For Pentecostals, religious language generally is reflective of the nature of things, but if there are times when 'words' are inadequate in prayer, *glossolalia*, expresses the inexpressible to God (Macchia 1992; Spittler 2002a); perhaps based on the pre-linguistic reality touched directly by God. (Barnard 1987, 242-4; Short; c.f. Cox 81-3) It is for this reason, at least in part, why Romans 8:26 is emphasized as showing the His strength in our weakness (Fee 1997) in praying with 'groanings too deep for words." (Bertone; Chan 1997, 84; Macchia 1992) *Glossolalia* is directly tied to religious language for Pentecostals. (Troeltsch) As such, *glossolalia,* is an expression of one aspect of Pentecostal religious language usage. Further, it demonstrates the authority that the

Pentecostals place upon the Bible. In other words, the experiences are authenticated because the Bible testifies of them.

The baptism of the Holy Spirit commonly called the 'second crisis event' (or 'third crisis event' for Holiness Pentecostals) is accompanied by *glossolalia. Glossolalia* functions partially as a conduit by which discernible transformation takes place within the person. In fact, some studies have demonstrated a noticeable difference in some attitudes between non-baptized in the Holy Spirit respondents, non-glossolaliac neo-Pentecostals and glossolalic neo-Pentecostals (Maloney and Lovekin 1985, 192, 183-5; Niesz and Kronenberger; c.f. Duggan; Malony and Lovekin 1977) or between Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal ministerial students. (Kay and Francis) Further, old glossolalics were seen to spend more time in religious activity weekly, and rated religion as more important than either new glossolalics or non-glossolalic believers. (Malony and Lovekin 1977) These studies demonstrate that in at least some attitudes or behavioral elements, *glossolalia* can have a 'shifting' factor within a person. In the early part of the twentieth century to the 1960's, the vast majority of the psychological studies on *glossolalia* looked at this experience through contemporaneous psychological theorists—Freud, Adler, Jung, etc. As such, there psychological perspectives undoubtedly influenced their interpretation and findings, so personality studies, using everything from MMPI to the Rorschach test varied from positive to negative results. (Kay 2006; Maloney and Lovekin 1985, 161-85; Mills 1986b; 1986c) The early treatments tended to see *glossolalia* as pathological (see Hine 441-2; Mills 1986, 20-27; Maloney and Lovekin 1985, 78-93). However, in recent studies glossolalics were see to be less likely to have depression, "more open to feeling and to the affective dimension of their experience . . .and more spontaneous and better able to cope with anxiety." (Maloney and Lovekin 1985, 185) Beginning with the 1960s-1970s, there has been a developing consensus that *glossolalia* is not, in fact, pathological. (Hine 442-444; Kay 2006, 180-5; Kay and Francis 261; Richardson; see also I. M. Lewis) Reflecting on the literature through sociological analysis, Richard Hutch (1986) has separated the literature between those who define *glossolalia* as aberrant, extraordinary or anomalous behavior. Linguistically, though many glossolalics believe that tongues are *xenolalia*, several linguists emphasized that the *glossolalia* is not interpretable as a modern

language.[18] Furthermore, other scholars have noted that *glossolalia* is often based upon local linguistic phonemes. (Holms 1987; Hopkins) Numerous other findings from psychological and sociological studies have helped explain the nature of *glossolalia.* Further studies have suggested that there are feelings of physical well-being due to *glossolalia*. (Hine; Maloney and Lovekin 1985, 149-60) Likewise, attitudinal changes such as feelings of joy, sense of peace, a greater ability to love, and comfort have been repeatedly noted, as well as a confidence in beliefs (Hine; Kay and Francis; Maloney and Lovekin 1985, 188-99; Stanley, Bartlette and Moyle) with clergy also noting greater job satisfaction. (Kay 2006, 202-3) Further, British Pentecostal ministerial candidates (from British Assemblies of God and Elim) were seen to be 'more stable' then men and women in general. (Kay 2006, 197, 199, 202; Kay and Francis) In one case-study, it was noted that *glossolalia* functioned "as a kind of self-therapy to relieve stress, deal with negative emotions, and to otherwise 'strengthen' the psyche." (Poloma 2006, 167) This is in line with the finding that glossolalic Anglican clergy has lower neuroticism than non-glossolalic Anglican clergy, thus pointing to *glossolalia* as tension-reducing. (Kay 2006 198; Newberg and Waldman 197) Behavior changes from drug addiction and homosexuality were likewise noted but only as part of a glossolalic community. (Maloney and Lovekin 1985, 198-208) Newberg and Waldman using Single Photon Emission Computed Tomography (SPECT) studied in contrast to non-participants the function of prayer in Catholic nuns and mediation in Buddhists with those Pentecostals 'speaking in tongues.' The findings in the glossolalics showed "significant differences. . . .[and was] very unusual . . . for it suggest[ed] that the language was being generated in a different way, or possibly from someplace other than the normal processing centers of speech." (200-1) Further contrary to the nuns and Buddhists, there was no decrease in function in the parietal lobes "which suggests that speakers in tongues do not lose their personal sense of self." (205) Furthermore, a recent study by Ron Philipchalk and Dieter Mueller (2000) has demonstrated that there are physiological changes in the brain due to

---

[18] Hilborn, 111-7; Holms 1991; Maloney and Lovekin 1985, 196-7; although they note that the glossolalic messages were not an interpretable language, they do note times of interspersed known words of a different language. Perhaps the handwriting on the wall (Daniel 5) may be used analogously to help understand the nature of *glossolalia* and interpretation.

glossolalic utterance noted by an infrared camera, where contrasting to praying or reading the Bible, *glossolalia* was visibly working in both hemispheres of the brain.

So as *glossolalia* plays a role in the formulation of a paradigm shift, it is part of the whole individual and corporate experience. To further define the nature of the 'Pentecostal Paradigm,' then an articulation of the prominent elements are in order.

Elements of a 'Pentecostal Paradigm'

Although this will not be exhaustive, I will highlight nine elements that are part of the Pentecostal Paradigm. I do not mean by using these that other Christians do not likewise interact with these elements, rather it is that Pentecostals (especially the early Pentecostals) assumed them in tandem and interrelated among themselves. These elements of the paradigm are noticeable in some attitudes between non-baptized in the Holy Spirit respondents, non-glossolaliac neo-Pentecostals and glossolalic neo-Pentecostals (Maloney and Lovekin 1985, 192, 183-5; Niesz and Kronenberger), thus showing a distinction between non-baptized and baptized (showing the paradigm shift), and between old and new glossolalics. (Malony and Lovekin 1977) As such, not all elements will be in all Pentecostal believers but collectively these elements will be found.

Era of the Spirit

The early Pentecostals were dogmatic about the certainty of the Spirit's presence and guidance in a Pentecostal believer's life. It is the expectation that at any moment the Spirit can lead or direct a person into a situation, through a situation or out of a situation in a way that is not possible in the natural. Howard Kenyon (1988) has noted that this perspective is fundamental to the self-understanding and the very ethical existence of early Pentecostalism. Early Pentecostal literature highlighted this expectation.

An integral part of living in the era of the Spirit was/is the emphasis on the *charismata*. For Pentecostals, the *charismata* functions as God's divine impact into the community of faith. They are not only for the edification of the body (I Cor 14: 3), they also function as proof of the divine presence. This perspective is both personal and communal.

Further, living in the era of the Spirit had certain assumptions about history. Pentecostals from Charles Parham on have emphasized the point that there is a historical continuity between the working of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament times and the current work of the Spirit in the world. Although some believe in the restorationist move of the Spirit in the early church and in the modern times (see Faupel; c.f. Dayton), while others believe in the continued work of the Spirit in the church throughout church history (Burgess; Kydd, etc.), all believe that the work of the Spirit today is essentially the same as the experiences of the early church. This runs in opposition to those who subscribe to a cessationist perspective of the Spirit's charismatic manifestations in church history (see Ruthven) or to Dispensational beliefs (see Sheppard 1984). Related to this, Pentecostal thought actually has an implied historiography, which emphasizes the inseparability of history from God's work in the world. In other words, contrary to Rudolf Bultmann and his demythological enterprise, God's work in and through history is not limited to the pre-scientific age nor is it essentially different today.[19]

Practicality

Pentecostal experience is not 'ineffable' as ascribed by mystics; rather Pentecostal perspectives demand the concreteness of the experience. Pentecostal experience is concrete in that it takes the form of the *charismata*, missiological endeavors, participatory worship, among other things, which are and needs to be testable by the leaders and the community. (Robeck 1983) It is this practicality and concreteness, which also expresses the Pentecostal necessity for practicality while still emphasizing the supernatural.[20] Partially due the zeitgeist at the formulation of Pentecostal thought, Pentecostal thought has been fundamentally practical. (Kenyon)

---

[19] It is partially for this reason why I believe that there is also an implied Pentecostal perspective on the development of doctrine. Ultimately, this undercuts a strict 'restorationist' perspective from a historical or doctrinal framework.

[20] Poloma 1989, 66-7; Note also the prominent element in recent Pentecostal writings on the role of praxis, C. Johns; J. Johns; Land; Solivan.

Divine Healing

Healing has likewise played a dominant role in the Pentecostal psyche. It, with other miraculous actions, is an expression of being in the 'era of the Spirit.' Further, the nature of the 'laying on of hands' with the prayer of faith, fundamentally challenges the traditional spiritual-physical dichotomy of the Western post-Enlightenment world. As one of the 'pillars' of the Pentecostal message, healing is perceived as both the right of believers in this world, and yet ultimately within the hands of the sovereign God. (Kydd 2002, 710-11) Whether healing is based in the atonement or as part of divine grace, healing has been a fundamental identifying mark for Pentecostals. (e.g. Holms 1991, 146-9; Macchia 2002, 1134-37; Petersen 1999, 85, 88-94)

Christocentric

The early Pentecostals believed that the Pentecostal experience lead the believer to Christ. Christ was the center; the Holy Spirit himself guided a person to Christ. Even the 'Jesus only' controversy highlighted the importance of Christ within the Pentecostal experience. Note that the common model espoused by early Pentecostals of the five-fold Gospel (or four-fold Gospel) was based upon the person of Jesus: Jesus as savior, Jesus as sanctifier (not separate for the four-fold gospel Pentecostals), Jesus as baptizer, Jesus as healer, and Jesus as soon coming King. (Dayton; Land; Macchia 2002; Thomas 1998)

A common misunderstanding of Pentecostals is that they are 'pneumacentric.' Pentecostals, while understanding the role of the Holy Spirit in their lives, emphasize in their beliefs, focus and energies the priority of Jesus. They understand, as Moltmann notes in his *Trinity and the Kingdom*, that each member of the Trinity points to the other members. The Holy Spirit always points to Christ, Christ points to the Father. The very essence of the three persons of the Trinity is to point to other members of the Trinity. In other words, the concomitant relationship between the authority of the Bible and Pentecostal experience is necessarily "Christ-centered" and Trinitarian. (Macchia 2002; Moltmann 1991b) As such, the Spirit 'bears witness' and points to Jesus: His life and work.

Glossolalia, Eschatology and Outreach

The imminent second return of Christ has been especially influential within Pentecostal thought and a dominant theme of Pentecostal spirituality, theology, missiological endeavors, and charismatic realization.[21] In Pentecostal perspective as especially noted at the Azusa Street revival (McClung 1999; see also Kärkkärken 1999), *glossolalia* has been directly tied to both eschatology and outreach. In early Pentecostal thought, *glossolalia* demonstrated that they were living in the last days, so the urgency to present the gospel to every person was emphatic. Similarly, *glossolalia* evidenced the baptism of the Holy Spirit which was an empowerment for witness (Acts 1:8). This mission likewise helps 'usher in' the Lord's return. (Mt 24:14; 2 Pet 3:11-12; see McClung 2002; Wilson 2002) For Pentecostals, although some emphasize overseas missions (e.g. Assemblies of God—USA) while others domestic missions (Church of God in Christ—USA), the work of international evangelism was fundamental to both their understanding of the imminence of the return of Christ and the empowerment of the baptism of the Holy Spirit (Poloma 1990; Poloma and Pendleton; see also Dayton; Faupel; Land) both evidenced by *glossolalia.*

Social Concern

From the Holiness background, there was a strong emphasis on social issues. Historically, various Pentecostal leaders saw outreach as holistic. (Kärkkäinen 2002, 880-1) For instance, Charles Parham worked with orphans and the unemployed, as well as overseeing 'faith houses' providing healing for both physical and spiritual needs. Others promoted racial equality (e.g. William Seymour), orphanage work (e.g. Lillian Thrasher), work among the poor (e.g. A. J. Tomlinson) and even wrote on social, ethical and political issues (e.g. Frank Bartleman). In particular, many if not most of the early Pentecostals were strong pacifists. Frank Bartleman, Howard and John Carter, Donald Gee, Charles Mason, Charles Parham among many others were strong pacifists, with Howard Carter, and Charles Mason being imprisoned for this stance. Likewise, many have noted Pentecostalism's initial pull among the lower classes of society (e.g. Cox), what may not be noticed is that it is not just the Pentecostal message of the poor, it is also to and

---

[21] Dayton 143-71; Faupel; Land; Petersen 1999; Spittler 2002a; D.J. Wilson.

for the poor. So the Pentecostals have seen to it to reach out to the poor as part of who they are as producers of social change. (Petersen 1996) In recent literature, the role of social concern which was significant early on as a normal part of the Pentecostal life has once again been emphasized.[22]

Orality

Pentecostalism has been noted as being pre-literate and oral based. (McDonald 59; Hollenweger 6; Spittler 2002b, 1097) Thus, theology takes place in sermons and worship songs, and the testimony service is a dominant rite. (Albrecht 1992, 2000; Chan 2000; Land; Poloma 1990, 934) Testimony as an oral element plays a crucial role as epistemologically significant (Cartledge 52-7), as placing people in the social matrix and simultaneously promoting the desire to changing social position by having a 'deeper experience of God' (Kroll-Smith), and as also an outreach to non-believers. (McGuire 1977) Actually this points to a very important feature of Pentecostalism that is the presence in Pentecostalism of aspects of an oral culture. Oral cultures tend to be relational, communal, and tend to emphasis the pragmatic. Further, the role of the narrative, normally important in ethical formulations and development, becomes much more important as the source of knowledge and understanding. (Hollenweger; Land 52) Further, with Pentecostals coming from this oral orientation, it may provide a point of contact with the biblical world with their hermeneutical enterprise, especially in reference to narrative and the book of Acts.[23] *Glossolalia* is the force by which the reintroduction of orality into the oral/literate dichotomy which was lost in post-printing press Christianity. (see Ellul) Due to this orality among Pentecostals, they are not caught in the objectivism/subjectivism dualism (Jardine; C. Johns), and the overemphasis of the image over the Word, which is control-oriented in an I-it sense. (Ellul; see also Ong) Pentecostalism looks for knowledge

---

[22] On various aspects of modern Pentecostal social concerns see B. Alexander; P. Alexander; Cook; Dempster 1989, 1993, 1999, 2004; Hollenweger 1972, 80, 101-7, 151, 165, 469-70, Kenyon; Palmer; Robeck 1987; Shuman 1996.

[23] On the role of understanding orality for biblical studies see Harvey; Jaffee; and Niditch; on general aspects of orality see Ellul, Graham, Naudé and Ong. This point of contact is especially true with the connection between orality and narrative which is a major emphasis with Pentecostals (Acts).

relationally within the relationship with God[24] and balances the image with the Word—the visual with the oral. Many of the difficulties within Pentecostalism are actually the difficulties inherent within the interaction and interrelationship between the oral cultural elements and the literate cultural elements. Therefore, Pentecostals are not in a 'pure' oral culture, rather they function between the oral culture and the literate culture (of the printing press) in what Walter Ong calls the 'manuscript culture.' (119-23) As such, Pentecostalism may be best suited for the contemporary 'second oral culture' (Ong 135-8), but it also explains why many writers confuse Pentecostalism with Postmodernity. [25]

The Whole Life

For Pentecostals, their life as a Christian is holistic—experience, belief and action are bound together. Christian experience, orthopathy or 'right experience,' is interrelated with belief or orthodoxy, 'right belief,' and practice or orthopraxy, 'right action.' So, within this context when experience is discussed it must be thought of in its relationship with beliefs and practices. [26] Orthodoxy emphasizes doctrinal understanding[27]; orthopraxy includes theological reflection that leads to action; and orthopathy emphasizes the passions or affections, or as Samuel Solivan notes "personal first-hand engagement" (11) which is a direct experience of my neighbor. Whereas Stephen Land's 'orthopathy' emphasizes the affections toward God and neighbor, Solivan sets it as 'being one' with the marginalized and suffering. (See also C. Johns; J. Johns)

For Pentecostals Acts 1:8 operates as a heuristic key for self-understanding. However, the 'empowerment for witness' was not for

---

[24]Jardine; C. Johns; Johns and Johns; This is also has points of contact with Polanyi's concept of 'tacit knowing' and in a different way with Loder's 'convictional knowing.'

[25] Lewis 2002; This can also be seen in Cox's clash of two paradigms, 299-318.

[26] This is a point made by Pentecostals (C. Johns; Land; Solivan), Wesleyans (Runyon 1987, 1990) and Evangelicals. (Stevens)

[27] Note that originally 'orthodoxy' meaning 'right glory' was much broader in its parameters. Over the course of church history it narrowed to meaning more doctrinal or theological in emphasis, losing the practical and affective elements inherent in the original meaning.

service only, but for the whole life, as Simon Chan (1997 93; 2000 54-5) has noted. The in-filling of the Holy Spirit was considered by the early Pentecostals to be broader than just enablement for witnessing. For them, the Spirit enables all parts of life—in ethics, in relationships, in everyway. This empowerment is to be for ethical living as well as evangelistic and missiological outreach.[28]

Pentecostals have historically been accused of falling into emotionalism. No doubt some such occasions existed, but Pentecostals do not seek 'emotions.' Rather they see emotions as part of the whole God created nature of humanity—physical, spiritual, emotional, social, intellectual, and psychological [29]—where each aspect of humanity needs to make an appropriate response to the holy, transcendent, and sovereign God. The Pentecostal experience of God, salvation and the eschaton is holistic; each facet of a person has an appropriate and necessary response. Pentecostals see a more holistic world such as described as a 'spiritual ontology.' (Nichols) So for Pentecostals, the emphasis is holistic—oral/literate, evangelism/social concern, physical/spiritual etc.

Worship

For Pentecostals, worship "results in an altered perception of reality." (C. Johns 89) Worship within the Pentecostal paradigm is participatory, holistic and equal. Participatory in that Pentecostals emphasize the participation of all worshipers. Interestingly, within the Azusa Street Mission (circular) and in contemporary fan-shaped charismatic churches, the architecture is not just conducive but actually invites participatory worship. Worship is likewise holistic in that Pentecostal worship invites the whole person to be involved in worship: physically with hands raised, knees bent and dancing; emotionally with joy, sorrow and at times, remorse; socially through testimony, holding hands, and greeting one another; mentally through songs and the sermon etc. Each aspect is highlighted and allowed within the rituals inherent in the Pentecostal worship service. (Albrecht 1992; 2000; Spittler 2002b; see also Wilson and Chow) These rituals are

---

[28] This is a point noted in my previous article see Lewis 1998.

[29] MacDonald 64-5; Gause 114-5. Note that McClendon (78-109) and Cooey emphasize the physical side of the experience and ethics. Interestingly, Pentecostal ethics is not foundationally emotive or cognitive; instead it tends to have an intuitive or affective foundation.

meaningful, are transformational (Driver) and are themselves manifestations and reflections of the Spirit's powerful presence. Pentecostal practices as in Pentecostal rituals, such as the raising of hands, the testimony service, etc., legitimize Pentecostal experiences and beliefs, such as modern continuity with the early church. (Albrecht 1992; 2000; Israel/Albrecht/McNally 146-54; see also Schouten) Thereby, Pentecostal belief, practice and experience are intimately intertwined and cannot be separated (Land). The rituals, symbols, experiences, beliefs, and practices are necessarily communal and are inseparable from the Pentecostal community and from each other. (Albrecht; Cooey 326) Worship is equal in that it is expressed in the participatory multi-cultural, diverse racial and various socio-economical levels of the worshipers. (C. Johns, 90) As is commonly stated, all are 'equal' at the foot of the cross.

The worship service is also meant to be a demonstration of the corporate infilling of the Holy Spirit as found in the book of Acts. The baptism of the Holy Spirit is not only an individual event, it is also a corporate event, in which each worship service is to be a conduit of God's presence and activity. As such, God can speak individually to the hearts through His Spirit immediately or through songs and the Word preached. The service is also the place where the utterance gifts of the *charismata* can be exercised corporately to the edification of the body. The Pentecostal church operates as Moltmann's calls, 'The Church in the Power of the Spirit.' (1991a; See also Albrecht 2000) Within the worship service, *Glossolalia* functions within the church service as 'silence' does in a Quaker service, or liturgy does in a Roman Catholic service (Baer; Macchia 1993); this draws the corporate and individual worshipers into what Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi calls a 'flow experience.' (Csikszentmihalyi; Neitz and Spickard 1990; Poloma 2006, 153)

Pentecostal Hermeneutics and the Bible

Due to the high view of scripture by Pentecostals, hermeneutics is a natural emphasis by Pentecostals. By hermeneutics, it is meant 'the principles of interpretation' or 'the science of understanding.'[30]   The

---

[30] The former definition being the more traditional definition, while the later is a definition perpetuated by Friedrich Schleiermacher and those who follow his scheme. I prefer the former definition, but with the realization that the latter emphasizes an aspect of hermeneutics essential to proper hermeneutics (i.e. the importance of understanding, that is, the interpreter, within hermeneutics).

importance of the Bible for Pentecostals can not be overstated. For Pentecostals, their belief in the authority of scripture is not determined by cognitive constructs alone nor is there 'paradigm' cognitively derived; rather it is greatly determined by the Pentecostals' immediate experiences of God in and through the text. Thereby, they are not overly concerned by Evangelical debates of inerrancy and the like. (Ellington; Spittler 1985) Brainard notes about mystical texts, which likewise relates to the Bible, that "severing the text from the experience is very difficult when the texts themselves so frequently deal in the experience." (385; see also Neuman) Pentecostals see the Bible as foundational to their beliefs, practices and experience, thereby, their very existence as a group. These allowances of Pentecostal belief inform Pentecostal experience and practice. As Mark McLean has noted Pentecostal hermeneutics should be based upon God's continued presence in the world, working the same today as He did in the Biblical times. With this Biblical foundation and Pentecostal understanding, it is possible to note that for Pentecostals there is a concomitant relationship between Pentecostal experience and the Bible. Pentecostal experience informs one's understanding of the text (McKay)[31]; yet the text testifies of the same experiences among the early church and the apostles. However, the authenticity of the Scriptures is *a posteriori* to Pentecostals. (Ellington) Pentecostal hermeneutics perpetuates the perspective as a Pentecostal reads the Bible, one sees oneself and is informed by this and looks for this Divine, I-Thou relational experience (e.g. *glossolalia*). After receiving such an experience by God, one is all the more convinced of God's reality and the Bible's authority. An experience that does not line up with the Bible must be jettisoned; however, allowances are made for a new deeper understanding of Scripture (e.g. women in ministry, *glossolalia*). So, in one sense, Pentecostals exist in a dialectic relationship by having an "experience-certified theology" (MacDonald 64), while simultaneously being "Bible-certified." The balance is only possible because Pentecostals are Christocentric (MacDonald 64; Macchia 2002), not Pneumacentric.

Some have argued that there is no such thing as a 'Pentecostal hermeneutics', but if by hermeneutics it is meant the whole hermeneutical process including pre-understanding, exegesis and application, then both pre-understanding and application will most

---

[31] Maslow notes that this kind of experience provides a kind of knowledge which "is more a shift of in attention, in the organization of perception, in noticing and realizing, that occurs." (77)

definitively have 'Pentecostal elements'.   Further, it   can also be suggested that there is a 'theological' or 'spiritual' exegesis within the exegetical process which provides a connection between the early church and the modern church—as already argued by the Pentecostals. (See Lewis 2000; Nassif 1996, 2002)

Concluding Remarks

The previous discussion implies some elements about the nature of the 'Pentecostal Paradigm.'   First, unlike the scientific revolutions as noted by Kuhn (2000, 216-23), the paradigmic shifts within Christian experience allows for a 'reverse' shift.   In Kuhn, the previous paradigm is still understood, but is not foundational to epistemic judgments, nor subject to a complete retrieval.   In Christianity as a whole and the Pentecostal paradigm, the 'gestalt switch' can revert to the previous paradigm. Pentecostal can become Post-Pentecostal Christians or even Post-Christians.   For the Pentecostal paradigm, the potential 'reversal' can take place individually and/or corporately. (see Wilson and Chow) As Stanley Burgess has noted, "If we believe that we can lose our salvation, why can we not also believe we can lose our baptism?" [32] Some noted examples of the influences that can bring about this dynamic: First, cultural influences (Dearman) can reverse certain perspectives within a Pentecostal paradigm. For example, in the wake of the Azusa Street revival initially during the revival, there was an assumed inter-racial, inter-cultural acceptance as part of the 'Day of Pentecost's' reversal of the cultural/racial/linguistic separation caused by sin at the 'Tower of Babel.'   By the 1920's, the North American cultural norm of racial segregation became the norm within most Pentecostal churches. (Kenyon)   Second, non-Pentecostal church influences can also reverse the initial positions found within Pentecostalism. For instance, both the interest in working ecumenically and also the role of women in ministry were initially dominant within the Pentecostal movement. However, both (in North America at least) waned under the dominant influence of Evangelicalism as typified by formal agreements and the usage of textbooks. (Kenyon; Lewis 2000; Robeck 1997)

Likewise implied by the above proposed understanding of Pentecostalism are the parameters of 'Pentecostalism.' In recent years,

---

[32] Personal conversation at Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio, Philippines, July 2001.

there has been a prominent emphasis on the numbers of Pentecostals and Charismatics in the world (over 500 million by some estimates). As Martin Marty has noted, historically Pentecostals 'knew' they were following God because they were small, the remnant, and persecuted, now they 'know' they are following God because they are large, and accepted. A definition of Pentecostalism that places itself within the domain of the Pentecostal paradigm both differentiates itself from glossolalic non-Christian groups such as found in the Delphic oracle soothsayers, those glossolalics in branches of Buddhism, and Hinduism and within glossolalic Christian cults like the Mormon Church. (see Gause; Spittler 2002a) Further, it implies that much classified as Pentecostal today should not be classified as such. Phenomenological similarity does not equate as the same entity. Furthermore, probably one of the more pressing issues in the next decade for Pentecostals in the non-western world is the issue of syncretism. This form of syncretism, contrary to the earlier Roman Catholic Saint—local deities correlation form, is found in the acceptance and the causal perspective of the supernatural and spiritual beings. As such, many from animistic backgrounds retain their animistic perspectives with new Christian terminology.[33] I would thereby argue since they do not demonstrate, at least initially, the 'Pentecostal paradigm' that they are not necessarily Pentecostals.

Likewise, many of the 'third wave' are actually 'Pentecostalized' Evangelicals, and are not necessarily Pentecostals (or Charismatics). (see J. Ma 2000; W. Ma 1997) The influence of Pentecostalism on conservative Christianity in recent years can be arguably traced back to mainly 4 elements: First is the influence of the Charismatic movement via the third wave (e.g. Jack Deere, John Wimber, C. Peter Wagner) in mainstreaming of Pentecostal worship, rituals and certain *charismata*. Second, is the growing prominence of Pentecostal scholars in the

---

[33] Note also for example that in China today some of the largest cults in the country exhibit 'Pentecostal' rituals—raising hands, praying loudly, 'falling under the power', insofar that the local officials do not always know how to tell the difference between the genuine Pentecostal Christians and adherents to this cult. Many well-meaning foreigners give money or write about these 'Christians' not knowing that they are in fact cult members. Also phenomenologists like I.M. Lewis see Pentecostals in the context of ecstatic religion—trances, voodoo etc.; see Yong 2005.

broader theological discourse, such as Robert Cooley, Gordon Fee, Gary McGee, and Gerald Sheppard.   Third, there are prominent scholars who have brought Pentecostalism into their discussions as a legitimate interlocutor, such as Walter Hollenweger, Martin Marty, Jürgen Moltmann, and Clark Pinnock. Fourth, there has been a large number of scholars who either have had a Pentecostal background and are prominent Evangelical scholars, such as Lyle Dabney, David Hesselgrave, David Hubbard, and Roger Oleson, or were Pentecostal but have immigrated outside the classical Pentecostal ranks into mainline churches, such as Ronald Kydd, Donald Reed, James K.A. Smith, and Grant Wacker.   As such, the elements of the Pentecostal paradigm have become pervasive within segments of Evangelicalism.

As this was just a preliminary study of the Pentecostal experience (i.e. the baptism of the Holy Spirit with accompanying tongues), it is seen as fundamentally an individual and a corporate paradigm shift. To demonstrate this, contemporary sociological and psychological studies have been used in support. Whereas there was a purposeful attempt to demonstrate the international feature of this 'Pentecostal paradigm,' the dearth of relevant studies in Asia is obvious. One very valid test for the veracity of this proposed model is future sociological or psychological studies from the Pentecostal perspective from the non-western world. Further, to release these findings in an international forum by which appropriate interaction and use can evolve. It was the purpose of this essay to help formulate a description of the baptism in the Holy Spirit as a paradigm shift, and likewise to demonstrate the fundamental need for additional work to be produced in the Asian context, both for Asian Pentecostalism and Pentecostalism as a whole.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Albrecht, Daniel. 1992. "Pentecostal Spirituality: Looking through the Lens of Ritual." *Pneuma* 14.2: 107-25.

Albrecht, Daniel. 2000. *Rites in the Spirit: A Ritual Approach to Pentecostal/Charismatic Spirituality.* JPT Supplement 17. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Alexander, Bobby. 1991. "Correcting Misinterpretations of Turner's Theory: An African-American Pentecostal Illustration." *JSSR* 30: 26-44.

Alexander, Paul. 2000. "An Analysis of the Emergence and Decline of Pacifism in the History of the Assemblies of God." Ph.D. dissertation: Baylor University.

Alston, Willaim. 1967. "Religious Language." In *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Vol. 7. New York: MacMillan Publishing Company. 168-74.

Alston, William.1983. "Christian Experience and Christian Belief." In *Faith and Rationality*. Edited by Alvin Plantinga and Nicholas Wolterstorff. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 103-34.

Alston, William. 1989. "The Indwelling of the Holy Spirit." In *Divine Nature and Human Language: Essays in Philosophical Theology*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989. 223-52.

Alston, William. 1991. *Perceiving God.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Althouse, Peter. 2001. "Toward a Theological Understanding of the Pentecostal Appeal to Experience." *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 38: 399-411.

Antes, Peter. 2002. "What do we Experience if we have Religious Experience?" *Numen* 49: 336-42.

Ambler, Richard. 1990. "A Sociological Critique of Human Evolution Theory." A paper presented at the regional SSR meeting on March 1990 in Dallas Texas.

Anderson, Robert. 1979. *Vision of the Disinherited*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson.

Autry, Arden. 1993. "Dimensions of Hermeneutics in Pentecostal Focus." *JPT* 3: 29-50.

Baer, Jr., Richard. 1976. "Quaker Silence, Catholic Liturgy, and Pentecostal Glossalalia—Some Functional Similarities." In *Perspectives on the New Pentecostalism*. Edited by Russell Spittler. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House. 150-64.

Barbour, Ian. 1974. *Myths, Models, and Paradigms*. San Francisco: Harper Collins.

Barnard, G. William. 1987. "Explaining the Unexplainable: Wayne Proudfoot's *Religious Experience*." *JAAR* 55: 231-56.

Barnard, G. William. 1993. "Reponses and Rejoinders: Explaining the Unexplainable." *JAAR* 61: 803-12.

Bartleman, Frank. 1980. *Azusa Street*. South Plainfield, NJ: Logos International.

Bertone, John. 2003. "The Experience of Glossolalia and the Spirit's Empathy: Romans 8:26 Revisited." *Pneuma* 25: 54-65.

Boone, R. Jerome. 1996. "Community and Worship: The Key Components of Pentecostal Christian Formation." *JPT* 8: 129-42.

Brainard, F. Samuel. 1996. "Defining 'Mystical Experience'." *JAAR* 64: 359-93.

Brantley, Richard. 1990. "The Common Grounds of Wesley and Edwards." *HTR* 83: 271-303.

Burgess, Stanley. 1988. "The Holy Spirit, Doctrine of." In *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*. Edited by Stanley Burgess and Gary McGee. Grand Rapids: Zondervan. 417-44.

Burgess, Stanley, ed. 2002. *International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*. Revised ed. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.

Cartledge, Mark. 2003. *Practical Theology: Charismatic and Empirical Perspectives*. Glasgow: Paternoster Press.

Cartledge, Mark, ed. 2006. *Speaking in Tongues: Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives*. Studies in Pentecostal and Charismatic Issues. Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster Press.

Cerillo, Jr., Augustus. 1997. "Interpretive Approaches to the History of American Pentecostal Origins." *Pneuma* 19: 29-49.

Chan, Simon. 1997. "The Language Game of Glossolalia, or Making Sense of the 'Initial Evidence." In *Pentecostalism in Context.* Edited by Wonsuk Ma and Robert Menzies. JPT Supplement 11. Sheffield, Eng.: Sheffield Academic Press. 80-95.

Chan, Simon. 2000. *Pentecostal Theology and the Christian Spiritual Tradition.* JPT Supplement 21. Sheffield, Eng.: Sheffield Academic Press

Cooey, Paula. 1989. "Experience, Body, and Authority." *HTR* 82: 325-42.

Cook, William. 1983. "Interview with Chilean Pentecostals." *International Review of Mission* 72: 591-595.

Cox, Harvey. 1995. *Fire from Heaven*. Reading, MA: Perseus Books.

Csikszentmihalyi, Mihaly. 1990. *Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience*. New York: Harper and Row.

Danto, Arthur. 1972. *Mysticism and Morality*. New York: Basic Books.

Danto, Arthur. 1976. "Ethical Theory and Mystical Experience: A Response to Professors Proudfoot and Wainwright." *JRE* 4: 37-46.

Dayton, Donald. 1987. *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*. Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury Press.

Dearman, Marion. 1974. "Christ and Conformity: A Study of Pentecostal Values." *JSSR* 13: 437-53.

Dempster, Murray. 1987. "Pentecostal Social Concern and its Biblical Mandate of Social Justice." *Pneuma* 9: 129-153.

Dempster, Murray. 1989. "The Church's Moral Witness: A Study of Glossolalia in Luke's Theology of Acts." *Paraclete* 23 (Winter): 1-7.

Dempster, Murray. 1993. "Christian Social Concern in Pentecostal Perspective: Reformulating Pentecostal Eschatology." *JPT* 2: 51-64.

Dempster, Murray. 1999. "A Theology of the Kingdom—A Pentecostal Contribution." In *Mission as Transformation: A Theology of the Whole Gospel.* Edited by Vinay Samuel and Chris Sugden. Oxford: Regnum. 45-75.

Dempster, Murray. 2004. "The Structure of a Christian Ethic Informed by Pentecostal Experience: Soundings in the Moral Significance of Glossolalia." In *The Spirit and Spirituality*. Edited by Wonsuk Ma and Robert Menzies. London: T. & T. Clark. 108-40.

Deutsch, Eliot. 1985. "Knowing Religiously." In *Knowing Religiously.* Edited by Leroy Rouner. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Driver, Tom. 1991. *The Magic of Ritual.* San Francisco: HarperCollins.

Duggan, Michael. 1985. "The Cross and the Holy Spirit in Paul: Implications for Baptism of the Holy Spirit." *Pneuma* 7: 135-46.

Edwards, Jonathan. 1996. *Religious Affections*. Edited by James Houston. Minneapolis: Bethany House.

Ellington, Scott. 1996. "Pentecostalism and the Authority of Scripture." *JPT* 9: 16-38.

Ellul, Jacques. 1985. *The Humiliation of the Word*. Translated by Joyce M. Hanks. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Ervin, Howard. 1985. "Hermeneutics: A Pentecostal Option." In *Essays on Apostolic Themes*. Edited by Paul Ebert. Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson. 23-35.

Faupel, D. William. 1996. *The Everlasting Gospel*. JPT Supplement 10. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Fee, Gordon. 1991. *Gospel and Spirit*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson.

Fee, Gordon. 1997. "Toward a Pauline Theology of Glossolalia." In *Pentecostalism in Context.* Edited by Wonsuk Ma and Robert Menzies. JPT Supplement 11. Sheffield, Eng.: Sheffield Academic Press. 24-37.

Ford, J. Massingberd. 1971. "Toward a Theology of 'Speaking in Tongues'." *Theo Stud* 32: 3-29.

Forman, Robert K. 1993. "Mystical Knowledge: Knowledge by Identity." *JAAR* 61: 705-38.

Forman, Robert K. 1999. *Mysticism, Mind, Consciousness*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Forman, Robert K., ed. 1990. *The Problem of Pure Consciousness*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gadamer, Hans-Georg. 1982. *Truth and Method*. English translation. New York: Crossroad.

Gause, R. Hollis. 1976. "Issues in Pentecostalism." In *Perspectives on the New Pentecostalism*. Edited by Russell Spittler. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House. 106-16.

Gelpi, Donald. 1994. *The Turn to Experience in Contemporary Theology*. New York: Paulist Press.

Gill, Jerry. 1964. "Wittgenstein and Religious Language." *Theo Today* 21: 59-72.

Goodman, Felicitas. 1969. "Phonetic Analysis of Glossolalia in Four Cultural Settings." *JSSR* 8: 227-239.

Gort, Jerald, et al. 1992. *On Sharing Religious Experience*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Graham, William. 1989. "Scripture as Spoken Word." In *Rethinking Scripture: Essays from a Comparative Perspective*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press. 129-69.

Grube, Dirk-Martin. 1995. "Religious Experience after the Demise of Foundationalism." *Religious Studies* 31: 37-52.

Hardy, Douglas. 2003. "Implicit Theologies in Psychologies: Claiming Experience as an Authoritative Source for Theologizing." *Crosscurrents* 53: 368-76.

Harrison, Michael. 1978. "Commitment Mechanism and Routinization in a Social Movement." *JSSR* 17: 456-60.

Harvey, John. 2002. "Orality and Its Implications for Biblical Studies: Recapturing an Ancient Paradigm." *JETS* 45: 99-109.

Hauerwas, Stanley. 1981. *A Community of Character*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Hauerwas, Stanley. 1983. *The Peaceable Kingdom.* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Hauerwas, Stanley and L. Gregory Jones. 1989. *Why Narrative? Readings in Narrative Theology*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Hay, David. 1979. "Religious Experience amongst A Group of Post-Graduate Students—A Qualitative Study." *JSSR* 18: 164-82.

Hay, David and Ann Morisey. 1978. "Reports of Ecstatic, Paranormal, or Religious Experience in Great Britain and the United States—A Comparison of Trends." *JSSR* 17: 255-68.

Hepburn, Ronald. 1967. "Mysticism, Nature and Assessment of." In *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Vol 5. New York: MacMillan Publishing Company. 429-434.

Hilborn, David. 2006. "Glossolalia as Communication: A Linguistic-Pragmatic Perspective." In Cartledge, Mark, ed. *Speaking in Tongues: Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives.* Studies in Pentecostal and Charismatic Issues. Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster Press. 111-46.

Hine, Virginia. 1986. "Pentecostal Glossolalia: Toward a Functional Interpretation." In *Speaking in Tongues: A Guide to Research on Glossolalia.* Edited by Watson Mill. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1986. 441-461.

Hocken, Peter. 1997. "A Charismatic View on the Distinctiveness of Pentecostalism." In *Pentecostalism in Context: Essays in Honor of William W. Menzies*. Edited by Wonsuk Ma and Robert Menzies. JPT Supplement 11. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press. 96-106.

Hollenweger, Walter. 1972. *The Pentecostals.* Translated by R.A. Wilson. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House.

Hollenweger, Walter. 1986. "After Twenty Years' Research on Pentecostalism." *International Review of Missions* 75: 3-12.

Holm, Nils. 1987. "Sundén's Role Theory and Glossolalia." *JSSR* 26: 367-400.

Holm, Nils. 1991. "Pentecostalism: Conversion and Charismata." *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 1: 135-51.

Hood, Jr., Ralph W. 1991. "Holm's Use of Role Theory: Empirical and Hermeneutical Considerations of Sacred Text as a Source of Role Adoption." *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 1: 153-9.

Hopkins, Stephen. 2002. "Glossolalia, An Outsiders Perspective." In *International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements.* Edited by Stanley Burgess. Revised ed. Grand Rapids: Zondervan. 676-7.

Hutch, Richard. 1986. "The Personal Ritual of Glossolalia." In. *Speaking in Tongues: A Guide to Research on Glossolalia.* Edited by Watson Mill. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 383-395.

Huxley, Aldous. 1946. *The Perennial Philosophy*. London: Harper and Brothers.

Israel, Richard, Daniel Albrecht and Randall McNally. 1993. "Pentecostals and Hermeneutics: Texts, Rituals and Community." *Pneuma* 15.2: 137-61.

Jacobsen, Douglas. 2003. *Thinking in the Spirit: Theologies of the Early Pentecostal Movement.* Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press.

Jaffee, Martin. 1998. "Oral Cultures in Scriptural Religion: Some Exploratory Studies." *Rel Stud Rev* 24: 223-30.

James, William. 1961. *The Varieties of Religious Experience*. Introduction by Reinhold Niebuhr. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

Jardine, Murray. 1996. "Sight, Sound, and Epistemology: The Experiential Sources of Ethical Concepts." *JAAR* 64: 1-25.

Johns, Cheryl Bridges. 1993. *Pentecostal Formation: A Pedagogy among the Oppressed*. JPT Supplement 2. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Johns, Jackie David. 1999. "Yielding to the Spirit: The Dynamics of a Pentecostal Model of Praxis." In *The Globalization of Pentecostalism*. Edited by Murray Dempster, Byron Klaus and Douglas Petersen. Oxford: Regnum. 70-84.

Johns, Jackie David, and Cheryl Bridges Johns. 1992. "Yielding to the Spirit: A Pentecostal Approach to Group Bible Study." *JPT* 1: 109-34.

Kärkkäinen, Veli-Matti. 1999. "Mission, Spirit and Eschatology: An Outline of a Pentecostal-Charismatic Theology of Mission." *Mission Studies* 41: 73-94.

Kärkkäinen, Veli-Matti. 2002. "Missiology: Pentecostal and Charismatic." In *International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements.* Edited by Stanley Burgess. Revised ed. Grand Rapids: Zondervan. 877-85.

Kärkkäinen, Veli-Matti. 2005. "Spirit, Reconciliation, and Healing in the Community: Missiological Insights from Pentecostals." *International Review of Mission* 94: 43-50.

Katz, Steven. 1978. "Language, Epistemology, and Mysticism." In *Mysticism and Philosophical Analysis*. Edited by Steven Katz. New York: Oxford University Press. 22-74.

Katz, Steven. 1993. "Responses and Rejoinders: On Mysticism." *JAAR* 61: 751-7.

Katz, Steven, ed. 1978. *Mysticism and Philosophical Analysis.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Katz, Steven, ed. 1983. *Mysticism and Religious Traditions.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kay, William. 2006. "The Mind, Behaviour and Glossolalia—A Psychological Perspective." In Cartledge, Mark, ed. *Speaking in Tongues: Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives.* Studies in Pentecostal and Charismatic Issues. Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster Press. 174-205.

Kay, William and L.J. Francis. 1995. "Personality, Mental Health and Glossolalia." *Pneuma* 253-63.

Kelsey, Morton. 1964. *Tongue Speaking.* Garden City, NJ: Doubleday.

Kenyon, Howard N. 1988. "An Analysis of Ethical Issues in the History of the Assemblies of God." Ph.D. dissertation: Baylor University.

King, Sallie. 1988. "Two Epistemological Models for the Interpretation of Mysticism." *JAAR* 56: 257-280.

King, Sallie. 1993. "Reponses and Rejoinders: On Mysticism." *JAAR* 61: 757-61.

Kroll-Smith, J. Stephen. 1980. "The Testimony as Performance: The Relationship of an Expressive Event to the Belief System of a Holiness Sect." *JSSR* 19: 16-25.

Kuhn, Thomas. 1970. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Rev. ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kuhn, Thomas. 1977. *The Essential Tension.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kuhn, Thomas. 2000. *The Road Since Structure.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Küng, Hans. 1988. *Theology for the Third Millennium*. Translated by Peter Heinegg. New York: Anchor Books.

Kydd, R. 1984. *Charismatic Gifts in the Early Church*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson.

Kydd, R. 2002. "Healing in the Christian Church." In *International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements.* Edited by Stanley Burgess. Revised ed. Grand Rapids: Zondervan. 698-711.

LaFleur, William. . "Paradigm Lost, Paradigm Regained: Groping for the Mind of Medieval Japan" *Eastern Buddhist* 18 #2: 99-113.

Land, Stephen. 1994. *Pentecostal Spirituality*. JPT Supplement 1. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Lederle, Henri, Mathew Clark et. al. 1983. *What is Distinctive about Pentecostal Theology?* Pretoria: University of South Africa Press.

Lewis, I. M. 1971. *Ecstatic Religion*. Baltimore: Penguin Books.

Lewis, Paul. 1998. "A Pneumatological Approach to Virtue Ethics." *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 1: 42-61.

Lewis, Paul. 2000. "Toward a Pentecostal Epistemology: The Role of Experience in Pentecostal Hermeneutics." *The Spirit & Church* 2: 95-125.

Lewis, Paul. 2002. "Postmodernity and Pentecostalism." *Africa Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 1: 34-66.

Lindbeck, George. 1984. *The Nature of Doctrine*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.

Loder, James. 1989. *The Transforming Moment*. 2nd Edition. Colorado Springs: Helmers and Howard.

Lord, Andrew. 1997. "Mission Eschatology: A Framework for Mission in the Spirit." *JPT* 11: 111-123.

MacDonald, William. 1976. "Pentecostal Theology: A Classical Perspective." In *Perspectives on the New Pentecostalism*. Edited by Russell Spittler. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House. 58-74.

McClendon Jr., James. 1986. *Systematic Theology: Ethics*. Nashville: Abingdon Press.

McClung, Jr., L. Grant. 1999. "'Try to Get People Saved': Revisiting the Paradigm of an Urgent Pentecostal Missiology." In *The Globalization of Pentecostalism.* Edited by Murray Dempster, Byron Klaus and Douglas Petersen. Oxford: Regnum. 30-51.

McClung, Jr., L. Grant. 2002. "Evangelism." In *International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements.* Edited by Stanley Burgess. Revised ed. Grand Rapids: Zondervan. 617-20.

McGuire, Meredith. 1977. "Testimony as a Commitment Mechanism in Catholic Charismatic Prayer Groups." *JSSR* 16: 165-8.

McIntyre, Alasdair. 1984. *After Virtue*. 2nd ed. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

McKay, John. 1994. "When the Veil is Taken Away: The Impact of Prophetic Experience on Biblical Interpretation." *JPT* 5: 17-40.

McKnight, Edgar. 1988. *Postmodern Use of the Bible*. Nashville: Abingdon Press.

McLean, Mark. 1984. "Toward a Pentecostal Hermeneutics." *Pneuma* 6: 35-56.

Ma, Julie. 2000. "Santuala: A Case of Pentecostal Syncretism." *AJPS* 3: 61-82.

Ma, Wonsuk. 1997. "A 'First Waver's Looks at the 'Third Wave': A Pentecostal Reflection on Charles Kraft's Power Encounter Terminology." *Pneuma* 19: 189-206.

Ma, Wonsuk. 2005. "Asian (Classical) Pentecostal Theology in Context." In *Asian and Pentecostal*. Edited by Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang. Oxford: Regnum International and APTS Press.

Macchia, Frank. 1992. "Sighs Too Deep for Words: Toward a Theology of Glossolalia." *JPT* 1: 47-73.

Macchia, Frank. 1993. "Tongues as a Sign: Towards a Sacramental Understanding of Pentecostal Experience." *Pneuma* 15.1: 61-76.

Macchia, Frank. 1998a. "Discerning the Truth of Tongues Speech: A Response to Amos Yong." *JPT* 12: 67-71.

Macchia, Frank. 1998b. "Groans Too Deep for Words: Towards a Theology of Tongues as Initial Evidence." *AJPS* 1: 149-73.

Macchia, Frank. 2002. "Theology, Pentecostal." In *International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements.* Edited by Stanley Burgess. Revised ed. Grand Rapids: Zondervan. 1120-41.

Malony, H. Newton and A. Adams Lovekin. 1977. "Religious Glossolalia: A Longitudinal Study of Personality Changes." *JSSR* 16: 383-93.

Malony, H. Newton and A. Adams Lovekin. 1985. *Glossolalia: Behavioral Science Perspectives on Speaking in Tongues.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Margolis, Robert and Kirk Elifson. 1979. "A Typology of Religious Experience." *JSSR* 18: 61-67.

Marsden, George, ed. 1984. *Evangelicalism and Modern America.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Martin, David. 2006. "Undermining the Old Paradigm: Rescripting Pentecostal Accounts" *PentecoStudies* 5 #1: 18-38.

Maslow, Abraham. 1976. *Religions, Values, and Peak-Experiences*. New York: Penguin Books.

Mayers, Marvin. 1986. "The Behavior of Tongues." In. *Speaking in Tongues: A Guide to Research on Glossolalia.* Edited by Watson Mill. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1986. 407-422.

Mead, George Herbert. 1934. *Mind, Self and Society.* Edited by C.W. Morris. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Menzies, Robert. 1994. *Empowered for Witness: The Spirit in Luke-Acts.* JPT Supplement 6. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Menzies, William. 1975. "The Non-Wesleyan Origins of the Pentecostal Movement." In Vinson Synan, ed. *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins*. Plainfield, NJ: Logos International. 81-98.

Menzies, William. 1985. "The Methodology of Pentecostal Theology: An Essay on Hermeneutics." In *Essays on Apostolic Themes*. Edited by Paul Ebert. Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson. 1-14.

Miller, Albert. 1996. "Pentecostalism as a Social Movement: Beyond the Theory of Deprivation." *JPT* 9: 97-114.

Mills, Watson. 1986a. "Glossolalia: An Introduction." In. *Speaking in Tongues: A Guide to Research on Glossolalia.* Edited by Watson Mill. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1986. 1-12.

Mills, Watson. 1986b. "Glossolalia: A Survey of the Literature." In. *Speaking in Tongues: A Guide to Research on Glossolalia.* Edited by Watson Mill. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1986. 13-31.

Mills, Watson. 1986c. "Glossolalia as a Sociopsychological Experience." In. *Speaking in Tongues: A Guide to Research*

on Glossolalia. Edited by Watson Mill. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1986. 427-437.

Mills, Watson, ed. 1986. *Speaking in Tongues: A Guide to Research on Glossolalia.* Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Moltmann, Jürgen. 1991a. *The Church in the Power of the Spirit.* Translated by Margaret Kohl. San Francisco: HarperCollins.

Moltmann, Jürgen. 1991b. *The Trinity and the Kingdom.* Translated by Margaret Kohl. San Francisco: HarperCollins.

Moltmann, Jürgen. 1992. *The Spirit of Life*. Translated by Margaret Kohl. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Nassif, Bradley. 1996. "'Spiritual Exegesis' in the School of Antioch." In *New Perspectives on Historical Theology*. Edited by Bradley Nassif. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans. 344-77.

Nassif, Bradley. 2002. "Antiochene Θεωρία in John Chrysostonm's Exegesis." In *Ancient & Postmodern Christianity: Paleo-Orthodoxy in the 21st Century.* Edited by Kenneth Tanner and Christopher Hall. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press. 49-67.

Naudé, Piet. 1996. "Theology with a New Voice? The Case for an Oral Theology in the South African Context." *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 94: 18-31.

Neuman, H. Terris. 1996. "Paul's Appeal to the Experience of the Spirit in Galatians 3:1-5: Christian Experience as Defined by the Cross and Effected by the Spirit." *Pneuma* 9: 53-69.

Newberg, Andrew, and Mark Robert Waldman. 2006. *Why We Believe What We Believe.* New York: Free Press.

Niebuhr, H. Richard. 1941. *The Meaning of Revelation.* New York: Collier Books.

Niesz, Nancy and Earl Kronenberger. 1978. "Self-Actualization in Glossolalic and Non-Glossolalic Pentecostals." *Sociological Analysis* 39: 250-256.

Neitz, Mary Jo and James Spickard. 1990. "Steps toward a Sociology of Religious Experience: The Theories of Mihaly

Csikszentmihalyi and Alfred Schutz." *Sociological Analysis* 51: 15-33.

Nichols, D. R. 1984. "The Search for a Pentecostal Structure in Systematic Theology." *Pneuma* 6.2: 57-76.

Nicholson, Michael. 1996. "Abusing Wittgenstein: The Misuse of the Concept of Language Games in Contemporary Theology." *JETS* 39: 617-29.

Niditch, Susan. 1997. *Oral World and Written Word.* Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press.

Oden, Thomas C. 1987. *The Living God*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers.

Ong, Walter. 1982. *Orality & Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word.* London: Routledge.

Otto, Rudolf. 1936. *The Idea of the Holy*. Translated by John Harvey. London: Oxford University Press.

Otto, Rudolf. 1957. *Mysticism East and West.* Translated by B.L. Bracey and R.C. Payne. New York: Meridian Books.

Palmer, Michael. 2002. "Ethics in Classical Pentecostal Traditions." 2002. *International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements.* Edited by Stanley Burgess. Revised ed. Grand Rapids: Zondervan. 605-10.

Parker, Stephen. 1996. *Led by the Spirit*. JPT Supplement 7. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Petersen, Douglas. 1996. *Not by Might, Nor by Power: A Pentecostal Theology of Social Concern in Latin America.* Oxford: Regnum.

Petersen, Douglas. 1999. "Pentecostals: Who are They?" In *Mission as Transformation: A Theology of the Whole Gospel.* Edited by Vinay Samuel and Chris Sugden. Oxford: Regnum.76-111.

Philipchalk, Ron and Dieter Mueller. 2000. "Glossolalia and Temperature Change in the Right and Left Cerebral Hemispheres." *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 10: 181-185.

Polanyi, Michael. 1962. *Personal Knowledge.* Corrected ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Poloma, Margaret. 1989.   *The Assemblies of God at the Crossroads*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Poloma, Margaret. 1990. "Charisma and Institution: The Assemblies of God." *Christian Century* 107 #29: 932-34.

Poloma, Margaret. 2006. "Glossolalia, Liminality and Empowered Kingdom Building—A Sociological Perspective." In Cartledge, Mark, ed. *Speaking in Tongues: Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives.* Studies in Pentecostal and Charismatic Issues. Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster Press. 147-73.

Poloma, Margaret and Brian Pendleton. 1989. "Religious Experiences, Evangelism, and Institutional Growth within the Assemblies of God." *JSSR* 28: 415-31.

Proudfoot, Wayne. 1976. "Mysticism, The Numinous, and the Moral." *JRE* 4: 3-28.

Proudfoot, Wayne. 1985. *Religious Experience*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Proudfoot, Wayne. 1993. "Reponses and Rejoinders: Explaining the Unexplainable." *JAAR* 61: 793-803.

Proudfoot, Wayne. 1989. "From Theology to a Science of Religions: Jonathan Edwards and William James on Religious Affections." *HTR* 82: 149-68.

Ratzsch, Del. 1986. *Philosophy of Science: The Natural Sciences in Christian Perspective.* Downers Grove, Il: InterVarsity Press.

Richardson, James. 1986. "Psychological Interpretations of Glossolalia: A Reexamination of Research." In *Speaking in Tongues: A Guide to Research on Glossolalia.* Edited by Watson Mill. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1986. 369-379.

Robeck, Cecil M. 1983. "Prophetic Authority in the Charismatic Setting: The Need to Test." *Theological Renewal* 24: 4-9.

Robeck, Cecil M. 1987. "Pentecostals and Social Ethics." *Pneuma* 9: 103-8.

Robeck, Cecil M. 1997. "The Assemblies of God and Ecumenical Cooperation: 1920-1965." In *Pentecostalism in Context.* Edited by Wonsuk Ma and Robert Menzies. JPT Supplement 11. Sheffield, Eng.: Sheffield Academic Press. 107-150.

Runyon, Theodore. 1987. "A New Look at Experience." *Drew Gateway* 57 #3: 44-55.

Runyon, Theodore. 1990. "The Importance of Experience in Faith." In Randy Maddox, ed. *Aldersgate Reconsidered*. Nashville: Kingwood Books. 93-107.

Ruthven, Jon. 1993. *On the Cessation of the Charismata*. JPT Supplement 3. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Saliers, Don. 1994. *Worship as Theology: Foretaste of Glory Divine.* Nashville: Abingdon Press.

Samarin, William. 1972. "Sociolinguistic vs. Neurophysiological Explanations for Glossolalia: Comment on Goodman's Paper." *JSSR* 11: 293-6.

Schleiermacher, Friedrich. 1996. *On Religion: Speeches to Cultured Despisers.* New English ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schleiermacher, Friedrich. 1999. *The Christian Faith.* New English ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schneiders, Sandra. 1986. "Theology and Spirituality: Strangers, Rivals, or Partners?" *Horizons* 13: 253-74.

Schner, George. 1992. "The Appeal of Experience." *Theo Stud* 53: 40-59.

Schouten, Ronald. 2003. "'Rituals of Renewal': The Toronto Blessing as a Ritual Change of Contemporary Christianity." *Journal of Ritual Studies* 17: 25-34.

Schuon, Fritjof. 1953. *The Transcendental Unity of Religions.* New York: Pantheon.

Sepúlveda, Juan. 1989. "Pentecostalism as Popular Religiosity." *International Review of Mission* 78: 80-88.

Sharrock, Wes, and Rupert Read. 2002. *Kuhn: Philosopher of Scientific Revolution.* Key Contemporary Thinkers. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Shedinger, Robert. 2000. "Kuhnian Paradigms and Biblical Scholarship: Is Biblical Studies a Science?" *JBL* 119 #3: 453-71.

Sheldrake, Philip. 1998. *Spirituality and Theology: Christian Living and the Doctrine of God.* Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

Sheppard, Gerald. 1984. "Pentecostals and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism: The Anatomy of an Uneasy Relationship." *Pneuma* 6.2: 5-33.

Short, Larry. 1995. "Mysticism, Mediation and the Non-Linguistic." *JAAR* 63: 659-75.

Shuman, Joel. 1996. "Pentecost and the End of Patriotism: A Call for the Restoration of Pacifism among Pentecostal Christians." *JPT* 9: 70-96.

Shuman, Joel. 1997. "Toward a Cultural-Linguistic Account of the Pentecostal Doctrine of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit." *Pneuma* 19: 207-23.

Smart, Ninian. 1967. "Mysticism, History of." In *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Vol 5. New York: MacMillan Publishing Company. 419-429.

Smith, Huston. 1987. "Is There a Perennial Philosophy?" *JAAR* 55: 553-66.

Smith, Huston. 1988. "Philosophy, Theology and the Primordial Claim." *Crosscurrents* 38: 276-88.

Smith, James K.A. 1997 "The Closing of the Book: Pentecostals, Evangelicals, and the Sacred Writings." *JPT* 11: 49-71.

Smith, JoAnn. 2002. "Glossolalia, Manual." In *International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements.* Edited by Stanley Burgess. Revised ed. Grand Rapids: Zondervan. 672-8.

Smylie, James. 1979. "Testing the Spirits in the American Context: Great Awakenings, Pentecostals, and the Charismatic Movement." *Interpretation* 33: 32-46.

Solivan, Samuel. 1998. *The Spirit, Pathos and Liberation: Toward an Hispanic Pentecostal Theology.* JPT Supplement 14. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Spittler, Russell. 1985. "Scripture and the Theological Enterprise: View from a Big Canoe." In *The Use of the Bible in Theology: Evangelical Options*. Edited by Robert Johnston. Atlanta: John Knox Press. 56-77.

Spittler, Russell. 2002a. "Glossolalia." In *International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements.* Edited by Stanley Burgess. Revised ed. Grand Rapids: Zondervan. 670-6.

Spittler, Russell. 2002b. "Spirituality, Pentecostal and Charismatic." In *International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements.* Edited by Stanley Burgess. Revised ed. Grand Rapids: Zondervan. 1096-1102.

Stace, W. T. 1960. *Mysticism and Philosophy.* Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co.

Stackhouse, Max. 1988. *Apologia.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Stanley, Gordon, W.K. Bartlett and Terri Moyle. 1978. "Some Characteristics of Charismatic Experience: Glossolalia in Australia." *JSSR* 17: 269-78.

Taves, Ann. 1999. *Fits, Trances and Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Thomas, John Christopher. 1998. "Pentecostal Theology in the Twentieth Century." *Pneuma* 20: 3-20.

Thomas, L. Eugene and Douglas Cooper. 1978. "Measurement and Incident of Mystical Experience: An Exploratory Study." *JSSR* 17: 433-7.

Thomas, Owen. 1986. "Christianity and the Perennial Philosophy,." *Theology Today* 43: 259-266.

Toulmin, Stephen. 1970. "Does the Distinction between Normal and Revolution Science Hold Water?" In *Criticism and Growth of Knowledge*. Edited by R. Buck and R. Cohen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 39-47.

Troeltsch, Ernst. 1931. *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches.* 2 vols. New York: Macmillan.

Underhill, Evelyn. 1911. *Mysticism.* London: Metheun.

Van Huysteen, Wentzel. 1989. *Theology and the Justification of Faith.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Villafañe, Eldin. 1993. *The Liberating Spirit: Toward an Hispanic-American Pentecostal Social Ethic.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Wainwright, William. 1976. "Morality and Mysticism." *JRE* 4: 29-36.

Waltke, Bruce. 1994. "Exegesis and the Spiritual Life." *Crux* 30 #3: 28-35.

Wikström, Owe. 1987. "Attribution, Roles and Religion: A Theoretical Analysis of Sundén's Role Theory of Religion and the Attributional Approach to Religious Experience." *JSSR* 26: 367-400.

Williams, J. Rodman. 2002. "Baptism in the Holy Spirit." In *International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements.* Edited by Stanley Burgess. Revised ed. Grand Rapids: Zondervan. 354-63.

Wilson, D.J. 2002. "Eschatology, Pentecostal Perspective on." In *International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements.* Edited by Stanley Burgess. Revised ed. Grand Rapids: Zondervan. 601-5.

Wilson, John and Harvey Clow. 1981. "Themes of Power and Control in a Pentecostal Assembly." *JSSR* 20: 241-50.

Yamane, David. 2000. "Narrative and Religious Experience." *Sociology of Religion* 61: 171-89.

Yong, Amos. 1997. ""Tongues," Theology, and the Social Sciences: A Pentecostal-Theological Reading of Geertz's Interpretative Theory of Religion." *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research* 1.

Yong, Amos. 1998. "'Tongues of Fire' in the Pentecostal Imagination: The Truth of Glossolalia in Light of R.C. Neville's Theory of Religious Symbolism." *JPT* 12: 39-65.

Yong, Amos. 1998. "The Truth of Tongues Speech: A Rejoinder to Frank Macchia." *JPT* 13: 107-15.

Yong, Amos. 2005. "Academic Glossolalia? Pentecostal Scholarship, Multi-Disciplinarity, and the Science-Religion Conversation." *JPT* 14: 680.

Zaehner, R. C. 1961. *Mysticism, Sacred and Profane.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Donald E. Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism: The New Face of Christian Social Engagement* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 2007), paperback, x pp. + 261 pp., ISBN: 978-0-520-25194-6, US$ 25.95.

Global Pentecostalism: The New Face of Christian Social Engagement is a well written book that expounds on the Pentecostal churches' ministries with the social problems in the contemporary world. The authors, Donald E. Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori, develop the main case of their book with sympathy to the Pentecostals. According to the authors "the thesis of this book is that some of the most innovative social programs in the world are being initiated by fast-growing Pentecostal churches." (6) This primary argument is reiterated at the beginning of the concluding chapter of the book. In their own words: "The thesis of this book is that Pentecostals are increasingly engaged in community-based social ministries." (211) The focus of their study is on "Pentecostal churches that have active social ministries." (1) Miller and Yamamori coined the category "Progressive Pentecostals" to describe Pentecostalism's engagement with social needs in the world. The authors "define Progressive Pentecostals as Christians who claim to be inspired by the Holy Spirit and the life of Jesus and seek to holistically address the spiritual, physical, and social needs of people in their community. Typically they are distinguished by their warm and expressive worship, their focus on lay-oriented ministry, their compassionate service to others, and their attention, both as individuals and as worshipping community, to what they perceive to be the leading of the Holy Spirit." (2-3) And once again the definition of "Progressive Pentecostalism" is duplicated in the last chapter stating their discomfort in the definition: "We struggled with what to call this emergent phenomenon within Christendom and finally settled on the label Progressive Pentecostalism, which we defined as a movement of Christians who claim to be inspired by the Holy Spirit and the life of Jesus and who seek to holistically address the spiritual, physical, and social needs of people in their community." (212) The authors of *Global Pentecostalism* acknowledge their own theological biases from the start: "Yamamori as a noncharismatic Evangelical and Miller as a liberal Episcopalian of long standing." (6) What is telling about this volume is the evaluation of the authors as outsiders of the Pentecostal movement's public commitment in serving their surroundings.

The introductory chapter reports the exponential increase of Pentecostals.   Those who are claiming to be Spirit-led believers, whether they brand themselves as Pentecostals or not, are the people included in this notable global study. (2)   However, those who are collaborating with the oppressive rightist regimes, aligning with prosperity gospel groups without social concern and stressing conversion as the sole purpose of reaching out to the community are excluded. (2) At the beginning the authors recognize that Pentecostals have constantly been doing a holistic practice of their belief and that their good works are increasing in impetus. (3) The authors repeated this observation again: "Throughout the history of Pentecostalism there have been examples of compassionate social service, so this is not a new phenomenon. But we believe there is an emergent movement within Pentecostal churches worldwide that embraces a holistic understanding of the Christian faith." (211-212) Hence, *Global Pentecostalism* is not saying that the Pentecostals were never involved in the society. Rather, Miller and Yamamori are amazed at the strong emphasis that the Pentecostals are placing on social engagement. The reason why Pentecostals became the object of this study is because about 85% of the Christian groups that were recommended to the authors for research are Pentecostal or Charismatic. (6) The criteria for research among Pentecostals were clear: "(1) be fast growing, (2) be located in the developing world, (3) have active social programs addressing needs in their communities, and (4) be indigenous movements that were self-supporting and not dependent on outside contribution." (5-6) Furthermore, *Global Pentecostalism* is an investigation of "a particular slice of Pentecostalism." (6) It is "not a historical overview of Pentecostalism." (7) It is also not meant to "rest on specific numbers" neither on statistical data. (7)

As Miller and Yamamori launch into "Global Pentecostalism: An Emergent Force within World Christianity" in the first chapter they review the phenomenal growth of the Pentecostals and the story of the movement as well as the types of Pentecostals and how they are perceived in the Christian world. (15-38)   In the next chapter the volume narrates stories of people and churches that have done humanitarian service and the holistic works or charitable efforts that they do, the community development and partnership with the NGOs and governments that they practice and the sincere inspiration or spiritual reasons that they have to serve the needy. (39-67) The third chapter is entitled "Building a New Generation: Programs Serving Children and Youth" wherein the authors travelled to Kampala, Nairobi,

Calcutta, Johannesburg, Cairo, Caracas, Buenos Aires, Singapore and Manila in order to report on the charity programs of the Pentecostals in reaching out to the children and the youth. (68-98) Chapter four is about the Pentecostals application of their belief to bring change to people and their community whereby desperate drug addicts in Hong Kong, mentally ill prisoners in Buenos Aires, pitiful HIV-positive infants in Bangkok, STD infected people in Nairobi, dying AIDS victims in Kampala and abused prostitutes in Bangkok and Calcutta are receiving help from Spirit-led Christians. (99-123) In addition, the authors note Pentecostalism's considerable ventures in lessening poverty problems all over the world and getting involved in political issues as the Holy Spirit leads them. (123-128) The following chapter is very descriptive of Pentecostal experience of worship. The title is called "Encounters with the Holy: Meeting God in Worship and Prayer" and it tells the Pentecostal experience of the spiritual gifts and speaking in tongues as well as the encounter with God, demon possessions and empowering of the Spirit. (129-159) In the sixth chapter the Protestant influence on Pentecostal ethic in terms of capitalistic philosophy is expounded through the true stories of Pentecostals who moved upward in terms of social status. (160-183) The seventh chapter is appropriately named "Organizing the Saints: Giving the Ministry to the People" because this chapter of the book is basically arguing, again through stories of people and churches within the Pentecostal circles, that by using the giftings of the congregation, and through the cell groups, the pastoral role in evangelism and discipleship, as well as church networking and women's ministries, the exponential increase of Pentecostalism is unstoppable. (184-210) The final chapter is an assessment of the potential of "Progressive Pentecostalism" in comparison with "Liberation Theology" and the misled branding of Pentecostals as fundamentalists—but to the authors they are more postmodern who see the future of Pentecostalism with the experience of the Holy Spirit in a very positive light. (211-224)

The volume includes a DVD of film clippings that shows Pentecostal gatherings, public services and personal dialogues that the authors put together. (see 14) It is beneficial to watch the DVD videos in understanding the claims the book. The basic assumptions of the research are highlighted in the introductory chapter. This is very helpful. One important assumption is that people are "meaning-seeking" and another is that "religion is not a purely cognitive act." (12) Moreover, Miller and Yamamori are "standing within the Christian tradition" but their research is not for the confession of their

belief in God; and likewise to the best of their ability they evaded "the trap of cynicism;" rather, they "sympathetically attempt to describe" the things that they have seen. (13) As a matter of interest, the authors were on the defensive against their liberal colleagues who degrade the Pentecostals and chide the authors on why they would take huge amounts of time in going around to observe Pentecostal groups. (34-35) Other noteworthy features of *Global Pentecostalism* are the sections in some chapters that give theoretical reflections on the Pentecostal experience and practice. A few examples that caught the attention of the reviewer would be sufficient. In the first chapter the authors argue that Pentecostalism should be given the transcendent factor—what Pentecostals would claim as the Holy Spirit—when they reflect on "The Secularization Thesis and Pentecostalism." (34-38) Another example is the section "Theoretical Interlude" in chapter four. Miller and Yamamori talk about the role of the Holy Spirit in the recovery of the people who got addicted to drugs and later became drug free due to the power of God. (108-110) Reviewing the theory of Emile Durkheim that the sacred is "utterly human" and "it is the collective sentiments that bind a group together" (133) in the fifth chapter is insightful. (132-134) A couple of further examples in chapter six about the role of the Protestant work ethic as explained by Max Weber for the upward movement of the social status of the Pentecostals (162-164) and the analysis of the Pentecostal life using Karl Marx's theory of religion (179-180) are insightful and challenging to embrace. A final example in chapter eight is the "Comparisons with Liberation Theology." The authors maintain that "Progressive Pentecostalism" and "Liberation Theology" could be complimentary. (213-216)

The highlights of the volume for this reviewer are the living testimonies of people that God is using to do humanitarian causes for the oppressed and the destitute. The stories of women of faith such as Coleen Walters in Johannesburg providing education to poor children (especially 75-79), Mama Maggie in Cairo saving the children from the dump (especially 80-83), Sister Marlena in Caracas snatching the teenagers from destruction (especially 84-88), Jackie Pullinger in Hong Kong bringing drug addicts to recovery (especially 99-105) and many others brought power and substance to the claim of the authors that Pentecostals are making a difference in society. Furthermore, the authors report that many Pentecostal churches from different parts of the world are doing humanitarian service to people with AIDS, providing livelihood to the poor, transforming their communities through charitable works and bringing hope to the hopeless. The use of

narratives with wit makes the volume a good read.   Miller and Yamamori are clear and readable in what they are communicating in their narrations. Their sympathetic treatment of the charitable efforts of the Pentecostals highlights the positive results of what they call "Spirit-led" Christians. Although to an insider in the Pentecostal movement, the reviewer is surprised that the notion of the "Spirit baptism" is not mentioned in connection to Pentecostal empowerment in doing vocational service in terms of humanitarian concern, the experience of Pentecostal worship in Spirit is something that has been clearly articulated and emphasized as a key factor in the research. And so, the authors call it the "S factor." (219-221) Thus *Global Pentecostalism* is both touching and challenging. It is a book that is not only an eye opener about what the Pentecostals are doing all over the world but confronts the reader to get involved in social engagement. For a Pentecostal reviewer, the way the authors tell the many stories in the book is both entertaining and edifying. It is a blessing to read how God is using Pentecostals all over the globe in reaching out to the lost world.

R. G. dela Cruz

Young-hoon Lee, *The Holy Spirit Movement in Korea: Its Historical and Theological Development* (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2009), hardback, xx + 174 pp., ISBN: 978-1-870345-67-5, US$ 23.00.

Young-hoon Lee is the new senior pastor of the Yoido Full Gospel Church, which is one of the world's largest churches today. In his book he has endeavored to present the landscape of how the Holy Spirit has worked throughout Korean church history. The book discusses the process of the indigenization of Christianity and covers issues of the historical and doctrinal development of the Holy Spirit movement in much detail. Lee's work is mainly structured according to six periods of twenty years each that extend from 1900 to the twenty-first century. Most of these epochs are treated in the same way, with an initial period focusing on as well as highlighting the religious and social background with historical and theological factors. In the second chapter, the author also clarifies how the foundation for the Holy Spirit movement was prepared by previous religions such as Shamanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism existing before Christianity had come into Korea.

Lee, an insider of Korean Pentecostalism, in the following chapters takes on the task of telling the story of how unique features of each period have been formulated pertaining to the Holy Spirit movement. Lee perceives the first period (1900-1920) that commenced in political and social chaos as the first encounter with the Holy Spirit movement for Korean Protestantism. In particular, the Wonsan and Pyongyang revivals that took place in 1903 and 1907 respectively are pinpointed as of great significance to introducing the powerful gifts of the Holy Spirit to Korean Christians (24). In this early stage, by the influences of the outstanding religious leader Sun-joo Gil, Korean Christianity was being saturated with great eschatological expectation (34). In this regard, Lee did not hesitate to state that eschatology had accelerated the apathy to social and political concerns for society by "depoliticizing Christians" (39).

In chapter four, Lee penetrating the second period (1920-1940), examines two pivotal figures, Ik-doo Kim and Yong-do Lee. The focal point of this epoch lies in "empiricism" (134). According to the author it seems to be inevitable for Korean Christians who were being persecuted by the Japanese to stress mystical experiences like divine healing. Furthermore, most Christians at that time were more interested in individual faith as described by the author with the term "internal world or spiritual world" (42). The Christians whose emphasis had never been upon political or social affairs, but were more primarily

concerned with individual affairs, acknowledged the Holy Spirit just as "some kind of spiritual force" (57). In spite of such confusion on pneumatology, many Christians could experience the power of the Holy Spirit.

Lee continually argues that the church, undergoing continuous divisions in the third period between 1940 and 1960 after Japanese occupation, could establish a foothold in the Pentecostal movement by the so-called "pseudo-Holy Spirit movement" (61). From the beginning of the fourth period (1960-1980), the Korean church had achieved explosive growth through the united efforts of churches in a variety of denominations. This chapter also gives adequate attention to the *Minjung* theology which is typically considered by liberal scholars today as a Holy Spirit movement. However, the author seeks to differentiate the *Minjung* theology from the Holy Spirit movement based on the definition of the Pentecostal movement (80). Lee also argues that *Minjung* theology is not a theological movement but a social movement in terms of where its concerns lie (83).

For the fifth period (1980-2000), more than the usual attention by surveys is given to the relevance of the Yoido Full Gospel Church to the Pentecostal movement. Lee asserts that many Christians could be actively engaged in social concerns because of the influence of Pentecostal churches (116). As a disciple of David Yonggi Cho, Lee emphasizes that Cho has played a pivotal role in the remarkable growth of Korean Christianity by introducing a "Pentecostal-type of worship and preaching" (92). For the author, Cho's Holy Spirit movement could be well contextualized due to the religious preparation of shamanism. The author, moreover, does not hesitate to state even some negative effects of shamanism for Korean Pentecostals such as unbalanced faith in healing and "material blessings." (114). While Pentecostal trends have surfaced and been popularized in Korean Christianity from 2000 onward, Korean churches could reinforce some marginalized areas such as social care and service without abandoning "the traditional spiritual emphasis" (124). This period of time is defined by the author as the sixth period. Lee believes that Pentecostal leaders have taken the lead in "mission and social engagement" unlike previous times when the roles of the church concerning social matters had not been fully understood by most Korean churches (135). The author, furthermore, emphasizes the significance of the urgent task that Korean churches ought to develop "environmental stewardship" and create "unique mission approaches" that give them individuality in terms of Pentecostal missions (135).

Lastly, Lee expresses his concerns for the future of Korean Pentecostals addressing current challenges: "sectarianism," the lack of "social concern," "the lack of doctrinal standards," and "an emotional tendency" (138-139). In this regard, the author also undertakes to conclude his book by drawing our attention to some theological issues in which "the traditional emphasis on the person and work of the Holy Spirit among the Pentecostals should continue, but in the healthy and wider context of Christian theology" (140). In the practical and the missional arenas, Lee suggests that there should be more efforts to "develop the theological means for social engagement" and "its missionary commitment" (142-143).

Throughout the book, the writing style is quite lucid. This book generally gives adequate attention to the dynamic works of the Holy Spirit within the Korean Peninsula, regardless of denominations. The author's work has included a noteworthy survey of the religious background of the Holy Spirit movement by dealing with Shamanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. Nevertheless, it is also true that Shamanism tends to be woven into Korean Pentecostalism in oversimplified ways as is highlighted as one of the key aspects to understanding the rapid growth of the movement.

Although not nullifying its strengths, there are several weaknesses in the book. Lee's attention to the Yoido Full Gospel Church and its previous senior pastor David Yonggi Cho is certainly welcome in his work. However, the breadth of attention given to the range of material involved is somehow unbalanced. Issues of the Holy Spirit movement in Korea are presented too much from the perspectives of a Yoido Full Gospel Church minister, whereas an obvious feature of Korean Pentecostalism is the tremendous contribution of many anonymous Pentecostal ministers and missionaries not addressed in any detail in the book.

Moreover, there seems to be even some confusion due to the adoption of the controlling terms, "the Holy Spirit movement." In his book, Lee is apparently unable to choose a consistent approach to the Holy Spirit movement as he states in the beginning of the book that the terminology, "Holy Spirit movement" is used "to embrace the conceptions" of all different groups such as "indigenous Pentecostals," "the Third Wave," "the classical Pentecostal movement," "the Charismatic movement," and even "the New Apostolic Movement" (4-5). In fact, the reader can easily misunderstand a number of presented ideas due to the confusion between the "Holy Spirit movement" and the

"Pentecostal movement." In light of this, the word "Pentecostal movement" could be more easily used rather than "the Holy Spirit movement" because of two basic reasons: first, Lee does not need to create another term since according to some modern scholars like Allan Anderson, the terminology "Pentecostalism" has been continually redefined and broadened in its definition to embrace different Christian groups that put their impetus into the dynamic works of the Holy Spirit. Secondly, there seems to be the possibility that the readers would try to find any connection between the Holy Spirit movement that previously existed in world church history and that of Korean Pentecostalism.

However, in spite of some confusions or uncertainties taking place in the work of Lee, this book indicates that the author is well able to move from Christian intellectual history to a competent and useful synthesis of the cultural and theological sides of Korean Pentecostal history. Its inclusiveness of historical figures that are not normally considered as Korean Pentecostals is a major step toward adequately broadening the history of Christianity in Korea.

This book, in fact, is an excellent overall addition to the current choice of college and university level surveys for Korean Pentecostalism. Those especially interested in the history of Christianity and Korean Pentecostalism will do well to get a copy of this valuable book. This ambitious survey of the Holy Spirit movement in South Korea can even be a great means to enlighten and stimulate many of today's Christians in the contemporary world.

Jun Kim

Dave Johnson, *Led by the Spirit: The History of the American Assemblies of God Missionaries in the Philippines*, foreword by L. John Bueno (Pasig City, Philippines: ICI Ministries, 2009), paperback, xvi + 676 pp., ISBN: 978-971-503-314-5, US$ 24.95.

Finally, a volume that provides rich details of the Assemblies of God missionary work in the Philippines is in print! Dave Johnson's work is a modest attempt to present a comprehensive and yet very readable account of the missionaries who were sent by the Assemblies of God of the United States of America. He has also added much to the historiography of Pentecostalism in the Philippines, especially the Philippines General Council of the Assemblies of God. The title of his book, *Led by the Spirit: The History of the American Assemblies of God Missionaries in the Philippines*, is a nice descriptive title. Johnson depicts the American Assemblies of God missions in the many islands of the Philippines as Spirit led. This volume assumes that the presence of God guided and continues to guide the missionary endeavors in the Philippines. "God accomplishes His purposes through flawed people." (xv) Johnson is neither intending to offer a critical missions study nor undertaking to answer unresolved missionary issues in the mission field. He rather supplies a narrative account of the victories and tragedies, successes and failures, good accomplishments and sad experiences as well as beautiful reports and ugly stories of the American Pentecostal missionaries who worked with the Filipinos. And yet the Holy Spirit is acknowledged to be doing something in the midst of all these things. (see xiii-xiv) Although the center of attention in this work is the missionary enterprise of those appointed men and women from the United States, several Filipinos are also included in the rich data employed to explain the circumstances and events that shaped the history of the American Assemblies of God missions in the Philippines.

After introducing the Assemblies of God missions endeavor that came from the Azusa Street revival (1906-1909) in Los Angeles, Johnson points out that the missionary organization was established for global outreach. (1-2) The Assemblies of God is committed to foreign missions. Part 1 of *Led by the Spirit* is dated 1926-1945. These years were during the American occupation, followed by Japan's rule in the Philippines for about three years and finally the liberation of the country. The author recognized that although there were American missionaries that have come to the Philippines during the colonial period, it was the untiring effort of the Filipino-Americans who came

back to the Philippines that spread Pentecostalism to the archipelago. Furthermore, Johnson talks about the missionaries who were caught during the Japanese invasion of the Philippines and were put into concentration camp. It is also touching that the writer records how Filipinos risked their lives to bring food and drink to the incarcerated missionaries. (25-26) Providentially, General Douglas MacArthur landed in Leyte on October 20, 1944 and started liberating the Philippine Islands. (31ff.) All of the American Assemblies of God missionaries survived imprisonment during the Japanese occupation. They were able to sail from Leyte to San Francisco by March of 1945 and be reunited with their families. However, most of them were not able to go back to the mission field again. (35)

In Part 2, from 1946 until 1959, Johnson introduces this portion of his research by noting that Filipino-American Rudy Esperanza became District Superintendent of Philippine District Council of the Assemblies of God and later the first General Superintendent of the Philippines General Council of the Assemblies of God. (39-42) Johnson attributes the organizational growth of the Assemblies of God in the Philippines, along with the recovering and the shaping of the missionary work in the country, to an intermixing of Filipinos and Americans working together. This part ends with the coming of J. Philip Hogan on the scene due to the retirement of Noel Perkin as the executive director of the Foreign Missions Department of the Assemblies of God. (112) The author aptly puts Elva Vanderbout (who later became Mrs. Juan Soriano) who arrived to the Philippines on January 6, 1947 in a prominent place. She came to the mission field immediately after the war and labored for many years in the Cordillera mountains of Northern Philippines. (46-52) Johnson also identifies the role of the missionaries in the formation of crucial ministerial training institutions like Bethel Bible Institute (now College) in Manila (52-57) and Immanuel Bible Institute (now College) in Cebu (99-110). In both Bethel and Immanuel, Edwin and Oneida Brengle were involved. Likewise, the building of the Evangel Press (now replaced by ICI Ministries printing press) (69-70) and the well-known Manila Bethel Temple (now Cathedral of Praise) (73-81) were cited as important missionary projects.   Missionaries also worked with Far East Broadcasting Company and many of them evangelized and planted churches in the different islands of the archipelago.

The next part includes the years 1960-1979. It registers the fast development of both the constituency of the Philippines General Council of the Assemblies of God and the American Assemblies of

God Missionary Fellowship. This is true in the numerical growth of church adherents and the quantity of missionaries in the field. Indeed Hogan's leadership brought growth to the missionary effort of the Assemblies of God world-wide. (115ff.) The increase necessitated the clarification of the positions, functions and roles of the missionaries as they work together with the locals. (see 115-132) Johnson is also perceptive in highlighting Filipino faculty members such as Eli Javier, Trinidad Seleky and Lorenzo Lazaro in the beginnings of Far East Advanced School of Theology in Manila (now Asia Pacific Theological Seminary in Baguio) with Harold Kohl as the founding president. (133-143) Developing a Pentecostal graduate school was ahead of its time in 1964. The International Correspondence Institute (now ICI-Global University) literature distribution and the radio ministry flourished. The Bible Institute for the Deaf and the Assemblies of God Bible Institute of Mindanao (now Mindanao Regional Bible College) were also born. The ministry to the Filipino-Chinese, Teen Challenge, evangelistic crusades and the Charismatic Movement brought more people to the Assemblies of God. (see 149-191, 209-266) However, this period dragged the Filipinos and missionaries alike into all sorts of constituency conflicts, organizational divisions and court cases. (193-208)

The succeeding Part 4 reports on the years 1980-2000. Johnson continues the candor of his narrative at this point commenting on the different ministries that the Assemblies of God missionaries were doing during the unstable political environment in the Philippines. Some of the highlights are the Agape Christian Fellowship by the Silvas, Asia Pacific Bible Schools Regional Office by the Anglins and Asia Pacific Media Ministries by the Sniders. (279-302) The momentous move to Baguio of Far East Advanced School of Theology in 1986 and the huge investment of the American foreign missions into the new campus that took a new name, Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, make Johnson compelled to use many pages of his book for this institution. (303-340) He notes the input of David Lim, William Menzies and John Carter as former presidents in the Baguio campus. This is proper since FEAST/APTS became the only Assemblies of God graduate school in Asia Pacific, not just in the Philippines. It is also noteworthy that in the fourth part of *Led by the Spirit* the countrywide missionary programs came into fruition. For example, among many, the Christian Education Program, Philippine Healthcare Ministries, Child Care Centers, Barrio Church Building Program, International Correspondence Institute and other national ministries of the missionaries are described by the

author. (see 341-398) In addition, Johnson offers a survey of the work of the missionaries from Northern Luzon to Southern Mindanao. He uses five chapters to show how the missionaries have served all over the country. (see 399-515)

In the final part, the contributions of the missionaries to the Assemblies of God in the Philippines in the years 2001-2008 are once again outlined. Johnson commences this last section of his book in terms of "partnership" between the missionaries and the locals. (521-522) He portrays the working together of Americans and Asians in institutions such as Asia Pacific Theological Seminary – under a new president, Wayne Cagle, Asia Pacific Campus Challenge and Asia Pacific Media Ministries. He also depicts the Assemblies of God World Missions and the Philippines General Council of the Assemblies of God in parachurch works such as childcare and community services, children's ministries, International Correspondence Institute, Convoy of Hope, discipleship programs and evangelistic ministries. (see 523-556) In addition the involvement of the missionaries in Faith Academy, Christian Academy of Baguio, King's Garden Children's Home and also in different islands in the country did not miss the attention of Johnson. (557-598) In the very last chapter of the book, as Johnson gives a recapitulation of the materials in his book, he reports that "a record-high number of ninety-seven missionaries was reached in 1989" serving in the Philippines. (603) Moreover, he maintains that "most of these missionaries served in the areas of ministry for which the Holy Spirit had gifted them." (605) It is also noteworthy, given the nature of the unprecedented harvest time of the souls in the Philippines, that Johnson can claim: "The PGCAG continues to feel the need for U.S. missionaries to participate in what God is doing in the Philippines. While the missionary's role is not the same today as it was in the past and will most certainly change again in the future, what has not changed is that missionaries of every generation are effective only as they are both empowered and led by the Spirit." (610)

The author must be thanked for producing *Led by the Spirit*. At times he spiritualizes events and conflicts to highlight the notion that the Holy Spirit is guiding in the history of the Assemblies of God in the Philippines. Perhaps he is right, or there could be a better explanation. He is extremely cautious in avoiding anything that would be offensive to anybody. So, an "approval committee" was created and about 200 present and previous missionaries read their portion of the narrative and "made corrections." (xii) But appreciation is due to him, especially in his presentation of the early history of Pentecostalism in the Philippine

archipelago. He is impressively careful in reconstructing the very early history of Pentecostal work in the Philippines. Johnson declares that "it must be noted that the permanent work of the Assemblies of God in the Philippines actually began with Filipinos, not missionaries." (9)   He names Cris Garsulao, Pedro Collado, Eugenio Suede, Benito Acena, Rosendo Alcantara, Rudy Esperanza and Esteban Lagmay as those Filipino-Americans who first returned to the Philippines in the late 1920s and the entire of the 1930s to spread the Pentecostal message and experience. (10-12)   Esperanza and Lagmay who consolidated the Assemblies of God work in the Philippines asked the Americans for missionary help. (13)   And thus, the Leland Johnson family came to Manila on December 24, 1939. Consequently, the Assemblies of God in the country was formally organized in March of 1940 with Leland Johnson as superintendent and Rudy Esperanza as secretary, Pedro Castro as treasurer with Hermongenes Hebrenca, Jose Maypa and Rosendo Alcantara as presbyters. (13-14, 16-17) The author also gives the credit to whom the credit is due. He acknowledges that the very first Assemblies of God congregation in the Philippine Islands was established by Cris Garsulao, a Filipino-American who graduated from Glad Tidings Bible Institute in San Francisco, California. Garsulao pioneered an Assemblies of God ministry in his hometown at Sibalom, Antique, Panay Island in 1928. He also started a Bible school in 1929. (10) The way Johnson depicts the beginnings of the Assemblies of God work in the Philippines is very objective. He presents the roles of the Filipino-Americans and American missionaries fairly accurate to the best of his knowledge.

Johnson's sources are from American missionaries themselves and their printed materials as well as from local Filipinos and their available publications.   He utilizes a lot of email communications, formal interviews and personal conversations from both Americans and Filipinos.   Furthermore, he has gone through a lot of missionary records and interpersonal communications. He has gathered significant amount of materials to document his narrative. (see 627-676) Even though at times the writer avoids deeper issues in his reports of the conflicts, the attempt to report the events and personalities is carefully executed.   The scope of his work starts from the very first American Assemblies of God missionaries to the Philippines. They are Benjamin and Cordelia Caudle who arrived in Manila on September 1926 to pioneer a Pentecostal ministry and served as field missionaries. (7-9) Throughout the book Johnson exhibits his mastery of names, events and issues that shaped the Assemblies of God in the Philippines.

Notably, the author ends up with the Assemblies of God missions work in the island of Mindanao until 2008. The creative ministry of the Blatchleys through Family Circus in Davao City as well as the Cooleys who served at the Bible schools in Cagayan de Oro and General Santos with the Stines who took the opportunity to reach out to the mayor of Surigao City and opened a children's ministry which concludes the book *Led by the Spirit*. (591-598) And it took five major parts with thirty-five chapters and an introduction, using six hundred ten pages to tell all of the American Assemblies of God missionary stories that the author knows. Johnson's retelling of these missionary stories is as good as his available sources. This volume is indeed an enormous and tedious research task for Johnson to finish but is now completely accomplished. It is a book that is worth reading again and again for reflection and reference. *Led by the Spirit* is a significant contribution for Pentecostal studies in the Philippines.

R. G. dela Cruz

SUBSCRIPTION ORDER FORM

Please make a copy of this form, mark and/or fill the appropriate subscription/order portion(s) and send to Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies, P.O. Box 377, Baguio City, 2600 Philippines or e-mail to ajps@apts.edu.

Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies (including surface mail)

Areas	1 year	2 years	3 years
Philippines	P300.00	P600.00	P750.00
Asian Countries	US$18.00	US$35.00	US$50.00
Others	US$23.00	US$45.00	US$60.00

Beginning from vol. ___ no.____ (199__/200__)
[AJPS began in 1998]

Title	Unit Price	S/h*	No. of copies	Total Amount
David Y. Cho	US$ 10.00	(US$1.00)		
The Church in China	US$ 6.00	(US$1.00)		
Asian and Pentecostal	US$ 15.00	(US$1.50)		
Pentecost to the Uttermost	US$ 8.00			

For an additional copy, US$0.50 is to be added. Orders within the Philippines do not require the shipping/handling charge. For bulk order, please inquire for special discount rates.

☐ Check payable to APTS enclosed, drawn on a U.S. bank in U.S. dollars. Please note your payment for : AJPS Subscription or Book.

Name _____

Address _____

E-mail:_____

☐ If interested in a journal exchange with AJPS, please mark here.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Charles T. CLAUSER (charles.clauser@agmd.org,) is a retired U.S. Assemblies of God missionary, who taught at FEAST from Fall 1982 through Spring 1985and was active in other ministries throughout his 25 years in the Philippines.

Christopher CARTER (chris.carter@agmd.org) teaches at Central Bible College, Tokyo, Japan.

Roli DELA CRUZ (rolidelacruz@yahoo.com) teaches NT and Greek at Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio, Philippines, and is the Book Review Editor of the *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies.*

Narciso C. DIONSON (narsdionson@yahoo.com) is a retired minister of the Philippines General Council of the Assemblies of God, former pastor of Immanuel Fellowship, Cebu City, Philippines and an avid stargazer.

Gerard (Gary) John FLOKSTRA III (info@4WRD.org) is Director of 4 the World Resource Distributors. He has a passion for getting information resources to Bible schools worldwide and tries to visit a library outside of North America every year to provide help, recommendations, training, or undertake projects.

David HYMES (dchymes@gmail.com) teaches and is Academic Dean at Central Bible College, Tokyo, Japan.

Jun KIM (jun100458@yahoo.com) teaches Hebrew at Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio, Philippines

Paul LEWIS (paul.lewis63@gmail.com) teaches Hermeneutics, Theology and Ethics, and is Academic Dean at Asia Pacific Theology Seminary, Baguio, Philippines.

Gary LONG (glong@bethel.edu) is Professor of Biblical and Theological Studies, Bethel University, St. Paul, Minnesota, USA