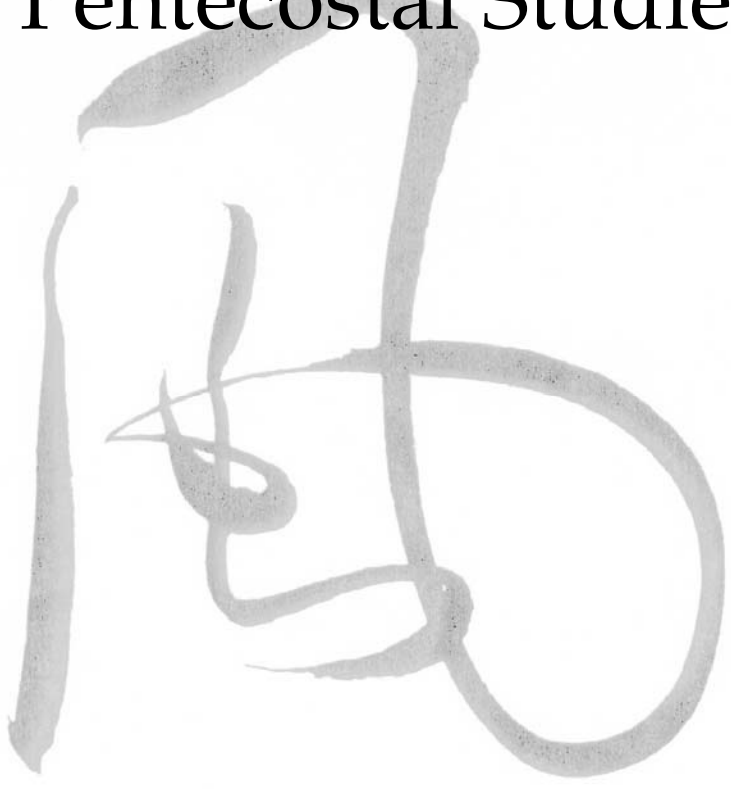
Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies



Pentecostalism among the Chinese

Volume 14, Number 1 (January 2011)

Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies
P. O. Box 377
Baguio City 2600, Philippines

www.apts..edu/ajps

Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies
ISSN 0118-8534
Vol. 14, No. 1 (2011)

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.

(Continue on back inside cover)

(Continued from front inside cover)

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/.

Printed in the Philippines
Cover calligraphy @ Shigeo Nakahara, 1997

Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies

Volume 14, Number 1 (January 2011)

BOOK REVIEWS

[*AJPS* 14:1 (2011), pp. 1-2]

PENTECOSTALISM AMONG THE CHINESE

The theme of this issue is 'Pentecostalism among the Chinese.' The initial idea for this issue was derived from the Asia Pacific Theological Association's Theological Symposium theme, "Pentecostalism in China" held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, August 17-18, 2010. There were several papers presented on topics related to Pentecostalism within the Chinese context by both Chinese and non-Chinese scholars. The first two of these essays were presented at that symposium. The remainder of the essays are from various scholars who are interested in this theme. It is our hope that this issue will help further the study of Chinese Pentecostalism.

The first essay by Tobias Brandner examines the cultural and historical factors that led to the openness within the Chinese context to Pentecostalism. In particular, the author examines the Pre-millennial and counter-cultural dynamics within the Chinese context that was the seedbed for Pentecostalism. The following essay by Connie Au focuses on the Pentecostal Holiness Church's work in China in the early part of the 20th century, especially during the 1920's. The author looks through the lens of the leadership of William Turner within the backdrop of the Anti-Christian Movement prevalent in China at the time.

The following two essays, originally written in Chinese by Chinese scholars, were translated by Connie Au. The first was by Timothy Yeung on the topic a 'Pentecostal Ethos'. The author looks specifically at the work of William Seymour by which to suggest and describe the 'ethos.' He is concerned that the current Chinese church situation does not mirror what is found in Seymour. The second of these two essays is by David Liu on the topic of the work of the Holy Spirit in the Church through the lens of the book of Ephesians. Concerns and suggestions are made in light of this Pauline writing.

David Reed delineates the role of 'boundary keeping' within the prominent expression of Oneness Pentecostalism within the Chinese context, the True Jesus Church. The author highlights the role of 'Speaking in Tongues' within this church context in terms of how it relates and functions in the True Jesus Church. R.G. Tiedemann's

essay describes the initial missionary enterprise of the Modern Pentecostal Movement in the beginning of the 20th century in China. The essay clearly describes the various missions' activities from the early Pentecostal movement for the first two decades of the century.

An additional essay on a more general Pentecostal theme is by Kofi Johnson which delineates the 'Aladura' churches, which is a 'tongue-speaking' and faith healing movement. These churches are found in southern Nigeria, and are seen as belonging to an indigenous Christian movement.

Editors

[*AJPS* 14:1 (2011), pp. 3-26]

PREMILLENNIAL AND COUNTERCULTURAL FAITH AND ITS PRODUCTION AND RECEPTION IN THE CHINESE CONTEXT[*]

Tobias Brandner

Abstract:

The goal of this essay is to reach a deeper understanding of the receptivity towards Pentecostal belief in the Chinese context. The essay uncovers cultural and historical factors that made Chinese people inclined to Pentecostal faith, particularly its premillennialist theology. For this purpose, it analyzes the presence of millenarian motives through several examples, the Back to Jerusalem Movement and the work of Yuan Zhi Ming as present-day examples, and the millenarianism of 19th century Taiping, the Buddhist White Lotus Movement that lasted from the 12th to the 19th century, and some Daoist movements of the late Han dynasty as historical examples. It shows how the Chinese context shaped premillennialist faith, and how this historical view has been appropriated and adapted to the Chinese self-understanding. All the examples show a specific pessimistic and countercultural view of history that shapes the political theology and the theology of history of Pentecostal and other revivalist Christians in China.

When trying to understand what makes people turn to a specific faith, we may distinguish between *push and pull factors*: push factors explain what activities brought people to a specific faith, while pull factors explain why a certain faith attracted people. Regarding the

[*] Parts of this article were presented at the Theological Symposium of the Asia Pacific Theological Association, 17 to 18 August 2010, in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. The full article was first published in German as ‚Millenarismus und gegenkultureller Glauben im chinesischen Kontext. Hintergründe und politisch-theologische Auswirkungen ihrer Verbreitung', in: *Theologische Zeitschrift* 1/67 (2011), 59-85.

former, we can tell the story about how the transmission of Pentecostal belief and spirituality in China happened through several partly independent, partly mutually related channels, through Pentecostal missionaries going to China, or through missionaries emerging from independent Pentecostal churches in China. Regarding the latter, we can ask why Pentecostal belief overall or parts thereof attracted people in China. The spread of Pentecostal belief lets us assume that a natural or indigenous inclination to Pentecostal spirituality can be found in China.

This paper focuses on the pull factors relating to one specific part of Pentecostal belief, namely the premillennialist belief. It asks in what way the cultural background and historical experiences made Chinese people inclined to receive the gospel in its Pentecostal form and in particular with a belief in the premillennial second coming of Christ. One of the background interests of this paper is that the author observed a common premillennial and countercultural faith among revivalist churches beyond the narrower Pentecostal constituency and an overall conservative political orientation of Chinese Christians that is often linked to such premillennial faith. This paper tries to outline how an inclination to a premillennial view of history has helped people in China receive the gospel, how the Chinese context shaped premillennial faith, and how this historical view has been appropriated and adapted to the Chinese self-understanding.

The essay starts with a short summary of premillennialist belief and the spread of Pentecostal faith and history in China. It then proceeds to present some recent examples of revivalist Christians' interpretations of history, in particular a) the *Back to Jerusalem Movement (BJM)*, a missionary movement that is linked to premillennial urgency and a covenantal role of Chinese Christians, and b) a book and DVD, *China's Confession*, produced by Yuan Zhi Ming, offering a profound Christian interpretation of the history of China. The view of history expressed in these two layouts has been popular among Christians in China and outside China. The purpose of discussing them is to offer two examples of critical and independent historical visions from the revivalist Chinese Christian context in order to understand Chinese receptivity to and how Chinese Christians appropriated millenarian belief. *Methodologically*, we obviously face the difficulty that both the people behind BJM and those behind China's Confession are not simply reflecting a 'pure' contextual expression of a historical mood, but may in their understanding of history be shaped by the teachings that they had received in interaction with a broader revivalist

Christian constituency beyond China, namely by Christians in the West. Nevertheless, the two visions of Chinese history also express a view about present-day Chinese Christians' self-understanding that responds to a specific time and social context. In the next step that should deepen our understanding of the pull factors, we will look into historical precedents of millenarian faith in the Chinese tradition, more specifically the *Taiping Rebellion* of the late Qing dynasty, the *White Lotus Movement* of the Yuan dynasty, and some movements of *Daoist Messianism* of the late Han dynasty and ask how these contributed to a cultural context that is receptive to a premillennial view of history. The result of these and some further observations will allow us to recognize what factors made and still make premillennial belief appeal to Chinese Christians, how this specific element of Pentecostal belief is one factor among others to explain the spread of Pentecostalism in China and how they shape the political theology of revivalist Christians in China.

1. Intro: Premillennial belief and the spread of Pentecostalism in China

Premillennial faith is widely seen as one of the core features of Pentecostalism. For the purpose of this essay, I describe premillennialism very broadly as a faith that sees history as a history of constant decline, that regards Christians as playing a critical role in the unfolding of God's history, and that expects some cataclysmic events to end the present time. It is a pessimistic view of history and sees the present culture doomed to perish. Premillennial Christians stand in opposition to mainstream culture. *Dayton* (1987) regards the expectation of the premillennial second coming of Christ as one of the five core themes of Pentecostals' 'full gospel', besides justification, sanctification, divine healing, and the baptism with the Holy Spirit. In his presentation of the *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, he dedicates a whole chapter to discuss the rise of premillennialism (Dayton, 1987:143-171). Traditionally, revivalist Christians emphasize the historical significance of faith more strongly than the broader Christian tradition. They express this through an activism in the transformation of society that can take on the form of millenarian urgency. Such activism can be observed throughout the modern history of revivalist Christianity, from Pietism through Methodism, the Evangelical Awakening in England in the early 19th century up to the Oberlin revivalism and the Holiness Movement towards the middle of

the 19th century. Since the middle and late 19th century, the previously rather optimist postmillennialist and perfectionist mood turned into pessimistic premillennialism. This shift in historical outlook is part of the pre-history of Pentecostalism (Dayton, ibid.; Anderson, 2004:29). Premillennialism was originally more typically rooted in Presbyterian circles, but it began to influence the holiness movement through the Northfield Conferences organized by Moody (Sandeen, 1970:174ff.). It is a belief that links Pentecostals to fundamentalist Evangelicals despite their mutual rejection in other areas (Hollenweger, 1997:190ff.). Pentecostals share the notion of living in a perishing society with other countercultural groups such as fundamentalists, as George Marsden has pointed out (Marsden, 2006: 93ff; 1990:29ff). Fundamentalism should not so much be understood as a movement centered on the recognition of specific doctrines, but, at least partly, as one aspect of the broader history of millenarianism (Sandeen, 1970:xix). This is in very short form the story of how premillennialism became part of Pentecostalism and fundamentalist Evangelicalism. There will be more thought about the implications of premillennialist faith below. At this point, it is sufficient to say that premillennialism can be equated with a pessimist outlook and with a feeling of facing historical decay and standing in protest against a culture that is doomed to perish.

If we turn to China and summarize what we called the push factors, we can see how the earliest spread of (pre-)Pentecostal spirituality in China precedes the Azusa Street revival and roots in missionaries of Holiness and revivalist movements and 'faith missions' like the China Inland Mission of Hudson Taylor (Anderson, 2009:119; Winter, 1999:257ff.) who were already from 1865 on active in missions in China. A growing sense of urgency for an 'Evangelization of the World in this Generation' (so the title of John R. Mott's book, published 1901 by the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Mission) before the imminent return of Christ gradually deepened and affected the belief of a growing number of emerging churches in the West. It shall be noted that the evangelization of the world in this generation meant exactly this: "It does not mean the conversion of the world within the generation. Our part consists in bringing the Gospel to bear on unsaved men" (Mott 1901:7).

Right after the Azusa Street revival, a wave of missionaries travelled to China (Anderson 2009:122f.; Robeck 2006:260ff.). Through the baptism in the Holy Spirit, they felt equipped to take up the task of foreign mission without time-consuming language studies. They believed that they had not only received the gift of glossolalia, but

also of *xenolalia*. This was particularly crucial in places like Asia where missionaries had to cope with radically different languages that were hard to learn by traditional way (Anderson 2009:121). In 1907, four American Pentecostal missionaries came to Hong Kong and Macao and built the first Pentecostal community. Others went to Northern China and to Shanghai. These early Pentecostal missionaries spread the Pentecostal faith partly among non-Christians, partly among already converted Christians of more traditional churches. This led to tensions with existing churches and denominations, so that by 1915 clear lines had been drawn between Pentecostal and the older missionary congregations. Pentecostal churches became just another denominational mission operation.

The early 20th century saw the emergence of indigenous churches in China independent from overseas missionaries. Among them were the *True Jesus Church*, emerging around 1920 and rapidly growing in the central provinces of Henan and Hunan. Between 1920 to 1950 was the largest of all independent churches in China (Bays, 1996:311; Deng, 2005: 441ff.), the *Little Flock*, famous through their leader, Watchman Nee, and the *Jesus Family*, founded 1928 in Shandong Province (Deng, 2005: 452ff.) and crucially inspiring the *Back to Jerusalem Movement*. All of these indigenous churches are characterized by a strongly millennial belief. Since the foundation of the People's Republic of China, Christians from these churches were absorbed in the officially registered churches, or, more often, became part of the Christian *house church movement*. The spread of Pentecostal belief continued essentially under the surface of officially recognized religiosity and through the independent channels of their own missionary outreach.

2. A Premillennial-Covenantal Vision: The Back to Jerusalem Movement

One example of their missionary visions is the Back to Jerusalem Movement (BJM), a Christian movement with a distinct historical vision. This perspective is not simply influenced by the foreign Pentecostal mission to China, but reflective of a contextual mood and the questions arising from the historical context of China. A thorough analysis of this movement has been presented by this author in another context (Brandner, 2009). It thus suffices at this point to give a short summary.

BJM interprets the history of Christianity as a *westward* movement. It understands that the spread of the gospel started from the Mount of Olives, moving west and north to Jerusalem, Judea, and Samaria, and from there to the ends of the earth (Acts 1:8-12). Through a history of suffering and persecution, the gospel spread into central, northern, and Western Europe and North Africa, and later to central and southern Africa, the Americas, the islands of the South Pacific, Australia, New Zealand, and parts of Asia, until finally reaching China (Brandner, 2009:319). That this historical narration simply ignores the equally important eastward movement of early Christian faith (see for this Moffett, 1998[2]) does not need to concern us here because our present purpose is only to understand what vision BJM communicates through its historical outline. BJM understands that the most important parts of the world still to become Christian are located west and south of China and deducts its specific historical mission from there: The task for Chinese Christians is to bring the gospel to this least evangelized area, the so-called 10/40 window, where the three main competitors of Christianity can be found – Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam. By carrying the gospel back to its starting point in Jerusalem and thus fulfilling Christ's call to preach the gospel all over the world, the present era may come to its conclusion.

The historical vision of BJM carries important psychological implications. A core question of many Christians in China is why they received the gospel so late and what their purpose within God's history of salvation is. BJM gives a reassuring answer: It all had a deeper purpose. China has a primordial role in the unfolding of God's history of salvation, the role of bringing the gospel back to its starting point and thus to contribute to the fulfillment of history. Such a historical narration is able to integrate a long history of political humiliation and suffering, both foreign and self-made. God has chosen China for this honorable task of contributing to the fulfillment of history exactly because Chinese Christians were well molded by their long persecution. The millenarian vision of carrying the gospel to its starting point and thus to usher in the end of time is linked to a belief in a special election of Chinese Christians. The covenantal relationship of God has equally shifted around the world. In the same way as Israel, the Church of Rome, and the Church of the Reformation in Wittenberg, Zurich or Geneva had previously lost their covenantal relationship with God, so has, more recently, also America lost its special blessing due to its moral decay and its history of colonialism and political aggression. This idea nurtures and strengthens an emerging Chinese

self-confidence that, parallel to China's rise in political power, seeks a meaningful role in the religious and spiritual realm for China.

The millennialism of BJM gives a vision of a historical purpose and comfort in a context where Christians continue to experience a government that is hostile to the exercise of religious belief outside the government-controlled channels. BJM acknowledges the wealth brought by thirty years of economic transformation, yet it equally understands that this economic growth has spiritually uprooted many, if not most people in China. Against this radically unsettling experience – the decay of traditional values, livelihood, and orientation – the millennialism of BJM offers a contrasting vision. It is a vision that is thoroughly different from the turmoil of the past century and from the values of the past 30 years of economic liberalization, a vision that gives meaning to Chinese Christians' historical experience, and a vision that encourages and comforts. That is, God has left a special and most difficult inheritance to the people in China, a mission to the people between China and Jerusalem.

Let us now look at another example of a modern Christian interpretation of Christian history, the one by Yuan Zhi Ming.

3. God's Intimate Connection with Chinese History: China's Confession

Yuan Zhi Ming first became known to a broader public through his script to a TV series 'The Yellow River Eulogy' that was broadcast and widely viewed during the liberal climate of spring 1989 as peaceful demonstrators started to gather at Tiananmen Square and called for political reforms. Under the guise of a story about corruption and intrigues at the imperial court, the Yellow River Eulogy told the story of present-day China, for everybody easily recognizable. After the massacre on June 4, 1989, Yuan Zhi Ming was labeled as inciter of the protests and was forced into exile in the U.S. While continuing to engage in the largely exiled political reform movement, he became a Christian and started to study theology at the Reformed Theological Seminary in Jackson, Mississippi. Highly trained in the thought of Marx, Lenin, and Mao, he had become disappointed by the Communist Party and its failure to overcome corruption and to bring political reform. Like several other exiled former party members and supporters of the Tiananmen movement, he turned to Christian faith.

China's Confession, first written as a book and published in 1998 (Yuan Zhi Ming, 1999), has subsequently been published as video and is easily accessible through the internet.[1] Further material is taken from an article on 'God and China', equally published and accessible on the Internet. The core question that Yuan Zhi Ming addresses is whether there is a relationship between the Christian God and the history of the Chinese people and where God was during the past 5000 years (Yuan, God and China, paragraph 1)[2]. His answer in *China's Confession* is that God was always and from the very beginnings present in the Chinese history. God's history with Israel has its parallel in God's history with China. Culture and history evolved in parallel along the banks of the Jordan and Yellow River, both histories rooted in one origin, the origin of humankind, God's creation and his covenant with Noah (A17).

Yuan discovers God's presence in China's earliest history by showing links between the biblical narration and the history of China, by showing the virtue of her ancient rulers and by exposing parallels in the biblical teaching and the teaching of the great Chinese philosophers. To give some examples:

- The Bible tells how God finished his creation in six days and rested on the seventh day (A9). The Chinese classic, Zhou Yi, states that 'the way of the heavens comes around in seven days' (A9).
- The story of the two trees in the garden, the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil has a parallel in the Chinese text 'The Book of Mountains and Seas' that similarly speaks of a tree of immortality and a tree of wisdom (A11).
- The biblical story of the flood is remembered in the classical Chinese story of a person named Gong Gong whose revolt brought divine judgment and led the columns supporting heaven to collapse and bring water covering the entire earth (A13).

---

[1] As video http://www.prayerforallpeople.com/chinasconfession.html; in text form providing a summary of the text of the video http://www.chinasoul.org/e/e-wk.htm). The notes in brackets refer to the video indicating the time or mostly, when marked with a letter of the alphabet, to this latter source.

[2] http://www.chinasoul.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3367%3Agod-and-china&catid=32%3A2009-10-16-02-11-46&Itemid=105&lang=en-gb (access on June 16, 2010)

The memory of God's earliest encounters with humankind is kept not only in the myths of Chinese culture, but also similarly in the beautiful Chinese characters. They reveal a deep knowledge of God, be it in the character for 'greed', 婪, that shows a woman standing under two trees (A19), in the character for 'big boat', 船, showing a boat with 8 people (A20), or, more puzzling, in the character for 'justice' that depicts the symbol for 'I', 我, being put underneath the symbol for 'lamb', 羊, making it 義.

The virtue of the earliest rulers, the emperors Yan, Huang, Yao, or Shun provide examples for godly and moral rulers (A29) whose fear of God prevented them from turning their power into selfishness and corruption. Yuan Zhi Ming says: "Ancient China trusted in God and feared heaven. There was sin – but the Chinese fathers believed justice would prevail and the wicked would be punished because of an omniscient God. This belief was the driving force to choose good over evil and was the cornerstone of the utopia envisioned by Confucius" (A34).

Yet, the godliness of the early culture did not prevail and filial piety and ancestral worship usurped the role of God (A35). After 2500 years of ancient Chinese belief that they were the sons of God who personally tended to every detail of his creation (A46), a long history of decline began. The narrator of the movie sighs: "Oh, Chinese! You who hold high the principle of filial piety, do you know that your ancestors used to revere God piously? Do you really know? You travel thousands of miles to worship Emperor Huang, but you do not worship God whom Emperor Huang himself worshipped. Is this not faulty and sad?" (Video, 13:20ff) Only some of the rituals (A37ff) and the voices of the great philosophers preserved an idea of the early knowledge of God. The period of the warring states, lasting from the 5th to the 3rd century BC, changed China deeply. "Purity and simplicity vanished. Anarchy and bloodshed were encouraged" (A47). With Confucius we sigh: "The great Dao has now faded and man has fallen" (Video, 15:09ff.).

It is from this point on that the history of fallen humankind begins for the Chinese. The emperors usurped the throne of God. The Chinese were continuously fearful of the god who sits on the palace throne – the emperor (B42). It is a history of bloodshed and of millions of lives being sacrificed and families scattered all over China in order for one man, the emperor, to dominate the land (B49). History develops within a constant pattern of power and control: godless men regard themselves as God (B57).

Only a small number of righteous people tried to bring reform and to end the tragedy of the cycle of violence and man's self-worshipping, yet all came to tragic ends (B62).

However, underneath the tragedy of history, China was looking for salvation and a restoration of the early godliness. It is on this background that a Buddhist monk of the Tang dynasty traveled to India searching for scriptures and bringing them back to China (C1). It is on this background that early Roman Catholic missionaries were welcomed to teach their knowledge and their piety to the officials in Beijing (C3ff). Occasionally, even the great and powerful Emperor Kangxi came to praise Jesus and to express faith by saying: 'The heavenly gate was closed to our people, but now the path to blessing is open. I accept the Holy Son of God, that I may become His son and gain eternal life' (C16). Still, the tragedy of history was not broken. The Roman missionaries alienated Kangxi, who previously was so friendly and open to Christianity, because they banned the veneration of ancestors and of Confucius and refused to use the term *shangdi* for God, thus denying that God was known to China before the missionaries' coming (C21-22). This alienation endured and shaped the encounter between China and the Protestant missionaries. Their legacy is ambiguous – they brought new technology, schools, hospitals, and even concepts of equality and democracy, but also opium and unwanted foreign influence. Are they friend or foe? – It is a question China still asks today (C39). Whatever the answer, they were seeds from heaven (C55). When these seeds fall on the ground and die, they produce many seeds. When all the missionaries were expelled, these seeds began to sprout and Christianity grew. China is awake and entering a new era (C56-57)!

Episode 4 tells about subsequent attempts to transform Chinese society, some even introducing the laws of God to China. Yet, all of them ended unsuccessfully. Either they turned into a cult, like the Taiping rebellion (D3-6), or they only introduced superficial changes without changing the spiritual fabric of the Chinese society, like the Westernization movement (D11). Only with Sun Yatsen did China return to God (D32), who had first revealed himself in the earliest time of Chinese history. Similarly, Chen Duxiu, the founder of the Communist Party, although not a Christian, admired the teachings of Jesus and regarded them as superior to Confucius. These moments of opportunity for thorough change failed again when military strongmen took over with their own hidden agendas (D36). The history of Communist China appears like a fast replay of 2500 years of turmoil

(E2) and fits with a long history of autocrats, of atheism, of rebellion and violence (D42-44). Against all this gloom and underneath its surface, Yuan sees God at work in the history of China, for despite the tragedy of Chinese history, China has been climbing back step by step toward the values of Sun Yatsen. And each step leads to renewed reassurance that God waits with open arms (D52).

The atmosphere turns darker as we enter the final episode 5 that recounts the history of Communist government and of Mao's brutal annihilation of all possible political rivals (E3ff) so that he could become China's undisputed God (E12). History repeats itself and remains caught in the tragic pattern of people seeking fulfillment in a counterfeit God, in worshipping a mere man, a sinner like themselves, worshipping their emperors, eventually worshipping a modern tyrant (E21-22). The economic reforms initiated by Deng and the subsequent economic boom could not solve the root problem (E32), not even introducing democracy could resolve it, for the root problem is a spiritual problem. Yuan Zhiming learnt this lesson when witnessing how the exiled Chinese dissidents who previously had jointly called for democracy became deeply split when in the West (E35). Yuan understands that democracy needs to grow out of a firm faith in God, a faith in the equality of mankind before God, in the equality of sinful human beings who all have fallen short of his glory. Only then is it founded upon equality between leaders and citizens, respect for both supporters and opponents (E36-41). What many present-day Chinese people witness as economic boom offering unimagined new opportunities is in fact a deep spiritual crisis where people put their faith in power, pleasure, and the pursuit of personal gain (E43). The economic development possibly causes deeper harm to China than the Cultural Revolution as it corrupts the hearts of men (E49). It is against this backdrop that Chinese turn increasingly to God and China, the land of God – Shen Zhou, 神州 – returns to its original destiny (E56-63).

Yuan Zhiming tells a history of Chinese rebellion against the God who had, at the earliest time, revealed himself to China, whose place, however, was subsequently usurped by sinful men who consistently suppressed the memory of this God. Throughout this history, there were several moments where China was coming very close to repenting and turning back to God; there were several people who, similar to the prophets of ancient Israel, tried to lead China back to God; and there was, underneath the surface, a deep yearning to fill the void and to find salvation. Yet, each attempt to change and repent failed and led to a

new person rising and claiming the place of God. Each reform failed because it did not address the root cause of China's tragedy. Yuan looks at the most recent reforms under Deng very critically as they lead China onto a path of material wealth that estranges them even more from God.

Several characteristics can be identified in this historical outline:

a) History is overall described as a history of decline. The tragic nature of this history increases as history approaches the more recent past.
b) The goal of history is the restoration of the past. The historical outline believes in God's original revelation in the Chinese context and claims a harmonious past of godly life that needs to be regained. This gives the historical account an overall conservative tone despite politically progressive elements and a deep understanding of the roots of democracy.
c) Underneath the tragic history and in contrast to it, there appears a growing counter movement in form of the recent growth of Christianity in China.
d) The present time is of decisive eschatological quality as the two contrasting movements, growing decline and growth of the Christian churches encounter each other.

It may further be mentioned that much of Yuan's historical concept is very close to the Roman Catholic theology of accommodation and in particular the method of *figurism* that the Jesuit missionaries used (von Collani 1996, especially 103ff.) and that is based on the idea of an original revelation of God in China.

The historical vision of BJM and the one of Yuan Zhi Ming are two recent examples that try to make sense of the profound transformation processes that China went through in the past century, the tremendous suffering and the more recent economic and spiritual growth. Both see history as in a process of decline and hope that a radical conversion would end the tragic history of the past. The contrasting developments give the present time its significance.

4. A Millenarian Background

The purpose of this chapter is to show that these modern examples are not standing alone, but are part of a tradition of pessimist millenarianism that runs throughout the Chinese history. There are different definitions of millenarianism. Within a Christian and

theological framework, one usually distinguishes between pre-, post-, and a- or realized millennialism. The former two refer to the belief that Christ will come again before or after a millennium. Amillennialism or realized millennialism rejects the belief in the millennium; the millennium is symbolically understood as the present time of the church. In the emergence of amillennialism, one can observe how the institution supporting the establishment and the status quo sees itself as fulfillment of God's promise and drives millenarianism out of the institutionalized religion to be taken up by social movements. Since Norman Cohn's publication of *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (1957), the term has moved beyond its origin and is widely used to describe social and political movements and non-Christian groups.[3] In the process of applying millenarian terminology to social movements, new terms have been introduced that more accurately express the changed use (Wessinger, in Robbins and Palmer, 1997:49). Cohn describes millenarianism as a movement seeking salvation that is (1) collective, (2) terrestrial, or inner-worldly, (3) imminent, meaning coming soon and suddenly, (4) total, meaning to bring a radical and complete transformation of life and society, and (5) miraculous, or linked to supernatural powers (Cohn, 2004:13). Although Cohn essentially interprets these religious movements from a sociological perspective and plays down the independent causal significance of religious belief, his description is still helpful for our context. One may add as further typical characteristics millenarianism's militancy and messianic savior figures. In the following, I use the term 'pessimist millenarianism' for what is usually called premillennialism in order to affirm its distinctiveness and indigenous nature that is not simply an import of traditional Christian millenarian concepts from the West. This kind of pessimist millenarianism does not necessarily include a clear sequential order of the events of the end time. It shares, however, the characteristics of millenarian sects as introduced by Cohn and regards the present as in radical decline and on the verge of fundamental change.

In the following examples, we can discover characteristics of millenarianism in historical social movements in China. Several more examples could have been added, not least the most recent one, the

[3] See for example the essays in Thomas Robbins and Susan J. Palmer, eds. (1997) *Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhem. Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements*, Routledge.

Maoist movement. These examples support our thesis that millenarianism is not something that entered China through the premillennialist theology of Pentecostalism, but that it was already there as a form of millenarian expectation and made people in China receptive to Pentecostal premillennialism.

a) Taiping (1836-1864)

The most famous of such millenarian movements is the Taiping movement of the 19th century. Taiping has been a popular field of research. One finds various scholarly interpretations of this movement. Marxist and official Chinese historiography sees Taiping in the framework of conflicting social interests and as a forerunner to the Communist revolution of the 20th century. Others focus on the psychology, the religious visions or the political struggle for power of its leader, Hong Xiuquan, (P.M. Yap, "The Mental Illness of Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, Leader of the Taiping Rebellion," *Far Eastern Quarterly* 13 (1953-1954): 287-304; R.G. Wagner, *Reenacting the Heavenly Vision: The Role of Religion in the Taiping Rebellion*; J.D. Spence, *The Taiping Vision of a Christian China 1836-1864*, and *God's Chinese Son*). Some see him more influenced by his encounter with Christian missionaries from the West; again, others see him influenced by indigenous Asian, more particular Korean millenarianism and as parallel development to the Tonghak Millenarian Rebellion of the Korea in the 1890's (Hong Beom Rhee, 2007:7).

It is not our aim to enter into an extensive scholarly discussion about the right interpretation of Taiping or Hong Xiuquan. Neither am I able to provide an independent analysis of the details of Taiping. What interests us at this point is simply to show some elements of Taiping's own millenarianism. Hong Xiuquan came into contact with Christianity through a set of booklets written by Morrison and consisting of biblical quotations and a short explanation of the life and death of Jesus Christ that was handed to him in Guangzhou when attending the government examination (Spence, 1996:16ff). Hong Xiuquan's apparently only direct contact with a missionary was with a Southern Baptist, Isachar Roberts, from Tennessee (Spence, 1998:26). If it was a fundamentalist Christian, as Spence (ibid.) states, I do not know how strongly he taught a premillennialist belief. At that time, the first wave of the mission movement was predominantly rather of optimist and postmillennialist mood. Besides this direct contact, Hong may have

been receiving Christian thought through Christians among the Hakka. There is evidence of contacts between people close to Hong and the missionaries from Basel Mission (Schlatter, 1916; 297f.). Important knowledge about Hong Xiuquan stems from an essay written by Theodore Hamberg, one of the two first missionaries of Basel Mission, under the title *The Visions of Hung-siu-tshuen, and Oriign of the Kwang-si Insurrection* (Rinehart, 1997:106, note 54).

Taiping was driven by a belief in a new world order and the expectation of some sudden event that would transform the world, some final battle between the hosts of Christ and the hosts of Anti-Christ. The Taiping government was theocratic and saw itself as leading a new dispensation, as an early observer, an American missionary wrote: "Their government is a theocracy, the development, apparently, of what is believed, by them, to be a new dispensation. As in the case of the Israelites, under Moses, they regard themselves as directed by one who has been raised up, by the almighty, to be the executor of his will on earth." (Letter from Rev. E.C. Bridgman to the Editor of the North China Herald, 22 July 1854, quoted from Rinehart, 1997:75) Their organization showed strongly counter-cultural characteristics, with equality among men and women and strict moral prescriptions like banning of tobacco and opium, gambling, idolatry, prostitution, and idolatry. They widely rejected Chinese traditions and, in particular, the symbols of Manchu government and perceived them as demonic (Rinehart, 1997:76).

In the Taiping movement, we see several factors at work that are typical for a pessimist millenarian and counter-cultural movement:

- Hong's authority was built on his visions that set him apart and gave him special power: Hong found guidance through his identification and supernatural interaction with his divine family, among them his brother Jesus and others.
- A strategy of renaming expressed radical discontinuity with the past: Hong changed not only his own name, but also the name of the capital Nanjing into Tianjing, Heavenly Capital (Spence, 1998:25).
- The movement was led by an initially small, later growing, but always minority group, the members of the Society of God Worshippers.
- The movement is clearly counter-cultural and providing a radically alternative ideology to the one of the then ruling

Qing dynasty. However, it is not restorationist as it is not driven by the vision of returning to past perfection.

b) The White Lotus Movement

White Lotus is a religious movement that emerged in the context of Pure Land Buddhism and was influenced by several folk religious movements, among them Taoist and Manichaean groups and Maitreyan Buddhism (Overmyer, 1976: 73-89). The history of the White Lotus can be traced back to the middle Sung dynasty in the 12th century (ibid, 90), a period of rapid urban growth. Towards the end of the Yuan dynasty, 1280-1368, in 1351, it turned under Han Shan Tong into a violent rebellion (ibid, 98) that combined peasant-based nationalism with a hope for an imminent return of the Maitreya Buddha (彌勒佛轉生) who would return as a Chinese savior in a time of social, physical, or economic catastrophe (Rinehart, 1997:70).

The belief in the Maitreyan savior Buddha can be traced back to Indian Mahayana Buddhism. Maitreya is the Buddha of the future who waits in heaven until his time comes (Overmyer, 81). The belief in a messianic savior became part of a salvation-historical vision that distinguished three successive stages, the past, controlled by the Lamplighter Buddha, the present, dominated by Sakyamuni, and the future, to be ushered in by Maitreya (ibid, 83). Such belief had the potential to turn militant when a specific historical period was identified with the decline of the period of Sakyamuni, as happening in Maitreyan uprisings in the Sung dynasty, 1037, and in the Yuan dynasty, 1337 (ibid., 83f.). It is on this background that the White Lotus leader Han Shan Tong could proclaim: "The empire is in great disorder, Maitreya Buddha has descended to be reborn and the King of light has appeared in the world" (quoted from Overmyer, 100).

The movement inspired several millenarian secret societies and remained alive for several centuries during the Ming and the Qing dynasty. It built a counter-cultural underground history that eventually led to the White Lotus Rebellion at the end of the 18th century and to later offshoots like the sect of the Eight Trigrams in North China, 1813, the Nien, the Great Knife, or the Boxer, 1898-1901 (Rinehart, 1997: 70).

The Lotus tradition, as also other sectarian religious movements, necessarily assumed a countercultural role by challenging the ultimately religious claim of the state. In traditional China, the emperor is meant to represent the traditional cosmic order and to rule by a

mandate of heaven. This religious status of the state can be observed up to the present when the state persecutes dissent with religious fervor. White Lotus developed a countercultural perspective in an eschatological hope for a savior who would introduce a radically new era. They built a separate community with their own distinctive practices like a radical vegetarianism. We can identify several further elements of pessimist millenarianism in the history and eschatological belief of White Lotus:

- White Lotus emphasized, as part of its heritage of Pure Land Buddhism, collective salvation
- In its militant forms, it understood the present as a crucial period in history, as a moment of decline and the dawn of a radically new time period.
- The imminent new era was expected to be radically different from the present era, including a change of the order of time, with the year expected to have eighteen months and the day 18 hours instead of the present twelve (from a government report in 1813, quoted from Overmyer, 104).
- Although several figures of the movement took on a charismatic leadership position, real salvation was expected to come from Maitreya.
- The salvation-historical understanding of different time periods – one may think of 'dispensations' – makes White Lotus' millenarianism not restorationist, but progressive teleological.

c) The Yellow Turbans, the Heavenly Master and late Han Daoist Messianism (around A.D. 200)

The Heavenly Master sect (or Celestial Master, 天师道), also known under the name 'Five Pecks of Rice sect' and emerging in Western China, around Sichuan, and the Yellow Turbans, also known as Taiping Dao (太平道) and emerging in Eastern China, were Daoist movements that appeared towards the end of the Han dynasty, at the end of the second century A.D. They expected a period of peace to be brought by a supernatural messianic ruler.

The first rebellion of the Yellow Turbans in 184 was still within the framework of political power struggles and the hope for a shift of the mandate of heaven to the leader of the Yellow Turbans, Zhang Jiao,

张角. He expected the Yellow Heaven to be installed and the Blue Heaven, meaning the Han, to be abolished. The color yellow referred to the idea of a restoration of the mythic rule of the primordial perfect Yellow Emperor (Seidel, 1969: 220f). Zhang Jiao is also described as Great Sage and Good Master, thus claiming the authority of religious chief and saintly teacher (ibid., 221). The hope for a perfect ruler fused with the image of the Sage.

Similarly, the Celestial Master movement in Western China venerated a deified Laozi as Tai Shang Lao Jun, 太上老君. They believed that this senior deity had anointed their leader, Zhang Dao Ling, 张道陵, and his successors.[4] Laozi transmitted special spiritual powers to Zhang Dao Ling that freed him from sickness and allowed him to save people from demonic possession. The movement was not deeply critical against the established political power and later leaders, descendants of Zhang Dao Ling, even assumed political authority bestowed by the central government (ibid., 227). Receiving official protection and seen as non-rebellious, the Celestial Master movement broadened its influence and turned into the Taoist church.

However, the Celestial Master movement seemed not to have been a very unified movement, for Seidel distinguishes a further and parallel Daoist movement, equally centered around Sichuan, that stood in partial contrast to the Celestial Master (and also the Yellow Turbans in the East). This movement of Taoist messianism can be identified through a religious text called 'The Sutra of the Transformations of Lao-Tzu' (老子变化经). The text gives strong evidence of the deification of Laozi. What makes the text so significant is that this deified Laozi now appears in a precise historical context (ibid., 224f). The political rule appears to be about to change and Laozi himself is expected to take over. This movement claimed its leader to be a kind of *Lao-tzu redivivus* (ibid., 228). While the Yellow Turbans fought for a new dynasty under the authority of a perfect emperor and the Celestial Master for a sage ruler anointed by Laozi, this latter movement "appealed directly to the master of all good emperors; discarding imperial rule they wanted to be ruled by the deified Sage come down to earth." (Seidel, 229f)

[4] For further information, in Chinese, on the Celestial Master movement see Guo Shusen (1990) *Tian shi dao天師道 [Celestial Master Sect]* Shanghai she hui ke xue yuan chu ban she : Xin hua shu dian Shanghai fa xing suo fa xing.

The three movements, Celestial Master (Tianshi Dao), the movement behind the *Transformation Sutra* and the Yellow Turbans (Taiping Dao) are millenarian, but more importantly messianic (ibid., 216). Their first question is not about the new age that is imminent, but the question of the legitimate ruler. The Sutra of the Transformation shows a more countercultural vision than the other two movements. Laozi is expected to rule according to the Daoist teaching of non-intervention (无为) – a truly alternative political vision.

5. Conclusion

We have seen how pessimist millenarianism emerged as a faith standing in opposition to mainstream culture. We have exemplified this on one 20th century movement, the BJM, and one more recent theological-historical vision, the book and movie *China's Confession*. We have seen through historical examples how countercultural movements repeatedly emerged in Chinese sectarian movements that prepared the ground for the reception of a pessimist millenarian faith in China. Obviously, millenarianism, millenarian revolutions and millenarian expectations can be found in many traditional cultures and contexts, not only in China. However, the historic experiences of people in China made them particularly receptive to millenarianism. We have seen a recurring pattern of a hope in an inner-worldly radical change that would end the historical decline. This pattern reflects a widely held belief that history is indeed in a continuous decline and that the ancient time was the best. This view is typically reflected in the Confucian sayings人心不古 – 'the heart of man is not like in old times' – or世风日下 – the world is going downwards day by day, history is a history of decay. This pessimism is nurtured by a past century of continuous turmoil and uncertainty. Decades of civil war, the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution and the unsettling experiences of economic liberalization all contributed to an overall feeling of deep alienation. Despite the tremendous economic growth of the past 30 years, the past century brought a whole string of several paradigm shifts to the people in China: 100 years ago from a centuries-old imperial system to a republican system; 60 years ago from a long and devastating war to the strict government of the Communist Party; then, 40 years ago, a decade of political and social turmoil during the Cultural Revolution, an attempt to eradicate all traditional values by

condemning them as feudal; and finally, the introduction of economic liberalization in the past 30 years. This last shift is arguably the most thorough of all and has probably had the deepest impact on people's livelihoods and experiences and it stands in starkest contrast to all the previously cherished values.

Today, people still experience living in a highly unstable economic and political environment. They feel that the wider economic and political context is out of their control – subject to decision-making powers in a far-away center or of economically powerful people out of common people's reach. These feelings equally apply to people in China, who regard their government as a remote power center without connection to their actual needs, as to people in Hong Kong during the colonial time and also since its return under Chinese sovereignty. Loss of control, a feeling of heteronomy, being like a pawn in the hands of the powerful, a dependence of one's livelihood on some aloof economic and political powers and a simultaneous experience of social injustice are deeply disempowering experiences. They foster a pessimism that makes people receptive to millenarian movements that can make sense of these experiences. Millenarianism turns the order of disempowerment upside down and turns the alienated individual apparently into a subject of history that stands at the forefront of social change. The lack of a proper civil society that allows a discourse independent from the government's total claim to the loyalty of its subjects and the aloofness of the dominant powers make countercultural religiosity a necessary alternative to the religious claim of the state.

Despite an obvious understanding for the spiritual and psychological role of such pessimist millenarian and countercultural belief, four points of criticism shall conclude this reflection:

- Salvation history is continuously tricky. It has the tendency to suppress whatever does not fit into its salvation-historical scheme, as e.g. seen in the construction of a historical vision by BJM that completely ignores the early Christian development towards the East.
- Millenarianism is not only tricky, but can easily be misused, particularly if linked to a leader with messianic aspirations, as easily happens. The history of China (and elsewhere) shows ample evidence of such abuse. Emperors or would-be emperors repeatedly appealed to the millenarian hopes of the people and presented themselves as messianic savior, as most recently shown in the messianism surrounding Mao Zedong.

When a secular leader assumes a messianic role, his political power is reinforced by his religious charisma and his supernatural quality. The strength of Yuan Zhiming's historical view is exactly his sensitivity for the tragic human claim of salvific power.

- The radicalism of Pentecostals' countercultural faith expression is a meaningful expression of Christians' human condition, but it misses the point – it is not really addressing the root causes of the deep alienation that people experience, but only the feeling of alienation. We may use the comparison that Hollenweger recounts from a discussion with a group of political activists in Chile: Such faith is like Moses who leads out of oppression and misery on the basis of a hope for a promised land. However, what is needed after Moses is Joshua who effectively leads into the Promised Land (Hollenweger, Pentecostals, 466f.).
- Pentecostalism as countercultural movement is deeply inconsistent with the forces and conditions that actually created it, when it turns into a conservative force supporting the government, as e.g. in the Love Singapore Campaign, or similar movements in HK backing the government in its policies of simply executing the will of the central government of Beijing and the business establishment. When forsaking the link to the alienating conditions that were at the ground of this counter-cultural and counter-political hope, it turns into mainstream culture without any added value.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, Allan (2004) *An Introduction to Pentecostalism. Global Charismatic Christianity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Anderson, Allan (2009) "Pentecostalism in India and China in the Early Twentieth Century and Inter-Religious Relations." in: David Westerlund ed. *Global Pentecostalism. Encounters with Other Religious Traditions*, New York: Tauris, 117-136.

Anderson, Allan, and Edmond Tang, eds. (2005) *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia.* Oxford: Regnum Books International.

Bays Daniel H. (1996) "The Growth of Independent Christianity in China, 1900-1937." in Daniel H. Bays ed. *Christianity in China. From the eighteenth century to the present*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 307-316.

Brandner, Tobias (2009) "Mission, Millennium, and Politics: A Continuation of the History of Salvation—from the East." *Missiology: An International Review* 47 #3, (July 2009): 317-332.

Cohn, Norman (2004) *The Pursuit of the Millennium. Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*. Revised and Expanded ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press (originally published 1957, revised 1961, 1970).

Collani, Claudia von. (1996) „Figurismus – Anfang und Ende einer kontextuellen Theologie in China", in: Roman Malek (ed.), *„Fallbeispiel" China. Ökumenische Beiträge zu Religion, Theologie und Kirche im chinesischen Kontext*, China-Zentrum Sankt Augustin / Steyler Verlag Nettetal, 89-127.

Dayton, Donald W. (1987) *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*. With a Foreword by Martin E Marty. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press.

Deng Zhaoming (2005) "Indigenous Chinese Pentecostal Denominations", in: Anderson, Allan, and Edmond Tang, eds. *Asian and Pentecostal*, 437-466.

Hollenweger, Walter J. (1972) *The Pentecostals*, London: SCM Press.

Hollenweger, Walter J. (1997) *Pentecostalism. Origins and Developments Worldwide*, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers.

Jenkins, Philip (2007) *The Next Christendom. The Coming of Global Christianity*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Marsden, George (1990) "Defining American Fundamentalism", in: Norman J. Cohen (ed.) *The Fundamentalist Phenomenon. A View from Within; a Response from Without*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 22-37.

Marsden, George (2006) *Fundamentalism and American Culture. The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism. 1870-1925*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Moffett, Samuel Hugh (1998) *A History of Christianity in China. Volume I: Beginnings to 1500*, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

Mott, John Raleigh (1900) *The Evangelization of the World in this Generation.* New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions.

Oblau, Gotthard (2005) "Pentecostal by Default? Contemporary Christianity in China", in: Anderson, Allan, and Edmond Tang, eds. *Asian and Pentecostal*, 411-436.

Overmyer, Daniel L. (1976) *Folk Buddhist Religion. Dissenting Sects in Late Traditional China*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Rinehart, James F. (1997) *Revolution and the Millennium. China, Mexico, and Iran*, Westport, CN: Praeger.

Robbins, Thomas and Susan J. Palmer, eds. (1997) *Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhem. Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements*. New York: Routledge.

Robeck, Cecil M. Jr. (2006) *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival: The Birth of the Global Pentecostal Movement*. Nashville: Thomas Nelson.

Sandeen, Ernest R. (1970) *The Roots of Fundamentalism. British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Schlatter, Wilhelm (1916) *Geschichte der Basler Mission 1815-1915. II. Band: Die Geschichte der Basler Mission in Indien und China,* Basler Missionsbuchhandlung

Seidel, Anna K. (1969) "The Image of the Perfect Ruler in Early Taoist Messianism: Lao Tzu and Li Hung." *History of Religion* 9 (Nov 1969 – Feb 1970): 216-247.

Spence, Jonathan D. (1996) *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan.* New York: Norton Paperback.

Spence, Jonathan D. (1998) *The Taiping Vision of a Christian China 1836-1864.* 1984 ed. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press.

Tang Edmond (2005), "'Yellers' and Healers: Pentecostalism and the Study of Grassroots Christianity in China", in: Anderson, Allan, and Edmond Tang, eds. *Asian and Pentecostal*. 467-486.

Rudolf G. Wagner (1982), *Reenacting the Heavenly Vision: The Role of Religion in the Taiping Rebellion.* Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies.

Wessinger, Catherine (1997), "Millennialism with and without the Mayhem", in: Thomas Robbins and Susan J. Palmer, eds. *Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhem. Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements*. 47-59.

Winter, Ralph D. (1999) "Four Men, Three Eras, Two Transitions: Modern Missions", in: Winter, Ralph D. and Steven C. Hawthorne (ed.): *Perspectives of the World Christian Movement*. A Reader. 3rd Ed. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library. 253-261.

遠志明著：《神州懺悔錄：上帝與五千年中國》(Petaluma, CA: 神州出版公司, 1999)

[*AJPS* 14:1 (2011), pp. 27-55]

THE PENTECOSTAL HOLINESS CHURCH'S MISSION IN THE ANTI-CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT IN CHINA (1920-30)[1]

Connie Ho Yan Au

Introduction

The Classical Pentecostal Movement in the early twentieth century spread out as a missionary movement motivated by urgency to the preach the gospel before the imminent second coming of Jesus, which was expected to take place during the missionaries' lifetime. Empowered by the Baptism in the Spirit and equipped with tongues, Pentecostals single-mindedly set out to the mission field to which they felt called to go, and China was one of the countries where Pentecostals were burdened for the lost souls. However, when the movement was thriving, the doctrines of four-fold or five-fold gospel were confirmed, denominations were established, and they had collected funding to go to China, the country was overwhelmed by political and social chaos between 1920 and1930. It was a common situation that when they had just started the work, their properties were destroyed, converts scattered around and their lives were threatened. Compared to Protestant and Catholic missions that had developed their work since the 1840s' when imperialism invaded China or earlier, Pentecostal missions were more vulnerable when facing the same political turmoil, and the Pentecostal Holiness Church's mission was one of the examples. This article is to illustrate the PHC's mission work in China under the leadership of

[1] This article is written based on the original materials collected from the archives of the International Pentecostal Holiness Church's headquarters in Oklahoma City. It is part of the research project on Pentecostal history in Hong Kong sponsored by the Synergy Institute of Leadership, an affiliated Assemblies of God Bible college in Hong Kong. The author would like to extend her gratitude to the archivists, Dr. Harold Hunter and Miss Erica Rutland and her college.

William H. Turner from 1924 to 1928, the years when the Anti-Christian Movement became radical and violent under the strong influence of communism from Russia. It is impossible to report what happened to thousands of missionaries in that period, but this story of the PHC and Turner can more or less reflect their experience of being regarded as a common enemy of the whole nation, simply because they risked their lives to preach the gospel of the Prince of peace.

History of the Pentecostal Holiness Church's Pakhoi-Yamchow Mission

In the early stage of the PHC's mission to China, missionaries were sent to Hong Kong, a British colony at that time, but it always aimed at expanding its mission to the mainland China. In 1909, Anna M. Deane, converted in the Fired Baptized Church, went to Hong Kong as an independent missionary. When her church incorporated with the PHC, she became its official missionary.[2] She set up a mission in Shaukiwan, a fishing port at that time, to preach the gospel to the poor fishing families. One of the ways she approached the people was to open schools for boys and girls and an English evening class for those who had to work during the day.[3] Two years later, her niece, Anna Dean Cole, joined her education work. Then in 1914, another female missionary came to the field, and she was Jane A. Schermerhorne. She further developed the education work and opened Sunday school both in Chinese and in English. She was responsible for the administration of the mission in 1918 when Deane was on furlough.[4] After almost a year, W. H. Turner and T. H. Rousseau came to the field with their families. Mary Wilkes Andreas, Pearl Loftin, Julia Paynes and Laura Hylton also joined the mission since 1920.[5]

---

[2] Violet Miller, "History of the Pentecostal Holiness Church in Other Lands", *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocates (PHA)*, 10/44 (10 March 1927), p. 7.

[3] Jane Schermerhorn, "A Few Words Concerning the Pentecostal Holiness Church Mission School in Hong Kong", *PHA*, 12/2 (10 May 1928), p. 9.

[4] Violet Mille, "History of the Pentecostal Holiness Church in Other Lands", pp. 7, 10.

[5] Violet Mille, "History of the Pentecostal Holiness Church in Other Lands", p. 10;

P. F. Beacham, "China", *PHA*, 12/5 (31 May 1928), p. 7.

Among these PHC missionaries, Turner had always had a strong zeal for opening a mission station in the interior of China. He envisioned establishing a local church of thousands of people and hundreds of preachers, with a publishing house to produce teaching materials for its Sunday School, literatures for spreading the PHC's faith and a periodical as an "official organ" in China, functioning as the *Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* did in America.[6] He hoped that Chinese would take the pastoral and financial responsibility completely in the future, as they were the most suitable preachers to bring the gospel to their own people who share the same language, custom and culture. Hence, it was his vision to open a Bible school to equip the locals to be preachers.[7] Establishing a mission station in mainland China was also the General Board's instruction to Turner; therefore, soon after he and his family arrived in Hong Kong, they learnt the Chinese language and went for several mission trips to Guangdong province.[8] In January 1923, the General Board appointed him as the Superintendent of China mission and instructed him to organize a missionary conference "without delay".[9] In May of the same year, he visited various places in Southern China via Pakhoi (Bei Hai),[10] which was about 400 miles Southwest of Hong Kong and was a British Treaty port, according to the *Chefoo Convention* signed in 1877.[11] When he was looking for

---

[6] Letter from William H. Turner, Hong Kong, to T. A. Melton, Royston, GA, 13 February 1923.

[7] Letter from William H. Turner, Hong Kong, to A. L. Jackson, Tallapoosa, GA, 14 February 1923.

[8] William H. Turner, *Pioneering in China* (Franklin Springs, GA: The Publishing House of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, 1928), pp. 155-6.

He went to Fatshan (Foshan), Sainam (Xinan), Kongmoon (Kangmen), Saam Chi, Lopau, Tsingyeun (Qingyuan) and other towns in Guangdong. (Members of the Yamchow Mission, "In Memory of the Departure of Pastor Turner on Furlough", 1928.)

[9] Letter from G. F. Taylor, Royston, GA, to William. H. Turner, Hong Kong, 6 January 1923.

[10] "Bei Hai" is the contemporary official romanization of "Pakhoi" in mandarin. In this article, the author puts the bracketed names next to Turner's romanization as far as she knows.

[11] Letter from William H. Turner, Hong Kong, to all who are interested in Missions, 10 August 1923;

lodging in Pakhoi, he was told by the locals about the compound of the China New Testament Mission (CNTM). Joseph Smale of Los Angeles had founded it in 1907, but it had closed down because of the ill health of his co-worker, Mrs. Crofts, and the conflict between the Mission and his church in Los Angeles, which eventually stopped the financial support. The CNTM developed missions in the towns around the Tong King Gulf including Liemchow (Lianzhou) and Nomhong. It owned property in Yamchow (Qinzhou), which was "a district capital" and west of Pakhoi about 70 miles, but there was no other mission organization except Smale's at that time.[12] He had considered transferring the Mission to a Christian society, but after hearing criticism against it, Smale felt unable to trust the "men unfaithful to God's word and the spiritual warfare of soul".[13] He also thought about entrusting the Mission to the Christian Missionary Alliance, but they had already committed their work in Guangxi Province.[14] As a result, the properties were released for public sale. As far as Smale was concerned, "the conservation and strengthening of the cause of Christ" and "the adequate spiritual care of the Mission" were much more important than the selling price. When Turner showed interest in purchasing the property, Smale rejoiced over this proposal since his many tearful prayers for a proper buyer were answered, considering the "purity" of PHC's worship and the "evangelical character" of its doctrine.[15] He therefore requested the PHC to offer a price that they could afford to pay for this "God's building".[16] The compound was solidly built with "a seven foot brick wall" which shielded a boys' school, girls' school, a bungalow for the workers, a church for 300, a

---

William H. Turner, "Our Pakhoi-Yamchow Work", *PHA*, 10/2 (13 May 1926), p. 8.

[12] William H. Turner, *Pioneering in China*, p. 161;

William H. Turner, "Our Pakhoi-Yamchow Work", *PHA*, 10/2 (13 May 1926), p. 9.

[13] Letter from Joseph Smale, Los Angeles, to William H. Turner, Hong Kong, 18 June 1923.

[14] William H. Turner, *Pioneering in China*, pp. 161-162, 164.

[15] Letter from Joseph Smale, Los Angeles, to William H. Turner, Hong Kong, 18 June 1923.

[16] William H. Turner, *Pioneering in China*, p. 161.

garden and a burial ground.[17] Turner found this compound most suitable for the future work of the interior mission because, first, the facilities available allowed Turner to meet his goals of preaching the gospel and training local pastors.[18] Second, since Pakhoi is in the centre of the region around the Tong King Gulf, it is easily accessible to other places and could be a base of the mission work. Last but not least, compared to cities like Guangzhou, Pakhoi had been mostly untouched by foreign missions. Some Anglican missionaries had built a hospital and a centre for lepers, and some German Lutheran missionaries had been there for 24 years and there were about 1000 Christians recorded among the population of about three million.[19] Turner was burdened by these lost souls and this dark land. He believed that this compound had been prepared by God before he arrived in Pakhoi and it was God's answer to his prayers about establishing a mission centre in mainland China.[20] Turner eagerly desired for the approval of the General Board for buying the property, especially when he heard that some Catholics also showed a lot of interest.[21] Eventually, Smale agreed with the selling price, US$5,000, which was to be paid in five years (1924-28) and the Board approved Turner's proposal.[22] That

---

[17] The measure of the compound was "596 feet on the south side, 600 on the west side, 713 on the north side and 477 on the east side". The burial ground was about 100 feet square.

William H. Turner, *Interesting Facts and Figures of Missions in China* (Franklin Springs, GA: The Publishing House of the Pentecostal Holiness Church), p. 11.

[18] Letter from William H. Turner, Hong Kong, to A. L. Jacson, Tallapoosa, GA, 14 February 1923.

[19] Letter from William H. Turner, Hong Kong, to Dan W. Evans, OK, 23 August 1923;

Julia Payne, "China's Women" *PHA*, 10/2 (13 May 1926), p. 13;

Letter from Miss Wendt, German Mission, Liemchow, to William H. Turner, Hong Kong, 14 November 1923.

[20] William H. Turner, *Pioneering in China*, p. 161.

[21] Letter from William H. Turner, Hong Kong, to L. R. Graham, Memphis, TN, 9 August 1923.

[22] Letter from William H. Turner, Hong Kong, to Ralph Taylor, Anderson, SC, 9 August 1923.

was partly paid by a member of the PHC, Bro. Jackson, who generously donated US$1,000 in 1923.[23] In January 1924, Turner was elected as the Superintendent of the mission on the Tong King Gulf and Julia Payne was ordered to be involved in the work with his family.[24] On 2 March in 1924, Turner, his wife, his three boys, Payne and two Chinese workers left Hong Kong and arrived in Pakhoi via Guang Zhou Wan, which was a French colony at that time.[25] Shortly after their arrival, Turner conducted a funeral service for a baby who was brought to them by a minister's wife. Payne and Mrs. Turner bathed and dressed the baby and put it in a coffin that they made with a grocery box and cotton. The mother was comforted and their sincere work for this diseased little person who they had never known made an impact in the people's hearts at the beginning of their mission.[26]

The PHC succeeded the CNTM's former work in Pakhoi, Yamchow and other towns. The mission was joined by Laura Hylton in January 1925, after she had been a missionary in Hong Kong.[27] In Pakhoi, they had about 22 services every week in 1924.[28] They were mainly held in a chapel, which they rented on Sing Ping Street in the western part of the city for the non-Christians. These services were all so packed with people that some had to stand on the street.[29] They also

---

[23] Letter from G. F. Taylor, Royston, GA, to William H. Turner, Hong Kong, 19 March 1923.

[24] Letter from G. F. Taylor, Royston, GA, to William H. Turner and Henry Rousseau, Hong Kong, 12 January 1924;

Letter from G. F. Taylor, Royston, GA, to William H. Turner, Hong Kong, 23 January 1924.

[25] William H. Turner, *Pioneering in China*, p. 172.

[26] Julia Payne, "China's Women", *PHA*, 10/2 (13 May 1926), p. 13.

[27] Letter from G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, to William H. Turner, Pakhoi, 10 January 1925.

[28] Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 3 December 1924.

[29] Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 4 July 1924;

Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 12 November 1924;

had Sunday services in the compound, and these were primarily for Christians who were thoroughly converted and did not worship idols. Some of them were baptized at the CNTM and had been praying for a missionary to pastor them after the closure of the Mission. [30] One of them was Ah Shang, who had been a cook and caretaker of the compound for the CNTM for ten years. However, since he suffered from tuberculosis, Turner assigned him a job as a keeper of the new chapel in Pakhoi. He was described as a "hot-hearted" Christian who not only faithfully took care of the mission's buildings but also people's spiritual lives. He was also in line with PHC's teaching.[31] Hoh Tsok Seung was a "fully consecrated" preacher and a schoolteacher, but he had not received the Spirit baptism by 1924.[32] Moreover, there were services for women in the middle of the day when they were most free, after finishing the duty of buying fresh vegetables and meat in the market and preparing lunch in the morning, and before going to the market again for dinner in the afternoon. It was not a custom for women to go out at night.[33] As a woman herself, Payne had a special calling to approach the women there, especially because in traditional patriarchal Chinese society, women were severely oppressed. It was justified that female babies could be murdered or thrown away. To reach out to women, one of the ways was through their children at the schools where she taught English twice a week, as she explained that "for the way to a mother's heart is by her children" and she could pay the visits occasionally. [34] Like most of the Protestant and Catholic missions, they also used education as a means to preach the gospel. They ran a boys' school of 100 and a girls' school of 30, where they

---

Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 20 November 1924;

Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 11 May 1925.

[30] William H. Turner, "Our Pakhoi-Yamchow Work", *PHA*, 10/2 (13 May 1926), p. 9.

[31] Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 4 July 1924.

[32] Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 4 July 1924.

[33] Julia Payne, "China's Women", *PHA*, 10/2 (13 May 1926), p. 12.

[34] Julia Payne, "China's Women", *PHA*, 10/2 (13 May 1926), p. 12.

had students whose parents held significant political positions in the region, such as Laam Tsan T'eng (Lin Zhen Tang), who was the top military official and controlled the west side of Guangdong at that time, and Mr P'ang (Peng) who worked in the Deputy of Foreign Affairs. They also had students from families of wealthy businessmen or humble workmen.[35] To minister to the congregation in Yamchow,[36] Turner and his workers had to travel on a junk from one to five days, depending on the wind, from Pakhoi.[37] They had to bear discomfort from filthiness, bad weather and the tiny space in the junk boat. Since they wanted to seize the time to be there for two weeks, they designed a packed schedule consisting of services, Bible class, and prayer meeting from day until night during the week. The meeting house was full "from the pulpit to the door and into the street" and most of the time people came with "the very best and most intelligent interest".[38] When Turner was not in Yamchow, the church was looked after by a Chinese pastor, Tang Ching Fung (Deng Qing Fang), who was a "qualified worker," as he was believed to have the experience of sanctification and was seeking Spirit Baptism at that time. He was also "earnest in work".[39] In addition, the mission also had a primary school for girls there.[40] Apart from these indoor works, Turner and his team also

---

[35] Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 20 November 1924;

William H. Turner, "Our Pakhoi-Yamchow Work", *PHA*, 10/2 (13 May 1926), p. 9.

[36] According to Turner, the population in the Yamchow and Fong Shing areas was 385,000. There were 33 market towns, 20 townships and over 500 villages. (Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 20 November 1924)

[37] William H. Turner, "Our Pakhoi-Yamchow Work", *PHA*, 10/2 (13 May 1926), p. 9.

[38] Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 4 July 1924;

Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 1 May 1925.

[39] William H. Turner, "Our Pakhoi-Yamchow Work", *PHA*, 10/2 (13 May 1926), p. 10.

[40] Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 6 August 1924.

itinerated between villages and reached out to people in public places such as streets, temples, bazaars, markets, teahouses and even under a big tree. They travelled by boats where they made friends with sailors and passengers, then introduced Christianity to them, but this is also where they risked their lives under pirate attacks. In the evening, they lodged at inns where both ordinary travelers and violent bandits rested.[41]

Before June 1925, since the radical anti-Christian movement had not yet happened, Turner had a good relationship with the Chinese officials and they offered protection by sending out soldiers when his team went to dangerous places.[42] People also showed a growing interest in their teachings and walked for miles from their villages to attend services. Some came to the compound at 10-11 p.m. to seek more understanding about the Christian faith.[43] Those who lived far away from the mission station and street chapels fervently desired for a church in their areas, such as Sai Cheung (Xichang), Ng Lei, Nomhong, Tung Hing (Tungxing), Ling Shan (Lingshan) and On Po (Onpu). Because of the shortage of funds from the headquarters, Turner had to sadly decline the invitations and even close down the mission in Liemchow.[44] In addition, the improvement of road connections between towns and cities enabled Turner to do more itinerating work and reach out to small villages.[45] Because of these encouraging signs, Turner saw that there was plenty of opportunities for the mission, and

---

[41] Letter from William H. Turner, Hong Kong, to Nina C. Holmes, Greenville, SC, 19 March 1927.

[42] William H. Turner, "Our Pakhoi-Yamchow Work", *PHA*, 10/2 (13 May 1926), p. 10.

[43] William H. Turner, "Our Pakhoi-Yamchow Work", *PHA*, 10/2 (13 May 1926), p. 9;

William H. Turner, *Pioneering in China*, p. 205.

[44] Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 20 November 1924;

Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 26 March 1925;

Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 1 May 1925.

[45] Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 20 November 1924.

therefore, he constantly requested the General Board to send more missionaries to share the workload and to increase funding for renting, buying and maintaining properties and employing local pastors, Bible women and teachers for the schools.[46]

Because he was a Pentecostal Holiness missionary, the five-fold gospel was the message that he preached in Hong Kong and Southern China.[47] He proclaimed the redemption of sinners and emphasized Spirit baptism and speaking in tongues, which for him made the PHC a Pentecostal church.[48] Moreover, he also declared that Jesus was the healer and refused to use medicine "of any nature," no matter how easily he could contract serious diseases in filthy and unhygienic environments in China.[49] The seed of this teaching seemed to have grown in the people's hearts, as one of the members, Mr. So Ying Kuk, told other people that the PHC preached about the God who healed the body and soul, which was good news for those who could not afford medicine.[50] Compared to other Protestant and Pentecostal missions, Turner's teaching was distinct in sanctification as the second blessing after conversion and the preparatory experience of Spirit baptism. These three steps formed the "old time gospel", as he put it. These were non-negotiable criteria for membership as well as authentic transformations in a person's life. There were cases where Turner

[46] Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 26 March 1925;

Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 2 April 1925;

Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 1 May 1925.

[47] The five-fold gospel states the five roles of Jesus, that He is the Saviour, sanctifier, baptiser of the Holy Spirit, healer, and the soon-coming King. The "Finished-work" Pentecostals such as the Assemblies of God leave out the "sanctifier" point and only talk about the four-fold gospel.

[48] William H. Turner, "Seven Years in China", *PHA*, 10/30 (25 November 1926), p. 14.

[49] Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 3 December 1924.

[50] Julia Payne, "Christmas in China", *PHA*, 9/42 (25 February 1926), p. 6.

rejected applications even though it resulted in a small membership.[51] By the end of December, Turner reported the first conversion and baptism since the mission started. The convert was an elderly Mr. Hui, who had attended services unceasingly.[52] In order to intensify the teachings on sanctification, Spirit baptism and divine healing, Turner launched a Bible Conference for ten days, a special Chinese New Year meeting for four days and a prayer meeting for a week in the beginning of 1925. As a result, almost all his local workers experienced either sanctification or Spirit baptism.[53] To maintain themselves in the revival, they fasted and prayed every Saturday for the work of the Spirit in their mission and the mother church in America.[54] Turner was critical of the conduct of other missionaries such as smoking, drinking, selling opium, gambling and running gambling dins. He believed that God sent the PHC to Pakhoi to preach "a clean pure gospel" and the Pentecost.[55]

Since he insisted on sanctification as the criterion for Spirit baptism, he strongly opposed the "finished work" movement (by which he meant the Assemblies of God). He regarded it as the "plague" of the Pentecostal movement, the "most deadly enemy" of the PHC to battle against and he named their preachers "the soft tongue representatives" of "the delusion of the devil".[56] In fact, the PHC came to China much

---

[51] Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 4 July 1924;

Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 12 November 1924;

Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 20 November 1924.

[52] Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 3 December 1924.

[53] Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 2 April 1925;

Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 1 May 1925.

[54] Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 1 May 1925.

[55] Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 1 May 1925

[56] William H. Turner, "Seven Years in China", *PHA*, 10/30 (25 November 1926), pp. 14-15.

later than the Assemblies of God from Springfield, Finland and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, and the local AG members had already formed a council without missionaries' supervision and financial support. They also published a periodical, the *Assemblies of God Monthly*, in Hengjiang in Guangdong Province in 1926, to connect local AG believers in the Southern areas by reporting news of different churches, teaching about the Pentecostal truths and sharing testimonies.[57] However, when Turner discovered that one of his workers had gotten 25 other members to subscribe to the periodical, he ordered them to cancel the subscription and get the refund. Since the PHC was the only church that taught about sanctification, as far as he was concerned, there were not any other Pentecostals on the Tong King Gulf at that time.[58]

The Anti-Christian Movement in the 1920s

Ancient China, which was guided by Confucianism in its political, educational, familial, social and religious systems, had found sufficiency in its tradition and developed a sense of superiority over other countries and tribes. Both the country and the culture formed a closed system for five thousand years, until the outbreak of the opium war, which nakedly displayed to the West that this empire, claiming to be the centre of the world, could be easily defeated by bullets and a few canons. Its military technology remained in the pre-modern era when soldiers used bows and arrows to fight. The Qing Empire was forced to sign the *Treaty of Nanking* with the British Empire in 1842, which demanded the opening of five major ports, Guangdong, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo and Shanghai, the concession of Hong Kong Island and an indemnity of millions of dollars, without negotiation. Other western countries, including France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Austrian-Hungary, the United States, and Japan followed suit, defeating China with modern weapons, drafting unequal treaties to acquire trading, economical, political and military privileges. These treaties laid a heavy burden on the people since the government had to increase tax to pay the massive indemnities. As the Han Chinese had been under the

[57] *Assemblies of God Monthly*, 1/1 (1 April 1926), pp. 5-6. (translated by the author from Chinese into English)

[58] Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to G. F. Taylor, Franklin Springs, 4 July 1924.

oppression of the Manchurians for more than a century, and they witnessed corruption and powerlessness of this government when facing the Western power, they rose up to launch revolutions to rescue the country, and Sun Yat Sin was the prime revolutionist. After nine trials, the Manchurians power was successfully demolished in 1911; however, the country was in more devastating chaos as bandits and warlords attempted to develop their military, economic and political power when the Nationalist Government was still in its infant stage. In view of these problems, Sun regarded that the revolution had not successfully rescued the country, as there were deep-rooted problems in its social, ethical and political structures for centuries. Some intellectuals felt burdened to search for resolutions and launched campaigns to rebuke old practices and promote new thinking. In the New Culture Movement, Hu Shi, who had studied in Cornell University, introduced "Mr. Science" to counter superstition and promote rationality, and "Mr. Democracy" to promote a political system with the foundation of the general public. Others like Chen Du Siu and Li Da Chao believed that communism would lead the country to a better future with regard to the example of Russia. No matter which direction the intellectuals were guiding the general public, they were building these ideas based on nationalism and patriotism with a call for political and economic independency and autonomy as well as the restoration of the distinctiveness and wholeness of Chinese identity. Henceforth, they all emphasized anti-imperialism and insisted on the return of sovereignty in their own land. These requests were transformed into actions in the May Fourth Movement in 1919 such as boycotting British and Japanese products. The Nationalist Government also pleaded for the invalidity of all unequal treaties. However, those countries, except the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, refused to do so at the Washington Conference in 1921. It intensified the fervent anti-imperialist sentiment and caused a determined inclination to communism of the Nationalist Government, which was demonstrated in Sun Yat Sin's declaration, "'We no longer look to the Western power. Our faces are turned toward Russia.'"[59]

In any anti-imperialist paradigm, either communism or de-colonialism, Christianity is regarded as the twin of imperialism and hence, destroying imperialism directly implies destroying Christianity. Although China's colonial experience was not parallel to India, or most

[59] Jessie G. Lutz, "Chinese Nationalism and the Anti-Christian Campaigns of the 1920s", *Modern Asian Studies*, 10/3 (1976), pp. 399, 405.

of the African and Latin American countries, it suffered from the same ideological aggression generated from avarice and racial superiority and eventually materialised with military force. The Anti-Christian Movement that exploded in the entire China in the 1920s was revenge to decades of progressive political, economic, military, educational and religious invasion. This movement involved the government and ordinary citizens, intellectual and illiterates and soldiers and the unarmed in the whole country. In any case the Boxer Uprising in 1900 was incomparable because it happened mainly in the Northern part of China and the people involved were non-intellectuals who superstitiously practised *Chi Kung* to gain supernatural power. Moreover, the Movement in the 1920s was more complicated because of the permeation of Bolshevism from the country's northern neighbour, Russia, which had just been liberated from an imperialist monarchy in 1917. Due to the return of Russian concessions to China and relinquishment of indemnities, the Nationalist Government gradually developed a trusting relationship with the Moscow Bolshevist Government. The Bolshevists had been doing political propagandas across China and Outer Mongolia became part of the USSR through which the Russian transported weapons and military forces into Inner Mongolia. Among all the provinces, Guangdong was most influenced by the Bolshevists. Moscow had been assisting local Bolshevist affiliates to form a communist party and strengthened their military forces by sending millions of dollars and commanders. [60] General Galant M. Borodin was in charge of the civil and military administration in Guangdong. The naval and aviation departments and other military sections were controlled by Russians.[61] There was also a Soviet representative in the executive committee of the National Party.[62] On 6 November 1925, Chinese communists participated in the Russian Bolshevists' celebration of the eighth anniversary of the Soviet revolution.[63] On 1 December 1925, Turner reported that the Red army had entered Pakhoi.[64] Some Chinese Bolshevist affiliates, who were

[60] William H. Turner, "Bolshevism and South China: It Effect on Christian Mission", *PHA*, 9/44 (11 March 1926), p. 7.

[61] William H. Turner's Diary (24 August 1925).

[62] William H. Turner's Diary (16 July 1925).

[63] William H. Turner, "Bolshevism and South China: It Effect on Christian Mission", *PHA*, 9/44 (11 March 1926), p. 7.

[64] William H. Turner's Diary (1 December 1925).

supported by Russians ideologically and financially, were at the forefront of the Movement. Li Da Zhao was one of the founders of communism in China and edited the *New Youth* as a platform to exchange anti-Christian theories.

Anti-Christian intellectuals who were influenced by Western modernism put their faith in science. Their logic was that since science was believed to be the effective and reliable way to achieve modernisation of the country, religion is superfluous; and since religion and its phenomena could not be proved and interpreted by scientific methods and theories, it was only superstition. Christian teachings like God's creation and eternal life cannot be explained by biology.[65] Therefore, religion drove the country backward from modernisation and thus was the enemy of the prospected new China. The Young China Association aimed at promoting science as the method of social service and forbade people who were adherents of religions to apply for membership.[66] They held a series of lectures and published their own magazine, the *China Youth* (Shao Nien Chung Guo) under the title of "The Problem of Religion". Authors of article included a writer, scientist, Marxist, the Chancellor of the Beijing University (Mr. Cai Yun Pei), Bertrand Russell, and a student in France. Some of them were former students of mission schools or universities in China or Western countries, they were familiar with Christian teachings and practices and their anti-Christian arguments seemed to be more convincing for the general public. Tracts like "What is Jesus" written in 1919 and "A Record of Facts to Ward off Heterodoxy" illustrated the hypocrisy of Christianity based on rumours, exegeses of biblical texts and dogmas of original sins and salvation and were widely distributed.[67]

All the literal debates on paper or in lecture halls were immediately fanned up just by one incident, and that was the World's Student Christian Federation's decision of convening the 11th assembly on 4-9 April 1922 at the Qing Hua University in Beijing. On 11 March, as a protest against this decision, a group of students in Shanghai founded

---

[65] William H. Turner, "Some Facts about the Anti-Christian Movement in China Today", *PHA*, 9/50 (22 April 1926), p. 13.

[66] William H. Turner, "Some Facts about the Anti-Christian Movement in China Today", p. 7.

[67] Jessie G. Lutz, "Chinese Nationalism and the Anti-Christian Campaigns of the 1920s", pp. 398-9.

the "Anti-Christian Student Federation" and sent out a statement against the WSCF and Christianity by telegraph throughout the country. On 21 March, scholars widened the scale of the campaign by organising the "Great Federation of Anti-Religionists", and wrote a statement proclaiming, "Religion teaches men obedience, which is the moral code of slaves. Religion propagates superstitions' which hinder the search for truth".[68] During the conference, there were demonstrations in the campus of the Beijing University, and on 9 April, some prominent scholars including Cai Yun Pei, gave speeches against Christianity in major cities in the country.[69]

Restoration of Educational Rights

The anti-Christian movement at the intellectual level quickly quieted down by 1923, as there was not a clear direction and contributive proposal for the movement as a whole.[70] However, it was revived in the summer of 1924 and straightly entered the second phase, the "Restore Educational Rights Movement". Since the 19th century, missionaries from different Protestant denominations and the Catholic Church had founded 7,382 schools with 214,254 registrations.[71] The campaigners regarded Christian schools as a subtle form of cultural invasion which eroded the purity of Chinese culture and damaged the sustainability by requiring students to study foreign languages, the Bible and attend religious assemblies. In July 1924, there were several meetings of students' associations announcing the abolition of

---

[68] William H. Turner, "Some Facts about the Anti-Christian Movement in China Today", p. 7

Jessie G. Lutz, "Chinese Nationalism and the Anti-Christian Campaigns of the 1920s", p. 400.

[69] William H. Turner, "Some Facts about the Anti-Christian Movement in China Today", p. 12;

Jessie G. Lutz, "Chinese Nationalism and the Anti-Christian Campaigns of the 1920s", p. 401.

[70] William H. Turner, "Some Facts about the Anti-Christian Movement in China Today", p. 12.

[71] Jessie G. Lutz, "Chinese Nationalism and the Anti-Christian Campaigns of the 1920s", p. 404.

education right of Christian missions in Nanking, Shanghai and Kaifeng.[72] The Chinese National Youth League, proclaimed, "'We strongly opposed Christian education which destroys the national spirit of our people and carries on a cultural program to undermine Chinese civilization.'"[73] The National Student Union accused mission schools of "denationalizing Chinese youth and making them the 'running dogs' of the imperialist power" and therefore all the mission schools should be relinquished.[74] Being aware of the fact that education was the means to promote nationalism and conveying ideologies, the coalition government of the Nationalist and Communist Parties was determined to obtain education autonomy. The Cantonese government was controlled by Russians and local communists planned to take over all mission schools promptly and to confiscate their properties to train young people to be communists.[75] Although this movement was aimed at the restoration of educational autonomy of the Chinese government compelled by a nationalist sentiment, some local students and teachers used this as an excuse to launch riots against mission schools out of selfish wills or because they were expelled or punished by the school authority.[76]

---

[72] William H. Turner, "Some Facts about the Anti-Christian Movement in China Today", p. 13.

[73] Jessie G. Lutz, "Chinese Nationalism and the Anti-Christian Campaigns of the 1920s", p. 406.

[74] Jessie G. Lutz, "Chinese Nationalism and the Anti-Christian Campaigns of the 1920s", p. 407.

[75] William Turner's Diary (3 October 1925).

[76] The principal of an Anglican school, Ching Tak School, Miss Dunk, discovered that a female teacher who was in charge of a dormitory had close relationship with some of the male teachers and she was going to be dismissed. As revenge, she told her students that Miss Dunk tore down the Chinese flag and about 200 students were on strike and shouted "Abrogate the right of Mission Schools to teach. Down with Imperialism etc. Down with Miss Dunk. Down with Christianity". They demanded printed handbills which said, "For a long time we have been dissatisfied with our principal Miss Dunk, First because she is a depraved daughter of England and her educational qualification are hardly worth mentioning and besides her previous conduct of the school is out of line with all accepted usage because she even forces the students to become her servants. Second, she is [thoroughly] taken up with the advancement of the Church and is filled with its doctrines and refuses to allow the students freedom of thought for she forces them to memorise and recite the

Shanghai Shooting

The flame of anti-Christianity was uncontrollably fanned up by the Shanghai shooting on 30 May 1925, which lifted up the movement from the level of literatures and intellectual arguments to violence. The incident happened when the Chinese workers of a Japanese cotton mill were on strike because of the ill treatments. One of the strikers attempted to damage a machine and was shot dead by a Japanese owner. However, the police of the international settlement did not investigate the case seriously and arrested protesters including students and Chinese workers. Students continued to publicize the injustice against the Chinese and anti-imperialism near the Louza police station, where a big crowd of people gathered to protest. After giving warning, the foreign police officer commanded to fire and four people were shot dead instantaneously and many were injured. The incidents fueled up a nationwide violent anti-Christian movement. Foreigners and local Christians were taken for ransom or killed.[77] Foreign women were insulted physically and verbally.[78] Services were disturbed by or used at the time by agitators to speak against Christianity and foreigners. Mission schools and the furniture were damaged and mission homes were occupied.[79] Christian hospitals were closed down and in some cases food and milk were not allowed to be delivered to patients and even to babies.[80] Christians were insulted as the "'running dogs of the

---

scripture and keep the Sabbath. Third her treatment[s] of the student are such as cannot be born. Students are not allow[ed] freedom of speech not to take part in community interest now patriotic movements. They demanded her immediate deportation, but eventually she was allowed to stay in Pakhoi by the help of the gentry. (William H. Turner's dairy, "April to August Continued", "From April 15th to August 25th".)

[77] It was reported that in Szechwan, eight female and three male missionaries 'of the Church Missionary Society were taken by bandits. (William H. Turner's diary, 22 August 1925)

[78] William H. Turner's Diary (28 June 1925).

[79] William H. Turner, "Pioneering in China", pp. 231-2.

[80] The Baptist Hospital in Wuchow was closed down and some of the Chinese Christians were against missionaries. The Canton hospital which had been run by American Presbyterian Mission for 90 years and the oldest hospital in China was closed by the Labour Committee and the pickets. People were not allowed

imperialists'".[81] There were also student demonstrations and street riots in major cities, towns and small villages in all provinces.[82] Many missionaries fled to Hong Kong for safety. On 27 July 200 of them gathered at St. John's Hall to discuss the current situation.[83] The week of 22-27 December 1924 was dedicated to the anti-Christian movement. People in the whole country were stirred up to be involved and Christmas services were disturbed. Handbills were widely distributed. One of them said, "'Overthrow Christianity which kills people without shedding their blood; Stamp out the missions schools which make men the slaves of foreigners; bring to an end the foreign cultural program which saps the national spirit.'"[84]

The Incidents at the PHC Mission

Since Pakhoi was a treaty port where foreigners had lived for years, it was a major place of agitation in Southern Guangdong. After the Shanghai Shooting, there was a big parade in June 1925 initiated by students to protest against the shooting. Invitations were sent out to all schools in the region, but Turner's schools decided not to join, which upset other agitators.[85] Young students were giving speeches about the abolition of unequal treaties and handover of concessions in public.[86] Foreign currencies and products, especially British and Japanese, were boycotted.[87] Foreigners were forbidden to land in Pakhoi from Hong

---

to enter the hospital and food for patients and milk for babies were forbidden to bring in. Staff was forced to stop their work otherwise they would be killed. Eventually food was brought into the hospital under the protection of American Marine after the American Consul writing to the minister of Foreign Affairs. (William H. Turner's diary, 5 April 1925)

[81] William H. Turner, "Pioneering in China", p. 231.

[82] William H. Turner, "China, Her Troubles and Their Cause", *PHA*, 9/39 (4 February 1926), p. 13.

[83] William H. Turner's Diary (27 July 1925).

[84] William H. Turner, "Some Facts about the Anti-Christian Movement in China Today", p. 13.

[85] William H. Turner's Diary (27 June 1925, 7 July 1925).

[86] William H. Turner's Diary (27 June 1925).

[87] William H. Turner's Diary (30 June 1925).

Kong by boats and all mail and parcels would not be sent via Hong Kong, but Wuchow only.[88] Some food merchants rejected sales with foreigners, anticipating their starving.[89] One of Turner's friends, Mrs. Surh, could not buy a pack of flour.[90] Food supply became scarce because imports from Wuchow were also terminated.[91] Demonstrations, parades and strikes happened almost daily and people involved were financially supported by the strikers' union funds sponsored by the Bolshevists.[92] Soldiers and ordinary people gathered together to openly discuss cooperative acts of killing foreigners in teahouses.[93] Bandits and warlords took advantages of this chaotic situation to take foreigners for ransom. Soldiers prosecuted foreigners who ran businesses in Pakhoi and took away their valuables. Turner's Japanese friend was taken away and beaten badly without reasons, but was rescued by the French Consul.[94] After the English merchants Joe Bell and his son were forced to leave Pakhoi or they would become "mince-meat", the property in the house was confiscated by the local government or the house became an entertaining place for the soldier club.[95] They were also fighting against each other to gain sovereignty in the region; as a result, local people and the mission were under the threat of civil wars during this anti-Christian climate. Some of them took refuge in the compound with their valuables.[96] In view of this chaotic situation, the French Consul requested a gunboat from France immediately and agreed to shelter all the foreigners there in case of emergency. He

[88] William H. Turner's Diary (19 June 1925, 16 July 1925).

[89] William H. Turner's Diary (20 June 1925); "Pioneering in China", p. 222.

[90] Letter from J. S. Harthom, Pakhoi, to William H. Turner, Hong Kong, n.d.

[91] William H. Turner's Diary (24 July 1925).

[92] William H. Turner's Diary (24 July 1925, 27 July 1925).

[93] William H. Turner's Diary (29 July 1925).

[94] William H. Turner's Diary (11 July 1925, 12 July 1925).

[95] William H. Turner's Report, 5 April 1926.

[96] Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi to A. E. Robinson, Falcon, NC, 12 March 1925.

William H. Turner, *Pioneering in China*, pp. 237-8.

would fire a rocket to notify the upcoming danger and all foreigners had to flee quickly to the harbor to get on the gunboat.[97]

The atmosphere in the region had been tense by the spreading of rumours about attacks against foreigners. On 29 June 1925, Turner got news from one of his workers that killing would certainly take place in the evening. That night he received a note from the French Consul, saying, "Very bad news, you are invited to go to the French gunboat urgently, where you will meet all the foreigners."[98] Turner, his family and Julia Payne quickly fled to the gunboat and stayed there overnight with foreigners who were "in every state of dress".[99] During the night, the French Consul sent more soldiers to protect foreigners' properties. The following morning, he and other men were allowed to go ashore and, fortunately, he found the compound had not been damaged.[100] His wife and four children had to remain in the gunboat for three days and were then taken to Hong Kong by a Japanese steamer.[101] Turner stayed in Pakhoi to continue his missionary work and to watch over the compound every day and night. He and his family were separated from July until early September when he went to Hong Kong to look after his wife who was in deteriorating health condition after all the turmoil.[102] Services were conducted by local preachers, and a German missionary, Rev. Rossing of the Lutheran Mission, was watching the compound occasionally and paid for the necessary expense of Turner's mission.[103] He returned to Pakhoi with his family on 16 October.[104]
In response to the outbreak of the violence, the Commander of the region, Teng Chi Tang, gave a public announcement on 20 June, saying that people should maintain "peace-like and neighbour-respected attitude" with foreigners, otherwise they would be severely punished

---

[97] William H. Turner, *Pioneering in China*, pp. 223-4, 226.

[98] Note from the French Consul, the Consulate de France à Pakhoi, to William H. Turner, n.d.

[99] William H. Turner, *Pioneering in China*, p. 237.

[100] William H. Turner's Diary (30 June 1925).

[101] William H. Turner, *Pioneering in China*, p. 228.

[102] William H. Turner's Diary (2 July 1925, 5 July 1925, 14 September, 1925).

[103] Letter from Mr. Ng, Pakhoi, to William H. Turner, Hong Kong, 4 August 1925 (Translated by the author from Chinese into English).

[104] William H. Turner's Dairy (30 September 1925).

for violence and disturbance. He assured foreigners that he would protect their properties and lives and hence they should avoid listening to any rumours.[105] Two days later, the Director, Teng Pen Yin, made a similar public announcement assuring that he would increase military effort to protect foreigners and would repress any "slightest hostility" and agitations against foreigners. He firmly warned the public that, "The public is hereby notified that your patriotism must be governed by civilized manner, and that anybody who is so ignorant as to act beyond the proper bounds or to injure foreigners or to create rumours or disturbance of any kind will be arrested at once and summarily dealt."[106] However, these notices could not recover foreigners' confidence in the official as they did not practically keep their promises and even allied with the agitators.[107] This was clearly shown when Teng Chi Tang became Honorary Chairman of the student union that had helped the demonstrators in Shanghai.[108]

Intimidations, Dangers and Response of Turner's Mission

The most direct and immediate effect of these waves of anti-Christianity was the drop of attendance in services. On 13 July 1925, the pastor in Yamchow reported a similar situation caused by students' agitation.[109] When Turner was in Hong Kong to look after his wife from July to the middle of October, one of his workers reported that the public service in the chapel in Sing Ping Street was only attended by 10-12 people, and there were only a few people in the service in the compound.[110] The situation continued in 1926. When missionaries were accused of spying in China and threatening the security of the

[105] Public notice signed by Commander, Teng Chi Tang, 30 June 1925 (in Chinese and English versions).

[106] Public notice signed by Director, Teng Pen-yin and Associate Director, Shen Pao-fan, 2 July 1925 (In Chinese and English versions).

[107] William H. Turner's Diary (30 June 1925).

[108] William H. Turner's Diary (10 July 1925).

[109] William H. Turner's Diary (13 July 1925).

[110] Letter from Mr. Ng, Pakhoi, to William H. Turner, Hong Kong, 4 August 1925 (Translated by the author from Chinese into English).

country, the following service's attendance was nil.[111] The same problem occurred in the children's service that took place three times a week, and there had been a good attendance in the street chapel services. However, since they had been threatened, they were afraid to attend.[112] The movement also deterred people to be baptised, worrying that the Nationalist Government would not protect them and their families from any attacks as it had been announced.[113] Some attendants turned to their idols instead of Christ in that trying time.[114]

Services were constantly disturbed by violence and quite often Turner and his workers could not complete their preaching. People were forbidden to enter the chapel; otherwise, agitators would throw a firecracker inside and a rotten egg or stone at the preacher. Some people in the congregation fought back, and that created a conflict.[115] Agitators also went up to the pulpit to give their own speech. Turner's workers were cursed as being chickens being fed by missionaries and expecting to be slaughtered by them. Upon the request of the landlady who was worried about the burning of her property, Turner had to close the chapel, but services were continued in the compound.[116] On Christmas day in 1925, about 1000 agitators "smashed windows, gates, doors, flowerpots" and decorations of English schools near the PHC mission.[117]

Anti-Christian slogans were commonly used. The front gate of the compound was molested by slogans like "'Crush the Christian Church'", "'Down with the Christian Religion'" and "'Christianity is a

---

[111] William H. Turner, "Bolshevism and South China: Its Effect on Christian Missions", p. 13.

[112] William H. Turner's Diary (9 December 1925).

[113] "From Brother and Sister Turner in China", *PHA*, 10/39 (3 February 1927), p. 14.

[114] William H. Turner, "Our Pakhoi-Yamchow Work", *PHA*, 10/2 (13 May 1926), p. 8.

[115] William H. Turner, "Carrying on under Difficulty", *PHA*, 10/45 (17 March 1927), p. 6.

[116] William H. Turner, "Carrying on under Difficulty", *PHA*. 10/45 (17 March 1927), p. 6; *Pioneering in China*, p. 233.

[117] William H. Turner, "The Persecution of Christianity in China: Further Details of the Activities of the Anti-Christian Movement", *PHA*, 10/6 (10 June 1926), p. 14.

superstition'". In Liemchow where Turner also had a mission, a poster saying "'Opium is poison, but there is one thing more poisonous than opium, viz., the Christian religion'" was written in a public place.[118] In 1926, Pakhoi was under the attack of cholera and plague, which caused plenty of deaths, but people used this disaster to insult Christianity, saying that it was "more dangerous than cholera and plague". Another means to publicise the anti-Christian ideology was dramas.[119]

On the other hand, Turner decided to close the schools to avoid being used as a political centre by the communists.[120] Whenever Turner appeared in public places, he was threatened to be shot by soldiers who pointed at him with a rifle, mauser or an automatic. Each time when he went out for a week he and his wife had prepared themselves for the final farewell and made arrangements for some matters.[121] During those years Turner learnt how to deal with threats and managed to survive, as he said "One learns to keep one's head in China. If one does not learn to keep it in a crisis he is pretty certain to be searching for it and fail to discover where it has gone."[122] In 1926, when Turner, his wife, the baby daughter and Payne were holding revival meetings in Yamchow, robbers were fighting fiercely on the outskirt of the city for a week. They feared death day and night for three days.[123] During the week, on the birthday of Sun Yat Sin, a parade mixed with soldiers walked past the mission in Yamchow and shouted "Down with the imperialists" and threw a firecracker inside.[124] Then on the boat going back to Pakhoi, they were nearly kidnapped by robbers who had set a plot to take them for ransom. Fortunately, the police had been informed

---

[118] William H. Turner, "The Persecution of Christianity in China: Further Details of the Activities of the Anti-Christian Movement", *PHA*, 10/6 (10 June 1926), p. 14.

[119] "From Sister Payne", *PHA*, 10/23 (7 Oct 1926), p. 6

[120] William H. Turner, "Our Pakhoi-Yamchow Work", *PHA*, 10/2 (13 May 1926), p. 8; *Pioneering in China*, p. 231.

[121] William H. Turner, *Pioneering in China*, p. 232.

[122] William H. Turner's Report.

[123] William H. Turner, *Pioneering in China*, p. 233.

[124] "From Brother and Sister W. H. Turner", *PHA*, 10/39 (3 February 1927), p. 14;

William H. Turner, *Pioneering in China*, p. 234.

of it and immediately arrested the robbers, who were soon executed by a shooting squad.[125]

In this anti-foreign atmosphere, some local Christians were trying to gain independency from foreign missions, and Turner's mission was under the same threat. In 1926, a Chinese Anglican pastor, Lai K'ei Chong, with the assistance of the Anglican missionaries, Miss Dunk and Rev. Paulson, attempted to gather local Christians, local pastors of the Lutheran and Turner's mission, to form an independent Chinese church, called Pakhoi Christian Union.[126] Turner discovered that two of his workers joined it without consulting Julia Payne, who was in charge of the Pakhoi mission at that time when Turner was in Hong Kong. Turner warned those two workers not to publish any materials of the Union under the title of the Pentecostal Holiness Church and made clear to them that they did not represent the PHC to be involved in the Union. Lai encouraged Christians and students to participate in parades in Pakhoi and promoted patriotism. If people did not follow him, he would look at them as imperialists and therefore they would be killed. Through these actions, he wanted to show the military and the officials his faithfulness to the country.[127]

In view of intimidations of the agitators, the constant threat to life, suspension of schools and services that had only been started for over a year, and the divisive intention of Patriotic Chinese Christians in the area, Turner said, "Truly we in Southern Kwongtung are sowing in tears." [128] In this trying time, the team could not always be together to face the problems. In April 1926, Turner had to take his family back to Hong Kong to administer the mission under the order of the General Board, as Jane Schermerchorn's health had been worsening.[129] Turner' wife had been suffering from emotional breakdown and the hardening

---

[125] William H. Turner, *Pioneering in China*, p. 235.

[126] Letter from William, H. Turner, Hong Kong, to Miss Dunk, 25 August 1926.

[127] William H. Turner's diary, "April to August Continued", p. 4;

Letter from William H. Turner, Hong Kong to Rev. Paulson, Pakhoi, 25 August 1926.

[128] "From Brother and Sister W. H. Turner", *PHA*, 10/39 (3 February 1927), p. 14.

[129] Letter from William H. Turner, Pakhoi, to Miss Jane Schermerchorn, Hong Kong, 5 March 1926.

of blood vessels, but it was healed by divine power.[130] Payne was ordered by the American Consul to leave Pakhoi and settled down in Hong Kong at the beginning of 1927.[131] However, the more suffering they underwent, the stronger the passion they had for a greater mission. Payne declares, "Hallelujah! The call to China is even more precious today than when we left dear old America".[132] Turner announced, "We must do it. We must be instant in season and out of season. This is the 'out of season' in China, and we must after having done all to stand just stand."[133] He believed that that was the time when China needed God and it was God's will to "establish a strong, well organized, spiritual, Pentecostal Holiness Church in China".[134] The facts that people did not listen to the gospel and wanted to cast them out were not the reasons for giving up; rather, he insisted that they should preach the gospel to show that what the agitators said was wrong. Therefore, he concluded that the General Board made a wrong decision of not sending new missionaries to China.[135] In 1926, some of his local workers in Yamchow preached in some government schools. They managed to hold thirteen services a week and visited villages to preach, distribute tracts and pray for the sick. Payne went to Sai Ching with two Chinese men and a woman to start a new work.[136] By September 1927, the American Consul allowed American citizens to go to China and Payne returned in December and was joined by Laura Hylton who also dedicated herself to China.[137] They started an English class[138] and a

---

[130] News written by William H. Turner, *PHA*, 11/20 (15 September 1927), p. 5.

[131] "Letter from Julia Payne", *PHA*, 11/35 (5 January 1928), p. 11;

[132] Letter from Miss Payne", *PHA*, 10/16 (19 August 1926), p. 5.

[133] William H. Turner, "China—1925: Some Stirring Events Mentioned", *PHA*, 9/48 (8 April 1926), p. 4.

[134] William H. Turner, "Seven Years in China", *PHA*, 10/30 (25 November 1926), p. 14.

[135] William H. Turner, "The Persecution of Christianity in China: Further Details of the Activities of the Anti-Christian Movement", *PHA*, 10/6 (10 June 1926), p. 14.

[136] William H. Turner, "Our Pakhoi-Yamchow Work", *PHA*, 10/2 (13 May 1926), p. 8.

"Letter from Miss Payne", *PHA*, 10/16 (19 August 1926), p. 5.

[137] "Selections from Report to Rev. W. H. Turner to the General Board", *PHA*, 11.30 (24 November 1927), p. 6.

Sunday School with a few boys and girls, but later they had nearly one hundred. Some of the children were not afraid of being threatened and killed and continued to attend the Sunday School. The team of full-time local preachers was joined by a Bible woman, Mrs. Ko, who was a "Pentecostal preacher through and through" as she faithfully preached the PHC's doctrine on conversion, sanctification and Spirit baptism.[139] There was a member in Yamchow who preached and worked very hard for the mission even though he was not paid, and Turner said, "He is a man of God if there ever was one."[140] In 1928, Turner and his family were on furlough after seven years in Hong Kong and China, Payne was in charge of the mission and reported that the Sunday School was still well-attended by some 80 people. They kept producing tracts and were seeking permission from the Commissioner of Chinese and Foreign Affair to visit prisoners and soldiers.[141]

Comments

The Anti-Christian Movement is full of contradictions. The intellectual believed that science and democracy in Western thinking could rescue the country from ignorance and corruption, but they attempted to sweep away all mission schools, which taught the young generation about Western technology and philosophy. They promoted a scientific mind and rationality, and cast out superstition that implies subjectivity, ignorance and narrow-mindedness, but when the movement became radical, it demonstrated the most irrational and ignorant way to achieve the goal with violence. Ordinary people superstitiously and blindly believed in the nationalism and patriotism interpreted by the so-called intellectual and were given a dichotomous concept that whatever and whoever related to Christianity and the West, they were enemies of the whole nation. Insulting the elderly Christians

---

"Letter from Laura Hylton", *PHA*, 11/48 (5 April 1928), p. 5;

[138] Letter from Laura Hylton to William Turner, Pakhoi, 5 June 1928.

[139] "Letter from Julia Payne, Pakhoi, to Mrs. Nina Holm and the Advocate Family, 8 June 1928", *PHA*, 12/16 (16 August 1928), p. 5.

[140] "Selection from Report of Rev. W. H. Turner to the General Board", *PHA*, 11/30 (24 November 1927), p. 6.

[141] Letter from Julia Payne, Pakhoi, to William H. Turner, US, 7 May 1928.

and teachers, destroying others' properties and killing were justified and much encouraged, and it looked as though the basic moral Confucianist teachings on kindness, empathy and respect to the senior existing in the country for a thousand years had never rooted in the society. However, the ironic thing was that they only murdered the Western foreigners who were regarded as imperialists, but they did not do so to the Russians who had been controlling their army and local governments. When enthusiastic young students and people believed that they were fighting for national autonomy and unification by casting out Christianity, they could not discern the fact that they were being used by the Bolshevists from Russia that had ambition to control their country. Furthermore, if they blamed the imperialists for their avarice which deterred the civilization of China, then what about the bandits and warlords who were launching civil wars and imposing high taxes on the poor people in order to increase their own wealth? Sadly the Chinese seemed not to learn the lesson, and thirty years later a similar tragedy happened again in the Cultural Revolution. There the means of political propaganda was dramas, handbills, public speeches and parades, and slogans beginning with "Down with…" The cruelty involved treating the innocent as "enemies", and the number of people whose lives and psyches have been severally damaged until today was the expanded version of the-Anti-Christian Movement.

This story of the Pentecostal Holiness Church's mission in China provides a glimpse of ideas to explain the current persecutions against Christians, especially the Pentecostals and charismatics who do not register with the communist government because they cannot conform to the Three-Self Patriotic Church system in contemporary China. To trace the root of anti-Christianity in China, the atheist doctrine in communism is only the most recent one; there were others including imperialism since the 19th century and the closed system of Chinese culture and tradition for thousands of year. After almost one hundred years, besides the Western missiologists reflecting on what the missionaries had done wrong in China – what cultural issues they were not aware of, how arrogant they were in front of the local and disrespectful they were to Chinese customs – it is also the time for Chinese Christians to search for the cultural and psychological factors which have discouraged people to accept Christianity. It is also necessary for us to reflect on the disgraceful way our ancestors treated the missionaries, who sacrificed their youth, families and lives in this land for the sake of our redemption and for the social welfare of the oppressed, disinherited and abandoned in the society. For sowing the

seeds of the good tidings, we thank them. For shedding the blood of the innocence, we repent.

[*AJPS* 14:1 (2011), pp. 57-73]

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF WILLIAM SEYMOUR'S SERMONS: A REFLECTION ON PENTECOSTAL ETHOS

Timothy Yeung

Translated by Connie Au

Introduction

The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC)'s Reflection on Pentecostal Identity and Ethos

Scholars have argued the multiple sources of Pentecostalism; therefore, it is difficult to achieve a consensus on what Pentecostal identity really is. In March 2010, the PAOC launched a theology seminar to discuss the subject.[1] Although the discussion does not represent the official point of view, it demonstrates the general perception of Pentecostal identity within the church. According to the result of a survey, most of their ministers do not insist on preserving the characteristics of Pentecostal ministry and faith any longer. One of the presenters, J. Martini, quoting from "Matrix Neo", frankly declared that "there is no spoon", to suggest that there is not any difference between Pentecostal and charismatic identity![2] However, an alternative voice rose at the seminar. Peter Cusick and Brandon Malo claimed, "…remove the identity of the early Pentecostals and you lose the movement."[3] In his article, "The Ideal Pentecostal Church: The Ethos

[1] http://mpseminary.com/papers (accessed on 3 November 2010)

[2] J. Martini, "'There is No Spoon': Assessing the Boundary between Classical Pentecostals and Charismatics". http://www.mpseminary.com/documents/papers/Martini.pdf, 1. (accessed on 3 November 2010)

[3] Peter Cusick and Brandon Malo, "Pentecostal Identity: A Pastoral Perspective".

of Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Churches: Spirit and Power,"[4] Jim Lucas adopts the term "ethos" to illustrate the character of Pentecostal churches. According to Wiktionary, ethos refers to the "character and fundamental values of person, people, culture and movement," which is parallel to the word "spirit" conveying the meaning of promotion of belief and convention.[5]

I grew up in an Assembly of God church that did not embrace Pentecostal identity. When the "third wave" was introduced to Hong Kong in 1990, I began to realize the charismatic dimension of the Christian faith particularly through my own Spirit baptism and to seek intellectual understanding of this experience. In 1996, Rodney Howard Browne's revival ministry in Hong Kong even changed the direction of my ministry from being a teacher of a Bible college to a revivalist. However, I discovered that those who experienced revival at that time still do not have the theological "spoon" concerning Pentecostalism. In other words, they do not insist on practicing Pentecostal faith and teaching about it. I henceforth realize that it is crucial to nurture Pentecostal ethos within Pentecostal churches. To accomplish this, it is important to identify what Pentecostal ethos is. One of the ways is to trace back to Pentecostal history and find out what Pentecostal pioneers preached in the early period. In this article, I attempt to analyze William Seymour's (1870-1922) sermons to suggest the substances of Pentecostal ethos. These sermons were recorded by Seymour's co-worker, Clara Lum, and were printed on the *Apostolic Faith*. Larry Martin edited these sermons and published them in *Azusa Street Sermons by William J. Seymour*.[6]

Justification of Using Seymour's Sermons

It is undeniable that Seymour was one of the prominent pioneers of the early Pentecostal Movement. Although his teacher, Charles Parham,

---

http://www.mpseminary.com/documents/papers/PentIdentity_01.pdf, 4. (accessed on 3 November 2010)

[4] http://www.mpseminary/com/documents/papers/PentIdentity_01.pdf. (accessed on 3 November 2010)

[5] http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/ethos. (accessed on 3 November 2010)

[6] Larry Martin's *Azusa Street Sermons by William J. Seymour* (Joplin, MO: Christian Life Book, 1999).

established the doctrine of "evidential tongues," his influence towards the revival was not as significant as was Seymour's. In the beginning of the revival in 1906, Seymour published *The Apostolic Faith* under his Apostolic Mission. The newspaper was very popular at that time, and 50,000 copies of one of the issues was printed.[7] It did not only report revival events in the US and worldwide from September 1906 to June 1908,[8] but it contained Seymour's sermons. Hence, it displays historical reality as well as spiritual direction and ethos of the early Pentecostal Movement.[9] Douglas Jacobson asks, "Is There Theology in Pentecostalism?"[10] Pentecostalism has been criticized for being dominated by emotionalism and anti-intellectualism, but I want to argue that, right from the beginning, Pentecostals have been serious about theology. The pioneers molded the movement through testimonies and defined it with preaching. They did not only identify their faith but also explained their religious experience to those who agreed or disagreed with them. As Jacobson argues, "Pentecostalism was a protest against the use of religious words without religious experiences to back them up: it was a protest against theological hollowness".[11] Seymour certainly was an outstanding leader in this "protest" by initiating spiritual experience and preaching. According to Jacobson, the focus of his sermons was not the same as Parham's. Seymour tended to be pastoral in his preaching while Parham was more revelatory, so that he could effectively convey Christian principles and expectations on God. He directly responded to questions concerning the meaning of atonement in his sermon such as "The Precious Atonement," and how to receive Spirit baptism in "You Should Receive the Holy Spirit," "The Spirit Baptism" and "To the Seekers of

---

[7] http://www.azusastreet.irg/TheApostolicFaith.htm. (accessed on 3 November 2010)

[8] Because of the division within the Azusa Street Mission, some workers of the *Apostolic Faith* moved from Los Angeles to Portland and took away the reader list and readers' postal addresses, the newspaper became less influential.

[9] Seymour explained the doctrine of evidential tongues and Spirit baptism in other publications, but the author is inclined to study the *Apostolic Faith* since it directly demonstrates the Azusa Street Movement and the theological development.

[10] Douglas Jacobson, *A Reader in Pentecostal Theology: Voices from the First Generation* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), 4-6

[11] Douglas Jacobson, *A Reader in Pentecostal Theology*, 5.

the Holy Spirit," etc.[12] When we study Seymour's sermons, however, we have to be aware of the limitations:

1. Since there was neither voice nor video recorder in the early 1910s, it is possible that Seymour's sermons that are available for us nowadays were recorded based on the listeners' personal preferences. In fact, the characteristics and power of Pentecostal sermons do not lie on the sermons *per se*, but also the divine inspiration that the preacher receives, the way he expresses and the flow of anointing, which obviously cannot be recorded merely with pen and paper.

2. Seymour was the leader of the Apostolic Mission, but he did not produce a large amount of sermons and publications since he focused on prayers rather than preaching. As Martin records,

> Seymour would lead the service from a chair behind the makeshift shoebox pulpit. Often he would bow low with his head inside the crates or leaning against their side, praying as the services progressed. Witnesses remembered him as "very prayerful, a very quietman." The Azusa leader believed, "Our highest place is love at His feet."
>
> Like Evan Roberts in Wales, Seymour did not preach long or often, allowing things to go their own way, or more appropriately "the Lord's way." E. S. Williams, a regular participant said, "His preaching was very limited." Yet, when he spoke, he ministered under such an anointing that his words changed the world.[13]

3. The purpose of studying Seymour's sermons is not about establishing Pentecostal doctrines for today; but rather, we aim to gain understanding of the ethos in the early Pentecostal Movement so that it may become a source of strength and renewal for Pentecostal churches nowadays.

---

[12] Larry Martin, *Azusa Street Sermons by William J. Seymour*, 46.

[13] Larry Martin, *The Life and Ministry of William Seymour* (Joplin: Christian Life Books, 1999), 184-185.

Characteristics of Azusa Street Services and Seymour's Sermons

1. God's Anointing and Prayer

When we study Seymour's sermons, it is important to put them in the context of the entire revival services, which were characterized by a zealous desire for God.[14] According to A. W. Orwig's firsthand account, worshippers did not worry about the length of the service, even if it might last for six hours, because they immersed themselves in God's anointing. As he recalled, "I will not now attempt to describe sermons, testimonies, prayers and songs, only to say that they were usually attended with divine unction to such a degree as to move and melt hearts in every direction".[15] Services were "dynamic. Everything was spontaneous. There was lots of prayer, singing hymns, singing in tongues, testimonies, scripture reading and then preaching."[16] Seymour and the congregation took prayers seriously. His praying on the shoe box pulpit in the cargo container was well-known. He was regarded as a "very prayerful, a very quiet man."[17]

During services, worshippers usually knelt down to pray for six to eight times.[18]

2. Singing, Worship and Thirst for God

Singing and worship nourished the expectation of the work of the Holy Spirit and the sense of His power. This song, "The Comforter Has Come,"[19] was frequently sung in the Azusa Street services.

---

[14] This is spoken based on my own leadership of revival ministry and personal experience in revival services led by Kathryn Kulman, Benny Hinn and Rodney Howard Browne. Singing, sermons and praying ministry are in one flow, particularly when the preacher leads the whole service himself. To follow the guidance of the Holy Spirit is the crucial factor of spontaneity.

[15] A. W. Orwig, 'My First Visit to the Azusa Street Pentecostal Mission', in Larry Martin (ed) *The True Believers: Eye Witness Accounts of the Revival that Shook the World* (Joplin, MO: Christian Life Books, 1998), 60.

[16] Larry Martin, *The Life and Ministry of William Seymour*, 179.

[17] Larry Martin, *The Life and Ministry of William Seymour*, 184.

[18] Larry Martin, *The Life and Ministry of William Seymour*, 180.

O spread the tidings 'round, wherever man is found,
Wherever human hearts and human woes abound;
Let ev'ry Christian tongue proclaim the joyful sound:
The Comforter has come!

Refrain

The Comforter has come, the Comforter has come!
The Holy Ghost from Heav'n, the Father's promise giv'n;
O spread the tidings 'round, wherever man is found—
The Comforter has come!

The long, long night is past, the morning breaks at last,
And hushed the dreadful wail and fury of the blast,
As o'er the golden hills the day advances fast!
The Comforter has come.

Lo, the great King of kings, with healing in His wings,
To ev'ry captive soul a full deliverance brings;
And through the vacant cells the song of triumph rings;
The Comforter has come!

O boundless love divine! How shall this tongue of mine
To wond'ring mortals tell the matchless grace divine—
That I, a child of hell, should in His image shine!
The Comforter has come!

This hymn characterizes the features of black gospel music, which was derived from "spirituals" and "shouts". Black gospel music made a tremendous impact in the Holiness Movement. It is rhythmic and emotionally expressive. The lyrics were composed with biblical scriptures and sung in a "call-and-response" style by the preacher and congregation. Sometimes the preacher sang instantaneously.[20] Since

[19] www.cyberhymnal.org/htm/c/o/comfortaer.htm (accessed on 3 November 2010).

[20] Andre Wilson-Dickson, *The Story of Christian Music: From Gregorian Chant to Black Gospel: An Authoritative Illustrated Guide to All the Major Traditions of Music for Worship* (Oxford: Lion, 1992), chapter 38.

there was not a projector to project the lyrics for everybody to see, the congregation only sang the refrains and worship leaders or preachers sang the main verses. We can assume that this was the way that Seymour led worship.[21] When the refrain was sung, the whole service was filled with a desire for God. Another prominent feature of the services of the Apostolic Mission was the "Heavenly Choir"—the whole congregation singing in tongues.[22] The Holy Spirit worked through the desire of people nourished from earnest prayers and dynamic music; then vision, prophecy, healing and exorcism would follow. This is one of the characteristics of Pentecostal ethos.

3. "The Lord's Way"

Donald Gee suggests that Seymour followed "the Lord's way" to preach.[23] He surfed with the flow of the worship—the guidance of the Holy Spirit. His preaching was short, as Martin describes,

> What kind of a preacher was Seymour? A. G. Osterberg described him "as a slow speaking, humble, unpretentious, Bible loving, God fearing minister." In another interview, Osterberg described Seymour and his preaching: "He was meek and plain spoken and no orator. He spoke the common language of the uneducated class. He might preach for three-quarters of an hour with no more emotionalism than that post. He was no arm-waving thunderer, by any stretch of the imagination. The only way to explain the results is this: that his teachings were so simple that people who were opposed to organized religion fell for it. It was the simplicity that attracted them."
>
> When William Manley attended, he described Seymour's message as "short" and "fiery." He said, "They speak with the most intense earnestness I have ever seen and what they say is in

[21] Roberts Liardon, *God's General: Why They Succeeded and Why Some Failed* (Chinese version), pp. 233, 237-238.

[22] Larry Martin, *The Life and Ministry of William Seymour*, 187.

[23] Larry Martin, *The Life and Ministry of William Seymour*, 185. Quoted from Donald Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement* (London: Elim Publishing Co. Ltd, 1949), 12.

> the tenderest love. Not a harsh word is spoken. No denunciation of anyone, except in tender love."[24]

From the quotation above, we can see that Seymour's preaching style was very different from charismatic preachers nowadays. His preaching was powerful and "fiery" and, therefore, Florence Crawford believed that it was not preaching that touched her heart, but a simple acclamation, "Hallelujah", that brought her into God's presence.[25] Seymour's preaching style and the way he led services were both revivalistic. This style is determined not only by the worship leader and the participation of the congregation, but also the anointing of the Holy Spirit and people's response to it. This revivalistic preaching following the flow of services is another characteristic of Pentecostal ethos, which will be elaborated upon in the next section.

The Theological Perspectives of Seymour's Sermons

1. The Five-fold Gospel

There are nineteen sermons printed in the *Apostolic Faith*. If we categorize these sermons with the paradigm of the five-fold gospel, we can see the following.[26]

---

[24] Larry Martin, *The Life and Ministry of William Seymour*, 185.

[25] Larry Martin, *The Life and Ministry of William Seymour*, 186.

[26] The Holiness Movement (Wesleyan tradition) and the Keswick Movement (Reformed tradition) directly influenced the development of the Pentecostal Movement, which subsequently was divided into two groups: the three-stage theory (e.g., the Pentecostal Holiness Church) and the two-stage theory (e.g., the Assemblies of God). In the early stage of the Movement, pioneers like Charles Parham and William Seymour clearly adopted the Holiness heritage, and preached about justification, sanctification and Spirit baptism as the Pentecostal truths. They emphasized the five-fold gospel: justification (Jesus is the savior), sanctification (Jesus is the baptizer as the Holiness Movement regarded Spirit baptism as sanctification), healing (Jesus is the healer), seconding coming (Jesus is the coming king) and Spirit baptism (Jesus is the baptizer of the Holy Spirit). Then William Durham attempted to take over Seymour's leadership and taught about the doctrine of "justification (complete sanctification)-Spirit baptism", which caused division in the Movement. Durham's teaching became the theological foundation of the two-stage doctrine of the Assemblies of God.

	Justification	Sanctification	Healing	Spirit Baptism	Second Coming
1. The Precious Atonement	X	X	X	X	
2. The Way into the Holiest	X	X		X	
3. River of Living Water	X	X	X	X	X
4. In Money Matters				X	
5.Counter-feits	X	X		X	
6. Behold the Bridegroom Cometh		X		X	X
7. Receive Ye the Holy Spirit	X	X		X	
8. Gifts of the Spirit	X				
9. Rebecca: Type of Bride of Christ	X	X		X	
10. The Baptism with the Holy Ghost	X	X		X	
11. The Holy Spirit bishop of the Church	X	X		X	
12. The Marriage Tie	X				
13. Testimony and Praise to God				X	X
14. To One Seeking the Holy Ghost	X	X	X	X	
15. Christ's Messages to the Church	X	X	X	X	X
16. To the Marries	X	X		X	X
17. Sanctified on the Cross	X	X			X

18. Baptism of the Holy Ghost	X	X	X	X	
19. The Holy Ghost and the Bride	X	X		X	

Seymour's teaching was directly related to the core doctrine of the Pentecostal faith. Only three of the nineteen sermons do not mention justification or Spirit baptism and twelve of them have both of them mentioned. These simple statistics show that Seymour took these two aspects very seriously. Moreover, there are fifteen sermons about sanctification, which is also significant. Seymour taught about sanctification because it was believed to be the criteria of receiving Spirit baptism, as he clearly explained in his sermons, "You Should Receive the Holy Spirit" and "Baptism of the Holy Ghost." He believed that justification, sanctification and Spirit baptism were inseparable. This view was opposed to the Holiness teaching about the equivalence of sanctification and Spirit baptism and their objection of tongues as the initial evidence of Spirit baptism suggested in Acts 2:4. As he explains,

> When we have a clear knowledge of justification and sanctification, through the precious blood of Jesus Christ in our hearts, then we can be a recipient of the baptism with the Holy Ghost. Many people today are sanctified, cleansed from all sin and perfectly consecrated to God, but they have never obeyed the Lord according to Acts 1, 4, 5, 8 and Luke 24:39, for their real personal Pentecost, the enduement of power for service and work and for sealing unto the day of redemption. The baptism with the Holy Ghost is a free gift without repentance upon the sanctified, cleansed vessel.[27]

If today's Pentecostals face the challenge of the evangelical,[28] then the challenge that Seymour had came from the Holiness people at that time.[29] However, Seymour did not use provoking words to defend his

[27] "Receive Ye the Holy Spirit", in Larry Martin (ed.) *Azusa Street Sermons*, 50.

[28] Robert Menzies has made significant contribution to the dialogue between Pentecostals and evangelicals. See William and Robert Menzies, *Spirit and Power: Foundations of Pentecostal Experience* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2000).

[29] Roberts Liardon, *God's General*, 230-232.

faith. Jacobson argues that when division occurred, Seymour diverted the focus of his teaching from evidential tongues to love and unity; he verbally expressed grief instead of anger.[30] Seymour came from the Holiness tradition. Although when he preached about Spirit baptism, he had not yet had that experience accompanied with the evidential tongues, he believed what he taught was biblical. He was baptized in the Spirit after three days of prayer.[31] Similar experience happened to the Holiness adherents who studied the Bible carefully to investigate the validity of the teaching of Spirit baptism and evidential tongues.[32] Seymour's teaching had a strong apologetic character but was expressed in a pastoral tone in his sermons, which influenced the Holiness believers to accept the truth of Spirit baptism with biblical evidence.

2. Spirit Baptism as the Theme

Seymour focused on Spirit baptism in his preaching. As mentioned above, he emphasized the intimate relation between sanctification and Spirit baptism and attempted to clarify the confusing idea of the two-stage theory preached by Holiness adherents. As far as Seymour was concerned, it was important to eradicate any doctrinal hindrances so that attendants of his services would receive Spirit baptism with the evidential tongues, which was the perfect love casting out all fear.[33] He firmly believed that the baptism of the Holy Spirit and fire was the flowing love of God and power for ministry. God's love that had been received through justification and was internalized through sanctification would be transformed into the love for others through Spirit baptism. The three stages of Christian experience were actually three stages of faith that led Christians to immerse into God's love.[34]

---

[30] Douglas Jacobson, *A Reader in Pentecostal Theology*, 46.

[31] Glenn A. Cook, "The Azusa Street Meeting: Some Highlights of this Outpouring," in Larry Martin (ed.) *The True Believers*, 52-53.

[32] Ernest S. Williams, "Memories of Azusa Street Mission", in Larry Martin (ed.) *The True Believers*, 47-48.

[33] "Behold! The Bridegroom Cometh", in Larry Martin (ed) *Azusa Street Sermons*, 45; "Sanctified on the Cross", in Larry Martin (ed) *Azusa Street Sermons*, 105.

[34] Douglas Jacobson, *Thinking in the Spirit: Theologies of the Early Pentecostal Movement* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003, kindle edition) location 1149-1159.

Regarding doctrines about healing and the second coming, although both of them appeared less frequently in Seymour's sermons, they were not less significant.[35] As A. W. Owig recorded that "the subject, or doctrine, of divine healing received special attention and many cases of deliverance from various diseases and infirmities were more or less continually reported. Likewise was the doctrine of the premillenial coming Christ ardently promulgated."[36] When Seymour preached about the second coming of Jesus, he developed this point from Spirit baptism. In "River of Living Water," he affirmed that the promise of Spirit baptism was not just for the present, but would continue until Jesus came back.[37]

The testimonies given by the participants of Seymour's services reflect a fact that theological teaching in sermons initiated experience, especially Spirit baptism. Jacobson gives a fair judgment on the role of theology in that period which explains why Seymour's revival movement could make such a great impact on the world for more than one hundred years. He says, "Experience alone did not make one a Pentecostal. It was experience interpreted in a Pentecostal way that made one a Pentecostal."[38] The interaction between theology and experience is another characteristic of Pentecostal ethos.

3. Revivalistic Preaching

In his article concerning Pentecostal preaching, George O. Wood, the General Superintendent of the Assemblies of God in the USA, suggests three aspects of revivalistic preaching: preparation, proclamation and provocation.[39] Preparation is not just about the content of the sermon, but also the preacher's life—whether he is filled

---

[35] According to participants of Seymour's services, Seymour always focused on three themes: Jesus' second coming, Spirit baptism and sanctified life. See Russell Chandles, "Pasadena Cleric Recalls Mission", in Larry Martin (ed.) *The True Believers*, 135.

[36] A. W. Orwig, "My First Visit to Azusa Street Pentecostal Mission", in Larry Martin (ed.) *The True Believers*, 61.

[37] "River of Living Water", in Larry Martin (ed) *Azusa Street Sermons*, 32.

[38] Douglas Jacobson, *Thinking in the Spirit*, location 135-144.

[39] George Wood, "The Pentecostal Pulpit of the 21st Century". http://enrichmentjournal.ag.org/199803/076_pentecostal_pulpit.cfm (accessed on 3 November 2010).

by the Holy Spirit. Hence, the preacher's prayer can be more important than Bible study because the inspiration from the Holy Spirit determines how he interprets and applies scriptures in his sermons. This argument does not imply a devaluation of academic hermeneutics, but I want to suggest that readers of the Bible are influenced by their background, culture and theological paradigm. For example, some contemporary theories on biblical hermeneutics respond to the postmodern situation. The critical methods of academic hermeneutics are skills and require interpreters to be objective; however, prayers preserve the subjective elements when interpreting revelations from reading the Bible. It also nurtures humility. Hence, evangelicals' criticism against charismatic preachers of overemphasis on prayers reflects their overemphasis on rationality. Pentecostal preachers wait upon the Holy Spirit in prayers and preach with the anointing. As a Pentecostal pastor says, "'The anointing of the Holy Spirit enables the preacher to operate in the gifts of the Holy Spirit with power and seeing results from his ministries.'"[40] For example, although Seymour did not emphasize healing and exorcism, they happened in the midst of his preaching. The upper room of the Apostolic Faith's building stored crutches, sticks and other medical assisting tools used by the healed.[41] This reflects the anointing of the Spirit upon Seymour.

4. Christ as the Core of Pentecostal Faith, not the Holy Spirit

Unlike the pneumatological emphasis of some contemporary charismatic churches, early Pentecostalism upheld Christocentrism. Wood states that "God's written Word" and Christocentrism should be the foundation of Pentecostal preaching; that can avoid individualistic concern on spiritual experience in preaching. As mentioned above, participants in the Azusa Street Revival earnestly sought Spirit baptism based on their understanding of scriptures as a result of serious Bible study. The apologetic concern in Seymour's sermons demonstrates the importance of proclaiming God's written Word. Nowadays, preachers tend to focus on the pastoral purpose of preaching and to deal with problems of Christians' everyday life in their sermons. They apply scriptures to illustrate their arguments and hence biblical-interpretive

[40] Quoted in Aldwin Ragoonath, *Preach the Word: A Pentecostal Approach* (Winnipeg: Agape Teaching Ministry of Canada Inc., 2004), 26.

[41] Concerning the stories on healing in the Azusa Street Revival, see Larry Martin, *The Life and Ministry of William Seymour*, 190-193.

preaching becomes crucial. However, this biblical-centric preaching is not always Christocentric. In contrast, the authors of scriptures in the New Testament, who were preachers and leaders of the early church, did not directly quote from the Old Testament to explain to believers how they should solve certain problems in their daily life; instead, they drew ideas from Jesus' teaching. Heb 12:1-3 and 1 Pet 2:4-10 are good examples on this regard. Hence, in some Pentecostal churches, when ministers encourage believers to receive Spirit baptism, they remind them of Jesus being filled by the Holy Spirit as He was being baptized with water (Lk 3:22).

5. "Re-experience"

Ragoonath discovers that Seymour's preaching reflected the oral style of African Americans, as it is shown in his sermon, "The Holy Spirit Bishop of the Church." Seymour ended the preaching with a "Rap" song:

> When men and women are filled with the Holy Ghost,
> Everywhere they go
> Living waters will flow.
> The Lord promised that out of our being
> Living rivers of water should flow
> This is the Holy Ghost, Amen!
> The mighty Pison, the Gihon, the Hiddekel, the Euphrates of our soul will flow.
> Representing the rivers of salvation, Amen![42]

Seymour did not only use narrative scriptures, but also epistles for his sermons, and applied symbolic hermeneutics to interpret them. The significance of God's written words, the Bible, is that the preacher and listeners can re-experience the scripture themselves and the scriptures become living words in the present.[43] This happens when prayers are incorporated into Bible reading. Pentecostal preaching is not simply about conveying the written words in the Bible, but spreading "rhema"—revelation and speech from the Holy Spirit. This practice seems to be completely irrelevant to academic hermeneutics, but as far

[42] "The Holy Spirit Bishop of the Church", in Larry Martin (ed), *Azusa Street Sermons*, 71-72.

[43] Aldwin Ragoonath, *Preach the Word*, 103.

as the receivers of "rhema" are concerned, constructing theological understandings through waiting upon the Holy Spirit in prayers is an alternative hermeneutic methodology. It is difficult to judge which one is more applicable than the other one as they are compatible with each other, but a distinctive result of this methodology is that it leads people to enter into a spiritual realm and to be challenged by God's words and "rhema".

6. Provocation Materializes Revivals

Wood's idea of provocation explains the preaching style in the Azusa Street Revival and the external characteristic of revivalistic preaching.[44] Seymour's sermons are not rationally persuasive, but experientially provocative so that listeners will be prompted to take responsive actions. As far as the listeners of Seymour were concerned, they were invoked to seek sanctification so that Spirit baptism with tongues as evidence would follow. This is what we call "altar call" today. It is not only a practice, but also an expression of Pentecostal ethos. Ragoonath claims,

> The altar service is a vital part of a Pentecostal service. It is equally important to preaching. Without the altar call a Pentecostal worship experience will be lacking, it will be routine, traditional, partial, lopsided and incomplete and God will be hindered from working. There will be no miracles, signs, wonders and deliverance taking place. The Pentecostal movement will shrivel up and die. Without the altar call there will be no method of leading non-Christians to faith in Christ and the heart and soul of the Pentecostal movement will die. The sick will return home sick; the demon possessed will remain demon possessed; people will return home discouraged with no one to encourage them in prayer even when they seriously want it.[45]

Seymour took prayers very seriously and that affected the revival in Azusa Street. Preaching, praying and waiting upon God to answer prayers were reasons for the manifestations of the Holy Spirit and

---

[44] George Wood, "The Pentecostal Pulpit of the 21st Century".

[45] Aldwin Ragoonath, *Preach the Word*, 37.

revival to happen. E. S. Williams describes the altar call ministry in the Azusa Street revival as the following:

> I wish I could describe what I saw. Prayer and worship were everywhere. The altar was filled with seekers; some were kneeling; others were prone on the floor; some were speaking in tongues. Everyone was doing something; all seemingly lost in God. I simply stood and looked, for I had never seen anything like it. [46]

Conclusion: Infiltrating Pentecostal Ethos into Pentecostal Churches

"Remove the identity of the early Pentecostals and you lose the movement" is the reality of some Pentecostal churches. Through analyzing Seymour's sermons, we understand the ethos of the Classical Pentecostal Movement. The nurturing of a sense of thirst for God through singing and worship, revivalistic preaching, altar call ministry and the complement of experience and theology are what Seymour left for the entire Pentecostal Movement. As Chinese Pentecostal churches become more evangelical-ised, charismatic and ambitious of building a mega-church, unfortunately, those characters of Pentecostal ethos have been fading away. The academic-oriented and specialized training in Bible colleges suggest that traditional Pentecostal ethos is irrelevant to the current situation. These are the reality and limitation of our churches nowadays, but what we need to do is "Stand for the restoration of the faith once delivered unto the saints,"[47] as it was proclaimed in the first issue of the *Apostolic Faith.* Undeniably, Seymour's hermeneutics based on inspiration from prayers does not meet the requirements of academic hermeneutics, but it demonstrates the prophetic power. From the apologetic perspective, this power did not only challenge the lifeless religious practices in the Holiness Movement, but also emphasized the significance of sanctification, so that the church could receive Spirit baptism as promised in the Bible. His revivalistic character enforced the revival movement to become a missionary movement of faith. He molded the spiritual direction of the entire Movement through preaching and revival meetings. Spirit

[46] Ernest Williams, "Memories of Azusa Street Mission", in Larry Martin (ed.) *The True Believers,* 48.

[47] *Apostolic Faith*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Sept 1906), 9.

baptism was the axis of his sermons; the fivefold gospel and redemption were central themes. The spiritual heritage that he left for us is indeed precious for contemporary Pentecostal churches that seek the infiltration of the Holy Spirit.

[*AJPS* 14:1 (2011), pp. 74-92]

THE WORK OF THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE CHURCH: A STUDY OF EPHESIANS[1]

David Liu

Translated by Connie Au

This article discusses the role of the Holy Spirit in building up the church and his functioning in biblical theology. Paul's epistles are composed of two cognitive dimensions. The first half of each epistle is theoretical and theological whereas the second half discusses pragmatic and ethical issues. This character appears in Romans, Galatians and other prison epistles. In the case of Ephesians, chapters one to three are theological discourse and four to six discusses ethical issues.[2] The logic behind this arrangement is that, theory is the foundation of praxis. Christians' spiritual and ethical life should be built upon theology. If there are problems in theology, there will be problems in spiritual life. This article is to investigate the work of the Holy Spirit in the church by analyzing the lexical and grammatical meanings of some biblical terms in Greek. It is aimed to elaborate not only the external manifest power of the Holy Spirit in the life of the church (doing), but also the internal transformation deep inside our life (being).[3]

---

[1] Scriptures are quoted from the Jerusalem Bible unless it is stated otherwise.

[2] Ephesians is an epistle that focuses on the Holy Spirit, who is mentioned in every chapter. Chapter one discusses the seal of the Holy Spirit on believers. Chapter two argues that the church is the temple of the God dwelled by the Holy Spirit. Chapter three describes the inner man being strengthened by the power of the Holy Spirit. Chapter four explains about the unity in the Holy Spirit. Chapter five teaches about being filled by the Holy Spirit but not getting drunk. Chapter six is about praying at all times in the Holy Spirit. (Paul Shen, *Glimpse of Heaven: A Study of Ephesians* (Hong Kong: China Graduate School of Theology, 1992), p. 242.)

[3] David Lim, *Spiritual Gifts: A Fresh Look* (Taipei: Elim Christian Bookstore, 1997), pp. 11-215.

The theme of the Ephesians is ecclesiological. This epistle was written during Paul's first imprisonment in Rome.[4] The spiritual guidance to the Ephesians' church was drawn out from his reflection on his suffering. Ecclesiology is about the work of the God of Father through his beloved Son and the Spirit in his church. This process is completed by the grace of being chosen, the work of rebirth, the life of sanctification, the love for each other, the functioning of gifts, spiritual warfare and other dimensions. The growth of the early church was intimately attributable to the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the Pentecost. Nevertheless, the Lord of the Church remains Jesus Christ. The Church is his body and the ultimate purpose of the work of the Holy Spirit is to reveal the truth, as Jesus says, "But when the Spirit of truth comes he will lead[5] you to the complete truth, since he will not be speaking as from himself, but will say only what he has learnt; and he will tell you of the things to come. He will glorify me, since all he tells you will be taken from what is mine" (John 16:13-14).

The Old Testament demonstrates the God who speaks to people through prophets and his words were written in scriptures (2 Tim 3:16). He then spoke to the world through Jesus Christ, who was the word incarnate (Heb 1:1-2, 1 Tim 3:16). He now speaks through the Holy Spirit in our hearts according to the principles in the Bible. Since God's word is the solid foundation of faith, the church can grow in the midst of suffering (Eph 4:13-16, 3:17) and becomes a "new man". It can therefore serve the world (περιπατέω)[6] (Eph 2:10, 4:1, 17, 5:2, 8, 15) and speak to it with God's word (2 Tim 2:15).

To become a "new man" of the time (Eph 2:15, 4:20-24), one must grow in Christ. As it is said in Eph 4:24, "…so that you can put on the new self that has been created in God's way, in the goodness and holiness of the truth." A new man will bring this "wicked age" the mystery of the salvation of the God almighty (Eph 5:16) and even the whole universe, as Eph 3:10-11 says, "…so that the sovereignties and powers should learn only now, through the Church, how comprehensive God's wisdom really is, exactly according to the plan

[4] There are many arguments about where Paul wrote the epistle, but this is not the focus of this article.

[5] The Greek word means "enter".

[6] The Greek terms adopted in this article are taken from *The Greek New Testament* (4th rev. ed.). Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1998.

which he had had from all eternity in Christ Jesus our Lord." Jesus has already formed a community of "new man" in the world and it belongs to him only. εἰς ἕνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον means to create in himself one new man out of the two (Eph 2:15). This new man is a new tribe, new human being and a representative of Christ on earth.

To become a servant of the time is to serve the world according to the will of God (Eph 5:17) through ministries, gifts and power from God, "so that the saints together make a unity in the work of service, building up the body of Christ" (Eph 4:12). Moreover, Paul commands that a servant "should try to find some useful manual work" and to do some good by helping others who are in need rather than stealing (Eph 4:28). "Do some good" (τό ἀγαθόν) means showing goodness and kindness. It is translated as "God's work of art" (ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς) in Eph 2:10, which suggests that we are the products created by God in Jesus Christ. This product is meant to give alms and work hard to fulfill our own and others' daily needs. As Eph 6:6 says, "not only when you are under their eye, as if you had only to please men, but because you are slaves of Christ and wholeheartedly do the will of God." Those who do good works will be rewarded by God (Eph 6:8), but we can only do so by the power of the Holy Spirit.

The Holy Spirit and His Works in Ephesians

Because of the work of the Holy Spirit, our life is changed ontologically. The following analyses the change in four dimensions: the Holy Spirit and new life, the Holy Spirit and sanctification, the Holy Spirit and power, and the Holy Spirit and unity.

1. The Holy Spirit and New Life

Eph 1:13-14 (also Eph 4:30): Now you too, in him, have heard the message of the truth and the good news of your salvation, and have believed it; and you too have been stamped with the seal of the Holy Spirit of the Promise, the pledge of our inheritance which brings freedom for those God has take for his own, to make his glory praised.

"Heard" and "believed" are both participles. Participles are used to bring a main verb in the same time frame. Verse 13 suggests that as we listen to truth and believe in Christ, we are sealed by the Holy Spirit. Being "sealed" (ἐσφραγίσθητε) is the main verb in the

scripture and is the aorist passive indicative of the second person in "you were marked in him with a seal." This kind of main verb phrase is similar to what is used in Acts 19:2, "Did you receive the Holy Spirit?" (εἰ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐλάβετε πιστεύσαντες). This verse can be literally translated as "at the moment you believe, did you receive the Holy Spirit?"[7] In Greek, "believe" is a participle. It co-exists with "receive the Holy Spirit" (main verb), which is more important since it is the sign of rebirth and the indwelling of the Spirit.[8] It can also mean receiving the filling of the Holy Spirit after conversion, as what happened to the twelve disciples when speaking in tongues and prophesying on Pentecost. "Gain power" in Acts 1:8 (λήμψεσθε δύναμιν) can be translated as "receive power" as it is derived from the same verb, "λαμβάνω".

Seal is referred to ownership and a stamp of verification (Jer 32:9-10).[9] It means that God holds the authority of the life of a Christian who is recognized by God (Rev 7:3). Francis Foulkes suggests that seal in the New Testament has similar meaning as the Jew's circumcision since it identifies God's ownership of the people, or as the tattoo used in the ritual of conversion in paganism.[10]

Jack W. Hayford suggests that "the seal of the Holy Spirit" bears the same meaning as being filled by the Holy Spirit and receiving the power of the Spirit. He opposes that it is referred to salvation

---

[7]Ralph Riggs, Tsai Tung Ho (trans), *The Spirit Himself* (Taipei: The China Assemblies of God, 1991), p. 38.

[8] John Owen, a British Puritan, suggests three aspects of the significance of signs: stamping of image of God, guaranteeing promise, and assuring salvation. (Tan Che Bin, et al, *The Holy Spirit Then and Now* (Taipei: China Theological Seminary, 2001), pp. 278-280.)

[9] Peter T. O'Brien, Chen Chi Wen and Pan Qiu Song (trans), *The Letter to the Ephesians* (California: A Kernel of Wheat Christian Ministries, 2009), p. 234.

Gordon D. Fee, Cao Ming Xing (trans), *Paul, the Spirit, and the People of God* (Taipei: Campus Evangelical Fellowship, 2001), p.83. Fee suggests that stamp is referred to the Holy Spirit and represents ownership.

[10] Francis Foulkes, *The Epistle of Paul to The Ephesians* (England: Inter-Varsity Press, 1988), p. 56.

because "have believed" in verse 13 suggests rebirth. A person will subsequently receive the filling of the Holy Spirit as a seal of God receiving the authority of his life.[11] He refers to Martyn Lloyn-Jones saying that the seal of the Holy Spirit is the second step of the work of the Holy Spirit.[12]

Verse 14 suggests that God uses the indwelling and filling of the Holy Spirit as a guarantee, deposit and pledge (ἀρραβών) (see also 2 Cor. 1:22, 5:5) for two purposes. First, it guarantees that after we are resurrected spiritually and physically, we will definitely receive the rest of the inheritance that God has prepared for us. Secondly, the pledge of the Holy Spirit is aimed for the praise of God's glory. To say that the Holy Spirit is the seal, deposit and pledge is the same as saying that the Holy Spirit is the "first fruit" (Rom 8:23).

The day of Pentecost marks the beginning of the universal outpouring of the Holy Spirit "on all flesh" as promised by Jesus. Those who believe in God and repent will receive the Holy Spirit as the disciples. The rebirth in the Holy Spirit happens only once as a seal which indicates that the believers are rescued from the power of Satan and become God's children (Eph 5:1, Rom 8:16) and possession. God has also promised his children "the inheritance that can never be spoilt or soiled and never fade away" (1 Pet 1:3-4). By faith we experience the Holy Spirit unceasingly; even now we taste the unspoilt inheritance of heaven. Paul says that Christians are brought "to life with Christ" (συνεζωοποίησεν), raised up with him (συνήγειρεν) and given "a place with him in heaven" (συνεκάθισεν) (Eph 2:5-6). These three verbs are written in simple past tense in Greek[13] to indicate that something happened already and to emphasize the timing of the event. In other words, whoever truly believes in Jesus at any time will be given the three experiences with Christ mentioned above. Apparently Paul applies the concept of a "realized eschatology" to illustrate that Christians have already possessed the "spiritual blessings of heaven" (Eph 1:3) and the Holy Spirit is the "initial evidence" of our endowment of the inheritance.

---

[11]Jack W. Hayford, Jammie Siu (trans), *The Glorious Church of God* (Taipei: Elim), pp. 77,130.

[12]Ibid.

[13] The tense of the verb is aorist, in active voice and indicative mood.

To conclude, Eph 1:13-14 suggests that a Christian is God's possession, or "God's own" (verse 11). He will be heir of God's inheritance and his life will be the praise of God's glory. The concept of God's possession first appears in Moses' prayer in Exodus 34:9, "If I have indeed won your favour, Lord…let my Lord come with us, I beg. True, they are a headstrong people, but forgive us our faults and our sins, and adopt us as your heritage." Also, in Num 18:20, "Yahweh says to Aaron, 'You shall have no inheritance in their land, no portion of it among them shall be yours, it is I who will be your portion and your inheritance among the sons of Israel.'" Another parallel scripture is Col 1:12, "Thanking the Father who has made it possible for you to join the saints and with them to inherit the light." To endow God's inheritance is to inherit all sorts of spiritual goodness and blessings in heaven.

2. The Holy Spirit and Sanctification

Eph 5:8-10: You were darkness once, but now you are light in the Lord; be like children of light, for the effects of the light are seen in complete goodness and right living and truth.

Christians leading a holy life means endowing the nature of God, both kindness (Mark 10:18) and righteousness, as Moses announces, "'He is the Rock, his work is perfect, for all his ways are equity. A God faithful, without unfairness, upright itself and justice.'" (Deut 32:4). Christians are to live a life that pleases God in truth, which can be translated as honesty (ἀλήθεια), and to do so, they should be under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

George Fox (AD 1624-91) initiated a revival movement with an emphasis of inner light in the 17th century. According to his biography, he was a charismatic person who always prophesized.[14] Fox stressed that a true Christian and disciple had the light of the Holy Spirit and knew about truth authentically, which was the "inner light". He stated that since the Bible was written through the inspiration of the Spirit of God, Christians should come close to the Spirit in their hearts, so that they could know about God and Christ like the disciples and

[14] George Fox, Moses Hsu (tran), *Quaker Classics* (Hong Kong: Chinese Christian Council Ltd, 1991), p. 71. George Fox prophesied that the British parliament would be disbanded in two weeks in 1653 and it happened when General Oliver Cromwell gave an order to disband it.

prophets in the Bible. Moreover, since the prophets and apostles were inspired by the Spirit to write the scriptures, the same Spirit dwelt in those who understood the scriptures. Because of the indwelling of the Spirit, Christians could be in communion with the Father, Son and other believers; otherwise, they would not know God, the Christ, the word and be in fellowship with others.[15] He also preached about sin being revealed by that inner light (Eph 5:14). Some people sought this light according to his teaching and were filled by the Holy Spirit. Since their bodies were shaking, they were called "Quakers".[16]

Christians are the children of the Light and bear its fruit (Eph 5:9, Gal. 5:22). Although they cannot reach the standard of "not able to sin",[17] they are "able not to sin" with the help of the Spirit. When a person is saved, he is sanctified at the same time. Hence, Paul addresses the Ephesians "the saints" (τοῖς ἁγίοις) who are faithful to Christ (Eph 1:1).

Ephesians 4-6 teach about the life of sanctification. Sanctification is a terminology of sacrifice,[18] meaning cleansing. For example, the priests had to wash their clothes before seeing God (Ex. 19:10, 14). It also means offering something to be used by God, such as the first born (Ex 15:19) and the gifts offered at the temple (2 Sam. 8:11). In the New Testament, sanctification is referred to transformation of the inner self. It is neither a ritualistic term nor about law (Rom 7:6) because Christian life and deeds are an offering and worship (Eph 5:8-21). Since our lives are sacrifices to God (Rom 12:1), we must be holy; otherwise, we will grieve the Holy Spirit (Eph 4:30). In Eph 5:8 and 5:15, 17, there is a contrast between "then" (ποτέ) and "now" (νῦν), and "darkness" and "light". These verses contain both

---

[15] Ibid, pp. 69-70, 109.

[16] Ibid., pp. 11, 36. Another reason for being called Quaker was that in 1650, when Fox was questioned by the judge, Bennet of Derby, concerning his faith, Fox warned him that he must shake in front of God. He rebuked Fox and said, "Then you are a Quaker."

[17] Willian W. Menzies, Robert Yeung (tran), *Bible Doctrines: A Pentecostal Perspective* (Hong Kong: Ecclesia Bible College, 2001), p. 103.

[18] Arnold M. K. Yeung (ed), "Sanctification", *New Dictionary of Theology* (Taipei: Campus Evangelical Fellowship, 1997) CD-Rom version.

positive encouragement and negative warning written in imperative tone. As Eph 5: 15-17 says, "…so be very careful about the sort of lives you lead, like intelligent and not like ensile people. This may be a wicked age, but your lives should redeem it. And do not be thoughtless but recognize what is the will of the Lord". The table below shows the contrasts between a life of the Spirit and not of the Spirit according to Eph 5:18.

Eph 5:18, "Do not drug yourselves with wine, this is simply dissipation." This is an imperative sentence. Getting drunk causes a loss of self-control and abnormal behaviour. Alcohol has also brought damages to plenty of lives and families. "Wine is reckless, strong drink quarrelsome; unwise is he whom it seduces" (Prob 20:1, 23:29-30).	Eph 5:18, "Be filled with the Holy Spirit." In the Greek text, it is written in present imperative, so it means a "continuous" filling and control of the Holy Spirit.

Eph 18:19-22 explains the deeds of the life in the Holy Spirit.

Eph 5:19, "Sing the words and tunes of the psalms and hymns when you are together, and go on singing and chanting to the Lord in your hearts." "Psalms" can be referred to the book in the Old Testament. "Hymns" stresses the praising songs according to the intellectual understandings of God. "Spiritual songs" or "chanting"[19] means the praise sung under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, which is not necessarily related to expressions in tongues.[20] The verse is coherent to 1 Cor 14:15, "Surely I should pray not only with the spirit but with the mind as well?"

Eph 5:20, "so that always and everywhere you are giving thanks to God who is our Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." Christians are advised to give thanks to God in Jesus Christ

[19] "Spiritual song" is used in the New International Version; "chanting" is used in the Jerusalem Bible.

[20] Stanley M. Horton, Radiant Life Ministries (tran), *What the Bible Says about the Holy Spirit.* (Hong Kong: Radiant Life Ministries, 1989), p. 255.

always and in whatever circumstances: life or death, fortune or suffering, "because this is what God expects" us to do (1 Thess 5:18). Also, thanksgiving usually happens before miracles as suggested in John 11:41-44.

Eph 5:21 "Give way to one another in obedience to Christ." Praising together and giving thanks to God for everything maintains a vertical relationship with God. Being subjected to one another builds up a horizontal relationship with others. These two relationships nurture harmonious characters in a Spirit-filled church.[21]

Eph 5:22, "Wives should regard their husbands as they regard the Lord" (αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ). The meaning of this verse is connected to "obedience" (ὑποτασσόμενοι) in the previous verse. "As they regard the Lord" implies that the obedience, fear, love and faithfulness that a woman gives to God are also her attitudes towards her husband if she is filled by the Spirit. Similarly, a husband should also treat his wife with these qualities.

3. The Holy Spirit and Power

When Paul talks about the power of the Holy Spirit, he uses the word, "evnerge,w", which means to be active and efficient. Paul uses this word frequently as a noun (five times) and a verb (twenty times). In his teaching, the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of power and his work brings about the effects as the following.

a. *The power of resurrection within believers:* Eph 1:19-20 says, "And how infinitely great is the power that he has exercised for us believers. This you can tell from the strength of his power at work in Christ, when he used it to raise him from the dead and to make him sit at his right hand, in heaven." This scripture parallels to Paul's prayer for the believers in Eph 1:17-19.

b. *The endowment of gifts and tasks:* Gifts are given accordingly (Eph 4:7-10). "Each one of us, however, has been given his own share of grace, given as Christ allotted it" (v. 7). The gift given by Christ to each person is different; so as different garments fit different bodies, but it is all given by grace.

Eph 4:11-12 says, "And to some, his gift was that they should be apostles; to some, prophets; to some, evangelists; to some, pastors and teachers; so that the saints together make a unity in the work of

---

[21] Paul Shen , *Glimpse of Heaven: A Study of Ephesians*, p. 249.

service, building up the body of Christ." Ministry is both in diversity and unity. In τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους, there is a definite article for both pastors and teachers, which means a person can be given two tasks.[22] The four/fivefold ministries are Christ's "fulfilling gifts" [23] to the Church for the purpose of serving and nurturing others so that they become mature (1 Cor. 12:28). They are all important in different aspects and functions so as each part of our body. μέν…δέ means "in this aspect…but in the other aspect", or "on the one hand…on the other hand". The following is the analysis of each ministry.

a. *Apostles:* Ulf Ekman suggests that there are regional and national apostles.[24] Paul says, "Through him we received grace and our apostolic mission to reach the obedience of faith to all pagan nations in honour of his name" (Rom 1:15). Nowadays we do not usually define apostle according to the criteria in Acts 1:21-22 and it is less likely have an apostle directly chosen by God like Paul. We only define apostle from a functional perspective, that he has been given the responsibilities of building up churches, evangelism, pastoring and teaching.[25]

b. *Prophets:* They are either regional or national. Since they are sensitive to sin, they tend to convey strong messages and teaching, but they are bound to speak for the sake of "improvement", "encouragement" and "consolation" (1 Cor 14:3). Strong criticisms will only bring about more chaos instead of peace. The Greek word for

---

[22] Frank E. Gaebelein (ed), *The Expositor's Bible Commentary, Vol. 11* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978), p. 58.

[23] David Lim, *Spiritual Gifts: A Fresh Look* (Taipei: Elim, 1997), p. 227.

[24] Ulf Ekman, *The Prophetic Ministry* (Taipei: Grace Publishing House, 2003), p. 33.

[25] Church Growth Research Institute, Zhang Han ye (tran), *Grace and Gifts* (Taipei: Full Gospel Publishing House, 2003), pp. 28-31. In his analysis on the New Apostolic Movement, Peter Wagner suggests four categories of apostle: 1. vertical apostles, who are leaders in the team; 2. horizontal apostles, who build up relationships with peoples with their communication and leadership skills; 3. hyphenated apostles, who have more than one responsibilities such as being an evangelist, a disciple, a teacher, etc; 4. marketplace apostles, like Luke and Lydia (Acts 16:!4; Col 4:14). I personally have reservations about these categories.

"peace" in 1 Cor 14:33 is εἰρήνης. Those who prophesy occasionally are not necessarily prophets,[26] but those who are chosen to be a prophet should speak according to the Bible. 1 Thess 5:20-21 suggests that we should "not treat the gift of prophecy with contempt; think before you do anything—hold on to what is good". Nowadays, prophets are expected to be authoritative, accurate, and revelatory. They are not the same as the prophets in the Old Testament. Some Old Testament scholar suggests that there are two types of prophetic messages.[27] The first one is "forthtelling", including encouragement, teaching and refuting errors as found in the Torah and especially Deut. 28 and Lev. 26. The other one is "foretelling", which is particularly concerned about the eschatological messianic kingdom and the unfulfilled prophecy of the salvation of God's people. In the New Testament, most of the prophecies are forthtelling, such as Acts 15:32,[28] rather than foretelling.[29] As far as churches in the present time are concerned, most of the prophecies have become historical. As we seek God's guidance regarding our daily life, we should discern the prophetic messages based on biblical teaching.

c. *Evangelists:* They are either regional or national. Since they are responsible for pioneering itinerant work, they tend to stay in one place temporarily. However, some scholars disagree that evangelists are itinerant preachers because Paul insists that Timothy should stay in Ephesus to minister churches and teach (1 Tim 1:3; 2 Tim 4:5).[30] The major responsibility of evangelists is to minister to unbelievers first, then believers.

d. *Pastors and teachers:* They are regional and administrative. The tasks of a pastor are different from those of superintendents and

---

[26] Klyne Snodgrass, Yin Miao Zhen (tran), *The NIV Application Commentary: Ephesians* (Hong Kong: Chinese Bible International Ltd, 2008), p. 219.

[27] Payne, J. Barton, *Encyclopedia of Biblical Prophecy: The Complete Guide to Scriptural Predictions and Their Fulfillment* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), pp.11-12.

[28] Francis Foulkes. *The Epistle of Paul To The Ephesians* (Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press, 1988), p.118.

[29] Jennifer H. Sun, *Introduction to the Literature of the Bible* (Taipei: Campus Evangelical Fellowship, 2001), p. 84.

[30] Klyne Snodgrass, *The NIV Application Commentary*, p. 219.

elders (Act 14:23, 20:17, 28, 1 Tim 5:17). They remain in a particular church for a long period of time and teach about truth to the congregation systematically to ensure the purity and maturity of faith. They are also regarded as "teaching pastors".[31]

It is possible for apostles to participate in prophetic, evangelical and pastoral ministry; however, pastors and teachers cannot easily take part in apostolic, prophetic and evangelical works. They are expected to be involved in local ministry faithfully. Frequent travel may cause disorder in their local church unless God calls them to do so. The work of apostles and prophets are foundational.[32] They are endowed with the gift of church-planting, as Eph 2:20 declares, "…a building that has the apostles and prophets for its foundations, and Jesus Christ himself for its main cornerstone". And Eph 3:5 says, "The mystery that has now (νῦν) been revealed through the Spirit to his holy apostles and prophets was unknown to any men in past generations". They are supposed to follow the principle of the Bible rather than developing their own authority when speaking.[33]Gifts and ministries are given for the purposes of equipping (πρὸς τὸν καταρτισμὸν τῶν ἁγίων) saints, getting involved in church (εἰς ἔργον διακονίας) and building up the body of Christ, which is the most important among all (Eph 4:16).[34]

An Indonesian Chinese evangelist, Stephen Tong, claims that apostles signify the task of the New Testament period while prophets signify the Old Testament time. Since the Old and New Testaments were written, the tasks of prophets and apostles were accomplished; in other words, prophets and apostles cease to exist though he acknowledges that prophetic and apostolic ministries still remain.[35] Some scholars disagree with this view[36] because "now" (νῦν) in Eph 3:5 is referred to the prophets in the early church instead of those in the

---

[31] Peter T. O'Brien, *The Letter to the Ephesians*, p. 507.

[32] Ibid., p. 377.

[33] Donald C. Stamps (ed), *Full Life Study Bible* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), p. 1830.

[34]Ibid., p. 513.

[35] Stephen Tong, *The Spirit Baptism and Gifts* (Taipei: CMI Publishing Co., 2002.), pp. 180, 190.

[36]Peter T. O'Brien, *The Letter to the Ephesians*, p. 378.

Old Testament. Moreover, it is possible for churches of every era to be granted (ἔδωκεν)[37] gifted people from God. This is why apostles and prophets still exist nowadays.[38]

In addition, Paul says, "I have been made the servant (διάκονος) of that gospel by a gift of grace from God who gave it to me by his own power" (Eph 3:7). In the New American Standard Bible, "by his own power" is translated into "according to the working of His power" (κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ). "Working" (noun: ἐνέργεια, verb: ἐνεργέω) is referred to supernatural deeds and activities in the Bible. For example, Eph 1:11 suggests that God is the one who "guides all things as he decides by his own will"; Eph 1:19-20 also mentions about the power of resurrection working among us; Eph 2:2 talks about "the spirit who is at work in the rebellious" leading to self-destruction;

Eph 3:20 says, "Glory be to him whose power, working in us, can do infinitely more than we can ask or imagine". "Can" and "do" are both present middle participles; "ask" and "imagine" (αἰτούμεθα ἢ νοοῦμεν) are both main verbs. This verse refers to the work of the Holy Spirit in our prayers. Paul's prayers are charismatic in style,[39] which means the prayers inspired by the Holy Spirit. Paul always says "through his Spirit (διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ)" (Eph 3:16) or "praying in the Spirit (ἐν πνεύματι)" (Eph 6:18). Two of Paul's prayers are recorded in Ephesians (1:17-19; 3:14-19), which demonstrate the guidance of the Holy Spirit in his life and works.

a. *The first prayer (1:17-19):* Paul prays that God would give "a spirit of wisdom and perception of what is revealed" to believers, so that they would be given the "full knowledge" (ἐπίγνωσις) of God. The theme of this prayer is about knowing more about God,[40] including his

---

[37] ἔδωκεν is an aorist active indicative. It indicates an action rather than time.

[38] Peter T. O'Brien, *The Letter to the Ephesians*, pp. 504, 508.

[39] Tan Che Bin et al. (ed) *The Holy Spirit Then and Now* (Taipei: China Evangelical Seminary, 2001), p. 232.

[40] According to Tan Che Bin, there are four aspects of the relationship between the Holy Spirit and revelations: 1. Inspired speech, words of wisdom, praise, and revelation; 2. The Holy Spirit and power; 3. The Holy Spirit, morality and, justice; 4. The Holy Spirit and salvation. (Tan Che Bin et al., *The Holy Spirit Then and Now*, pp. 229-243.

holiness, (1:4), "kind purposes" to treat each other (1:6), wisdom to understand God's mystery (1:5, 9, 11) and his power which raised Jesus from the death. This power can also transform us from the old to the new self, and from despair to hope, "by his own will" (1:11). There are three words referring to power and they are synonyms in 1:19: "and how infinitely great is the power (δυνάμεως) that he has exercised for us believers. This you can tell from the strength (κράτους) of his power (ἰσχύος)."[41]

b. The second prayer (3:14-19):[42] The Greek word, ἵνα, appears three times to indicate the purposes of this prayer (verses 16, 18, 19). Verse 16 says, "Out of his infinite glory, may he give you the power through his Spirit for your hidden self to grow strong." It means through (διά) his infinite glory and the Holy Spirit we can boldly ask God for something. The gift that Paul asks for is aimed at power (δύναμις). He uses δύναμις to describe the way that God's almighty power is granted to his people so that they can be strong in trials (3:13) and be brave in spiritual warfare (6:10-17). "For your hidden self to grow strong" means our spirit, soul, mind, thoughts, emotion and conscience become strong and confident, so that Christ's love dwells in our hearts and our faith will be planted and built on his love. "Planted" and "built" imply firmness and dynamic growth. "Faith" and "love" both appear in verse 17. "Faith" suggests the vertical dimension of Christian life with Christ. "Love" suggests the horizontal dimension of the mutual love of believers in Christ. Believers experience the power of the Holy Spirit with faith and this power creates a bonding between people of different origins, the Jew and gentiles, with love. This

---

[41] δυνάμεως (from δύναμις) means force, ability, abundance, and might (Eph 3:16). It appears 120 times in the New Testament and suggests the power of the Holy Spirit. κράτους (from κράτος) means dominion, might, power and, strength. Heb 2:14 says that Jesus dies in order to destroy the power of death, which is Satan. ἰσχύος (from ἰσχύς) means strength, ability, and might (Eph 6:10). On Greek lexical studies, please refer to Walter Bauer and Wright Doyle (tran), *A Greek-Chinese Lexicon of the New Testament* (Douliu, Taiwan: Conservative Baptist Press, 1986) and *The Word* (http://www.theword.gr/index.php?home&l=english).

[42] On analyses of this prayer, refer to Grant Osborne, *A Comprehensive Introduction to Biblical Interpretation* (Taipei: Campus Evangelical Fellowship, 2002), pp. 157-163.

fraternal love enhances our understandings of the love of Christ, "which is beyond all knowledge", and we are "filled (verb: πληρωθῆτε) with the utter fullness (noun: πλήρωμα) of God" (3:19). Since God is love, knowing his love means being filled by his "utter fullness" of the Holy Spirit, love, power, knowledge, faith, and glory. God is pleased to fill the church with all "utter fullness" so that "we are all to come to unity in our faith and in our knowledge of the Son of God, until we become the perfect Man, fully mature with the *fullness* of Christ himself" (4:13).

4. The Holy Spirit and Unity

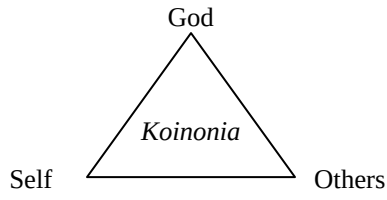
Eph 4:1-6, "I, the prisoner in the Lord, implore you therefore to lead a life worthy of your vocation. Bear with one another charitably, in complete selflessness, gentleness and patience. Do all you can to preserve the unity of the Spirit by the peace that binds you together. There is one Body, one Spirit, just as you were all called into one and the same hope when you were called. There is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and one God who is Father of all, over all, through all and within all".

The Holy Spirit is a Spirit of unity. He brings about unity to the Body of Christ (John 17:20-22). To discuss unity, it is inevitable to analyze the source, process and result of unity. Paul uses the word, "one", many times in Eph 4:1-6 (εἷς: masculine, μία: feminine, ἕν: neutral). The unity of the church and fellowship (κοινωνία) reflects the unity of the trinitarian God,[43] as Jesus says, "The Father and I are one" (John 10:30) and "I have given them the glory you gave to me, that they may be one as we are one" (John 17:22). Paul warns against the sin that hampers the unity of the church in Eph 4:25-31 because that will grieve the Holy Spirit (Eph 4:30).

Acts 2:42 describes the *koinonia* in the early church: "These remained faithful to the teaching of the apostles, to the brotherhood, to the breaking of bread and to the prayers". *Koinonia* can be translated as "fellowship" (Phil 2:1) or "communion" (2 Cor 6:14). It was not referred to an organization or programme in the New Testament period. The life in *koinonia* is not about ministry and works, but life—the life of the trinitarian God and the relationship of the three divine persons.

---

[43] Gordon D. Fee, *Paul, the Spirit, and the People of God*, p. 102.



This word is used to suggest participation in fellowship, almsgiving (Rom 15:26, 2 Cor 8:4), and sharing spiritual or emotional burden in ministry as one body (Phil 1:5). For instance, Paul is comforted when Philemon shares his burden in ministry (Philemon 6, 20). Because of the Holy Spirit, we can uphold each other and are in fellowship in the Holy Spirit (2 Cor 13:14).

God aims to build up his church in unity and wholeness. John Scott suggests that there are two characteristics in the new community that is called by God. First, it is a people of unity, formed by Jewish and gentile believers. Second, it is a people of holiness, separated from the world and belonging to God only.[44] God calls (ἐκλήθητε)[45] us to be one and to endow with five spiritual characters, which are the criteria of unity, in all circumstances.

a. *Humility:* It is the most important criterion of unity, as Paul says, "Always consider the person to be better than yourself" (Phil 2:3).

b. *Meekness and gentleness:* Gentleness to people is nurtured through obedience to God.[46] A gentle person does not fight for his own right in front of God and people,[47] and even bears unreasonable rebuke.

c. *Patience and endurance:* To be patient with people's weaknesses and injustice, to have self-control and perseverance in suffering and frustration without attempt of revenge.[48]

---

[44] Klyne Snodgrass, *The NIV Application Commentary: Ephesians*, pp. 148-149.

[45] It means "you were called".

[46] Archibald T. Robertson, I-Pyng Chang (tran.), *Galatians, Ephesians, Philippines, Colossians*, Vol. VII (California: Living Spring, 1991), p. 491.

[47] Ibid., p.151.

[48] Klyne Snodgrass, *The NIV Application Commentary: Ephesians*, p. 211; Peter T. O'Brien, *The Letter to the Ephesians*, p. 473.

d. *Bearing with one another in love:* To accept one another until conflicts end.[49]

e. *In love* (ἐν ἀγάπῃ): Love is not a feeling, but determination.[50] Love includes all the four characters mentioned above, as Paul says, "Over all these clothes, to keep them together and complete them, put on love" (Col. 3:14).

Patience, gentleness, and kindness are the characters of the fruit of the Holy Spirit mentioned in Gal 5:22-23. If these characters do not exist in the church, unity is in vain. Unity is a calling and command of God and we must accomplish it with diligence (σπουδάζοντες) because there is no "cheap" unity. It cannot be achieved through "just word or mere talk, but something real and active" (1 John 3:18). "Preserve the unity of the Spirit by the peace that binds you together" (σπουδάζοντες τηρεῖν τὴν ἑνότητα τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης·) (Eph 4:3) means "the string of peace that binds you together in the unity of the Holy Spirit". Therefore, unity is the sign of a mature Christian community that desires the Holy Spirit and spiritual gifts.

In Eph 4:4-6, Paul uses the word, "one", for seven times (εἷς: masculine; μία: feminine; ἕν: neutral): one body, one spirit, one hope, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and one God. These aspects of oneness are related to the oneness of the trinitarian God. (verse 4 ἓν σῶμα καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα, καθὼς καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ὑμῶν· verse 5 εἷς κύριος, μία πίστις, ἓν βάπτισμα· verse 6 εἷς θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν.) Stanley Horton and John Scott categorize these aspects into three types: the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit.

a. *Father:* There is only one God because he is the Father of humankind, as Eph 4:6 states, "There is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and one God who is Father of all, over all, through all and within all". Paul uses three prepositions to express the nature and work of the almighty God. "Over all" suggests God's supreme sovereignty and glory. "Through all" states God's love to humankind. "In all" refers God's inspiration and work in human's hearts.

b. *Son:* There is only one hope, one faith, and one baptism because there is only one Lord. Jesus is the reason of our faith, hope,

---

[49] Fritz Rienecker, *A Linguistic Key to the Greek New Testament* (Hong Kong: Capstone, 1996), p. 675.

[50] Klyne Snodgrass, *The NIV Application Commentary: Ephesians*, p. 211.

and baptism. One baptism in this verse is commonly referred to the sacrament, but Horton suggests that it means being baptized in the Holy Spirit and being one with other believers in Christ.

c. *Holy Spirit:* There is only one body because there is only one Holy Spirit, as 1 Cor 12:13 says, "In the one Spirit we were all baptized, Jews as well as Greeks, slaves as well as citizens, and one Spirit was given to us all to drink".

Ephesians depicts the Holy Spirit as a spirit of wisdom, revelation (1:17, 3:5), power (3:16), and unity (2:18, 4:3). He also sanctifies (4:30) and prays for us (6:18). Pentecostal and charismatic churches have less theological discrepancies on pneumatology, but more on ecclesiology, and consequently division happens. On the one hand, they have been isolated by mainline Protestant churches. One the other hand, some charismatic groups leave their churches and form their own because of different experience, style of worship, or understandings of charismatic experience. Unity has always been a challenge to Pentecostals and charismatics because they think about unity in themselves rather than in Christ. The core value of ecclesiology is unity,[51] or to be specific, unity in diversity. Unity brings about a definite consequence: church growth. This is what Ephesians stresses, "For he is the peace between us and has made the two into one and broken down the barrier which used to keep them apart, actually destroying in his own person the hostility" (2:14) and "as every structure is aligned on him, all grow into one holy temple in the Lord; and you too, in him, are being built into a house where God lives, I the Spirit." (Eph. 2:21-22).

The Moravian Movement in the eighteenth century emphasized pietism and a balanced denominationalism. Its leader, Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, accepted some Bohemian refugees to be members of his church but problems arose when they gathered in services. Since they came from Presbyterian, Baptist, Lutheran, and other denominations, they had their own understandings and practices of baptism, Eucharist, and liturgy. To resolve the problems, Zinzendorf announced three rules.[52] First, there must be consensus on things essential:[53] one Bible, one Savior, one cross, and one salvation. Since

---

[51] Gordon D. Fee, *Paul, the Spirit, and the People of God,* p. 103.

[52]Shao Zun Lan, *Jesus is Lord* (Singapore: Chinese Church Union, 1985), p. 97.

[53] There are five points in fundamentalism: 1. the inerrancy of the Bible; 2. the divinity of Christ; 3. the virgin birth of Christ and bodily resurrection on the

these were the core elements of faith, no compromise was allowed. Second, there must be liberty and flexibility in things unessential, including the rites of baptism, Eucharist, worship, and liturgical styles since these were not core elements of faith. Last but not least, there must be charity in all things. Pentecostal and charismatic churches have had conflicts with one another internally and with the evangelical externally. These three points can be their reminders when differences appear. I believe that the Lord of the church, Jesus Christ, who grants us grace to empower us, gifts to serve each other, and words to encourage and comfort each other, will lead us from doubt to assurance, from division to unity.

The Moravian Movement, the Quaker Movement and John Wesley's Methodist Revival demonstrate that revivals bring about unity and motivate waves of missionary movements. Because of unity, the gospel is spread around the world.

---

third day after death; 4. his substitutionary atonement; 5. his second coming in human history. Those who accept these five points hold the legitimacy of his/her faith. (cf. Paul P. Enns, *The Moody Handbook of Theology*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1995.

[*AJPS* 14:1 (2011), pp. 93-107]

AUTOCHTHONOUS AND MULTICULTURAL: BELIEFS AND BOUNDARY-KEEPING IN THE TRUE JESUS CHURCH[1]

David Reed

Boundary-keeping is a necessary function of any human community, large or small. The human group may be liberally inclusive or radically exclusive. But boundary-keeping is simply the way by which that community knows itself. It helps shape and sustain the distinctive identity of the community.

As such, boundary-keeping is not intrinsically a negative activity that isolates the community from the outside world. It is the recognition that every structured (however loosely) human community has its distinctive identity, even if that identity cannot be fully articulated by its own members. Its ideas and practices function to tell itself and others who it is and why it exists. Boundary-keeping, put simply, is a group's identity with reference to its wider environment, a way of distinguishing itself within the world.

This essay is a brief examination of the spiritual practice of glossolalia in the True Jesus Church (TJC), suggesting that it is the church's most culturally distinct practice and a primary means of socio-religious boundary-keeping in relation to other Christian groups.

Praying in Spiritual Tongues—Observation

The event in which glossolalia or speaking in "spiritual tongues" is most frequently and consistently observed is in the church's corporate

[1] The substance of this paper has been presented at the following scholarly meetings: Association for the Study of Religion, Economics, and Culture, Center for Studies on New Religions, and Society for the Scientific Study of Religion.

worship.[2] Across congregations, both Chinese and aboriginal, there is a remarkable similarity in practice.[3] The infrequent prayer "with understanding" (praying in the vernacular) is usually reserved for special occasions that involve non-members—a practice which, by the way, is more an act of hospitality than embarrassment.

Among the various aspects of congregational life to explore, rituals are often the richest source of insight into a church's culture and identity, and the regular worship event is the most potent. Worship intends to express the church's self–aspirations and vision, who they are and who they are not. As a ritual, weekly corporate worship is predictable and routinized, offering a privileged vantage point for observing one of the TJC's most distinctive spiritual practices.

The most regular and frequent context for corporate worship in the TJC is the weekly services—Sabbath evening, two services on the Sabbath, and a mid-week service. All services follow a set liturgical form: silent prayer, opening hymn, prayer, sermon, hymn, prayer followed by a sung refrain (often a familiar chorus), and announcements. The exceptional services include Holy Communion, Footwashing, early weekday morning services before members go to work, Spiritual Convocations, and evangelical Hymn-sings. Corporate prayer in spiritual tongues will occur in all services. The last two in particular include extended periods of time at the "altar" seeking the baptism of the Holy Spirit.[4]

Western observers will find TJC worship practices unpredictable at first, as they do not conform to the familiar western worship traditions. Outside the energetic "Pentecostal-type" prayer time, worship is formal

---

[2] "Spiritual tongues" is the preferred term for glossolalia within the True Jesus Church. The reason will be discussed below.

Since beginning research on the True Jesus Church in 2008, I have visited congregations in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong, mainland China and Canada. Glossolalic prayer in an Indian Tamil congregation in Kuala Lumpur is fundamentally the same as in other TJC congregations.

Methodologically, theological ideas will be interspersed with ethnographic studies, with particular reference to congregational practices; see Nancy Ammerman, et al., eds., *Studying Congregations: A New Handbook* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998), 78-104.

[4] The order of Sabbath worship is published in *Sacred Worker's Handbook 2000*, p. 3-1.

and preaching is delivered with low emotional affect. The repertoire of hymns includes a large number from the early missionary movement.[5]

Corporate prayer occurs twice during worship, and occasionally at the end of the service when people are invited to the front of the church to pray and seek the baptism in the Holy Spirit. The two scheduled prayer times predictably last about 2-3 minutes in mainland China and 5-6 minutes in other regions, while the "altar" prayer period extends to 15-20 minutes.

Prayer follows a predictable pattern. The liturgical instructions are simple and straightforward: the worshipper is to kneel, clasp hands, and begin by saying, "In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ I pray."[6] At that moment, as the worship presider leads with the same words, worshippers begin to pray aloud and simultaneously with others.[7] The prayer period lasts for about 5-6 minutes, and is stopped with the ringing of a bell by the leader. Official leaders (preachers, elders, deacons and deaconesses) are authorized to pray with the seekers by circulating among them, gently laying hands on their heads and praying in tongues.

A number of features of TJC corporate praying are evident. First, one is immediately struck by the *loud and animated expressions of prayer*. This is intentional and often explained during services when visitors are present, especially to assure them that this is "normal" practice rather than hysterical outburst. The TJC believes that worshippers are to enter fully—soul and body—into the act of prayer. In this way they are opening themselves more fully to the Holy Spirit whose presence is then released within them in greater power. As one writer instructs, Holy Spirit seekers are to "pray earnestly and

---

[5] The continuing use of old missionary hymns is not unique to the True Jesus Church. I recall recently singing many familiar hymns for over an hour with a young minister of the Three-Self church in China, hymns she knew by memory and are obviously current in today's Chinese Protestant churches.

[6] See *Our Basic Beliefs Explained*, Gospel Series (Anaheim, CA: True Jesus Church, Department of Literary Ministry, 2007), 112. I was informed that this practice is a more recent innovation within the last thirty years, at least in Taiwan.

[7] Praying aloud simultaneously, or concert prayer, is not distinctive to the TJC. In Asia, it became a distinctive feature of the 1907 Korean Revival. And it has been the common pattern of prayer in the western Pentecostal-charismatic tradition from its beginning.

diligently."[8] An elder TJC theologian, Sun Tao Hsieh, who wrote extensively on the theology of the Holy Spirit, states that effective prayer is not the result of vain repetitions or lengthy prayers but "sincerity and earnestness."[9]

The second unique feature is that those worshippers "gifted" immediately begin to *pray in spiritual tongues*. Unlike the traditional practice of offering thanksgiving and intercessions (as in praying "with the understanding"), TJC glossolalic prayer is more like a yielding of the body and tongue to the Spirit. Those who do not yet speak in tongues are instructed to pray, "Hallelujah! Praise the Lord Jesus," since "this is the way the multitude in heaven worships (see Rev. 19:1)".[10] It has also been explained that, as one prays in this way, the Holy Spirit is stirred up within their spirit which eventually yields to spiritual tongues.

Undoubtedly, the most distinctive aspect of the TJC phenomenon of speaking in tongues is the actual *sound and expression*. Unlike western verbalizations of glossolalia which generally reflect a language-like pattern, TJC glossolalia makes no pretense to sound like a language. The most prominent and distinctive phenomenon is the rapid rolling of the tongue. While some of these sounds are familiar in western glossolalia, they are infrequent and generally integrated with other language-like sound patterns. On an occasion when I commented that I could roll my tongue unaided by the Spirit, it was explained that when the Spirit inspires it, one can roll the tongue for hours without tiring.[11]

The third readily observable feature is the *physicality* of the praying. As soon as the worshippers begin to pray, their bodies begin to move or vibrate, especially in the hands, arms and shoulders. Again, the

---

[8] *Essential Biblical Doctrines*, Doctrinal Series, 2nd English edition (Garden Grove, CA: True Jesus Church, Department of Literary Ministry, 2000), 125. The author, the late John Yang, was an early popular expounder of TJC beliefs in the Taiwan church.

[9] Sun Tao Hsieh, *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*, Doctrinal Series, adapted (Anaheim, CA: True Jesus Church, Department of Literary Ministry, 2008), 325.

[10] *Basic Beliefs Explained*, 112.

[11] Interview, "Preacher, Timothy Yeung," Toronto TJC, June 16, 2007. Apparently in the early years of the TJC revival, prayer meetings with speaking in tongues could last for 2-3 hours.

range of movement is generally limited in a way that makes it recognizable from church to church and region to region.

When the leader decides to conclude the prayer time, a bell is rung, and within seconds the praying ceases. The leader then leads in singing a short familiar refrain, after which the congregation is seated.

In summary, for a western observer familiar with Pentecostal-charismatic phenomena, and in my experience for other Asian Christians as well, the phenomenon of spiritual tongues in the TJC is unique in three ways. It is accorded a *value and priority in TJC worship* that one could argue is equal to that of preaching—not in terms of authority but in validation of the church's identity. Second, the *phenomenon of spiritual tongues is distinctive*, especially in that it does not reflect the more familiar western language-like pattern. Finally, the activity of speaking in tongues is accompanied by *routinized bodily movements or vibrations*, most of which are consistent across the TJC church. Physical manifestations are common within the Pentecostal-charismatic movement, but both expectations and expressions vary culturally.[12] In the next section, we will observe that the theological explanation is consistent with the physical manifestations and spiritual tongues, which are also different from other Christian glossolalic expressions.

Spiritual Tongues—True Jesus Church Theology

The TJC is clear and consistent in its theological interpretation of spiritual tongues and how the "gift" functions in the church and lives of its members. Much of it diverges significantly from western Pentecostal-charismatic understandings. The most thorough articulation and explanation of the TJC doctrine is found in Elder Sun Tao Hsieh's *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*, though the same views are expressed briefly in other writings. Three aspects of TJC doctrine of spiritual tongues in particular point up the church's uniqueness.

First, the *miracle of spiritual tongues is in the hearing*, not the speaking. The context is the first biblical account of tongues, on the Day of Pentecost, as recorded in the Book of Acts. When the Holy

[12] To illustrate, I have observed spiritual dancing in three major North American cultures, white Anglo (English, Scottish, Irish communities in which I was reared), African American, and First Nations native. In each instance, the dance form reflected its culture.

Spirit descended on the praying disciples, they "began to speak in other languages, as the Spirit gave them ability" (2:4, NRSV). But when the event spilled into the streets, Jews from the various regions of the Roman Empire marveled, "how is it that we hear, each of us, in our own language?" (2:8). In that moment, "God opened the ears of the Jews so that they heard the disciples speaking in their own languages."[13]

Western Pentecostal-charismatic traditions generally interpret this event as the disciples' miraculous speaking in the various languages of the hearers. Many early Pentecostals, beginning with Charles Parham, believed that the miracle was xenolalia, the ability to speak in other human languages as enabled by the Holy Spirit. This resulted in missionaries leaving port for distant shores, trusting God to grant them the ability to speak the language when they disembarked. To no one's surprise, they were disappointed.[14] The consensus of most Pentecostals and charismatics today is that tongues is "language-like" but not an actual human language.[15]

Second, consistent with tongues as a miracle of hearing, the TJC teaches that *it is a "spiritual language," unrelated to any earthly language.*[16] This teaching can be traced back at least to a public meeting in Barnabas Zhang's Taiwan campaign of 1925-26, during which he explained to his Presbyterian detractors that Fang Yin, the dialect of tongues, was exclusively a dialect of the Holy Spirit and "not to be found in this world." He redirected the attention of his hearers to

---

[13] *Q&A on the Basic Beliefs*, Inquiry Series (Garden Grove, CA: True Jesus Church, Department of Literary Ministry, 2000), 98; Yang, *Essential Biblical Doctrines*, pp. 124-25.

[14] One celebrated case, and one of the first, was Apostolic Faith missionary, A.G. Garr, and his wife, who arrived in Hong Kong in 1907, confident that his wife would be able to speak fluent Chinese. Garr was one of the first Pentecostal missionaries to test the belief, and the first to reject it. Scholar J. Gordon Melton believes that, with that rejection, Garr came to believe and teach that tongues is a purely devotional expression with no connection to human language or language-like sounds (unpublished paper).

[15] David Hilborn, "Glossolalia as Communication—A Linguistic-Pragmatic Perspective," chapter 5 in Mark Cartledge, ed., *Speaking in Tongues—Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives* (Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster Press, 2006), 117.

[16] *Essential Biblical Doctrines*, 124.

the spiritual effect of the experience—personal transformation and the ability to "withstand the evils and sins of the world."[17]

Elder Hsieh uses Paul's writings, both the Corinthian literature and Letter to the Romans, to interpret the Acts account. All manifestations of tongues, recorded in Acts or Corinth, are in Paul's words, "speaking mysteries to God."[18] Their function may vary, but the phenomenon is in all cases a heavenly language, including the "groanings" in Romans 8. Furthermore, whether the congregation or even the speaker understands what is being said or not is irrelevant because the agent is the Spirit who is ministering to the individual through the medium of spiritual tongues: "The spiritual tongue spoken in personal prayer towards God does not require interpretation (I Corin. 14: 2, 28) because it is the Spirit Himself interceding for the believer with 'groanings which cannot be uttered' (Rom. 8:26-27)."[19]

Since tongues is a spiritual or heavenly language, the manner of expression without language-like sounds reinforces the teaching. But Hsieh emphasizes that, though the speaker does not understand what is being said, these "mysteries" being spoken are a form of communication, even if not rationally grasped: "Even though a person who prays in tongues cannot be understood by others or by himself, the tongues are inherently meaningful."[20]

This is in marked contrast to the traditional Pentecostal view that tongues in Acts is exclusively evidential of the reception of Spirit baptism, distinct from Paul's teaching on the public use of tongues in

---

[17] Murray A. Rubinstein, "Evangelical Spring: The Origin of the True Jesus Church on Taiwan, 1925-1926," Paper read at the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, November 13-15, 1986, 43-44. If Melton is correct, the TJC view of tongues as a "spiritual language" may be traced to Garr. But even if this is true, we are not sure that the sounds which Garr heard are the same as those of the TJC followers. Further, our primary concern here focuses on how the TJC theologically understands its own practice of tongues in a way that confirms its exclusive claim to be the only true church.

For an introduction to the various views of glossolalia, see Russell Spittler, "Glossolalia," *New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002): 670-76.

[18] Hsieh, *Holy Spirit*, 232, citing Paul in I Corinthians 14:2.

[19] Hsieh, *Holy Spirit*, 215.

[20] Hsieh, *Holy Spirit*, 225; see also page 236.

the assembly and private use for personal edification.[21] Hsieh unifies all three—Acts, Corinthians, Romans—under the cohering theological view that tongues is a dialect of the Spirit; hence his preference for the term, "spiritual" tongues.

Hsieh outlines four functions of spiritual tongues. In summary, they are the following.

1. Intercession—the Holy Spirit uses the human body to "intercede" for the individual;
2. A sign for unbelievers—Tongues on the Day of Pentecost was a "powerful sign" to convince the Jews present that the prophecies of the coming Holy Spirit were indeed true;
3. Self-edification—the act of speaking in spiritual tongues is the Spirit's means of strengthening the person; without self-edification, one cannot edify or strengthen others;
4. Edification of the church—this occurs in the form of "preaching in tongues," which requires an inspired interpreter to convey the Spirit's message to the congregation.[22]

The question is frequently raised regarding Paul's admonition to refrain from speaking in tongues in the assembly if there is no interpreter. Hsieh interprets Paul to mean that one is not to interrupt or interfere with the preaching of the Word. So long as that boundary is respected, corporate prayer in tongues is acceptable. Individuals praying in tongues together in the assembly are communally edifying themselves.

The third distinctive mark of TJC understanding of spiritual tongues is its emphasis on the presence of *visible, physical manifestations*. Hsieh regards physical phenomena as secondary in importance to tongues (the "primary evidence" of Spirit baptism), but still notes that when the Spirit is actively present, "there is often the accompaniment of visible signs." He refers back to Acts 2:33, in recounting the effect of the coming of the Holy Spirit as this "that you both see and hear."[23] This explains the value which the TJC places upon the physical phenomena—they are an "accompanying" sign of the

[21] Charismatic theologies may vary on the evidential character of tongues in Acts, but they likewise do not unify the biblical accounts under the view that tongues is a heavenly or spiritual language, as does the TJC.

[22] Hsieh, *Holy Spirit*, 222-228.

[23] Hsieh, *Holy Spirit*, 220-21.

Spirit's presence and activity. As Yang states, "When the Holy Spirit comes upon us, our bodies will be visibly shaken."[24]

The relationship between the Holy Spirit and physical manifestations is captured best in the name of a radicalized sect that left the TJC around 1985 in Jiangsu province. Called the *Ling-ling Jiao*, the name is translated "Spirit-Spirit Sect." But the Chinese tonal quality of the second "spirit" reveals the difference in meaning between the two "spirits." As Asian scholar, Edmond Tang, observes, "the first 'spirit' in its name refers to the Holy Spirit, and the second 'spirit' . . . refers to the 'spiritual proof' of the work of the Spirit in the Christian."[25]

It is interesting that Yang provides biblical quotations to substantiate his belief that bodily movements will accompany the presence of the Holy Spirit (such as the disciples appearing to be drunk on the Day of Pentecost). But he also mentions, without biblical reference, that "at times, some may accuse one of being possessed of evil spirits."[26] It may well be that this inclusion alludes to accusations of demon possession against the TJC itself by observers who find the bodily vibrations to be strange and spiritually unattractive.[27]

In all three interpretations of spiritual tongues—tongues as the miracle of hearing, as a heavenly language with an expression unlike Pentecostal-charismatic tongues, and as visible manifestations that accompany tongues—the TJC displays its distinctive identity and thereby erects a boundary of difference in relation to other groups that speak in tongues.

Spiritual Tongues and Communication Theories

Mark Cartledge, practical theologian and scholar on the Pentecostal-charismatic movement, is probably not overstating the

---

[24] Yang, *Essential Biblical Doctrines*, 124.

[25] Edmond Tang, "'Yellers' and Healers—Pentecostalism and the Study of Grassroots Christianity in China," chapter 19 in Anderson, *Asian and Pentecostal*, p. 480.

[26] Yang, *Essential Biblical Doctrines*, 124. He does acknowledge that physical phenomena may accompany the presence of evil spirits; in such cases he provides a process for discerning the source of the phenomena, 125-26; see a detailed treatment in Hsieh, *Holy Spirit*, 386-400.

[27] I am occasionally asked if I believe the TJC practices are occultist.

claim that "the phenomenon of speaking in tongues was probably the most researched religious form of speech in the latter half of the twentieth century."[28] When the charismatic movement burst on the scene in the 1960's, psychologists, social scientists, linguistic experts and theologians, converged on Pentecostal-charismatic centers of worship to examine in detail the phenomenon which was at the same time most puzzling but irresistibly alluring—glossolalia.

Conclusions were mixed but an improvement over the crude and hostile conclusions of psychological studies dating to the early decades of the century. A review of studies over the past fifty years reveals greater sophistication in methods and cooperation across disciplines, and more openness to a phenomenon that is at once physical (so accessible to empirical investigation) and spiritual.[29]

My interest in this final section is how recent studies in communication theory might shed light on the phenomenon of spiritual tongues in the TJC. I draw upon the insights of two authors, David Hilborn and James K.A. Smith, whose essays appear in the recent volume edited by Cartledge, *Speaking in Tongues: Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives*. Hilborn addresses the issue of glossolalia as communication, and Smith discusses glossolalia as resistance discourse.

The problem as posed by Hilborn is how glossolalia can be considered a form of communication. It falls somewhere between infantile babble and the complex sound patterns of natural language (Vern Poythress). In his early study, William Samarin described what he heard as pseudo-linguistic, with traces of natural language, but falling short of linguistic communication. Hilborn cites the conclusion of language theorist, Michael T. Motley, that theories to date have been unable to account for how "language-like nonlanguage behaviours" such as glossolalia can communicate.[30]

---

[28] Cartledge, *Speaking in Tongues*, xix.

[29] For an excellent critical review of studies from the various disciplines over the past century, see William Kay, "The Mind, Behaviour and Glossolalia—A Psychological Perspective," chapter 7 in Cartledge, *Speaking in Tongues*, 174-205. I am also indebted to one of my students, Noreen Jacka, who reviewed the literature on empirical and theological studies relating to charismatic glossolalia during the last half of the twentieth century.

[30] Hilborn, "Glossolalia as Communication," 117.

The work of theorists, J.L. Austin and Searle, helps Hilborn move forward in understanding the non-semantic dimension of speech. In their view, the total speech act is contextual. Beyond the mere vocalizing of words (the locutionary act), the speaker also intends to communicate something more than brute facts; hence, how the words are delivered is significant (the illocutionary act). The final stage is the effect of the speech on the hearer (the perlocutionary act). One sub-level of the illocutionary act, the Expressive, relates to glossolalia, as it communicates the affective tone of the speech—confession, lament, thanking, celebrating, praising, etc. Some expressions—like "Hurrah!"—do not communicate propositional information. In other words, Hilborn concludes that if speech is also a mode of action rather than a mere conduit for passing on facts, and can communicate meaning through feeling and emotions without reference to "facts," then glossolalia might be regarded as a form of communication.

Since communication requires a receiver, Hilborn finds a more nuanced insight into how a non-propositional message can be received. Sterber and Wilson point out that theoretically there remains a gap between the message sent and what is received. Since there is no fully "mutual knowledge," Sterber and Wilson propose that the gap be filled with a process called "inference." A message can be communicated non-verbally, by gesture or signal, and inferred by the receiver. A mere eye gesture or pointing of a finger can direct the receiver's attention in a way that the receiver may infer the point of the speaker's message, and thereby draw meaning.

Applied to the TJC, the loud and earnest praying may well communicate a message regarding the serious intent of the person praying when engaged in spiritual tongues. While that intent may be misunderstood or misinterpreted by the uninformed visitor, the primary function is aimed to confirm and strengthen the identity of the church itself. And the idiosyncratic sounds and movements may well serve to reinforce the boundaries of identity. Sterber and Wilson's notion of "relevance" refers not to relationship with the wider world but rather "to the distinct identity of the church…to the self-understanding of Christians 'set apart'. . . . Public tongues-speech both authenticates and communicates the church's unique calling from God, its special devotion to God, and its particular destiny in God."[31]

Hilborn's purpose is to demonstrate that recent studies in communication theory are creating greater theoretical space for the

[31] Hilborn, "Glossolalia as Communication," 144-45.

possibility that real communication can occur in ways that reach beyond the propositional transference of information. Even though Hilborn is assuming the general western view that tongues is language-like, the theories employed here apply equally to the TJC practice of glossolalia that lacks phonological patterns. He concludes: "Even if the factual content of public tongues-speech remains inscrutable, and even if its semantic translatability remains indemonstratable, its communicative force may still be mutually manifest to those who deliver and receive it, on the basis of their strong shared assumptions about its expressive value in relation to God and the worship of God."[32]

We turn finally to James Smith's essay on glossolalia as "resistance discourse."[33] Two factors in the early formation of the TJC provide at least the possibility for discerning a 'resistance factor' in its beginning. One was the growing climate of resistance to all things western, including the missionary movement. The TJC was officially established in 1917, a moment on the cusp of that transitional period.

For the first two decades of the 20th century, the western missionary activity in China was at its height.[34] But the 1920's witnessed an increasing dissatisfaction with the Christian movement being controlled by missionaries and their agencies, and the TJC was one of the most vocal in its opposition. Paul Wei, a founding worker of the TJC, had already been critical of the missionary presence and stirred anti-foreign sentiment within the early TJC. As Asian scholar, Daniel Bays, comments, the earliest TJC, "insisted that Chinese Christians renounce their old Churches and acknowledge the sole legitimacy of the True Jesus Church and its unique dogma."[35]

To add to the anti-missionary platform, the early TJC believed that it was raised up in the last days before the return of Christ to take the pure gospel to the rest of the world. In a reversal of the prevailing global tide of Christian missions, its calling was to spread the gospel

---

[32] Hilborn, "Glossolalia as Communication," 140.

[33] James K.A. Smith, "Tongues as 'Resistance Discourse'—A Philosophical Perspective," chapter 4 in Cartledge, *Speaking in Tongues*, 81-110.

[34] Daniel H. Bays, "Christian Revival in China, 1900-1937," chapter 9 in Edith L. Blumhofer and Randall Balmer, eds., *Modern Christian Revivals* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 166.

[35] Daniel H. Bays, "The Growth of Independent Christianity in China, 1900-1937," chapter 17 in Bays, ed., *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 311.

from east to west. As early as 1911, another founding leader, Barnabas Zhang, reported that he heard a voice from heaven saying, "The grace of salvation for all people in the last days will arise from the east to the west."[36]

A second factor for a possible TJC "resistance discourse" may well be Wei's strong restorationist views that considered all other Christian churches to be in error. The earliest name of his church says it all—The Universal Correction Church. In other words, the TJC was born as a resistance movement to both the western missionary movement and to all other Christian bodies.

Smith's proposal is that tongues-speech is the "language of communities of resistance who seek to defy the powers that be."[37] Philosophically, he draws on the work of Martin Heidegger and later, Austin and Searle, to demonstrate that all knowledge is interpreted. That is, we have no direct access to the world, since we engage it through our own lens of presuppositions and social situatedness.

Drawing, as does Hilborn, from the insights of Austin and Searle, he states that language is "a social phenomenon, governed by rules that are constituted by a community."[38] Speech in this mode, then, is a form of action, since it expresses the needs and concerns of particular communities. As a corollary, speech can be expressed as gesture as well as words. Consequently, language is political and may express in words and action a community's resistance to "the powers that be."

Smith's aim is to frame tongues-speech as communal speech and gesture of resistance. His direct application is the poor Pentecostal communities in the Majority World. Tongues-speech for them is a radical protest to the conventional and rational discourse of the prevailing oppressive capitalist systems. Poor Pentecostals are radically other, situated over against the repressive systems of the world. For this reason, he prefers to view tongues-speech as "ecstatic" or otherworldly, since any effort to understand it in terms of language-like speech or xenolalia will cause it to lose its resistance power. But for our purpose, Smith is helping us think about how spiritual tongues in the TJC may include a "resistance factor" that can be traced to its origins.

---

[36] Hsieh, *Holy Spirit*, 194.

[37] Smith, "Tongues as 'Resistance Discourse,'" 81.

[38] Smith, "Tongues as 'Resistance Discourse,'" 99.

Conclusion—Special Tongues

As one reads TJC literature regarding Spirit baptism and the signifying evidence of its reception in spiritual tongues, there is little to indicate that tongues in the TJC differs phenomenologically from the practice in Pentecostal-charismatic circles, except for two things: the insistence that spiritual tongues is a heavenly language, and the accompanying physical vibratory movements.

But it becomes clear that when Spirit baptism is located within the broader context of TJC core doctrinal tenets, the church's self-understanding is that spiritual tongues is utterly unique and dissimilar from Pentecostal-charismatic expressions. Spirit baptism with spiritual tongues in the TJC is inseparably woven into the church's identity as the one true church. Elder Hsieh states it clearly, if a little bluntly: "There is only one gospel of salvation. Two churches with different beliefs on salvation cannot be both true, because the true church only has one Spirit, one Lord, one faith, one baptism."[39] The implication is clear: whatever is happening in the TJC experience of tongue-speaking, it is fundamentally different from other tongue-speaking practices and is fundamentally related to its identity.

We have already observed this difference at two levels: in TJC writings and the above description of the practice. I conclude with the third level of observation—personal and anecdotal experience. Admittedly not official teaching, the following three encounters illustrate ways in which spiritual tongues serves to reinforce the exclusive and unique character of the TJC.

The first occurred during a sermon in which the preacher, fully aware that I was present, claimed that the phenomenon of tongues outside the TJC must be *demonically inspired* because, if its source were the Holy Spirit, one would be led to the truth as taught by the TJC.[40]

The second case was a conversation in which I was asked what I do when others are praying in tongues. Since I was reared Pentecostal and have experienced glossolalia, I simply responded that I also pray in tongues. One person, with whom I frequently sat beside in worship,

---

[39] Hsieh, *Holy Spirit*, 143.

[40] I confirmed with the preacher following the service that I did understand him correctly, since the sermon was delivered through a translator. Others also confirmed that this interpretation was not an official view nor taught in the TJC seminary in Taichung, Taiwan.

responded quickly, “I don’t think so.” As the conversation proceeded, it became clear that “my” tongues was not the same as theirs because my friend could not hear me (I was not praying loudly and earnestly enough), and my tongues did not sound like theirs either. In other words, my verbalization was *phenomenologically deficient* to be considered true spiritual tongues.

The third instance was an appeal to the *unique quality* of TJC spiritual tongues. In a personal conversation with three TJC leaders, my tongues experience was not categorically disqualified, but I was urged to seek the deeper, more intimate and more powerful experience of tongues. I was assured that their spiritual tongues was qualitatively different from mine, that I would clearly know the difference, and that it was apparent that I had not yet received it.

In all three levels, spiritual tongues in the TJC is *sui generis*, utterly unique. Whether or not the TJC official position that it, and it alone, is the one true church, can be sustained in the future, is discussion for another day. But for now, its core beliefs and practices are internally coherent and, as I have attempted to demonstrate, function to reinforce the church’s exclusive identity and practice of boundary-keeping. Among those functions, the church’s practice of spiritual tongues is the most visible and potent communal act that is at once culturally autochthonous and theologically exclusive.

[*AJPS* 14:1 (2011), pp. 108-146]

THE ORIGINS AND ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS OF THE PENTECOSTAL MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE IN CHINA

R. G. Tiedemann

> *We have taken for granted an obscure history of Pentecostalism for so long that the multitudes of nameless people responsible for its grassroots expansion have passed into history unremembered and their memory is now very difficult to retrieve.*
>
> *Allan Anderson*[1]

The Pentecostal movement owes its inspiration and formation to the emergence of radical evangelical currents during the second half of the nineteenth century. These new religious movements were significantly different in their eschatological expectations and missionary methods and began to severely challenge mainstream Protestantism in Europe and North America. Several innovative theological currents had a decisive influence on the formation of a host of new denominations and new missionary bodies. Holiness Wesleyans, higher life fundamentalists, the ascendancy of premillennialism, including its dispensationalist variant, restorationist currents, sabbatarian ideas, as well as diverse strands of German and Scandinavian Pietism all contributed to forge the new Evangelicalism as a protest against the growing 'worldliness' of the 'mainline' Protestant denominations in Western countries.[2]

---

[1] Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 175.

[2] See Melvin Easterday Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1996). For a brief background discussion and the relevant literature, see Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (London: SCM Press, 2007),

The Holiness leaders, for example, rejected the optimistic postmillennial convictions of mainline Protestantism. Instead, they insisted that the world was about to come to an apocalyptic conclusion, ushering in the imminent Second Coming of Christ *prior* to the establishment of his millennial kingdom on earth. In spite of their essentially pessimistic worldview, premillennialists were enthusiastic supporters of evangelical foreign missions.[3] Because of their belief in Christ's imminent return, a greater sense of urgency characterized the work of these missions. Convinced that the worldwide preaching of the gospel to every human being could accelerate the coming of Christ, relatively little attention was paid to setting up educational or medical facilities.[4]

After 1900, Protestant Christianity in China became even more diverse than it had been in the late nineteenth century. In a climate of heightened revivalist expectations, many new mission groups were seeking access to that vast country. Some of these were unconnected with any denominational church, but established solely to send missionaries to China and other countries targeted for evangelization. In this connection, the South Chihli Mission serves as an example of the readiness of individuals to spread the Gospel in China. The initial attempt by the Congregational clergyman Horace William Houlding (1861-1922) to set up this undenominational 'faith' mission failed because of the destructive Boxer Uprising of 1900. A year later, Houlding returned from the United States with a party of fourteen missionaries, representing seven diverse denominational affiliations, and re-started the mission in the southern part of Zhili (now called Hebei) province. Several separate works would in due course develop

---

especially Chapter 2: "In All its Pristine Power: Precursors and Context". The European dimension has been considered in David Bundy, *Visions of Apostolic Mission: Scandinavian Pentecostal Mission to 1935* (Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 2009), Chapter 2: "Cultural Space: The Historical and Theoretical Background of Scandinavian Pentecostal Mission in Pietist, Methodist, Baptist and Holiness Sources".

[3] Timothy P. Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming*, enlarged ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Academie Books, 1983), pp. 66-67.

[4] However, as Dana Robert has pointed out, female missionaries, in particular, would nevertheless "undertake ministries of compassion" in the face of poverty and hunger in the mission countries. Dana Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1996), pp. xviii-xix.

from the South Chihli Mission, notably the China Mennonite Mission Society (also known as the German Mennonite Mission, U.S.A.) in southwestern Shandong and adjacent districts of Henan (1905), the Ebenezer Mission at Miyang in Henan province (1907), and the National Holiness Association in western Shandong (1910).[5]

It is not only the proliferation of new small missionary enterprises that poses a significant problem to scholars studying Protestant Christianity in China. The arrival in significant numbers of various independent or 'faith' missionaries, including Pentecostal evangelists, has aggravated the issue. While in some instances Pentecostal influences are evident, in other cases the spiritual affiliation of an individual or group is impossible to determine. Much remains obscure. Indeed, in a number of cases it has proved impossible to find any information – except for the listing of the mission's name in the relevant Protestant directories.[6] Many of them had no organizational backing at all, but came to China entirely on their own, often leading precarious existences on account of inadequate resources. Some were not able to cope with the hardships and cultural adjustments and returned home after a short time.[7]

With regard to the early the Pentecostal movement in China, the insistence on independence and autonomy of a great variety of local fellowships back home has resulted in a paucity of documentary evidence. In contrast to the 'mainline' missionary societies, with their often rich archival resources, the absence during the early days of a clear Pentecostal identity and centralized support organizations have hitherto hampered accurate historical reconstructions. Except for targeted research by China historian Daniel Bays[8], the topic has thus

---

[5] For details, see R.G. Tiedemann, *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China: From the 16th to the 20th Century* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2009).

[6] See, for instance, the list of missionaries and missionary societies in *The China Mission Year Book, Being "The Christian Movement in China" 1915* (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society for China, 1915).

[7] On the hardships faced by the early Pentecostal missionaries, see Gary B. McGee, *Miracles, Missions and American Pentecostalism* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2010), pp. 146-153.

[8] Daniel Bays, "The Protestant Missionary Establishment and the Pentecostal Movement", in: Edith L. Blumhofer, Russell P. Spittler, and Grant A. Wacker (eds.), *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), pp. 50-67.

far received relatively little scholarly attention. In addition, Allan Anderson, Cecil Robeck and the late Gary McGee have provided scattered references as part of their outline studies of global Pentecostalism as a missionary movement.[9] Yet a comprehensive and exhaustive scholarly account of the Pentecostal experience in China remains to be written. Given the current state of research, the present essay is a modest attempt to document the early Pentecostal presence in China and to record the organizational developments in their diverse forms.

The Pentecostals Are Coming to China

The Pentecostal movement came into being in a time of intense spiritual awakening among 'radical evangelicals' around the turn of the twentieth century. People experienced dreams, visions, prophecy, tongues and interpretations during religious revivals in different parts of the world. In this connection, the revivals in Topeka, Kansas, in 1901 and in other places[10] provided some of the impulses to early Pentecostalism, yet they are also an indication of the diversity of its origins. To be sure, it is now generally agreed that it was the events at Azusa Street in 1906 which exercised a profound influence on the emerging Pentecostal missionary movements, for this revival brought home to many premillennialist Christians, who believed that they were living in 'the last days', the urgency of evangelizing non-Christian peoples. It was above all the Azusa Street periodical, *The Apostolic Faith*, which from 1906 onwards informed a world-wide readership of the events in Los Angeles, especially its insistence that speaking in unknown tongues was a demonstrable sign of having been baptized in the Holy Spirit. Moreover, the paper subsequently published letters from the Apostolic Faith missionaries who had gone out into the world.

---

[9] Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (London: SCM Press, 2007), Chapter 5: "Opening Doors of Nations: China and East Asia"; Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival* (Nashville: Nelson Reference & Electronic, 2006), passim; McGee, *Miracles, Missions and American Pentecostalism*, passim.

[10] See, for example, the detailed discussion of the pre-Azusa Scandinavian Pentecostal phenomena in the upper Midwest, in Darrin J. Rodgers. *Northern Harvest: Pentecostalism in North Dakota* (Bismarck, N.D.: North Dakota District Council of the Assemblies of God, 2003).

Still, it has to be remembered that in these early days of heightened expectation, emerging Pentecostalism was not necessarily perceived to be a radical departure from the prevailing revivalist currents. As Allan Anderson has aptly put it,

> Pentecostalism was in a process of formation that was not seen as a distinct form of Christianity at least until a decade after the revival and missionary movements in which it was entwined…. [I]t is a movement or rather a series of movements that took several years and several different formative ideas and events to emerge. Pentecostalism then as now is a polynucleated and variegated phenomenon.[11]

For one thing, during the formative period, certain individuals played an important role in the emergence of the Pentecostal movement as forerunners or facilitators, but they and their organizations did not join the Pentecostal movement. Canadian-born Albert Benjamin Simpson (1843-1919), for example, and his Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA), "which stood somewhere between the Holiness and higher life traditions"[12], had a significant impact on and was affected by the emerging Pentecostal movement, both in North America and in China.[13] The English-born Baptist minister Joseph Smale (1867-1926) has been called "God's 'Moses' for Pentecostalism". Having been profoundly influenced by the Welsh Revival in the spring of 1905, Smale returned to Los Angeles and founded the First New Testament Church in September 1905. In March 1907, the short-lived China New Testament Mission was established in Beihai (Guangdong).[14] As is

---

[11] Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, p. 4.

[12] Grant A. Wacker, "Travail of a Broken Family: Radical Evangelical Responses to the Emergence of Pentecostalism in American, 1906-16", in: Blumhofer, Spittler and Grant (eds.), *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism*, p, 45 note 26.

[13] Charles Nienkirchen, "A. B. Simpson: Forerunner and Critic of the Pentecostal Movement", in: David F. Harzfeld and Charles Nienkirchen (eds.), *The Birth of a Vision* (Beaverlodge, Alberta: Buena Books Services, 1986), pp. 141-148.

[14] Tim Welch: "Preparing the Way for the Azusa Street Revival: Joseph Smale, God's 'Moses' for Pentecostalism", *Assemblies of God Heritage* (2009), pp. 27-33. For a more detailed account of Smale's "shifting Pentecostal perceptions", see Timothy Bernard Welch, "'God Found His Moses': A

well known, John Alexander Dowie (1847-1907), the controversial faith healer, evangelist, and forerunner of Pentecostalism, organized the Christian Catholic Church in 1895, which after his death became the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion.[15] Certainly, by 1902, this church had established a missionary presence in Shanghai.[16] The Rev. William Henry Cossum (formerly of the American Baptist Missionary Union) and his wife Mary Celia Stillman Cossum were among the early members of the Chinese mission.[17] There is no doubt that the Swedish Baptist minister John Ongman (1845-1931), who emphasised the imminent second coming of Christ, prophesy, the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and 'speaking with tongues'[18], was deeply involved in the emergence of Swedish Pentecostalism. However, not everyone will agree with David Bundy's assertion that Ongman's Filadelfia Baptist congregation in Örebro developed into a "denomination of Swedish Pentecostal Holiness Baptists".[19] Ongman's Orebro Missionary Society (*Örebro Missionsförening*), which played only a minor role in China, was understood to be a Baptist mission, as its Chinese name *Ruidianguo jinli hui* (Sweden Baptist Society) implies. These examples are indicative of some of the ambiguities that existed in perception and

---

Biographical and Theological Analysis of the Life of Joseph Smale (1867-1926)", Ph.D. diss., University of Birmingham, 2009.

[15] Grant Wacker, "Marching to Zion: Religion in a Modern Utopian Community", *Church History* 54.4 (December 1985), pp. 496-511; Edith L. Blumhofer, "The Christian Catholic Apostolic Church and the Apostolic Faith: A Study in the 1906 Pentecostal Revival", in: Cecil M. Robeck, Jr. (ed.), *Charismatic Experiences in History* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1985), pp. 126-146.

[16] *Chronicle and Directory for China, Japan and the Philippines*, Vol. 40 (Hongkong, 1902), p. 335; *The Directory and Chronicle for China, Japan, Corea, etc.*, Vol. 41 (Hongkong, 1903).

[17] Note that Cossum delivered a number of lectures at the Stone Church, the significant early Pentecostal congregation in Chicago founded by William Hamner Piper, formerly Dowie's assistant in Zion City. The lectures were printed in the Pentecostal *Latter Rain Evangel* in the course of 1910.

[18] G. M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspect of Swedish Immigration*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1932; repr. New York, Arno Press, 1969), p. 128.

[19] David Bundy, Visions of Apostolic Mission: Scandinavian Pentecostal Mission to 1935 (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2009), p. 300.

reality during the formative years of Pentecostalism, also with reference to the situation on the mission fields in China.[20]

The increased enthusiasm for world evangelization brought a number of Pentecostal evangelists to China during the decade or so following the Azusa Street Revival. The first to arrive were those who ventured abroad without any preparation, totally trusting the Spirit to lead them in their ministries. Moreover, relying on the efficacy of xenolalia, some expected to be able to preach in Chinese without having to first learn the language.[21] Thus came families with young children as well as single men and women, some middle-aged, others very young. Widows made the journey, along with married individuals who had left their spouses behind. Being committed to the 'faith' principle, many left their home countries without adequate financial resources or institutional support. While a small minority had a college education and came from wealthier backgrounds, many of the early arrivals were lay preachers from the poorer strata of society with little formal education. Some of these evangelists had no specific denominational affiliation and relied for support on individuals or particular fellowships back home. Thus, not a few of these pioneers led rather precarious existences in unfamiliar environments. What had brought them to China was a burning desire to proclaim the gospel to the unreached peoples in these 'last days'.

A second category of early Pentecostal missionaries consists of men and women who had already spent some time in China with older 'faith' missions and were more attuned to life in China. They had become exposed to Pentecostal teachings and were baptized in the Spirit, either as a result of personal contacts in China or having been present at the Azusa Street revival. Indeed, Bernt Berntsen read about this revival in an early issue of *The Apostolic Faith* magazine at his mission station in Zhili province and thereupon travelled to Los Angeles in 1907. Others experienced the defining ecstatic manifestations while on homeland furlough. In this way several members of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the China Inland

---

[20] Defining Pentecostalism remains a research problem. See Allan Anderson, Michael Bergunder, André Droogers, Cornelis van der Laan (eds.), *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

[21] For a general discussion of xenolalic convictions, see Gary B. McGee, "Shortcut to Language Preparation? Radical Evangelicals, Missions, and the Gift of Tongues", *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (July 2001).

Mission and the South Chihli Mission joined the early Pentecostal movement. Their former missionary connections help explain the concentration of Pentecostal missions in particular parts of China.[22] The influx of these more experienced missionaries, reinforced by the arrival of new forces from Europe and North America, as well as the emergent organizational structures would provide stability in the longer run.

Finally, it is important to note that the emergence of the Pentecostal missionary enterprise was not confined to the United States of America. Evangelists from Canada, Britain, Scandinavia and Germany were among the earliest Pentecostal workers in China.[23] Some travelled there directly from Europe, others had recently emigrated to North America before crossing the Pacific.

We must now turn to some of the individuals and groups who came to China in the wake of the Azusa Street revival. Identifying them is by no means an easy task. Initially, most of the early missionaries are listed in the Protestant directories under the general rubric of 'Apostolic Faith Mission' (*Shitu xinxin hui*), evidently a loose grouping of men and women influenced in one way or another by the Azusa Street revival, and to a lesser extent by Apostolic Faith movements in other parts of North America.[24] In later years they are more explicitly identified as 'Pentecostals' — and in some instances associated with particular strands of Pentecostalism. Still, not all foreign evangelists who may have had Pentecostal connections can be identified in the Protestant mission directories of China. Furthermore, the early

---

[22] See also Allan Anderson, "Pentecostalism in India and China in the Early Twentieth Century and Inter-Religious Relations", in; David Westerlund (ed.), *Global Pentecostalism: Encounters with Other Religious Traditions* (London; New York: I. B. Taurus, 2009), pp. 120-121.

[23] The Norwegian revivalist Thomas Ball Barratt (1862-1940) was instrumental in spreading the Pentecostal message to other parts of Europe, influencing Alexander Boddy in England, Lewi Pethrus in Sweden and Jonathan Paul in Germany.

[24] The *Directory of Protestant Missionaries in China, Japan and Corea for the Year 1910* (Hongkong: The Hongkong Daily Press Office, 1910), p. 12, lists 26 foreigners and 4 Chinese under the Apostolic Faith Mission, along with 4 Chinese. Three foreigners, who are known to have been connected with the Pentecostal movement, are listed in the 'Independent' category. These entries reflect the state of affairs in 1909. In 1910, a great variety of new Pentecostal missionaries arrived in China.

Pentecostal periodicals usually contained lists of donations intended for particular individuals, yet a careful perusal of these lists reveals that not all recipients were of the Pentecostal persuasion.

The Hongkong-Macau Missions

Many observers consider Thomas James McIntosh (1879-1955) and Alfred Gallatin Garr (1874-1944)[25] and their wives the initiators of the Pentecostal presence in China. McIntosh was born in Lynchburg, South Carolina, to the very young day labourer Thomas W. McIntosh. Having received the 'tongue experience' in 1907, he and his wife Annie Eleanor Edens (1882-) and daughter Hazel went to China with some support from the Pentecostal Holiness Church of North Carolina. After a brief stopover in Los Angeles, the family arrived in Macao on 7 August 1907, where they were said to have been met by an expectant audience, including several missionaries vacationing there.[26]

McIntosh was followed by the Alfred Gallatin Garr and family who arrived in Hongkong from India on 9 October 1907, having received an invitation from several single women missionaries to speak in the British colony.[27] Detailed information about Garr's early life is scarce and not necessarily accurate. Although Garr was "one of the most important early Pentecostal leaders, the autobiographical and biographical materials remain sketchy and inconsistent".[28] He was born on 27 July 1875 in Boyle County, Kentucky. The 1900 census lists him as a locomotive fireman in Lexington. Before coming to Hongkong, Garr and his wife Lillian Anderson, whom he had met in 1898 during

---

[25] According to an unnamed source, Alfred Gallatin Garr changed his middle name to Goodrich in 1914.

[26] This sketch of McIntyre relies heavily on Daniel Woods, "Failure and Success in the Ministry of T.J. McIntosh, the First Pentecostal Missionary to China", *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research* No. 12 (February 2003), file://E:\McIntoshPentecostal.htm; accessed 20 September 2005.

[27] Robeck, *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival*, p. 256.

[28] Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2nd printing, 2003), p. 289, note 98. See also G.B. McGee, "Alfred Goodrich Garr, Sr.", in: Burgess and McGee (eds.), *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, pp. 328-329. For a recent biography, see Steve Thompson and Adam Gordon, *A 20th Century Apostle: The Life of Alfred Garr* (Wilkesboro, NC : Morning Star Publications, 2003).

his brief spell at Asbury College,[29] had spent some time in India. Garr's passport application of 1906 also includes his Afro-American "servant" Mariah Gardener who was born in the Danville area of Virginia.

Three days after the Garrs' arrival, Eliza May Law (1873-) and Rosa Pittman (1885-1986) landed at Hongkong. They were members of a large party of Apostolic Faith missionaries who, led by Pastor Martin Lawrence Ryan (1869-1963), had left Seattle for Japan in early September 1907. Law and Pittman continued their journey from Tokyo to Hongkong, "because they felt they had the gift of the 'Hongkong' dialect", arriving there on 12 October. In January 1908 two more single women of the Ryan group, Cora Fritsch (1888-1912) and Bertha Effie Milligan (1886-1973), made their way from Japan to Hongkong.[30] In the meantime, McIntosh in Macao had also received reinforcements, namely Annie McIntosh's aunt, Mrs Annie E. Kirby (nee Eagerton), and seventeen-year-old Mabel Evans of Largo, Florida. Kirby had embraced the Pentecostal experience during a revival led by McIntosh and Gaston Barnabas Cashwell in Berkeley county, South Carolina.[31] Having travelled via Los Angeles, San Francisco and Honolulu, they arrived in Hongkong on 9 January 1908. After a few weeks with McIntosh in Macao, Kirby and Evans left for Canton toward the end of February, accompanied by Fannie Winn (who could speak Chinese).[32]

Although there had been some encouraging beginnings in Macao and Hongkong, both McIntosh and Garr turned out to be restless

---

[29] On Garr's early career and involvement with the Burning Bush movement prior to his Pentecostal experience, see William Kostlevy, *Holy Jumpers: Evangelicals and Radicals in Progressive Era America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), passim. Lillian Anderson was daughter of a prominent Methodist minister.

[30] For further details, see Bays, "The Protestant Missionary Establishment and the Pentecostal Movement", p. 53.

[31] She received "the blessed Holy Ghost, who speaks with new tongues" on 7 February 1907. Kirby, Los Angeles, 3 December 1907, in *The Bridegroom's Messenger* 1.4 (15 December 1907), p. 1.

[32] Kirby and Evans to Cashwell, Canton, 3 March 1908, *The Bridegroom's Messenger* 1.13 (1 May 1908), p. 1. Fannie Winn, "How God Has Blessed the Work of Our Missionaries in China", *The Bridegroom's Messenger* (1 June 1908), p. 2. Fannie Pearl Winn had left the United States on 18 November 1903 with the S. C. Todds.

globetrotters[33] during these early days of the Pentecostal missionary enterprise China. Daniel Woods said of McIntosh: "Always starting things that he never finished, he rarely stayed anywhere more than a few months." In May 1908 the McIntosh family left for Palestine, and after a few months there, returned to the United States. The restless Garrs, too, were on the move. They had left Yokohama on 24 June 1908 and arrived in Seattle on 8 July 1908. Yet on 3 September 1909, they left home once more for Hongkong and did not return to the United States until late January 1912. Not to be outdone, the McIntosh family, too, made their way back to Hongkong in December 1909, but no sooner had they arrived there, the Garrs decided to make a trip to Bombay. McIntosh was thus left in charge of the mission and the small but expanding band of missionaries. He now began to explore the interior of Guangdong province and established Xi'nan [Sainam] on the West River as a mission station. But it was not long before McIntosh abandoned the field once more. After a brief sojourn in Jerusalem, he and his family were soon back in South Carolina.[34] He was subsequently expelled from the Pentecostal Holiness Church "on the grounds of apostasy" and lived for some years in Charleston as an insurance salesman. He subsequently moved to Camden, SC, where he appears to have exercised some kind of ministry.[35]

All in all, the early Pentecostal enterprise did not get off to a good start in South China. The comings and goings of the two senior missionaries surely did not help matters. Moreover, relations with members of other societies were proving increasingly difficult, especially in Hongkong. Although initially the Garrs had been able to use the premises of the American Board mission in Hongkong, the Rev. Charles R. Hager quickly denied them further access. A. G. Garr complained at the beginning of 1908: "There is not one missionary standing with us in Hong Kong. Further up in China there are a number that have received the Pentecostal blessing, but in Hong Kong the

---

[33] It was reported the McIntosh published a little book in 1909, with the suggestive title *The Life and Trip of T.J. McIntosh and Wife and Little Girl, Around the World*.

[34] He arrived in New York City with his wife, daughter Hazel Lois and infant son Thomas James, Jr., on 13 November 1911 in the *George Washington* from Southampton, their final destination being St. Stephens, SC.

[35] Information gleaned from the 1920 and 1930 federal census lists and from his death certificate.

Chinese are the only ones…."[36]

At first, the situation was more encouraging in neighbouring Macao, where McIntosh had several meetings with a large number of missionaries on vacation in the Portuguese colony shortly after his arrival in August 1907. Two visiting Christian and Missionary Alliance missionaries, Frank Porter Hamill and Miss Rosa Alice Edwards, from the CMA station at Wuzhou appear to have been particularly receptive to the Pentecostal message. Afterwards, the CMA mission at Wuzhou and other places in Guangxi province experienced a revival, with evidence of divine healing, glossolalia and other ecstatic manifestations.[37] Yet in the end, none of the CMA missionaries joined the Pentecostal movement. Hamill stayed with the CMA mission until he retired from the field in 1916. Edwards, having married fellow CMA missionary Weldon Grant Smith, remained in the mission until 1921, when the couple established a small independent work at Guixian, Guangxi, with possible links to the United Free Gospel Mission. The only 'success' among the South China missionary community was Fannie Pearl Winn, but as we have seen, she returned to the United States at the beginning of 1909.

Having received the gift of tongues, the early Pentecostal missionaries in South China were certain in their conviction that they would be able to talk in the local language. Yet their inability to instantaneously speak Cantonese prevented them from engaging in direct evangelism among Chinese. Hence their crucial reliance from the start on the Chinese evangelist Mok Lai Chi (*putonghua*: Mo Lizhi), a school proprietor and a Christian lay leader in Hongkong. However, it was not long before Mok set up his own Pentecostal work and in January 1908 began publication of a Pentecostal periodical, the *Wuxunjie zhenliba* [Pentecostal Truths], which achieved nationwide distribution. As Daniel Bays has observed, "This group and newspaper are important because the paper directly influenced the North China founders of the first major Chinese Pentecostal church, the True Jesus Church."[38] It is interesting to note that when Mok Lai Chi established a

---

[36] Garr to Cashwell, Hongkong, 19 January 1908, *The Bridegroom's Messenger* 1.9 (1 March 1908), p. 4.

[37] See the letter from CMA missionary Ethel F. Landis in *The Bridegroom's Messenger* 1.9 (1 March 1908), p. 2.

[38] Daniel H. Bays, "Indigenous Protestant Churches in China, 1900-1937: A Pentecostal Case Study", in: Steven Kaplan (ed.), *Indigenous Responses to Western Christianity* (New York & London: New York University Press, 1995),

separate work, the elderly Anna Maria Deane (1854-1918) also distanced herself from the McIntosh-Garr project and built her own enduring mission in Hongkong.

In the end, except for the fruitful beginnings at Xi'nan [Sainam], McIntosh and Garr had accomplished relatively little in South China, certainly in terms of their own expectations. At the same time, the missionaries of mainline denominations and the Christian and Missionary Alliance were becoming increasingly hostile. It was, however, the Rev. Samuel Charlton Todd (1870-1908) who launched perhaps the severest attack in the *Baptist Argus* (Louisville, Ky., 23 January 1908) under the title, "Some Sad Failures of Tongues in Mission Fields". Todd argued that in the cases he had investigated, none of the missionaries were able to demonstrate the gift of missionary tongues.[39] Another critical account, possibly by Todd, accused McIntosh of ignorance "so great that he can read only simple English" and Garr of abusive rhetoric against those who disagreed with him.[40]

While there is no doubt some truth in these observations, Todd's own story tells us something about the fluidity among radical evangelicals at this time. He was born in Laurens, South Carolina, and had been ordained a Presbyterian clergyman in 1896. Afterwards he became associated with the CMA. Having married Lilian Fanny Lamont (1869-1954), widow of the CMA China missionary Clarence Hamlin Reeves, he left the United States on 18 November 1903. The couple was accompanied by Fannie Pearl Winn of Macon, Georgia.[41] At Macao, they established the Bible Mission Society, which evidently had a Baptist orientation. Following Todd's death, the Bible Mission Society at Macao was transferred to the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention on 1 January 1910. The Todds may have rejected Spirit baptism and speaking in tongues, but the former missionaries of the Bible Mission Society were given special dispensation to retain their practice of divine healing — with certain

---

p. 129. For a more detailed account of Mok's Pentecostal career, see Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, pp. 117-123.

[39] Wacker, *Heaven Below*, p. 288 note 74. See also

[40] Cited in Robeck, *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival*, p. 246.

[41] It is not inconceivable that Todd's anti-Pentecostal outbursts was provoked by Fannie Winn's defection to the Pentecostal camp.

reservations on behalf of the Foreign Mission Board.[42] Mrs. Todd married the Canadian missionary John Laurels Galloway (1877-1968) and served the Southern Baptist Convention until her death in 1954.

North China

A second centre of early Pentecostal activities emerged in the southern districts of Zhili (from 1928 called Hebei) province. Here the link with missionary societies already in the field became an important point of departure. Bernt Berntsen (1863-1933)[43] played a significant role in the emerging Apostolic Faith movement in this part of North China. Born in the hamlet of Hedrum near Larvik, Norway, he emigrated to the United States in 1893. Having become naturalized American citizens, he and his Norwegian-born wife Magna Berg (1867-1935) and their two small boys left San Francisco in October 1904 with a large group of missionaries for service in the non-denominational South Chihli Mission.[44] During his initial sojourn in southern Zhili province, Berntsen read about the Azusa Street Revival in an early issue of *The Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles). He thereupon travelled to Los Angeles, where he was baptized in the Spirit on 15 September 1907. In late November 1907, he returned to China with eleven recruits, consisting of two married couples and their children, as well as two single men and five single women. "They went out trusting God alone for their support."[45] The party arrived on 1 January 1908 in Zhengding, which would become the principal Pentecostal station in

---

[42] William R. Estep, *Whole Gospel Whole World: The Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention 1845-1995* (Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman & Holman, 1994), pp. 170-171.

[43] Until very recently Berntsen has remained an obscure figure. The fact that some sources have spelled his surname 'Bernsten' and 'Bernstein' has complicated the search for the real Bernt Berntsen. For some details concerning his Pentecostal missionary activities in China, see Robeck, *The Azusa Street Mission and Revival*, pp. 260-262. The present sketch has been painstakingly pieced together from numerous scattered sources.

[44] The group had first gathered at the interdenominational Training School for Christian Workers in Los Angeles. See the 'China Band' photo of 4 October 1904 in *The Witness and Training School News* 4.5 (Feb-Mar 1905), supplement. I would like to thank Ken Otto, curator at Azusa Pacific University, for having sent me the relevant material.

[45] *The Apostolic Faith* 1.11 (Los Angeles, October-January 1908), p. 1.

southern Zhili. Berntsen described this new field as follows: "It is on the railroad line south of Peking, a big field, and to open our home for any independent worker filled with the Holy Ghost and fire, to come and stay with us until they are sure where God wants them." He added, "Pray for a dwelling-place and a home convenient for Chinese orphans."[46]

The composition of Berntsen's group highlights, among other things, the prevalence of immigrants in the American missionary presence in China.[47] Thus, Gustaf S. Lundgren and his future wife Ellen O. Carlson, as well as Adolf Johnson and his wife-to-be Linda Erickson had emigrated to the U.S. from Sweden. George and Sophie Hansen were from Norway. Maria Sophia Björkman (1870-1940) had come to America from Finland in 1902. Young Emma Birgithe Hansen arrived with her family in the U.S. from Norway in 1906, but left her immigrant parents a year later to join Berntsen's band.[48] Roy Jerome Hess (1875-1937) and his wife Mary Lydia Omann (1878-1964) were the only American-born members of the group. However, a closer look at the respective movements of Mr. and Mrs. Hess prior to coming to China reveals that both had taken part in the great internal American migration. Roy Hess was born in Goshen, Indiana, but the family moved first to Chicago and, after 1900, to California. Mary Omann had similarly moved in stages from Wisconsin to California, where she married Hess in 1905. Americans were generally on the move, always ready to explore new opportunities. A good many China missionaries had been part of these wanderings. Rosa Pittman, for example, was born in Minnesota, but the family joined the westward migration and eventually ended up in Latah, Washington. Given that American society was in flux, it is quite conceivable that the geographic migrations facilitated the radical religious migrations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Perhaps it is, therefore, not surprising that those peripatetic souls who had recently embraced Pentecostalism and were under the influence of end-time fervour, were eager to spread the good news in foreign parts.

---

[46] Ibid.

[47] All adult members of the group are mentioned in Berntsen's "Letter from China", *The Bridegroom's Messenger* 1.14 (15 May 1908), p. 2. No information has come to light concerning the eleventh member of Berntsen's party, Hanna Holmsten [or Helmsten].

[48] For her initial report from China, see Emma Hansen, "A Sixteen-Year-Old Missionary", *The Pentecost* 1.7 (Kansas City, Mo., June 1909), p. 4.

In addition to bringing evangelists to China from North America, Berntsen also established contacts with the leaders of the emerging Pentecostal movement in Scandinavia. As David Bundy has recently shown, he sent letters and reports to the Norwegian periodicals *Byposten* and *Korsets Seir* published by Thomas Ball Barratt (1862-1940) and *Det Gode Budskap* published by Erik Andersen Nordquelle (1858-1938).[49] In April 1910, Berntsen travelled overland to Europe and spent several months in Denmark, Norway and Sweden to garner support for his Apostolic Faith enterprise. His sojourn in Scandinavia encouraged several individuals to become Pentecostal evangelists in China. Among those who departed for southern Zhili in 1911 were Einar Johan Christiansen [also Kristiansen] and his wife Rilda from Norway, as well as Dagny Pedersen from Denmark. In 1923, Pedersen would become the first representative of the Apostolic Church Mission in China. Another Dane, Nils Peter Rasmussen and his family made their way to Zhengding in 1913.[50]

In 1914, Abraham Lovalien Heidal (1891-1969) started a small, independent Pentecostal work, known as the Assembly of God – Good News Mission, in the Zhengding area. Relying on the support Scandinavian Pentecostal churches connected with the Assembly of God Missionary Fellowship in the American Midwest and Canada, he was able to open a permanent station at Gaoyi in 1916. For a number of years he and his Swedish-born wife Hilma Lavinia Gustafson (1891-1962) – who had arrived in Zhengding from Chicago in 1911 as an Apostolic Faith missionary[51] and whom he had married in 1915 – carried on the work until they were interned by the Japanese in 1942.[52]

Thus, we see the emergence of a Scandinavian Pentecostal missionary enterprise in several localities around Zhengding. Yet it was not just Scandinavians who undertook the early Pentecostal work in Zhili province. For one thing, there were other members of the South

---

[49] See the scattered references to Berntsen in David Bundy, *Visions of Apostolic Mission*, pp. 228-229, 241-242.

[50] These and other Scandinavians bound for southern Zhili are mentioned in Asbjørn Froholt, *De Frie Evangeliske Forsamlingers Misjon. 75 år. Et jubileumsskrift* (Moss: Elias Forlag, [1982]), pp. 103-112.

[51] She had arrived in the U.S. from Sweden as Hilma Johansson in 1909, but changed her surname to Gustafson.

[52] For a brief account of Heidal and the pre-Azusa Assembly of God Missionary Fellowship, see Rodgers, *Northern Harvest*, pp. 58-62.

Chihli Mission who became or are assumed to have become Pentecostals. Drusie Reubelt Malott (1882-1937) from Kentucky had arrived in the South Chihli Mission in 1904. After three years in that mission, she spent a few years with the Ebenezer Mission in Henan, before coming into the Pentecostal work at Zhengding.[53] The Pentecostal connection is not so explicit in the case of American missionary Martha ("Mattie") Frances Brann (1876-1959). Born in Illinois, she joined the South Chihli Mission in China in 1911. In the 1920s and 1930s, Mattie Brann was a frequent contributor to the *Latter Rain Evangel*.[54] To confuse matters, she and several other persons were listed both under the South Chihli Mission and under the general heading of "Pentecostal Missionaries" in the 1915 *China Mission Year Book*.

It is not known whether Bernt Berntsen or other former members of the South Chihli Mission influenced Thomas Junk to come to North China in 1908. Although present during the early stages of the Azusa Street revival, he has remained an elusive character in the history of the Pentecostal movement. Thomas Jönck was born in 1861 in the duchy of Schleswig, which at that time was still under Danish suzerainty but became German in 1864. In 1888, he emigrated to California with two younger sisters and Anglicized his surname to Junk. He and his German-born wife Helene became naturalized U.S. citizens in 1902. Upon leaving the Azusa Street Mission, he (and presumably his wife Helene) accompanied Florence Crawford on an evangelistic tour of northern California, Oregon and Washington in the summer of 1906. Next, we catch a glimpse of the Junks in Honolulu where they had arrived on 10 March 1907. Annie Kirby and Mabel Evans had a brief meeting with them when their China-bound ship stopped in Honolulu in late 1907.[55] According to his passport application of 1909, Junk stated that he left the U.S. on 23 March 1908, arriving in Shanghai on 10 April.[56] It has not been possible to establish why he chose the small

---

[53] *The Bridegroom's Messenger* 9 (1 August 1916), p. 3.

[54] In particular, see her address to the Stone Church Young People in Chicago: Mattie Brann, "Marvellous Results of Preaching the Old-Fashioned Gospel: A Chinese Testimony Meeting by Proxy", *The Latter Rain Evangel* 20.3 (December 1927), pp. 5-9.

[55] Kirby and Evans, on board the *Korea*, 27 December 1907, *The Bridegroom's Messenger* 1.9 (1 March 1908), p. 12.

[56] National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Washington D.C.; Passport Applications, January 2, 1906 - March 31, 1925; ARC Identifier

town of Caoxian in the hinterland of Shandong province as his base of missionary operations. To be sure, Henry Bartel, initially a member of the South Chihli Mission, had recently set up headquarters of the newly established China Mennonite Mission Society in Caoxian. In any case, Thomas Junk is known to have evangelized in the area until about 1911, supported by the Upper Room Mission in Los Angeles and the Stone Church of Chicago.[57]

The Pentecostal message was also brought directly from Germany to Shandong. The diverse evangelical currents that had swept across Germany in the late nineteenth century caused a revival in the town of Velbert around the turn of the twentieth century, leading to the formation of an independent free church (still known as *Freie evangelische Gemeinde*) there. When news of Azusa Street reached this church in 1907 and the first testimonies of Spirit baptism and speaking in tongues occurred, the free church split and the Christian Fellowship (*Christliche Gemeinschaft Velbert*) came into being as a separate Pentecostal church in 1908. In the same year this new church sent Adolf Wieneke (1879-1955) and his wife Maria Kreuzer to China. Having spent a brief period of cultural acclimatization the small American Baptist 'Gospel Mission', in Tai'an (Shandong), the Wienekes established a work of their own in nearby Jining (Shandong). By the 1920s they had been joined by Helene Hackländer. In 1935 Johannes Wieneke (1910-1967) joined his parents as a missionary. In 1940 he married Agnes Bartel (1908-1984), the daughter of the Mennonite missionary Henry Bartel. This establishment in Jining remained an independent Pentecostal 'faith mission' right up to the end of the missionary era in China.[58]

The Gospel Mission at Tai'an was also the first port of call for two

---

583830 / MLR Number A1 534; NARA Series: M1490; Roll #92. Note that his identity was verified by the Mennonite missionary Jonathan J. Schrag (1875-1930) at Caoxian on 26 April 1909. Because Junk requested the passport only for himself, it can be assumed that his wife died in late 1908 or early 1909.

[57] C.M. Robeck, Jr., "Junk, Thomas", in: Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (eds.), *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1988), p. 514.

[58] Typical of such small independent missions, only a few tiny fragments of historical data have come to light concerning the Wieneke group. For a brief general overview of German Pentecostal missions, see Joost Reinke, *Deutsche Pfingstmissionen: Geschichte, Theologie, Praxis* (Bonn: Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft, 1997).

other missionary couples. Leslie M. Anglin (1882-1942) and his wife Ava Patton Anglin (1884-1952) had left the U.S. on 8 November 1910. Jennie Brinson Rushin, nee Virginia B. Bradler (1887-1979), left her home in Valdosta, Georgia, with her second husband, Perrin Roy Rushin, and two children in late 1914, arriving in Shanghai on 16 December. They, too, stayed at the Gospel Mission upon their arrival in Tai'an. Indeed, Mrs Rushin, who was a Baptist, had come to Tai'an to give support to Mr Anglin's work. It should also be noted that when Mr Rushin applied in DeKalb country for a passport in 1914, Mrs Celestia Ennis Kerr, editor of the Gospel Baptist periodical *Our Missionary Helper*, Decatur, DeKalb County, verified his identity. Initially the Gospel Baptists "were made to rejoice by the coming of new missionaries to work with them, but soon it became evident that they were not true Baptists, for they taught seeking the 'baptism of the Holy Spirit' and were speaking in tongues. There were seven of them against three, but the American Consul upheld those who were Baptists, and the others left for another part of the city to build a work."[59] The Anglins opened the Home of Onesiphorus in Tai'an for abandoned and orphaned children in 1916.[60] At about the same time, the Rushins started an independent Pentecostal work in the Tai'an area. From February 1917 to October 1918 the family spent some time in the Philippines. Upon their return to China, they set up their base in Ji'nan, the provincial capital of Shandong.[61] It is only from late 1915 onward that the Anglins and Rushins are mentioned in the Pentecostal periodicals.

---

[59] John R. Blalock, *T. L. Blalock, China Missionary*, pp. 6-7; http://jrhenness4.home.comcast.net/~jrhenness4/calhac/misc/mi_blalock_tl_index.htm . On the tensions, see also Rebekah E. Adams, *Called to China: Attie Bostick's Life and Missionary Letters From China: 1900-1943* (Huntsville, Alabama: Halldale Publishing Company, 2006), pp. 44-45. The three 'true' Baptists at Tai'an were Thomas Lee Blalock and wife and Miss Attie T. Bostick. The seven opponents were Mr. and Mrs. Wieneke, Mr. and Mrs. Anglin, Anglin's younger sister Ruth, as well Mr. and Mrs. Rushin. *China Mission Year Book … 1915*, "Directory", p.18.

[60] Harry J. Albus, Twentieth-Century Onesiphorus: The Story of Leslie M. Anglin and the Home of Onesiphorus (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1951).

[61] David Bundy, "Jennie Brinson-Rushin: Pioneer China Missionary" *Church of God History and Heritage* (summer/fall 1999), pp. 5-7.

Apostolic Faith Missionaries in Shanghai

By the early twentieth century, the international metropolis of Shanghai served as a major base for several Protestant mainline and evangelical societies. It is, therefore, not surprising that the city became the third early centre of Apostolic Faith missionary activities. Among the early arrivals were George and Sofia Hansen and Roy J. and Lydia M. Hess[62] who had initially been part of Bernt Berntsen's mission in Zhili province. Homer Levi Lawler (1869-1944), his wife Emma Bell Rednour (1875-1955), their daughter Estelle Beatrice Lawler (1894-1970) and son Fay Harland Lawler (1895-) had been part of the Japan mission established by Martin Lawrence Ryan, but had returned to the U.S. from Yokohama on 30 December 1907, after only a few months in Japan. In late December 1910, Mrs. Lawler and her two children crossed the Pacific once more to join the Apostolic Faith Mission in Shanghai. Homer Lawler joined them at a later date.[63] In 1912, Ryan himself abandoned the Japan mission and settled in Shanghai to continue the publication of his *Apostolic Light* periodical. He returned to the United States in 1915.

It was quite rare for missionaries of mainline denominations to join the Pentecostal movement. In this regard, the case of Antoinette ("Nettie") Moomau (1873-1937) is well known. Born in Iowa, she had come to China as an American Presbyterian (North) missionary in 1899. On leaving China on furlough in October 1906, she was asked by her mission to investigate the Apostolic Faith Movement in Los Angeles, "where they claimed to have manifested the same gifts of the Holy

---

[62] A letter dated 1 October 1908 from Roy Hess, who had received his Pentecost in the upper room in the old Azusa Street Mission, indicates that he and George Hansen and wife had been in Shanghai about five months. *Bridegroom's Messenger* 2.26 (15 Nov 1908), p. 1. However, the Hess family returned to the U.S. some time in 1909 and settled into farming in California. Their second daughter, Grace Lois, was born on 12 September 1909 near Los Angeles.

[63] According to Emma Lawler's 1910 passport application, her husband was travelling to Palestine at that time. Attached to Homer Lawler's 1916 passport application is a letter from the Pentecostal Mission and Apostolic Assembly of Seattle, Washington, confirming that Lawler was "a properly ordained minister of the Gospel, and is working in connection with this Assembly as evangelist and missionary". Pastor William Henry Offiler signed the letter.

Ghost as of old"[64]. During her visit at the Azusa Street Mission she was baptized in the Spirit. She thereupon returned to China, taking along Leola Phillips (1878-1910) from Indiana. Although her companion died from smallpox two years later, Nettie Moomau enjoyed many years as an Apostolic Faith missionary in Shanghai and Suzhou.

However, the process of religious migration could also be in reverse, as in the case of Lillian Holmes Keyes (1889-1965) and Edith Emily Gumbrell (1875-1922), former members of Joseph Smale's newly established First New Testament Church in Los Angeles. Young Miss Keyes had gained some negative publicity in the local press on account of 'gift of tongues' and her subsequent confrontation with Smale, whereupon her father, Dr. Henry Sheridan Keyes, and another prominent member, Elmer Kirk Fisher, left Smale's church to establish the Upper Room Mission in Los Angeles in September 1906. In the summer of 1908, the Misses Keyes and Gumbrell, accompanied by George Webb Cram (1865-) and his wife Fannie Louise Patterson (1858-1947) left as Pentecostal missionaries for China, arriving in Baoding, Zhili province, on 1 August 1908. Except for Berntsen's brief reference to their Chinese language studies, little is known about their activities until 1911, when the two women joined the American Presbyterian mission at Baoding. In 1916, Lillian Keyes married the Presbyterian clergyman Richard E. Jenness (1890-1941) and worked as a missionary at Baoding and Shunde (now called Xingtai) until 1950.[65]

As the Pentecostal mission movement expanded in China after 1910, the 'Apostolic Faith Mission' label covering a loose association of early North American Pentecostal missionaries began to disappear from the periodical literature — except in Shanghai where it retained a more concrete meaning. Following the death of Anna Scheidegger (1870-1931), who came from a Mennonite background in Indiana and had been with the Door of Hope Mission in Shanghai from 1907 to 1915, the U.S. consular death certificate stated quite specifically that she had been a member of the Apostolic Faith Mission.[66] However, by

---

[64] Antoinette Moomau, Eustice, Nebraska, *The Apostolic Faith* 1.11 (Los Angeles,), p. 3.

[65] Robeck, *Azusa Street Mission and Revival*, pp. 248-249. The party had arrived in Shanghai on 21 July 1908: *Chinese Recorder* 39.8 (August 1908), p. 470.

[66] Report of the Death of an American Citizen, Shanghai, 24 February 1931, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Washington, D.C.; General Records of the Department of State; Record Group: RG59-Entry

this time the Shanghai work had essentially become a Canadian enterprise, with home support based in Vancouver. The English-born Canadian Thomas Harwood and wife Mary Ethel had been Apostolic Faith missionaries in China since 1910. A Miss E. L. Brown (probably Louise E. Brown), who had been in China since 1912, was representing the Apostolic Faith Mission in Shanghai as late as 1936. Moreover, there seems to have been a close working relationship with the Pacific Coast Missionary Society (PCMS), which had begun in British Columbia as a group of churches with roots in the Apostolic Faith Mission of Portland, Oregon. It was under the PCMS name that several stations were operating in northern Zhejiang province, the oldest of which was opened by Thomas Harwood at Hangzhou in 1913.[67]

It should be noted that the Pentecostal message had also been carried to China from the Hebden Mission in Toronto. Arthur Manley Atter (1874-1937) and his wife Jessie Mornelvia Snyder spent only a few months in Shanghai in 1909.[68] George Christian Slager (1886-1968), who had been a witness to the early establishment of Pentecostalism in Toronto,[69] and his wife Harriet Abigail Chant (1889-1959) reached Shanghai in 1910 had a rather longer career in China. Also in 1909, Thomas Hindle (1870-1969) and his wife Louise Siegrist (1886-1964) left for the East. According to Bernt Berntsen, the Hindles had arrived in Baoding,[70] presumably to study the Chinese language. In

---

205;Box Number: 1817: 1930-1939 China Sc – Sy. According to Sue Gronewold, the Door of Hope Mission had by the 1920s developed "evangelical and even pentecostal tendencies". Sue Ellen Gronewold, "Encountering Hope: The Door of Hope Mission in Shanghai and Taipei 1900-1976", Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1996, p. 299.

[67] For the basic details, see Tiedemann, *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies*, pp. 121-122, 196-197.

[68] Antoinette Moomau and Leola Phillips report the Atters' arrival in *The Pentecost* 1.11 (15 October 1909). On 14 December 1909, they and their son Gordon Francis Atter (1905-1998) were back in Vancouver. *Passenger Lists, 1865–1935*. Microfilm Publication Roll T-4851. Library and Archives Canada, RG 76-C. Department of Employment and Immigration fonds. Library and Archives Canada Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

[69] See Thomas William Miller, "The Canadian Jerusalem: The story of James and Ellen Hebden and their Toronto mission", *Assemblies of God Heritage* 11.3 (Fall 1991), p. 6. Dutch-born Slager, whose actual name was Gerardus Christiaan Slager, married Harriet Abigail Chant (1889-1959) of Toronto.

the same year, they became the first Pentecostals to venture into what is now Inner Mongolia. They spent several decades in evangelistic endeavours beyond the Great Wall. Mention should also be made of Irish-born Canadian Robert James Semple, husband of Aimee Semple McPherson, who set out for Hongkong from Canada in 1910, but contracted malaria and died a few weeks after his arrival.

The Pentecostal Movement Spreads in China

From about 1910 onward, Pentecostalism began to spread beyond the three early centres of the Apostolic Faith movement in China. Except for Beijing, these new areas of evangelization were more difficult to reach, well beyond the coastal ports and railways. In North China Scandinavian and American Pentecostals began to move into Shanxi province and northern Zhili. It is not known whether Berntsen's sojourn in Scandinavia in 1910 had any bearing on the decision to establish a Norwegian Pentecostal presence in China. In the same year Parley Gulbrandsen (1889-1959), John Cairns Beruldsen (1883-1953) and their families, along with others, travelled to the northern part of Zhili province as the first representatives of the non-Pentecostal [North] Chihli Mission (*Tsjilimissionen* — later known as the Norwegian Mission Alliance), which had been founded by Edvard Eriksen (1866-1924) in 1901. It was not until T. B. Barratt established Norway's Free Evangelical Mission to the Heathen (NFEH) in 1916 that these evangelists became attached to a specifically Pentecostal organization while retaining their links with the Norwegian Mission Alliance.[71] When the NFEH was dissolved in 1934, its former missionaries were supported by local Norwegian Pentecostal assemblies. The work at home as well as on the mission field was based on voluntary co-operation under the collective term 'Norwegian Evangelical Mission'.[72]

---

[70] Berntsen, undated report in *The Bridegroom's Messenger* 3.51 (1 December 1909), p. 3. He also mentions the arrival of W. H. Burns from Toronto, as well as three Canadian sisters who left Zhengding for Baoding to study the Chinese language. It has not been possible to identify these individuals.

[71] For details, see Bundy, *Visions of Apostolic Mission*, especially the section "Parley Gulbrandsen: From the Tsjili Mission to Pentecostal Mission", pp. 337-340.

[72] For an overview, see Tiedemann, *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies*, pp.188-190.

It was, however, in the western Chinese provinces of Yunnan and Gansu where a substantial Pentecostal work began to develop. Whereas the early Pentecostals in the Hongkong-Macao area had failed to attract missionaries from established missions, in the districts bordering on Tibet several members of the China Inland Mission and the Christian and Missionary Alliance responded to the Pentecostal message. Perhaps the most notable convert was Cecil Polhill-Turner, later known as Cecil Henry Polhill (1860-1938). Whereas many Pentecostal missionaries came from humble backgrounds, he was born into the wealthy Polhill-Turner family of Howbury Hall near Bedford, England. In 1885, he went to China as one of the famous 'Cambridge Seven' in the service of the China Inland Mission and served on the Tibetan border. During a trip from China to England, he stopped over in Los Angeles in early 1908 and was baptised in the Spirit. A year later, he played an important role in the formation of the Pentecostal Missionary Union for Great Britain and Ireland (PMU).[73] Yunnan province quickly became the PMU's major mission field. Its early recruits came not only from the United Kingdom, but also from the Netherlands and Denmark. The first four PMU men, as well as John Beruldsen and his two sisters, left for China in 1910.[74]

The CIM missionary Hector McLean from Canada and Sigrid Bengtsson (1869-1935) of the Swedish Mission in China, a CIM affiliate mission, had entered their respective mission fields in China in 1901. Having married in 1905, the couple and their newborn daughter Karin Sarah travelled from Rangoon to England, Sweden, Canada and the United States in 1908. While staying at Dr. Finis E. Yoakum's Pisgah Home in Highland Park, California, they visited the Azusa Street Mission where they received the Pentecostal baptism in 1909. Having landed at Shanghai on 1 January 1910, the McLeans worked briefly in Shanghai and Shandong province (Yantai and Laiyang), before returning to Yunnan for service with the PMU. They retired in

[73] P.D. Hocken, "Cecil H. Polhill (1860-1938)", in Burgess and McGee (eds.), *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, p. 718. See also Hocken, "Cecil H. Polhill: Pentecostal Layman", *Pneuma* 10.1-2, (1988) , pp. 116-140.

[74] For further details, see Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, pp. 123-130. Note that the Beruldsens, missionaries of the Tsjilimissionen, were also holding PMU certificates. See e.g. *Confidence* 5.6 (June 1912), p. 141.

1927 as independent Pentecostal missionaries and settled in Toronto.[75]

John Daniel Fullerton (1883-) had arrived in Yunnan in 1912 as an Australian member of the China Inland Mission. When he received the baptism of the Spirit at a Pentecostal meeting in Kunming in 1914, he had to resign from the CIM. Having married Martha Rønager from Denmark, who had been sent to China by the Pentecostal Missionary Union, the couple established the small South Yunnan Mission in 1915. It received support from Pentecostals in Denmark.[76]

A number of CMA missionaries who had already spent several years on the Gansu-Tibetan border also experienced Pentecostal phenomena. The stories of William Wallace Simpson (1869-1961) and Victor Guy Plymire (1881-1956) are well known and need not be retold here.[77] However, the Alliance missionaries Grace Caroline Agar (1877-1966) and Ivan Souder Kauffman (1885-1934) were also part of the Pentecostal revival in this part of China. The PMU evangelists Frank Trevitt and Amos Williams were present at the "special meetings" that "had been arranged for waiting on God for the Baptism into the Holy Spirit" by the local CMA missionaries at Taozhou (now called Lintan), Gansu province, in early May 1912. It was on this occasion that W. W. Simpson and his wife Otilia Ekvall (1869-1917) "were baptized into the Holy Spirit and Fire".[78] Agar, who had arrived in China in 1902, had already gone on furlough to California prior to the Taozhou meetings. Upon "receiving the infilling of the Holy Spirit in 1912", presumably while in the U.S., she too withdrew from the CMA and returned to China in 1914. She worked as an independent missionary in the PMU mission in Yunnan before receiving an appointment from the

---

[75] See Robeck, *Azusa Street Mission and Revival*, pp. 264-266; Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, p. 128. Further details can be found in Sigrid McLean, *Over Twenty Years in China* (Minneapolis: author, 1927). Their daughter continued to work as an independent Pentecostal missionary in Yunnan and Burma.

[76] John and Martha Fullerton, *Herrens Gerning i Syd Yunnan* ("Kirkeklokken"s Forlag, 1922).

[77] Bibliographic references are found in Gary B. McGee, "William Wallace Simpson", in Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (eds.), *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1988, p. 787; G.W. Gohr, "Plymire, Victor Guy", in ibid., p. 718.

[78] A. Williams to A.A. Boddy, Taozhou (Old City), *Confidence* 5.7 (July 1912), p. 167. On Simpson and the early Pentecostal presence in south-western Gansu province, see also Anderson, *Spreading Fires*, pp. 130-133.

Assemblies of God in 1922.[79] Ivan Kauffman had been present at the Taozhou revival meetings in 1912 and separated from the CMA during his furlough in the U.S. in 1915. Having married Frances Jean Thompson in York, Ontario, in 1917, the couple set out for Taozhou in late 1917 with a certificate of fellowship from the General Council of the Assemblies of God. After a lengthy sojourn in the U.S. since 1920, they left once more for China in 1923, now representing the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada in the coastal city of Qingdao.[80]

The early Pentecostal missionaries in western China faced rather different conditions than those in the eastern part of the country. For one thing, in addition to Han Chinese settlers, they encountered various ethnic minorities. Moreover, these districts were quite remote, difficult to reach, with none of the modern amenities. The difficulty of travel to these distant stations is well illustrated by the experiences of the Kauffmans in 1917:

> After days and weeks of hardships, testings and trials too deep for words, our brother, Ivan S. Kauffman and Mrs. Kauffman have reached their destination at Tao Chow (Old City) Kansu Prov., Northwest China. They journeyed in mid-winter with practically no heat, over mountains and dangerous precipices in ox-carts without springs, that jarred and upset, till their bodies could scarce stand the strain of the continuous jolting for weeks. Then changing to a mule litter they passed through a robber-infested region, but God showed His power and protection in a marked way.[81]

It was reported that Mrs. Kauffman, who was coming out to China for the first time, "was brought to death's door as a result of a long and very severe journey".[82] Indeed, without the presence of several

---

[79] "Missionary Heroine with the Lord", *The Pentecostal Evangel* (12 March 1967), p. 28. Her life and ministry is told in Inez Spence, *Dark Is This Land: Grace Agar* (Springfield, Mo.: Foreign Missions Dept., Assemblies of God, [1962?]).

[80] For a biographical account, see Donald H. Kauffman, *The Cross and the Dragon* (Young America, Minn.; Toronto: Little Ones Books, [1994?]).

[81] *The Latter Rain Evangel* (April 1918), p. 14.

[82] *The Weekly Evangel* #233 (30 March 1918), p. 16.

experienced men and women who had formerly been members of the CIM or CMA missions in Yunnan and Gansu, life would have been even harder for the pioneering newcomers. As a consequence of this continuity in the missionary endeavour, the foundations were laid for the expanding evangelistic work that developed afterwards.

Emergence of Organizational Structures

The early years of the Pentecostal missionary enterprise were relatively unstable. As has already been discussed, in the first wave of eager evangelists to arrive in China were those individual 'faith' missionaries who had come on the spur of the moment. Disillusionment quickly crept in because of the harsh realities they had to face, their inability to communicate with the people, financial instability and lack of preparation. Disease, illness and death also curtailed missionary careers. Some faith workers returned to their homeland after only a brief spell in the East, prompting one writer to call these restless spirits "traveling, sight-seeing experimenting missionaries, who expect to make a trip around the world and come home".[83] McIntosh and Garr were not the only ones who found it difficult to settle down. Mrs. Kirby, Mabel Evans and Fannie Winn did not spend much time in China either, sojourning briefly in Palestine before returning to the U.S. in early 1909.[84] George W. Cram and his wife left for the United States because they could not cope with the Chinese language.[85]

Inadequate financial support caused others to return to the homeland. Note, for instance, the case of Rosa Pittman and her husband Edward Christon Downing, a former Japan missionary. According to Drusie Malott, "Brother and Sister Downing, who have had to leave Hong Kong, because some one at home has not had them on their heart, to pray down the means to enable them to live and carry on the work

---

[83] E[udorus] N. Bell, "A Word to Foreign Missionaries", *Word and Witness* (20 October 1912), p. 3.

[84] Note from A.E. Kirby, Jerusalem, 19 October 1908, *The Bridegroom's Messenger* 2.26 (15 November 1908), p. 1. The trio arrived in New York on 8 February 1909. Their return may have been occasioned by the death of Kirby's elderly husband Daniel Kirby in South Carolina on 6 November 1908. They had married in 1881 when Annie was 19 and the widower Daniel 51.

[85] The Crams landed in San Francisco in September 1909. In 1930 George Cram was still listed as a Pentecostal minister in Pasadena.

there at Hong Kong, have gone to live with Mr. and Mrs. Rushin."[86] The Downings left China for good in 1916, arriving in Vancouver from Hongkong on 20 November 1916. The 1920 census shows them in Lynden, Washington, with Edward Downing as a Baptist Church minister. The Rushins, too, found life difficult at this time. When funding from Baptist sources was no longer forthcoming, they turned to the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee) for support. From late 1915 until 1925, letters and reports from Jennie Brinson Rushin appeared regularly in the Church of God organ, the *Church of God Evangel*.[87]

Then there were those who abandoned their Pentecostal convictions altogether. It has not been possible to establish this for Thomas Junk. The last known letter from him to Pentecostal periodicals was published in the July 1911 issue of *The Latter Rain Evangel*. However, his subsequent passport applications indicate that Junk remained in China, but was involved in various commercial activities in Shandong province. In his applications from 1918 onward he is desperately trying to hide his German origins by claiming that he was born in Denmark. The last passport application accessible on the internet dates from 1923. There may, of course, be later applications in the relevant files at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland, but it has not yet been possible to search for them. No evidence has come to light that he ever returned to the United States. In other words, Thomas Junk simply vanishes.

Of course, several of the early Pentecostal evangelists persevered and served for many years in China. Although little is known about Elen Søyland, she is still listed at Pingding, Shanxi, in the 1936 *Directory of Protestant Missions in China*. Maria Björkman was working in Hebei province as late as 1940. Emma Lawler and her daughter E. Beatrice Lawler pursued their missionary careers in China until 1951, whereas her husband Homer and her son Harland were only intermittently involved in evangelization and in later years had taken up mercantile activities in Shanghai. These examples remind us that even in the early years of the evangelistic endeavour in China, women — single, married or widowed — represented the majority of the Pentecostal workers.

In time, as the missionary enterprise expanded, some Pentecostal

---

[86] *The Bridegroom's Messenger* (1 August 1916), p. 3.

[87] According to China Coast directories and passenger lists, the Rushins, now operating under the surname McNair, were living in Shanghai in the 1930s but do not seem to have undertaken any missionary work.

leaders began to advocate the creation of at least rudimentary organizational forms. Although many Pentecostals resisted the formation of institutional structures beyond local fellowships, wider denominational formations nevertheless took shape in Europe and North America. In China, many missionaries became aligned with one or other of these emerging denominational organizations.

Several smaller organizations from a Holiness background were already in existence in the southeastern United States. In addition to the Pentecostal Holiness Church of North Carolina, two other early Pentecostal churches with whom it would merge into what is now the International Pentecostal Holiness Church supported missionaries in China. The Holiness Church of North Carolina, under the ministry of Gaston Barnabas Cashwell (1862-1916), came under the influence of the Azusa Street revival of 1906. Consequently, Pentecostal doctrine was accepted and, in 1909, the church changed its name to Pentecostal Holiness Church. It had already established a 'missionary board' at its Fayetteville, North Carolina, convention in 1904. When Eliza May Law returned from furlough in the United States in 1912, she brought back with her Miss Olive ("Ollie") Eugene Maw (1889-1959), of South Carolina and a member of the original Pentecostal Holiness Church.[88] The Fire-Baptized Holiness Church (火洗聖潔會), led by Joseph Hillery King (1869-1946) since 1900, became in 1908 the first denomination to officially embrace Pentecostalism. Widowed Mrs. Addell Harrison (1874-1946) and her young daughter Golden (1898-1947) were in Hongkong for the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church from 1910.[89] In 1911, this church merged into the Pentecostal Holiness Church. In 1915, the small Tabernacle Pentecostal Church, founded by Nickles John Holmes (1847-1919), also merged with the Pentecostal Holiness Church. At the time of the merger, it supported the work of three women in China. The first of them was Anna Maria Deane who had arrived in December 1909 to minister in Hongkong and South

[88] George Floyd Taylor, "Our Church History: Chapter XI", *Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* (7 April 1921), p. 8; mentioned in Hunter, "Centennial Notes", endnote 75. Miss Law joined the Pentecostal Holiness Church in 1910. Hunter adds that she later adopted the 'finished work' theory and 'the one name baptism'.

[89] Addell Harrison's passport application in 1919 includes a letter from the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, dated Indianapolis, 17 March 1919, to the effect that she was going to China as a missionary "under the directions of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World".

China. She was joined by her niece Anna Deane Cole (1892-) in 1912 and by Jane Axtell Schermerhorn (1861-1938) in 1914. As a result of the successive mergers, a General Missions Board of the Pentecostal Holiness Church was established in 1915 for the purpose of candidate examination and distribution of funds to the missionaries. Notable missionaries to China of the Pentecostal Holiness Church after consolidation include William Henry Turner and his wife Orine Aquilla Entrekin [also called Aquilla Orine Entrekin] who arrived in 1919.[90] It should also be noted that Cecil Polhill and others founded the first successful Pentecostal missions agency, the Pentecostal Missionary Union in the United Kingdom in 1909.

When the General Council of the Assemblies of God was formed in 1914, a substantial number of American missionaries affiliated with that organization, making it the largest Pentecostal missionary body in China. However, doctrinal issues led to the formation of a major rival organization in the United States, namely the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World (PAW) that had been established in 1911 as an interracial church. In 1915, the 'New Issue', including baptism in Jesus' name and adherence to Oneness 'new birth' teaching, was adopted. In 1918, the organization was reinforced by dissidents who had been ousted by the Assemblies of God in 1916 during the 'Jesus Only' controversy. However, in 1924 the PAW itself became divided by the withdrawal of many of the Southern White members into three distinct new bodies that, as a result of subsequent mergers, in 1945 became the United Pentecostal Church.[91]

In China, three early missionaries can be identified with an explicit affiliation with the PAW. Frank Staples Ramsey and his wife Sophie Eleanor, as well as twenty-year-old Elizabeth Stieglitz (1889-1975) had left St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1910 to establish a mission station at Datong, Shanxi province. Having come upon a portion of Frank Ewart's *Meat in Due Season* in late 1914, they decided to adopt the Oneness theology.[92] In other instances, the nature of affiliation is rather

---

[90] Turner, W[illiam] H[enry], *Pioneering in China* (Franklin Springs, GA: Publishing House of the PHC, 1928).

[91] On the racial, doctrinal and personal issues causing divisions in early Pentecostalism, see Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism*, pp. 45, 49-50.

[92] Nona Freeman, "The Story of Elizabeth Stieglitz", in: Mary H. Wallace (comp.), *Profiles of Pentecostal Missionaries* (Hazelwood, Mo.: Word Aflame Press, 1986), p. 328.

difficult to determine. Among the missionaries who received support from the PAW in the years 1914-1915 are, for example, the Anglins, George Hansen and Frank Denney. Addell Harrison and Phoebe Holmes, both of whom had come to China in 1910, as well as Olive E. Maw were later also "under the directives of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World".[93] George M. Kelley, whose relations with his fellow Assemblies of God workers were rather strained, is also mentioned.[94] Here we should keep in mind Cecil Robeck's conclusion that "Denominational loyalties were lightly held in those days, especially in Holiness and Pentecostal circles."[95]

Bernt Berntsen is no longer mentioned in the principal Pentecostal periodical publications after 1916. The reason for this probably has to do with his opting for Oneness Pentecostalism. Thus, when his son Henry Bernhard Berntsen (1900-1976) married Helga Nathalia Hansen (daughter of George and Sofie Hansen) in 1920, Bernt Berntsen was authorized by the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World to perform the ceremony.[96] Yet he also seems to have become affiliated with the Church of God (Adventist), a ramification of the Millerite movement. This connection was first mentioned in Church of God sources in 1916, according to which Elder "Bernstein" supervised a "Church of God" in Beijing. This must be the Church of God Faith Mission listed in the *Peking Who's Who* of 1922.[97] Interestingly, his passport application of

---

[93] See the 1917 passport application for Phoebe Holmes, with the supporting letter from PAW, Indianapolis, 3 October 1917. Note also that the PAW letterhead has George Hansen and Frank Denney serving as 'foreign field missionary superintendents'. Upon her marriage to Clinton Edwin Finch in January 1920, Olive E. Maw became associated with the Assemblies of God mission in South China.

[94] For these and other names, see Daniel L. Scott, *The Evolving World of Foreign Missions*. A comprehensive history of the Foreign Missions Division of the United Pentecostal Church International. Book in PDF format on CD (Copyright 2009), Chapter 2: The Early Years of Foreign Missions.

[95] C. M. Robeck, Jr., "Aimee Semple McPherson", in: Burgess and McGee (eds.), *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, p. 569.

[96] *Consular Reports of Marriage, 1910–1949. Records of the Department of State*, Record Group Number: 59; Microfilm Serial: A1, Entry 3001; Microfilm Roll: 480, File Number: 133/1502, Beijing; National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Washington, D.C.

[97] See the *Peking Who's Who 1922*, p. 52, where his name is given as "D. Bernsten".

25 August 1919, lists both the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World and the Church of God.[98] Berntsen's Chinese Pentecostal periodical, *Tongzhuan fuyin zhenlibao* [Popular Gospel Truth], likewise carried articles both on Oneness Pentecostalism[99] and sabbatarian observances[100].

His periodical also indicates that he moved from Zhengding to Beijing after 1916. The earliest extant number (1914) was published by the *Xinxinhui* [Faith Mission] of Zhengding county. The April 1919 number is the first one to be published by Berntsen in Beijing for the *Zhenshenjiao Xinxinhui* [Teachings of the True God Faith Mission]. In the next issue, the name has been changed to *Shenjiaohui* [Church of God]. It is not known whether he visited the Zhengding work in the 1920s. This would have been a relatively simple journey by train along the Beijing-Hankou line. At any rate, no further references to Berntsen's missionary activities have been found in the accessible records, except for a notice in 1933 in which his name ("Bernsten") appears on the list the "seventy to go forth two by two, all Church of God elders".[101] Berntsen died in 1933 and his wife passed away two years later. It was their daughter Ruth Esther (1910-1947) who continued the work at Zhengding in the 1930s, evidently in the Oneness tradition. At any rate, in the summer of 1946 extracts of a letter she had received from Zhang Yingxi — who had been trained by Bernt

---

[98] National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Washington D.C.; Passport Applications, January 2, 1906 - March 31, 1925; ARC Identifier 583830 / MLR Number A1 534; NARA Series: M1490; Roll #887.

[99] *Tongzhuan fuyin zhenlibao*, (May 1916), p. 4. I would like to thank Darrin Rodgers, Director of the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center, for informing me that this periodical is now accessible online: http://ifphc.org/DigitalPublications/China/Independent/Popular Gospel Truth/

[100] Ibid., (June 1916), p. 1; (March 1918), p. 7. It is possible that Swedish-born Erik Pilquist introduced Berntsen to Adventist ideas. Having come to China in 1891 as a member of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission, Pilquist subsequently had dealings with the Seventh-Day Adventists and lived for a time in Beijing as an independent missionary. He visited Zhengding in 1917 and verified Berntsen's identity for the latter's 1917 passport application.

[101] See Richard C. Nickels, *History of the Seventh Day Church of God*, Chapters IX-X; online URL: http://www.giveshare.org/churchhistory/historysdcog/history9.html and .../history10.html. In 1923 the organisation's name was changed from Church of God (Adventist) to Church of God (Seventh Day).

Berntsen and had subsequently taken charge of the work in China — were published in *The Pentecostal Herald*, the official publication of the United Pentecostal Church.[102]

It is not always easy to identify organizational affiliations, especially with regard to societies whose records have not survived and whose involvement in China was minimal. According to the directories of Protestant missions in China, in the 1930s Emma and Beatrice Lawler were in charge of the Emmanuel Church of the Foursquare Gospel in Shanghai, with the support of Aimee Semple McPherson's International Church of the Foursquare Gospel.[103] It is not known when Francis ("Frank") John Casley's United Free Gospel Mission first supported missionaries in China. However, according to her 1918 U.S. passport application, Mrs Lizzie Matilda Johnson (1872-1964) was a missionary of that organization while at Baini [Paknai], Guangdong. She had arrived in China in 1910 as an independent Pentecostal missionary. However, for many other Pentecostal missionaries it has not been possible to establish any kind of organizational link. In any case, the anti-organizational sentiment among missionaries remained strong. A good number continued to operate as 'Pentecostal Missionaries' or simply as 'independent' workers. Because they preferred independence, these individuals have largely eluded the historian's attention.

The Emergence of a Chinese Church

None of the missionary endeavours — whether Pentecostal or otherwise — could have succeeded without the active support of Chinese workers. The early involvement of Mok Lai Chi in Hongkong is a striking example. While references to the native evangelists are scattered throughout the extant Pentecostal periodical literature, there is as yet no comprehensive and systematic study of the relationship between foreign missionaries and indigenous agency. What evangelization methods were employed? What can be learned from an analysis of the extent to which Pentecostal practices and beliefs resonated with those of Chinese folk religion or the beliefs and practices of the various ethnic minorities among whom many

[102] Ruth E. Redmon [nee Berntsen], letter in *The Pentecostal Herald* 21.8 (August 1946), p. 8.

[103] *1936 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China Under Protestant Auspices* (Shanghai: National Christian Council of China, 1936), pp. 120-121.

Pentecostals evangelized? A strong belief in supernaturalism, including divine healing, visions, ecstatic worship, miraculous events and speaking in tongues were not unknown in China. Finally, there are no statistical records that show the number and geographical distribution of converts. In other words, concrete evidence concerning the overall achievement of the Pentecostal missionary enterprise is lacking.

On the other hand, considerable progress has been made in the study of Chinese independent Christianity. In this regard, Lian Xi's recent monograph, *Redeemed by Fire*, makes a major contribution. The chapters "The Lightning out of the East: The True Jesus Church", and "The Jesus Family" are particularly relevant and enlightening.[104] Further research has established that the origins of the True Jesus Church are to be found in the encounters between its founder, Wei Enbo, and Bernt Berntsen in Beijing. As is stated in the August 1916 issue of Berntsen's Chinese newsletter, *Popular Gospel Truth*, Wei was baptized in the Spirit in Beijing on 12 December 1915. It is highly likely that these encounters had a bearing on the presence of Oneness Pentecostal and sabbatarian elements in the True Jesus Church, which is now one of the largest Protestant churches in China and beyond.

The Jesus Family (*Yesu jiating*) was a unique Pentecostal communitarian church first established in the vicinity of Tai'an, Shandong, ca. 1927. In later years, other Jesus Family churches emerged in North and Central China. They were all in rural or semirural areas, and were formed into small communities of up to a few hundred, with the believers working and living together, and holding property in common. The Pentecostal influence has been attributed to Jing Dianying's contact with Leslie M. Anglin's Home of Onesiphorus mission commune at Tai'an. It also inspired the Jesus Family's egalitarian communalism.[105]

Conclusion

A number of Pentecostal missionaries, driven by end-time fervour

---

[104] Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire: The Rise of Popular Christianity in Modern China* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2010).

[105] In addition to Lian's monograph chapter, see also Tao Feiya, *Zhongguo de Jidujiao wutuobang: Yesu jiating* [A Christian Utopia in China: the Jesus Family (1921-1952)], (Hongkong: Xianggang Zhongwen daxue, 2004); Daniel H. Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 312.

and eager to spread the good news in foreign parts, made their way to China in the wake of the great Azusa Street Revival. For many the early years were difficult and some did not stay for long. It was only after organizational structures were introduced that an enduring and stable Pentecostal missionary enterprise emerged. Especially for the early period of Pentecostal missions, with the strong opposition among the faithful and their leaders to the setting up of central bureaucratic structures, there is a distinct paucity of archival material. Historians have to rely to a large extent on the accessible but limited Pentecostal periodical literature to reconstruct the missionary presence in China. It is, nevertheless, hoped that at least some of these intrepid evangelists will have been retrieved from that obscurity which has engulfed the great majority of ordinary folk.

PENTECOSTAL MISSIONS IN CHINA

Name (with *Chinese Name*)	Nationality	China Start	Locations in China (province)	Comments
Adullam Rescue Mission (ARM)	American	1919	Yunnan	Started by former Disciples of Christ missionaries H.A. Baker and wife
Apostolic Church-Missionary Movement *Shitu hui*	International	1923	Hebei; Guizhou	Begun by Dagny Pedersen from Denmark
Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) *Shitu xinxin hui*	Canadian		Jiangsu	No concrete data has come to light concerning this mission; see also Pacific Coast Missionary Society
Assemblies of God (AG) *Shangdi jiaohui*; *Shenzhao hui*	American	1914	Gansu; Zhili/Hebei; Shanxi; Shandong; Guangdong; Guangxi; Hongkong	Several of the AG missionaries had been in China as independent workers prior to 1914
Assembly of God – Good News Mission *Shenzhao hui*	American	1915	Hebei	Started by Abraham Lovalien Heidal and his wife

Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee) *Zhen shenjiao hui*	American	1923	Shandong	Jennie Brinson Rushin, who arrived in Shandong in 1914, had already received some support in 1915
Dutch Pentecostal Missionary Society	Dutch	1921	Yunnan	Before 1920 they were members of the PMU; ceased in 1931
Emmanuel Church of the Foursquare Gospel (ECFG); *Wanguo sifang fuyihui*	American		Jiangsu; Shandong	Associated with the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel
Emmanuel Full Gospel Mission	Swedish/American		Shandong	A small mission at Longshan, run by Olof Sigrid Ferm and his American wife Pauline Louise Gleim
Finnish Free Foreign Mission (FFFM) (not to be confused with the Finnish Free Missionary Society a.k.a. Free Church of Finland Mission	Finnish	1927	Manchuria	Closed down in 1929 on account of opposition from local Finnish Pentecostal churches intent on preserving their autonomy; see Saalem Mission
Finnish Pentecostal Friends Mission	Finnish	1924	Shandong	China work ceased in 1927
Free Church of Sweden (FCS) *Ruidian zilihui*	Swedish	1907	Zhili/Hebei (FCS); Yunnan (SFM)	Operated in Yunnan under the name 'Swedish Free Mission' (*Ruidian shenzhao hui*) from 1922
Free Evangelical Assemblies of Norway (FEFM); *De Frie Evangeliske Forsamlingers Misjon*	Norwegian	1916	Zhili/Hebei; Shanxi	Established by Erik Andersen Nordquelle (1858-1938) and his 'De frie venner' congregation in Kristiania (Oslo)
Home of Onesiphorus	American	1916	Shandong	Founded by L. M. Anglin and wife

Home of the Nazarene (HN)	Canadian?	1908	Jiangsu	An independent work with subsequent Pentecostal connections
Norway's Free Evangelical Mission to the Heathen (NFEM); *Nuowei fuyihui*	Norwegian	1916	Zhili/Chahar	Many of its early missionaries had originally gone to China with the Norwegian Mission Alliance (at the time called 'Tsjilimisjonen'). After the NFEM was dissolved in 1934, its missionaries continued to Operate independently under the label 'Norwegian Evangelical Mission', supported individually by local Norwegian and U.S. assemblies.
Pacific Coast Missionary Society (PCMS) *Taipingyang budaohui*	Canadian	1913	Zhejiang	Merged with PAC in 1942
Pai Hsiang Mission (PHM) *Shenhou hui* 神后會	Norwegian	1922	Baixian, Hebei	Run by Jens Fjeld, since 1920 in China with FEFM
Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAC) *Jia'nada shenzhao hui*	Canadian	1914	Guangdong; Hongkong	
Pentecostal Assemblies of the World (PAW); *Shenzhao hui fuyintang*	American	1915	Shanxi; Guangdong	Several independent missionaries in China began to receive support in 1914. It is not known whether the was continued

				PAW support after the white members left and started their own denomination
Pentecostal Church of God in America (PCG)	American	after 1933		George Hickson Doyal, in Hongkong since 1916, was the PCG's first missionary to China
Pentecostal Holiness Mission (PHM) *Shenzhao hui*	American	1907	Hongkong; Guangdong	
Pentecostal Missionary Union (PMU) *Ying wuxunhui*	British	1912	Yunnan	
Pittsburgh Bible Institute (PBI) *Pisibao shengjing xuejiao chahui*	American	1922	Sichun	
Saalem Mission *Saleng hui*	Finnish	1929	Jilin	The Finnish Free Foreign Missions having been dissolved by local Finnish Pentecostal churches, Helsinki's Saalem Church set up its own mission board.
South Yunnan Mission (SYM) *Nan-Yunnan hui*	Danish	1915	Yunnan	Started by former CIM missionary John D. Fullerton and his Danish wife Martha Rönager, formerly PMU
Swedish Free Mission (SFM)				see Free Church of Sweden
United Free Gospel Mission (UFGM)	American		Guangdong	Founded in 1916 by Frank Casley in Pennsylvania

United Pentecostal Church (UPC), a merger of the Pentecostal Church, Incorporated (PCI) and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Jesus Christ (PAJC)	American	1924	Guangdong; Shanxi	UPC came into being in 1945 as the result of a sequence of splits and mergers since 1924, following the withdrawal of white members from PAW
Vereinigte Missionsfreunde (VMF)	German	1931	Yunnan	Took over the work started by Dutch Pentecostals

Note: Although the Tsechow Mission, founded by Stanley Peregrine Smith (1861-1931), and Anna Cheng's Mission, named after Anna Sofie Jacobsen (1860-1911), had 'Pentecostal episodes', they have not been included in this table.

AJPS Series 1

Wonsuk Ma, William W. Menzies, Hyeong-sung Bae, eds.

David Yonggi Cho

A Close Look at His Theology and Ministry

Finally here is an academic credible book on David Yonggi Cho, the pastor of Yoido Full Gospel Church, the largest single congregation in the world.

"This unique book brings together studies surrounding the exceptionally gifted pastor of the world's largest church along with a cadre of emerging Asian scholars—both emerging from the Pentecostal movement. Clearly that Asian, and especially the Korea, churches mark the shift of the ecclesiastical center of gravitiy away from the West toward the East and the South. This pastor, and these scholars, will be irresistible voices in the Pentecostalism of the new century."
Russell P. Spittler, Ph.D.
Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, CA

Contributors: Hwa Yung, Allan Anderson, Young-gi Hong, Hyeon-sung Bae, Simon Chan, David S. Lim, William Menzies, Chris Sugden, Young-hoon Lee, Sam-hwan Kim, Myung Soo Park, Wonsuk Ma, and Chang-soo Kang

---

Dr. Wonsuk Ma is the Executive Director (designate) of Oxford Centre for Mission Studies in Oxford, U.K. Formerly he was Vice-President for Academic Services of Asia Pacific Theological Seminary in Baguio Philippines.

Dr. William W. Menzies is Chancellor of Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio, Philippines.

Dr. Hyeon-sung Bae is Dean of Graduate Schools, Hansei University, Goonpo, Korea.

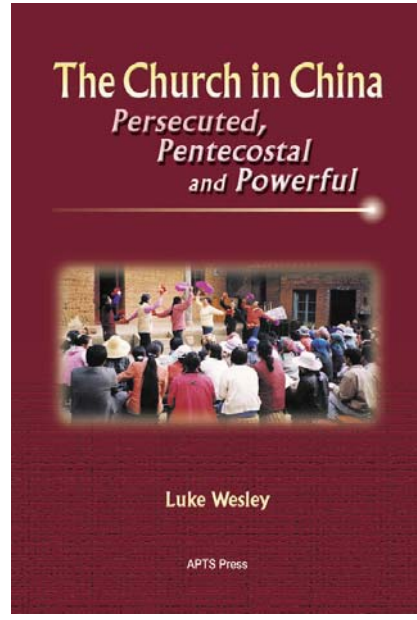
Paper bound
ISBN: 91-8942-08-4 APTS Press with Hansei University Press, 2004
x+309 pp. US$14.50; P300.00 (Philippines)

See the order form in this journal for a discounted reader rate. www.apts.edu

Luke Wesley

The Church in China

Persecuted, Pentecostal, and Powerful



"The Chinese church is persecuted, but it is al church strenghtened by the Holy Spirit and bold in its witness. God's power is revealed, often in inspiring ways, in the lives of countless numbers of Chinese Christians. I trust that this small sampling of analysis and stories will bear witness to this fact."
From the author's introduction

"At last a knowledgeable Pentecostal confirms that a great part—perhaps even the majority—of China's Protestants are Pentecostal or Pentecostal-like, and this on the basis of thorough field research and by an author who speaks Chinese… All in all a most useful book. The author has researched an extremely difficult field."

Walter J. Hollenweger, Ph.D.
Former Professor of Mission
University of Birmingham

Luke Wesley (a pen name) is a missionary who has lived and served in China for most of the past decade, and is the Field Director of the China Training Network.

Paper
ISBN: 971-8942-09-2
AJPS Books
2004
xvi+123 pp.
US$7.50; P150.00 (Philippines)

See the order form in this journal for a discounted reader rate.

[*AJPS* 14:1 (2011), pp. 149-165]

ALADURA: THE SEARCH FOR AUTHENTICITY AN IMPETUS FOR AFRICAN CHRISTIANITY

Kofi Johnson

Introduction

In recent years, numerous studies have emerged about indigenously founded, faith healing, and tongue-speaking phenomenon, which began in southern Nigeria in the early 1920s (Peel: 1968). The studies of the movement known as Aladura have now become a topic of considerable interest. For examples: Peel focuses on the historical perspective of the Aladura churches; Appiah-Kubi (1979) offers reasons for the emergence of Indigenous African Christian churches: while Babalola (1992) explores the alarming rate of growth with emphasizes on their modus operandi in light of traditional cultures. Babalola argues for the contextualization of Christianity through the Aladura churches. In a fascinating study, Akinade (1996) poses these questions: 1) What are the reasons for the emergence of these churches? 2) What are their strengths and weaknesses? 3) What challenges do they offer to orthodox churches? Omoyajowo (1982) explains the history of African Independent Churches with the foci on the Cherubim and Seraphim (Ischei, 1970). On the other hand, Crumbley, (1992:505-522) tasks the Aladura movement, by pointing out the condescending roles of women in the Aladura churches. Anderson (2004) points out the difference between the Christ Apostolic Church and Aladura. Turner (1967) in his study focused on the issues of culture and Christianity. The movements, which began in Nigeria, were once widely regarded by many scholars as incipient nationalism or religious independents. Today's scholars have dismissed the validity of this rationale and have concluded that the phenomenon is more complex than once thought (Turner, 1967). The majority of African theologians argued that the movement gained popularity because of its

attacked issues such as witches, sorcery and fetishism which other traditional churches failed to address.

Objectives

The objectives of this paper are twofold: 1. To trace the theological development of the Aladura and, 2. To explain reasons for the search for "authenticity" for the Aladura.

The movement-Aladura, meaning in Yoruba, "the prayer people" because they pray more than other churches, originated among the Yoruba of southwest Nigeria as a religious acculturation or social protest. It was an attempt to make the religious experience of the natives relevant to their society with special references to vision experiencing, tongue speaking, and magical drugless healing.

Who are the Aladuras? What do they believe? What is the genesis of the movements? These and other questions will be addressed in this paper. The schisms within the movements will be described.

The Genesis of Aladura Churches

The Aladura churches have attracted many followers. It began as prayer groups within older Nigerian churches, particularly the Christian Missionary Society (CMS). The movement came into existence in the 1920s as a response to a society gripped in crisis, afflicted by epidemics (influenza, small pox and plague) famine, and world depression. Isichei (1995) pointed out, in Nigeria, the epidemic resulted in many people dying on the roads. Consequently, many Nigerians turned to the new prophets who emerged to fulfill their spiritual yearning. Many thought that the mainstream churches had failed them.

What differentiates the Aladura churches from the main churches is their rejection of infant baptism, and rejection of western and traditional medicine. They were the catalyst that led to a breach with the CMS in 1922. The schism began in Lagos. It was spearheaded by David Odubanjo, a clerk by profession, who founded a branch of the Aladura. For a time, the movement was attached to an American sect known as Faith Tabernacle. The alliance dissolved because of the spiritual emptiness associated with the mainstream churches. This breach resulted in the group forming a link with the British Apostolic Church (BAC) from 1931-1941 as it attempted to liberate the natives

from "the prefabricated liturgies which had been imported from Europe and imposed upon" (Akinade 1996: 319) the natives. The alliance did not last. The major breach that resulted in separation from the BAC was over the use of quinine. The natives discovered that the BAC missionaries were secretly using quinine, contrary to their preaching of drug free practices. The final result was the formation of Christ Apostolic Church (CAC). The CAC in its practices resembles the older Pentecostal denomination. Consequently, its members prefer to be called Pentecostals instead of Aladuras.

The Aladura churches have a strong faith in divine healing and are consistent in their rejection of all medicines both native and western. They believe in the power of spirit, dreams, vision and the power of prophecy and revelations. The Aladura churches believe in the power of prayers to cure all sickness. The churches have a Yoruba flavor and style that has been incorporated into their worship, such as joyous spontaneity and the use of indigenous musical instruments. The churches pay more attention to healing deliverance from evil powers and prayers (Turner, 1967:33). Aladura Christianity rests on the spiritual graces of salvation, repentance, forgiveness, holiness, healing, deliverance, exorcism, spiritual baptism, spiritual gifts, and spiritual authority (Osun:1999).

The Aladura churches consist of four prominent kindred: 1) The Christ Apostolic Church; 2) The Cherubim and Seraphim; 3) The Church of the Lord; and 4) The Celestial Church of Christ.

The Christ Apostolic Church

The Christ Apostolic Church grew out of an Anglican Bible study group founded in 1920. The most important belief is the rejection of both traditional and western medicines. The Christ Apostolic Church lays great emphasis on the power of prayer to cure all sicknesses. This has been their treasured belief. It should be recalled that the Christ Apostolic Church emerged out of schism with Faith Tabernacle. The Faith Tabernacle emphasizes the imminence of the Millennium, and distaste for acquiring property. These precepts did not augur well with the nascent African churches. Moreover, the Faith Tabernacle did not see any sense in relying on vision for guidance, which is the hallmark of African churches. The Apostolic Church has its roots in Pentecostalism. Their organizations and worship reflect many of the values of the mission churches.

The Cherubim and Seraphim

The Cherubim and Seraphim (C & S) was founded by two visionaries: Moses Orimolade Tunolase and Christiana Abiodun. Abiodun, a young Anglican woman who at on Corpus Christi in 1925 in Lagos, Nigeria, fell into a trance in which she said that God called upon her to establish a new church. The two visionaries were brought together when Orimolade was sent to pray for Abiodun who was in the state of possession. Thereafter, Abiodun came out of the trance. The two teamed up to form the Society. According to Omopyajowo (1982) the real acknowledged founder of C & S was Moses Orimolade Tunolase. He was a completely illiterate itinerant preacher whose main aim was to convert people to the way of Christ. Upon settling in Lagos in the 1930s, he organized a prayer group into a Society, which met every Thursday. This was what eventually metamorphosed into a new church, which became known as Cherubim and Seraphim (Omoyajowo, 1982). The Society began to spread because of its focus on the importance of prayer and healing.

The Church of the Lord

The largest of the Aladura Christian Church is the Church of the Lord, which was founded by Josiah Oshitelu in 1934. Oshitelu was an Anglican catechist before he founded the Church of the Lord. He was famous for his "witch-busting evangelism." Prior to his expulsion from the Anglican Church, he had prophesized the events of the 1920s, which included western Nigeria, would be ravaged with smallpox. He attributed this to God's anger on the people for practicing paganism and accused the colonial government of deception (Probst,1989: 483). He warned that only faith in God, the power of prayer and abandonment of paganism could prevent the catastrophe. Six months after Oshitelu's prediction, there was an outbreak of plague in western Nigeria, and Oshitelu was expelled from the Anglican Church.

The Celestial Church of Christ:

The founder of the Celestial Church of Christ was Samuel Oshoffa. By profession he was a carpenter in Porto Novo, the Republic of Benin. He began a career as a prophet in 1947. The new church he founded

was originally christened Le Christianisme Celestre, translated from the French as the "Holy Assembly of Heaven in God." Among the Yoruba speaking people, it was known as the "Holy Assembly of Christ from Heaven" (Isichei 1995, p.284). At first the adherents of the church were small. It began to attract increasing numbers when a branch was opened in Lagos under the leadership of Alexander Bada. Bada later became the successor of Oshoffa. The success of the church was due to its charismatic leader Samuel Oshoffa who came to Nigeria to spread the word of God.

Of the Aladura churches thus described, the practice of the Christ Apostolic may be described as laying somewhat between Aladura and the classical Pentecostal churches (Anderson, 2004). Unlike the other Aladuras, members of the Christ Apostolic Church wear ordinary clothes to church. The other Aladuras wear white robes during their service. The Christ Apostolic Church also differs in their service. When the congregation is invited to pray, there is no clapping, beating of African drums or burning of incenses as in the mainstream Aladura churches. In short, they are quieter than their white-robed compatriots. Importantly, the Christ Apostolic Church service is well structured. Their services and rituals resemble the mainstream churches. Services in Aladura churches are spontaneous. Sermons in Aladura churches are based on inspiration of the Holy Ghost. They are lively; punctuated by exclamations "hallelujah," "amen" and other cries of joy (Zvanaka, 1997, p.70).

Most of the founders of the Aladura churches were semi-illiterates who fiercely believed in the powers of winning adherents to the way of Christ. They all affirmed that they were visionaries and believed that their visions were directly from God. By adopting biblical faith, the founders rejected the traditional gods, diviners, healers, and initiation, ritual sacrifices. In order to achieve these goals, members were directed to seek religious solutions to the problems of sorcery, witches, and other problems. They were to look to God, Jesus, and Holy Spirit for guidance. They then incorporated holy water, candles and spiritual words in their worships (Ray, 2000, p.172). These were the spiritual weapons that led to the spread of the movement.

The Growth of Aladura Churches:

There are many factors that have led to the growth of Aladura churches. Akinade (1996) aptly puts the reason as follows: "The most

reason for the rise of Aladura is the need to shift the church from foreign domination: ecclesiastical, colonial, social, cultural and administrative" (Akinade, 1996, p.10). In support of this viewpoint, J.D.Y. Peel (1968) says:

> The real motive of the founders was the conviction that the mission churches were still exotic institutions, and would remain so until led by Africans, they purged themselves of their adventitious and unessential European cultural trappings (Peel, 1968)
> .

In the same breath, Nathaniel Ndiokwere (1981) emphasizes the sense of insecurity. He states:

> The sense of insecurity is perpetuated in the African milieu by fears of evil spirits, the phenomenon of "poisoning"….It is the urge to have these problems solved which drives people to the doors of the Aladura prophets…If there were no healing mission there would be no meaningful Independent Churches; if there were no sick people or individuals craving for insecurity, there would be no followers. (Ndiokwere 1981:256, and (quoted by Akinade, 1996)

Professor Omoyajowo who has written extensively on the Aladura becomes explicit on the issue by saying:

> Africans generally fear the power of witches and the evil spirits, who beset them in their dreams; they worry about the future and want to know what it has in store for them. Missionary Christianity repudiated this practice and substituted abstract faith for it. The Aladuras take the problem as genuine and offer solutions in the messages of the Holy Spirit through the prophet and visionaries. They give candles for prayers, incense to chase away evil powers and blessed-water for healing purposes, consequently, the Christian suddenly finds himself at home in the new faith, and Christianity now has more meaning for him than before, for it takes special concern for his personal life, his existential problems and assures his security in an incomprehensively hostile universe. That is what has endeared the Cherubim and Seraphim to the hearts of the cross-section of our society,

> irrespective of creed, status and class. (Quoted by Akinade,1996, p.323) (See also Omoyajowo: 1970).

Many people join the Aladura churches because they see some flavors of African tradition. The churches offer a sense of security that helps address the problems of witches, sorceries and visions. Adherents of Aladura churches believe that the churches protect them from invisible powers that exist in the world (Akinade, 1996). Most Africans envisage that the world is full of evil spirits, which can only be prevented by prayers and healings. Consequently, adherents of Aladura churches rationalize that the church offers them protections and consolations from the hostile world. This has helped to expand membership in the Aladura churches.

Thomas (1987) took a different point of view as a central factor to the growth of the Aladura churches. He attributed their growth to their "Holistic mission" (Thomas, 1987:167). He states: "the recognition that witness and obedience to Christ involve not only personal relation to God through Christ but our total life in community (ibid.)". John Mbiti in African Religions and Philosophy captures this theme in these words: "There is no formal distinction between the religious and non-religious, between the spiritual and the material areas of life. Wherever the African is, there is his religion." (See Thomas, 1987, p.16). This means that religion to an African involves the entire community because they believe that it takes the entire community in any religious undertaking. To an African, the community serves as insurance. According to African tradition, one exists because of community. Emphasis is always placed in "we" rather than "I". The collective service practiced by the Aladura Churches and the emphasis on community make the Indigenous Christian Churches attractive to the natives. In other words, western churches place a premium on individualism, which is against African tradition. In light of this, the Aladura churches become a refuge. Worshippers feel at home in their religious experience in Aladura churches, because African theology emphasizes family, work, worship and play as human development. A person's religious experience is seen as proper concerns for the community as a whole. The mainstream churches failed to realize that in the African minds, society is viewed as an organism with the individual subordinate to the community

According to Ray, the expansion of Aladura churches is attributed to what he calls:"spiritual diagnosis" (Ray, 2000, p186). It means that Aladura ritual is devoted to solving personal problems, diagnosing

them and offering solutions to problems that include "conceiving of children, economic affairs, personal security, and health matters" (ibid.). In support of this, Bolaji Idowu (1965) explicitly puts it in this way:

> They (the Aladura Churches) claim that their prayers are efficacious for every eventuality…A person who goes to them receives diagnosis of his trouble as well as the necessary prescription of what to do in a concrete, dramatic way, to be saved (Idowu, 1965, p.46).

This suggests that Aladura churches have come to replace "babalawo"-the traditional medicine man in the Yoruba traditional religion, who is consulted for prognostic consultation. The exception here is that Aladuras believe in the power of prayer and drugless healing. No wonder so many people are attracted to the Aladura churches, not only in Nigeria but in England, Germany and the Americas where the churches are expanding. The founding of Aladura churches was a shift in paradigm that aimed to address the type of Christianity that would cater explicitly for the well being of Africans, their ways of worships and to free themselves from the yoke of western theology. In addition, Aladura churches offer a tremendous intellectual vitality and flexibility to serve God, to develop African theology to fit the African experience. In Aladura, the people have found a systematic and encyclopedic body of thought that addresses the issues of witchcrafts, sorcery and the evils of the worlds. This makes them feel whole in their search for beatitude with God.

The Shortcomings of Mission Churches:

There were many mistakes that were made by earlier missionaries. The major problems with those who embraced mission churches was that, once conversions were consummated, converts were uprooted from their communities, and not allowed to live with their kindred. The result of this was the erosion of the African nuclear family and the breakdown of communications between the converts and non-converts. This naiveté is the theme of Professor Idowu's (1968) observations:

> It was a serious mistake that the church took no account of the indigenous beliefs and customs of Africa when she began her

> work of evangelization. It is obvious that misguided purpose, a completely new god who had nothing to do with the past of Africa was introduced to her people. Thus there was no proper foundation laid for the gospel message in the hearts of the people and no bridge built between the old and the new, the church has in consequence been speaking to Africans in strange tongues because there was no adequate communications. (Idowu, 1968, p. 423).

In strong words, Professor Emmanuel Ayandele (1966) has this to say to early missionaries:

> …missionaries activity was a disruptive force, rocking traditional society to its very foundation, producing disrespectful presumptions and detribalized children through mission schools, destroying the high principles and orderliness of indigenous society through denunciation of traditional religion without adequate substitute and transforming the mental outlook of Nigerians in a way that made them imitate European values slavishly whilst holding irrational features of traditional religion. (Ayandale, 1966, p.326)

Professor Idowu (1968) and Professor Ayandele (1966) agreed that the newfound religion or God that was introduced to the people was disruptive. Added to this, early missionaries made no concerted efforts to substitute the disruptive elements with what Africans could identify with in their religious encounters with the west. The mainstream western missionaries were arrogant and selfish by parroting their culture with absolute disregard to the people's way of life. The God they introduced was alien to the natives. As a result, the Aladura churches stripped the mission churches of the foreign elements that beset their Christian experience and replaced them with Christianity that expressed African identities. By providing such leadership, it was a way of saying that African churches must be led by Africans and for Africans. This assertion and confidence of African prophets called for self-determination in African religious experiences.

The idea of self-determination was precipitated by the condescending manner in which early missionaries treated African churches. As Ray points out, Western scholars and mainstream churches began to stigmatize these churches as "separatist" or "breakaway" churches and dismissed them as syncretistic and

unorthodox. Furthermore, this term stigmatized the Africanized churches as inferior versions of European Christianity instead of recognizing their claim to their own sources (Ray, 2000, p.171).

This condescending attitude triggered Desmond Tutu (1994) to observe:

> We in the so-called "mainline" churches looked down disdainfully at the odd phenomenon called independent or indigenous churches. After all were their ministers not nearly all of them illiterate's persons…and what was this odd mix of the odd clearly pagan beliefs and practices which so obviously condemned them all as syncretistic-the ultimate heresy we had been led to believe? (Tutu 1994) (Quoted Ray 2000:171).

In order to be a genuine Christian, an African must give up his Africanness. This makes him a stranger among his people. More importantly, he is uprooted from the tradition that nurtured him. African indigenous churches are under the microscopic of western theology. They are constantly stigmatized as unorthodox.

Finally the intolerance of the mainstream churches was the big inertia that pushed the Aladuras to embark on a separatist movement, notwithstanding that they were reluctant to break away. Omoyajowo put the crux of the matter in this word in his study of Cherubim and Seraphim:

> That the C&S finally became a formal Church was more as a result of the intolerance of the 'orthodox' Churches than the logical product of a deliberation and a systematic planning. Members of the Society have alleged that they were sporadically forced out of the mission Churches in the various places where they had organized branches (Omoyajowo, 1982, p.9).

In support of this theme, Levtzion and Fisher (1987) say:

> This seems to have been the case with a number of religious movements, which at first hesitated to break away, but were then more or less expelled by the parent body and thus launched into liminality between forcible separation from the previous structure and being incorporated as founding into some new structure (Levtzion et al., 1986, p.168).

In discussing the shortcomings of the mission churches we find that there were many factors that contributed to the liminality of the Aladura churches. They include: lack of the understanding of the African cultures, the negative perceptions of the leaders of the movements as illiterates and intolerance of the mission churches. For example, adherents of early African Christians were disappointed when they found that early missionaries were only preachers and not preachers of love. In their contacts with the natives, early missionaries always gravitated to their fellow Europeans for social activities instead of interacting with African converts. This segregation was spurned on when new mission houses were built in the preserved sections away from the African community. It reached its crescendo when missionaries could not sit with their African brethren during church services (Onibere, 1981, p.11).

Discussion and Conclusion

Are the formations of Aladura churches a form of rebellion? Are Aladura churches another form of paganism masquerading as a Christian movement? Those who pose these questions are alluding to its beliefs and worships. What were the reasons for the establishment of healing churches?

The prophet movement that emerged in the 1920s in Nigeria according to Turner (1967) is a creative response to the breakdown of the old forms of African society that was triggered by mission churches and the colonial era. The formation of the new groups that emerged provided fellowships, security and some sanctioned guidance for living. The culture crisis of the 1930s also created a vacuum. The traditional religion was weakened because of the outbreak of bubonic plague. Consequently, African prophets became substitutes for the chiefs and their churches took the place of the extended family and clan. It would be safe to label the prophet movements as a cultural reaction of the African people rather than a rebellion. Africans were seeking to rediscover themselves, and to promote their own way of life. The religious movement was geared towards an expression of a religious experience that would depict the African way of life. It should be emphasized that many of the founders were products of mainstream churches. Their aims were not to reject Christianity. The protest itself does not have an atom of bitterness against mission churches (Turner, 1967). As previously stated, emphasis was on the African practice of

Christianity that infuses the African culture in Christian practice. The movement demonstrated a very optimistic view of African tradition and charted its own theological course. The reason: The western churches were seen as the church of whites. Africans rationalized that Western churches have not assumed an African face. The tenet of African Christianity is that there are many roads leading to salvation; it is not the task of the West to point only one way. The lesson here is that Western Christianity must begin with the social world as it is, in all its complexity and ambiguity. On that basis, it will evolve a pluralism of religion that will aid different cultures in actualizing their communion with the Christian God. The complexity of our world requires plurality in religion and plurality in no way contradicts western Christianity. Those who grasp the complexity of our world will appreciate the plurality of religion of which the Aladura is a glaring example. It is in this point of view, that one can understand the genesis of African Christianity.

It is difficult to pinpoint one factor as the contributing factor that led the African prophet movements to break away from orthodox Christianity. The popular explanation is always levied at the doorstep of polygamy as the main cause. While many of the Aladura churches condone plurality marriages, this is not uppermost in their agenda. Other scholars express the schism in terms of economics. While there is some validity in this explanation, we can conclude that it is a contributory factor but not the major cause. In attempt to give a valid explanation to the cause, we must probe deeper by perceiving the African prophet movements as a response to provide fellowship in African fashion without resorting to paganism.

It would be erroneous to label the prophet movement as a reversion to paganism. Founders of this movement prevent their members from embracing African traditional medicine of magic. Omoyajawo clarifies this by saying that "borrowing from indigenous tradition must not be seen as an attempt to mask a religion that is "essentially pagan with a barrowed Christian veneer" (Omoyajawo: 1982, p.220). In support, Professor Ayandele has this to say: 'the much-vilified 'African' Churches in West Africa… have no intention to repudiate Christianity. Rather they have been seeking to implant Christianity of the Bible in the African milieu." (Quoted by Omoyajawo, 1982; see also Ayandele, 1970)

The main purpose of the movement known as the Aladura churches or prayer people was to bring Christianity to the grassroots. Moreover, to make the native's experience reflect their beliefs and

cultures. Finally, the movement was an affirmation of African identity, which was being challenged by a foreign culture. As a result, Aladura churches were founded to heal the wounds that were caused by the mission churches and to free Africans from the captivity of the west. It is a movement in which adherents can attain self-determination rather than being tied to the apron string of western theology.

Many converts are attracted by the use of mediumatic trances, because they address issues of witches and sorcery, which are the major problems that beset Africans. Since the mainstream churches fail to address the issues adequately in their theology, Aladura churches become a refuge for the troubled. Moreover, the mainstream churches are interested in Christianizing Africa rather than evangelizing. Chipenda,Karanga, Mugabi and Omari (1991) makes the decision between the terms as follows:

Christianization is a detached, cold transmission of values, dogmas, rites and symbols of Christianity. Such transmission may derive from sympathy, zeal, or affection which we portray toward people. Evangelization is the transmission of the Good News of salvation. It is proclaiming God's intervention in world history, done once for all touching all mankind in every situation…People who receive the power to share what is dear to their hearts, creating new life and identifying new tasks when old challenges have been overcome. (Chipenda, Karanga, Mugabi, & Omari.(1991,p.13).

The Christianization of Africa has been very condescending to the populace. It strips Africans of their personality and culture. On the other hand, evangelization puts both the converted and converter on equal footing before the gospel. It emphases the power of sharing Christ by all, thus affording both persons a religious experience and imparting an equal playing field.

Benjamin B. Ray (2000) in African Religion best expressed the Aladura movement:

> The Africanized churches, while rejecting the traditional gods and rituals as "pagans," have retained three basic elements of traditional thought: the concept of supreme creator God, the belief in malevolent spiritual forces, and the belief in the power of ritual words and acts. Only by seeing African Christianity as a new synthesis of biblical beliefs with these basic elements of the indigenous religions can we understand how African Christians have creatively incorporated and transformed Christianity into African forms. In this way,

> Christianity has become a force for resolving life's problems: offering cures for illness, solutions to personal problems, moral guidance, and a means to personal salvation (Ray,p. 172).

References

Akinade, Akintunde (1996). "New Religious Movements in Contemporary Nigeria: Aladura Churches as a Case Study," *Asian Journal of Theology* 10:316-332.

Anderson, Alan (2004). *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity.* New York, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Appiah-Kubi, Kofi. (1979). "Indigenous African Christian Churches: Signs of Authenticity," *Bulletin of African Theology* 1:2, 241-249.

Ayandele, E.A. (1966). *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1824-1914.* London, England: Longmans.

Ayandele, E.A. (1970). "Why Christianity in Africa," University of Ibandan History Postgraduate Seminar Paper.

Babalola, E. O. (1992). "The Impact of African Traditional Religion and Culture Upon the Aladura Churches,'' *Asian Journal of Theology* 6 (1) 130-140.

Chipenda, Jose B. Karanga ,A. Mugabi , JNK.and Omari, CK. eds. (1991). *The Church f Africa Towards a Theology of Reconstruction.* Nairobi, Kenya: African Challenge Book Series, No. 2.

Crumbley, Diedre Helen.(1992) "Impunity and Power: Women in Aladura Churches," *Africa* (4).

Idowu, Bolaji E. (1965). *Toward an Indigenous Church*. London, England: Oxford University Press.

Idowu, Bolaji E. (1968) "The Predicament of the Church in Africa" in C.G., Meager (ed), *Christianity in Tropical Africa*. London, England: Oxford University Press.

Isichei, Elizabeth. (1995). *A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the Present.* Lawrenceville, New Jersey: African World Press Company.

Levtzion, Nemehia. Fisher, Humphrey J.(eds). (1987). *Rural Urban Islam in West Africa*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne ReinnerPublisher.

Mbiti, John S. (1969). *African Religion and Philosophy*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Ndiokwere, Nathaniel.(1981). *Prophecy and Revolution: The Role of Prophets in Independent African Churches and The Biblical Tradition.* London, England: SPCK.

Omoyajowo, Akinyele J. (1982). *Cherubim and Seraphin: The History of African Independent Church.* NY, NY: NOK Publishers International.

Omoyajowo, Akinyele J. (1970). "Cheribum and Seraphim Movement: A Study of Interaction." *Orita: Ibadan Journal of Religious Studies* 4(2): 134 .

Onibere, S.G.A. Ose. (1981). "The Phenomenon of African Religious Independency: Blessing or Curse on the Church Universal." *African Theological Journal* 10 (1), 9-26.

Osun, Christopher O. (1999). "Aladura Evangelists in Britain: An Assesment of Spiritual Adventurism." *Black Theology: An International Journal*, No. 3, 9-32

Peel, J.D.Y. (1968). "Syncretism and Religious Change." *Comparative Studies in Societyand History.* 10: 2, 128-129

Probst, Peter. (1989). " The Letter and The Spirit: Literacy and Religious Authority in the History of the Aladura in Western Nigeria." *Africa* 59 (4).

Ray, Benjamin C. (2000). *African Religions: Symbol Rittual and Community*. New Jersey: Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2000).

Thomas, Norma E. (1987). "Evangelization and Church Growth: The Case of Africa," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, (October 1987), 165-180.

Tutu, Desmond. (1994)."Forward" *Afro-Christianity at the Grass Roots*. Lieden, Netherland: E.J. Brill.

Turner, H.W. (1967). *History of an African Independent Church.* Oxford, England: Oxford Press.

Turner, H.W. (1967). *African Independent Church: The Life and Faith of the Church of the Lord (Aladura, vol.2.).* Oxford, England: Oxford University Pess.

Turner, H.W. (1979) *Religious Innovation in Africa*. Boston, Mass.: G.K. Hall and Company.

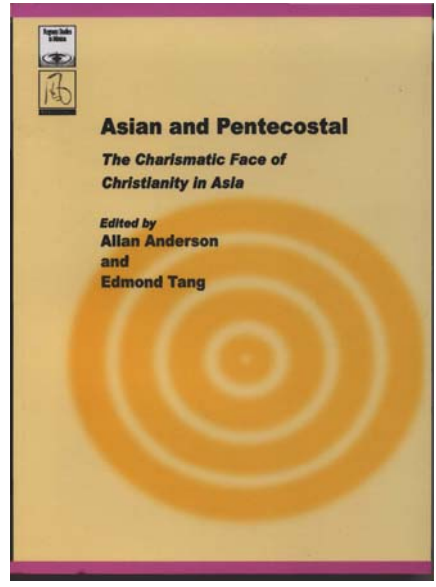
Walls, A.F., & Shenk, Wilbert.(1990). *Exploring New Religious Movements*. Elkart, Indiana: Mission Focus Publication.

Zvanaka, Solomon. (1997) "American Independent Churches in Context," *Missiology: An International Review*. vol, xxv, no. 1.

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, Modern 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

Paper
ISBN: 1-870345-43-6
Regnum Books (Regnum Studies in Mission), APTS Press (AJPSS 3)
2005
xiv+596 pp. (See the order form.)

David A. Reed, *"In Jesus' Name": The History and Beliefs of Oneness Pentecostals*, Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series 31, ed. J. C. Thomas, R. D. Moore, S. J. Land (Blandford Forum, Dorset, England: Deo Publishing, 2008), paperback, xii + 394 pp., ISBN: 978-1-905679-01-0, UK £25.95/ Europe £27.95/ Rest of the World £29.95.

Early Pentecostal experience is made alive in a book that is both perceptive and instructive! Pentecostal history is written at its best. The scope of the material that David A. Reed covered in his book *"In Jesus' Name": The History and Beliefs of Oneness Pentecostals* is all-encompassing. The research on the subject of the volume is thorough. There is so much to learn from the information that Reed puts together to produce this great work. It narrates how a certain faction of North American Pentecostals developed to be known as Oneness Pentecostals during the decisive stages of the Pentecostal Revival. It is situated within the rise of the Holiness Movement. This type of study has never been done before. The beginnings, accounts, theologies, issues and conflicts among the earliest Pentecostals that gave birth to the denunciation of the Trinitarian doctrine and the contention of baptizing believers in the name of Jesus only are all weaved in a unified whole to see a picture of what Oneness Pentecostalism is all about. Hence, this Christian group cannot and should not be categorized by outsiders as heretical or cultic. A second look at the origins and the doctrines of this Pentecostal body is important. Prejudice must be set aside. Doing a review of what happened then could be clearly articulated now. And the author is highly qualified to write a review of the accounts and the views of Oneness Pentecostalism. He knows the ins and the outs of 'Jesus Only' Pentecostals very well. The reports that Reed provides in terms of the events, problems, personalities and historical results of the conflicts and confrontations within the young Pentecostal Movement are in very rich details. Since he was previously an insider he was very sympathetic and yet an astute critique of Oneness Pentecostalism. Reed is insightful and honest as well as balanced in his presentation. He does not avoid dealing with the racial struggle between the blacks and the whites within early Pentecostalism. But his discussion of the materials is irenic from beginning to end. And his historical and theological resources are appropriately used in their original contexts. In other words, this book is a work of a mature scholar. Much benefit can be gained when this kind of masterpiece is read carefully.

"In Jesus' Name" is worthy to be included in the Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series. It is a well outlined work.

There are three appropriately defined major parts with several chapters in each part. Thus, the title has sixteen chapters. After providing a preface that sets the background of writing the book Reed utilizes his very first chapter to introduce the momentous "baptismal sermon" of Robert E. McAlister in 1913, the controversially obtained "revelation" of John G. Schaepe and the resolute baptismal practice of Frank Ewart on April 15, 1914. (1) Baptizing people in the name of Jesus "only" based on Acts 2:38 and not employing the Trinitarian formula of Matthew 28:19 became the "New Issue" in the young Pentecostal Movement. Furthermore, Reed presents the contour of the book in chapter 1. Part I is labeled as "The Legacy in Oneness Pentecostalism." (7-73) This section of the volume shows that the indispensable appreciation of the religious milieu of North America is vital in understanding the development of the New Issue during the early Pentecostal Revival. Accordingly, chapter 2 talks about "A Pietist Legacy – Experiential Faith" with emphasis on the notion that Evangelicalism is deeply rooted in Pietism, notably, in terms of the centrality of Jesus Christ both in teaching and commitment. (9-43) The proper interpretation of the Bible starts from the heart. And thus, revelation of truth is centralized and creeds of old are marginalized. Christ's deity and his atoning sacrifice were defended from accumulating rationalism. This polemic attitude can be observed from Philip Jacob Spener to John and Charles Wesley to Jonathan Edwards to Albert B. Simpson and many others. Subsequently, in chapter 3, Reed continues to trace the Evangelical heritage of the Pentecostal accent to the name of Jesus Christ. He suitably calls this chapter "An Evangelical Legacy – Theology of the Name." (44-68) It is notable here that the writer uses a catena of quotations from primary sources to show the formation of the centrality of Jesus' name among the Evangelical thinkers. The circumstance of the theological advance of Jesus' name was due to the liberal threat. In addition, Reed comes up with an excursus about the name of God from primitive Jewish Christianity to contemporary sectarian groups. (69-73)

The designation of Part II is "The Birth of Oneness Pentecostalism." (75-223) This section is indeed about the North American cradle of 'Jesus Only' Pentecostals from within the early Pentecostal Movement. However, Reed's investigation essentially pays attention to the belief system of the Oneness Pentecostals that grew out of the holiness doctrine and apostolic restoration of the many Evangelicals at that period. The institutional narrative of the Oneness groups receives slight consideration as the author is more interested in

the progress of Jesus "only" teaching. He highlights the significance of William H. Durham in the "Finished Work" of Christ controversy that gave birth to the notion of an Oneness christology type of belief in God. His analysis of "Pentecostal Polemics" in the fourth chapter concentrates on the contributions of Charles F. Parham and especially that of Durham who was possibly influenced by Essek W. Kenyon. (77-107) The first major crisis from within the Pentecostals was due to Durham's Finished Work teaching. Chapter 5 is fittingly titled "Old Themes for New Times." This chapter notes that from the Wesleyan Holiness tradition, and then from the Finished Work controversy the so called "New Issue" of baptism in Jesus' name only logically came into the open. (108-135) The new claim is based on the Pentecostal heritage of christocentric apostolic restoration and the full gospel pattern of Acts 2:38. Many of the early leaders of the Oneness Pentecostals were followers of Durham. The sixth chapter is all about the "Revelation of the Name" of Jesus as the nomenclature for water baptism. (136-146) The claim is that Schaepe has a supernatural source. Nonetheless, Reed argues that this claim of revelation can be appropriately understood within the environment of Pentecostal experience of that time, mainly from the outlook of Ewart and others. The next chapter elaborates on the "Controversy and Rejection" that the New Issue generated among the Pentecostals with focus on the Assemblies of God. (147-166) In particular, E. N. Bell's engagement with the 'Jesus Only' baptism is critically examined by Reed. He maintains that J. R. Flower, organizationally, with D. W. Kerr, doctrinally, brought the Trinitarian cause to succeed. Chapter 8, "From Issue to Doctrine: Revelation of God and the Name," portrays that the recently organized Assemblies of God was alarmingly disturbed by the Oneness doctrine. (167-183) Christology was directly linked with water baptism viewed according to the pattern of Acts 2:38. Modalism became a substitute to the Trinity because of an alleged "revelation" that is supported by biblical truth. The following chapter, "From Issue to Doctrine: One Lord and One Baptism, picks up where the previous chapter ends. (184-206) The Acts 2:38 interpretations of the Oneness Pentecostals such as Frank J. Ewart, Franklin Small, Garfield T. Haywood and Andrew Urshan are critically evaluated. The tenth chapter depicts the administrative struggle of the proponents of the New Issue after they were expelled from the Assemblies of God. (207-223) Hence, the chapter heading "From Issue to Organization" is a descriptive title. Reed also painfully deals with the role of race among Oneness Pentecostals in this chapter.

Part III of *"In Jesus' Name"* explains the "Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism." (225-363) Consequently, chapter 11 has the title "Theology of the Name" where Reed explores the theological paradigm of the 'Jesus Only' believers' view of God. Using Ralph Del Colle, Jean Danielou, Richard Longenecker and other contemporary scholars the author points out that Oneness theology of the name is close to the early Jewish Christian view of Jesus. The succeeding chapter continues the argument that Oneness Pentecostalism is not heretical. The title "One God and One Name" becomes a very logical view for those who maintain that water baptism should be done in the name of Jesus only and not the Trinitarian formula. (246-273) Using the founding fathers of Oneness Pentecostalism and present-day Christian scholars, the language used in understanding the name of God is assessed carefully. Such terms as "name," "manifestation," "emanation" and "person" are included in the discussion. The thirteenth chapter is nicely titled as "The Name and Christology." (274-307) Here, the dwelling and glory of God in Christ are studied in the context of 'Jesus Only' perspective. The adoptionistic theological tendency of the Oneness view is also addressed. In addition, it is apparent that Reed has drawn conceivable trajectory for the 'Jesus Only' christology in this chapter. It is noteworthy that the following chapter conveys Oneness Pentecostals' perception of the significant connection between "The Name and the Christian Life." (308-337) Once again, the contributions of Oneness Pentecostal thinkers such as John Dearing, W. T. Witherspoon, David Bernard, J. L. Hall and others about the exegesis of Acts 2:38 are enumerated. It is also remarkable how Reed is able to see the parallel views on Acts 2:38 between the Oneness writers and current Evangelical scholars such as James Dunn, Max Turner and others. In chapter 15 a challenge to those who are calling Oneness Pentecostalism as cultic or heretical is set forth. The title, "Whose Heresy? Whose Orthodoxy?" speaks for itself. (338-360) For Reed, the thriving population, the promising academics, the influential music and the maturity of the Oneness movement should bring a reconciliatory dialogue with the larger Pentecostal groups. He also speaks to Gregory Boyd and E. Calvin Beisner concerning their criticism of the Oneness Pentecostals. And finally, in the concluding chapter Reed maintains that his former denomination evidently "carved out its identity with the twin resources of the Bible and a Spirit-guided hermeneutic of revelation, the divinely appointed authorities for restoring apostolic doctrine and practice." (361) He is further convinced that William Durham is "a spiritual mentor" for the pioneers of the Oneness

movement. (362) Last but not the least, the title *"In Jesus' Name"* carries its value with candor when its author completes his treatise and declares what 'Jesus Only' Pentecostalism is all about: "Theologically, its recurring themes are the oneness of God and baptism in the name of Jesus, but its cohering idea is the Name." (363) This is a good read about the Pentecostals whose center of everything in life is the name of Jesus!

R. G. dela Cruz

Keith Warrington, *Pentecostal Theology: A Theology of Encounter* (London: T&T Clark, 2008), paper, xii + 336pp., ISBN: 978-0-567-04452-5, US$32.

Pentecostal theology, being both experiential and self-analytical, is very difficult to define. Keith Warrington, the Welch Pentecostal scholar, is conscious of the difficulty in defining this multidenominational, multidimensional, global movement. One's first thought upon picking up this book is, "How can this medium-sized book cover such a broad topic?" He clarifies, however, in his preface that his intention is not to provide a systematic or comprehensive study of all that Pentecostals believe. Rather, his intention is to highlight those aspects which are unique to Pentecostals. His intention is to provide a book that will assist Pentecostal theology as it develops beyond its adolescence into maturity. Each chapter ends with "some ways forward" toward this goal.

The subtitle, "A Theology of Encounter" reflects the idea that, while non-Pentecostal theologies often deal primarily with a set of beliefs, Pentecostal theology explores its beliefs within the context of praxis. Pentecostals are not simply those who adhere to a list of beliefs, they are those who have encountered those beliefs experientially. Warrington is well aware of the dangers inherent in a theology based on experience (emotionalism, triumphalism, subjectivism, etc.). Nevertheless, he asserts that Pentecostal theology will only be understood along these lines.

After dealing with the difficulties of defining Pentecostal theology, Warrington goes on to do so. He begins, appropriately, with God. Pentecostals are mainly Trinitarian (the significant exception being the Oneness Pentecostals), though they tend to be more personal as they "practically relate to the individual members of the God head as if they were three different persons" (30). It is perhaps in the area of God's relationship with people that Pentecostalism has most to contribute to theology. It is the real, personal, life-changing relationship that Pentecostals have with God, through Christ, empowered and guided by the Holy Spirit that often distinguishes them from the rest of Christianity.

Predictably, Warrington focuses his "God" chapter on the Holy Spirit. He has already established that, despite being called "Spirit centered" by others, Pentecostalism is actually Christocentric, or perhaps "pneumatalogically Christocentric" (34). Having done so, he spends about fifty pages describing Pentecostalism's perspective on the

Holy Spirit, the believer's relationship with the Holy Spirit, and the charismata. The rest of the chapter deals with Baptism in the Spirit, a central facet of Pentecostal theology. He deals with subsequent and initial evidence, making an effort to explain various perspectives within Pentecostalism.

Warrington next discusses the church. Ecclesiology, he points out, is a weak point in Pentecostal theology, which is generally more interested in soteriology (132), though this weakness is being corrected by such authors as Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, Simon Chan, and Frank Macchia, among others. Pentecostals have an expectation that the church will experience the immediate, transforming, and empowering presence of God. As he describes various aspects of the church, he focuses on the differences in Pentecostal praxis, such as the role of women in church leadership (143). He also spends considerable time in this chapter describing "some ways forward" in areas such as higher education, ordinances, and ecumenism.

In "The Bible" (ch. 5), after an overview of orthodox Christian theology, Warrington steps into the Pentecostal world to discuss the importance of application, the use of narrative, and the value of personal experience in interpreting Scripture. Of particular concern to him is that Pentecostals must continue to grow in their value of using their intellect in interpreting the Bible, using established rules of hermeneutics to do so.

Chapter 6, "Spirituality and Ethics" appears to be a place for Warrington to put topics that did not readily fit anywhere else. He briefly mentions the importance of sanctification and the desire for holiness, which he sees as decreasing within Pentecostalism (211). One reason for the deep spirituality that often characterizes Pentecostals is the emphasis on prayer, which is seen as relational and corporate (as well as individual). Worship, expectant and spontaneous, is also an important part of a Pentecostal's spirituality as a regular means of encountering God. This chapter also addresses the accusation that Pentecostals neglect social and political concerns. While this may have been somewhat true in the past, Warrington shows that Pentecostals are now significantly engaged in political and social issues all over the world.

Next, in the chapter about "Mission," the passionate Pentecostal commitment to spreading the gospel throughout the world is seen as central to understanding the movement. Pentecostals have inherent advantages as missionaries. Their firm commitment to the Great Commission, their empowering Spirit baptism, the signs and wonders

that have accompanied them, their spiritual worldview, their pragmatism, and their belief in the imminent return of Christ have given them an enthusiasm and efficacy in missions that has changed the world.

"Healing, Exorcism and Suffering" are specialties of Warrington, who has extensively researched and written on these topics. He briefly deals with many issues within the doctrine of healing, such as the role of faith, prayer, sin, the name of Jesus, the use of oil, and the laying on of hands. He also addresses the question of whether healing is guaranteed by the atonement. As he examines Matthew 8:14-17, Isaiah 53:4-5, and 1 Peter 2:24, Warrington reveals his own belief that this doctrine is erroneous and has led Pentecostals to neglect the reality and importance of suffering.

The final chapter, which discusses eschatology, is mainly a description of different perspectives on the millennium, the parousia, and eternal life (heaven or hell). Warrington shows the variety (and uncertainty) that exists within Pentecostalism in these matters and encourages openness to different perspectives in the interest of fellowship and unity (323).

Warrington is successful in achieving his goal to set forth a basic Pentecostal theology as a starting point for further discussion. He does very well at presenting a global view of Pentecostalism, which is refreshing in a world dominated by American publishing. The brevity of his descriptions and explanations is both a strength and a weakness. On one hand, the book is easy to read and easy to understand, but on the other hand it is at best introductory on all these topics.

Another strength of this book is the largely unbiased manner in which he presents Pentecostalism and the various views within the movement. He is realistic about the faults of existing Pentecostal theologies. By candidly exposing the weaknesses of Pentecostal theology, he provides a motivation and means to encourage its improvement.

The footnotes are extensive and show that Warrington's aim is not to simply assert his own opinion of what constitutes Pentecostal theology, but to describe the position of the entire global movement. He does this ably, by quoting not only Western scholars, but Asians, Africans, Latin Americans, and many missionaries also.

One significant weakness of this book is the lack of a bibliography. The introductory nature of the book begs further study. The natural place to begin such a study is with the authors mentioned by Warrington, but the only bibliographic information is found in the

footnotes. Also, the index, hardly more than one page, would be much more useful if it were expanded to include more subtopics.

In the "some ways forward" sections, the ideas are presented rather roughly. They are simply stated and few of them are argued in any way. Perhaps he intends this simple format to encourage discussion on the topics, but the impression is more that these are sketchy thoughts that he didn't have the time to develop more fully within each chapter.

This book will be very useful as a textbook in either an undergraduate or graduate "Introduction to Pentecostalism" course. Additionally, it would be useful for non-Pentecostals who desire to understand the Pentecostal movement. Pentecostals who want to understand their own beliefs more fully might find this book useful as a starting point, but will quickly find that it is inadequate for any kind of in-depth study.

Anyone would surely be intimidated by the thought of writing a book called "Pentecostal Theology." Who would dare to put his name on such a work? Yet Warrington has not only written such a book, but written it in such a way that it represents the multifaceted Pentecostal movement simply and modestly. His intention is to help move Pentecostal theology along toward maturity and he does so by defining where it *is* at this time. Therefore, this book will serve well as part of a foundation from which Pentecostalism can put out branches as it explores, clarifies, establishes, and defines its theology.

Steven Hong

Paul Alexander, *Peace to War: Shifting Allegiances in the Assemblies of God*, vol. 9 of C. Henry Smith Series, Series Editor, J. Denny Weaver (9 vols.; Telford, PA: Cascadia Publishing House, 2009).

In *Peace to War*, Paul Alexander has produced the most comprehensive, scholarly-informed yet readable and provocative study of pacifism within the Assemblies of God (AG) to date. Professor Alexander has mined the primary writings of AG leadership and ministers on pacifism from the time of the formation of the AG through the periods of World War I, World War II, the Korean War, the Cold War with the Soviet Union, the Vietnam War, Gulf War I with Iraq and Gulf War II with Afghanistan, and the continuing War on Terror since 9.11.2001. Not only has Alexander incorporated these AG primary sources into his narrative to demonstrate "the shifting allegiances in the Assemblies of God" that have occurred between World War I and the present War on Terror, he has also summarized and interacted with the secondary works of AG scholars and others who have provided various diversified interpretations of AG pacifism.

From these primary and secondary sources, Alexander has constructed a narrative that invites the engagement of his readers into a substantive dialog on the decline of pacifism and the influences that have led to its almost complete marginalization. As a committed AG pacifist himself, Alexander explicitly expresses in this book his hope that this "forgotten heritage" of AG pacifism can once again enliven the hearts and minds of today's generation of AG, Pentecostal, Evangelical, and Christian youth to become Christ-followers of Jesus' teachings. In short, this book is not only a scholarly treatise; it is also an advocacy manifesto for his readers to follow Jesus and his teaching on the core beliefs and values of love, justice, and peace-making.

While there are so many issues that a review could raise for the reader in this multi-layered narrative, I chose to identify three major contributions of Alexander's study on AG pacifism for the reader. The first contribution is that Alexander identifies two competing strains of thought and practice within AG leadership, the pulpit and the pew that were both influential, yet not always compatible with each other, on issues of war and peace during the period from 1914-1940, the precursor to the year of the bombing of Pearl Harbor that brought the US into World War II. While these factors have been identified before by other studies of AG pacifism, the way that Alexander uniquely juxtaposes these two strains of thought as competitors for a single-

minded loyal allegiance highlights a factor that helps to make sense out of the demise of pacifism in such a short period of time.

After identifying the historical context in which "first-generation" AG pacifism arose, and the solidarity of thought these AG pioneers had with the pacifist theology of the Peace churches, especially the Quakers, the Holiness movement, and the development of a theology of the "full Gospel," Alexander focuses on these two strains of thought that co-existed within AG psychology between 1914 and 1940. On the one hand, there was the view during this period of time that pacifism is grounded in Jesus' ethical teachings for his followers to practice and therefore, "war is not consistent with the doctrines of Christ." As a consequence of this strain of thought, Alexander chronicles *"The Assemblies of God Peace Witness from 1914-1940"* (131-176).

On the other hand, during this same period of time there was the view that the AG gave "unswerving loyalty to the Government," and that this loyalty co-existed consistently with Pentecostal pacifism. There was deep concern among the AG denominational leadership at the time of World War I, however, that pacifism and its normative position of Conscientious Objection (CO) might be viewed by outsiders to the denomination as an act of disloyalty to the US government. Therefore, on April 28, 1917—only about three weeks after the United States declared war on Germany—denominational officials stated in the resolution that it sent to President to Woodrow Wilson its allegiance to the government in these words: "While affirming Human Government as of Divine ordination, and affirming our unswerving loyalty to the Government of the United States, nevertheless we are constrained to define our position with reference to the taking of human life." After citing the biblical support for pacifism, the resolution concludes with these two strains of thought existing side by side: "THEREFORE we, as a body of Christians, while purposing to fulfill all the obligations of loyal citizenship, are nevertheless constrained to declare we cannot conscientiously participate in war and armed resistance which involves the actual destruction of human life since this is contrary to our view of the clear teaching of the inspired Word of God, which is the sole basis of our faith." Alexander points out how this strain of thought played out with unintended consequences between the world wars: *"Unswerving Loyalty to the Government: The Seeds of Nationalism and Militarism from 1914-1940"* (177-199).

What Alexander has captured in this juxtaposition of two strains of thought is analogous to Jesus' parable of "the wheat and the tares"

growing together from 1914 through the eve of the US joining World War II. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the US joining the war effort on what was considered the "moral grounds" of defending the nation, the strain of pacifistic thought began to be "choked out" within the AG leadership and its rank and file membership as fewer Pentecostal believers claimed CO status in WWII. As Alexander notes "the seeds of nationalism and militarism" continued to germinate from 1941-1967 and stimulated major shifts in the theological and philosophical thinking in the AG about war and peace. These currents of change finally culminated in the 1967 change of the General Council Bylaws on Military Service adopted by the General Council that stated: "As a movement we affirm our loyalty to the government of the United States in war or peace. We shall continue to insist, as we have historically, on the right of each member to choose for himself whether to declare his position as a combatant, a non-combatant, or a conscientious objector."

Although Alexander follows the broader list of factors identified by Jay Beaman in accounting for the demise of pacifism within the AG, and adds to the list the flat out post-1967 promotion of the AG leadership of military service in a variety of its publications, Alexander has brought a fresh perspective on a major force in the demise of AG pacifism in the way he has framed the parallel strains of AG theological belief affirming the "unswerving loyalty to the government," on the one hand, and "conscientiously objecting to participate in war and armed resistance which involves the actual destruction of human life," on the other hand. When I read again the same lead phrase of "loyalty to the government of the United States" in the 1917 resolution and the 1967 resolution, "the light bulb" went on in making some sense out of the fact that the majority of the AG voting membership believed—mistakenly, I believe—that the 1967 statement that allowed for freedom of choice on military service was consistent historically with the way the 1917 statement was actually practiced by the AG faithful in "loyalty to the government to the United States." That "unswerving loyalty" strain of thought in AG psychology that was the lead phrase in both 1917 and 1967 resolutions became the defining factor in the attempt to legitimate the transition from pacifism to the individual freedom of choice. As Alexander notes, from 1941-1967, "The ethic of nonviolence among member and ministers began to diminish and the preponderance of articles in the Pentecostal Evangel on issues of war and peace were 'fighting the battle against conscience with realism'" (200-253).

The second contribution of Alexander's study is found in his analysis of the changes in theological beliefs and philosophical underpinnings on the war and peace issue that transpired between 1917 and the 1967 statements on military service. Alexander observes that the rationale in support of pacifism that was articulated in the 1917 resolution was based exclusively on the Bible, especially the teachings of Jesus and concluded with the resolution that "armed resistance which involves the actual destruction of human life . . . is contrary to our view of the clear teaching of the inspired Word of God, which is the sole basis of our faith." In contrast, Alexander notes that in the 1967 statement, "The theology reflected in the resolution centered on national loyalties and the authority of individual conscience." He notes that ". . . the framers of this resolution and article made no appeal to Scripture or to Jesus. Not a single verse or reference is employed. The only reference to God is qualified by the fact that God required loyalty to the government because God ordained it." Alexander could not resist stating the irony that "The individual freedom of conscience. . . had not justified the consumption of alcohol, smoking, gambling, dancing, or women wearing slacks. But the authority of one's own conscience served as the trustworthy principle that allowed killing in war."

While Alexander has pointed to the theological and philosophical shifts from a Christian community-formed "conscience" in 1917 to an individually-based "realism" in 1967, the characterization of Christian realism may be a bit too generous to identify the rationale in support of the individual freedom of choice on military service. In fact, the AG constituency provided no philosophical theology that grounds the issue of participation in war in a conception based on human nature, its sinful will to power, and its capacity to fuel the national interest of countries. There is no just war theory that was adopted by the AG at the time pacifism was abandoned as the fellowship's normative position, a critique that Alexander makes. As a consequence, there is no teaching from the AG church to provide some kind of guide for young people to distinguish between just and unjust wars. As Alexander rightly points out, AG believers are left to their own conscience without the capacity to make discriminating judgments about participating or not participating in particular wars. I think of the model of Reinhold Niebuhr who was a pacifist in the Fellowship of Reconciliation during WWI but adopted Christian realism with its just war tradition during WWII; he said he did so because "History has Overtaken Us." Niebuhr argued with passion that the way to stop the Axis will-to-power which

seemed to possess a ravenous appetite in conquering its neighbors through the brutality of war was to create an Allied will-to-power to stop the injustice and restore a balance of power among nations. Instead of taking a journey like Niebuhr took, AG young people when facing a call to war are left only with their own individual conscience as a basis for their decision-making, a consequence that Alexander deeply laments.

The third contribution that Alexander makes in his study is profoundly personal and courageous. In his afterword in the book, Alexander tells his readership about his personal faith journey as a first-generation Pentecostal "crucifist" in which peace-making and justice-seeking are a way of life. Alexander explains that a "crucifist" is "a follower of Jesus' way of nonviolent, cross-carrying, enemy love." Thus, this identification is more of a holistic term than the term pacifist which focuses primarily on a position about participation in war rather than a comprehensive way of life that is centered in Jesus and therefore that also includes conscientious objection to participation in war and the destruction of human life. He tells the story of his journey that led to a non-renewal of his Faculty contract at an Assemblies of God university after serving there for nine years. His positions on American nationalism and warfare did him in, although he understood that his positions on Americanism, war and peace would ultimately lead to a question of his institutional fit even though he was a credentialed AG minister.

Probably the most defining moment in Alexander's pacifist journey came in a chapel service at a time after the towers were hit on 9.11.01. There was a surge of patriotic nationalism and violent rage that was pervading the campus community. He admonished the University President as they walked together to the chapel, "We have to remember who *we* are, we're followers of Jesus; we have to remember who we are. A lot of people will be saying a lot of things that are hateful; we have to remember who we are." Professor Alexander sat in the chapel and prayed and squirmed in his seat listening to apocalyptic, prophetic fulfillment talk about "the Middle East, the rapture, Israel, the battle of Armageddon, tribulation, the antichrist, the United States, patriotism, war, and Muslims."

The chapel was filled with students and Faculty colleagues with about 1,000 people in attendance. After about one and a half hours, he finally went forward believing that he was prompted by the "leading of the Holy Spirit," asked the President if he could speak, and with microphone in hand he began. He admonished everyone to view

America through the eyes of the rest of the world and to recognize that this tragedy is beyond an American tragedy; it is a human tragedy. He critiqued American greed and hypocrisy and urged the members of his audience to be followers of Jesus and to make sure that their allegiances, loyalties, purposes, visions and dreams are lined up with "what God wants us to be." The remarks he made that day are found in the book transcribed from an audio CD of the chapel service. He recognized that he spent most of his "capital" that day; he wrote, "That was my coming out of the closet as a peacemaker at my alma mater in front of all the people who had educated, loved, and hired me. There were faculty who did not talk to me for years, and some who tried to get me fired." Even so, Alexander's identity as a "crucifist" was crystallized that day.

Alexander went on to be a co-founder of the organization, Pentecostals and Charismatics for Peace and Justice (PCPJ). Alexander is hopeful that PCPJ can provide the social network that will stimulate "the reemergence and resurgence of a powerful Pentecostal peace-with-justice witness that blesses the world far beyond what we could ever imagine" (350). This book is a must read for Pentecostals, Charismatics, and Christians of all stripes who are desirous to join in giving an authentic witness to God's love, justice, and peacemaking in the world.

Murray W. Dempster

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Connie Ho Yan AU (conniehoyanau@googlemail.com) is Director of Pentecostal Research Centre, Synergy Institute of Leadership, Hong Kong.

Tobias BRANDNER (tobiasbran@gmail.com) is Assistant Professor at the Divinity School of Chung Chi College, Chinese University of Hong Kong where he teaches church history, missiology, and ecumenism., and he serves as a prison chaplain in the prisons of Hong Kong.

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.*

Murray DEMPSTER (mwdempster@seu.edu) is Distinguished Professor of Social Ethics, Southeastern University, Lakeland, Florida.

Steven HONG (baguiohongs@gmail.com) is a D.Min. candidate at Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, Baguio City, Philippines. He is an American missionary who has been working in the Philippines since 1990.

Kofi JOHNSON (kofijohnson@hotmail.com) teaches Government and International Relations at Fayetteville State University, Fayetteville, North Carolina.

David LIU (bible.liu@msa.hinet.net) teaches for the Assemblies of God School of Theology, Taichung, Taiwan.

David REED (david.reed@utoronto.ca) is Professor Emeritus of Pastoral Theology and Research Professor, Wycliffe College at the University of Toronto.

R.G. TIEDEMANN (tiedemanng@aol.com) is Professor of Modern Chinese History, Center for Boxer Movement Studies, Shandong University, P.R. China.

Timothy YEUNG (tim4jesus@gmail.com) is President of Synergy Institute of Leadership, Hong Kong.

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.